Edvard Grieg's "Lost" Concert

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Edvard Grieg (1843-1907), like many composers who were his contemporaries, spent a lot of time in concert tours as a pianist and conductor in various European countries. In the context of that era, this activity seems fairly typical; however, if we take into account composer's poor health (especially in the late period of his life), then his determination to wear himself down in difficult journeys will seem extraordinary. In his letters, the composer often describes periods of illness which prevented him from going on concert tours to one or another country or town. Nevertheless, the number of concerts and the geography of visited places during Grieg's career are impressive. Grieg usually arranged his tours in the autumn, winter or spring, while the summers he spent from 1885 in his Troldhaugen residence, enjoying the revitalising nature.

#### PROBLEMS, SOURCES AND RESEARCH

The monograph Edvard Grieg by Olga Levashova1 remains one of the most comprehensive works on Grieg's music in the Russian language. In the chronology section at the end of this book, there is a record that Grieg gave concerts in Riga in April 1902 (see Figure 1 with the scanned text). The same statement can be found in the Russian Music Encyclopaedia's entry written by the same author<sup>2</sup>. Affirmations that such concerts really took place can also be found in numerous Russian-language-based web sites devoted to Grieg<sup>3</sup>. The claim that Grieg travelled to Riga is also repeated in Volume I of the Lithuanian Music Encyclopaedia<sup>4</sup>.

Edvard Grieg's concert on the territory of one of the contemporary Baltic States seems to be an interesting research subject. Since there are no indications that Grieg 1902

Январь — в Трольхаугене. Февраль, март — в Копенгагене. Очерк «С Бьернсоном в былые дни». 22 апреля — концерт в Вар-паве при участии Т. Карреньо и норвежской певицы Л. Виборг. Концерты в Риге. С мая до ноября — в Трольхаугене (аегуст — лечение в бергенской больнице). 24 и 26 октября — концерты в Бергене с Нивой Григ (первое исполнение «Лирических пьес» ор. 74). С ноября до конца года — в Кристиании. Концерты 23 ноября, 5 и 16 декабря. Изичение всергенской Изучение народной скрипичной музыки. Работа над «Норвеж-скими крестьянскими танцами» ор. 72.

Figure 1. Scanned excerpt from the chronology section of the book Edvard Grieg by Olga Levashova<sup>5</sup>.

ever held a concert in Lithuania, the next topical question for the author of this article concerns the circumstances of the concert in the capital of the neighbouring Latvia. The programme of the concert, reception of the music and performance by the audience, as well as other elements should be considered in such research. The question what Grieg's travel route to Riga was also appears interesting. If Grieg came to Riga from Warsaw after his concert on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, he very likely travelled across the lands of contemporary Lithuania (possibly he left some records concerning his impressions from this journey?). Also, a secondary question emerges. The present territory of Latvia was in Grieg's time a part of the Russian Empire; therefore, the concerts in Riga should be regarded as Grieg's performances on the territory of the Russian state. Nevertheless, numerous research publications claim that Grieg never visited Russia.

Surprisingly, references to the concert (or concerts) in Riga can be found almost exclusively in Russian sources. The Western sources do not contain any information concerning this concert at all: it is not mentioned in the works of famous researchers of Grieg's music (Finn

<sup>1</sup> Olga Levashova, Эдвард Григ [Edvard Grieg] (Moskva: Muzyka, 1975). First edition in 1962.

<sup>2</sup> O. Levashova, "Григ," [Grieg] in Muzykalnaya entsiklopediya (Moskva: Sovetskaya entsiklopediya / Sovetsky kompozitor, 1974), 63.

<sup>3</sup> For instance: http://www.junior.ru/students/chubukova/dati.htm, last accessed 10th June 2018.

<sup>4</sup> J. Klimas, "Grieg Edvard Hagerup," in Muzikos enciklopedija, ed. Juozas Antanavičius, vol. I (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2000), 476. Most likely, the author of the entry in the Lithuanian Encyclopaedia relied upon Russian sources as well.

<sup>5</sup> See Levashova, Edvard Grieg, 589. Translated by the author: "January - in Troldhaugen. February, March - in Copenhagen. Essay 'With Bjornson in Years Gone By'. 22nd of April - Concert in Warsaw, T. Carreño and Norwegian singer L. Wiborg participate. [The author indicates the first letter of the singer's name by the Cyrillic character 'Π' adequate to Latin 'L', however, in the advertisement of the concert the singer's name is Elisa Wiborg, thus, the character '3' should be used in this case]. Concerts in Riga [underlined by the author of this article; NB: the word 'concerts' is in plural]. From May to November - in Troldhaugen (August - treatment in Bergen hospital). 24th and 26th of October - concerts in Bergen with Nina Grieg (first performance of Lyric Pieces Op. 71). From November till the end of the year - in Christiania. Concerts on 23rd of November, 5th and 16th of December. Studying of folk violin music. Work on Norwegian Peasant Dances, Op. 72."



Benestad, Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe<sup>6</sup>, Erling Dahl<sup>7</sup> and others) and on the web sites devoted to Grieg. The author of the present article has not been able to find any traces of the visit to Riga in Grieg's letters translated by William Halverson,<sup>8</sup> as well as on the pages containing Grieg's letters<sup>9</sup> and concert programmes<sup>10</sup> available from the website of Bergen Public Library, The Grieg Archives. The Latvian musicologist Dr Baiba Jaunslaviete kindly provided with the link to the website of the digital catalogue<sup>11</sup> of Latvian National Library and rendered immense assistance in looking through the newspapers published in 1902, but no relevant information was found. As Dr Jaunslaviete wrote in her e-mail to the author of the present article, "music criticism (especially in the German newspapers of Riga) was quite advanced at that time, and I think a concert by Grieg would have been mentioned in the newspapers if it had taken place". Thus, the numerous documents from 1902 and contemporary research works on Grieg have not provided any information which would confirm the claim that Grieg gave a concert in Riga in 1902.

The text presented in Figure 1 implies that this hypothetical concert could most likely take place in April. Therefore, the author of this article decided to follow Grieg's travel routes and their dates in the early 1902. According to the composer's letters,<sup>12</sup> the winter of 1901–1902 was severe and badly affected Grieg's state of health. He stayed in Troldhaugen until December and then moved to Bergen, where he spent approximately a month. At the end of January, the composer left Bergen

**6** Finn Benestad, Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg: The Man and the Artist* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

7 Erling Dahl, *My Grieg. A Personal Introduction to His Life and Music* (Troldhaugen: Edvard Grieg Museum, 2014).

8 Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends, ed. Finn Benestad, transl. William H. Halverson (Columbus, Ohio: Peer Gynt Press, 2000).

**9** Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, The Grieg Archives website. "Korrespondanse," accessed 10<sup>th</sup> June 2018, https:// bergenbibliotek.no/grieg/griegsamlingen/korrespondanse.

**10** Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, The Grieg Archives website. "Konsertprogram," accessed 10<sup>th</sup> June 2018, https://bergenbibliotek.no/grieg/griegsamlingen/grieg-samlingen-konsertprogram.

11 Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka. LNB digitālā bibliotēka, accessed 10<sup>th</sup> June 2018, http://www.periodika.lv/#advancedSearch.

**12** See for instance Grieg's letter to Gerhard Schjelderup written in Bergen, 13<sup>th</sup> January 1902 (*Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends*, 601).

and came to Christiania. At the beginning of February, he arrived in Copenhagen and apparently stayed there for the whole of March. Grieg felt better at the beginning of April; therefore, he decided to keep his promise and give a concert in Warsaw. Grieg left Copenhagen on 16<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>13</sup> The concert in Warsaw was held on 22<sup>nd</sup> April. On 27<sup>th</sup> April Grieg returned to Copenhagen. Several days later Grieg went to Troldhaugen via Christiania. He reached Troldhaugen on 11<sup>th</sup> May.

Thus, the preliminary and very general timeline of events around April 1902 could be delineated:

Time	Place
The beginning of 1902	Bergen
The end of January – the beginning of February	Copenhagen via Christiania
16 <sup>th</sup> April	Leaving Copenhagen for Warsaw
22 <sup>nd</sup> April	Concert in Warsaw
27 <sup>th</sup> April	Again in Copenhagen
Several days after	Trip to Troldhaugen via Christiania
11 <sup>th</sup> May	Troldhaugen

It is unlikely that Grieg's biographers, who meticulously documented every place of the composer's concert tours would have missed a journey to such a remote place as Riga. However, if they (presumably) missed it, then when could this visit take place, if we assume that, as the Russian sources testify, the concert was held in April?

It seems impossible that such a trip could be undertaken before the end of the month because Grieg decided to go directly to Warsaw from Copenhagen only when his health allowed it. Grieg certainly stayed in Warsaw not only for the one day of the concert (22<sup>nd</sup> April). He would have taken a rest after such a journey and at least one rehearsal was held with the orchestra before the concert. The letter written on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October, 1902 to Czech impresario Mojmir Urbánek confirms this assumption: "It was the same way in Warsaw last winter: I declined all invitations and spent all evenings in the hotel or at most at the theatre or a concert".<sup>14</sup> So he must have stayed in Warsaw for at least five days. Levashova

**<sup>13</sup>** Jorunn Eckhoff Færden, an officer of Edvard Grieg Archives at Bergen Public Library in her e-mail kindly indicated this date, which she found in a Norwegian source: Eivind A.C. Eikenes, *Edvard Grieg fra dag til dag* (Stavanger: E.A.C. Eikenes forl., 2007).

<sup>14</sup> Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends, 665.



mentions concerts (plural again!) in Riga after the concert in Warsaw. Consequently, the concert(s) could only take place approximately between 24<sup>th</sup> April and the beginning of May. But, if Grieg was in Copenhagen again on 27<sup>th</sup> April and later left for Troldhaugen via Christiania, then it seems that the only period during which concerts in Riga could be held might be the short time gap between the 24<sup>th</sup> and the 26<sup>th</sup> of April. However, this period seems too short for a concert tour, especially considering Grieg's fragile health and probable exhaustion after the difficult although highly successful Warsaw tour.

The aforementioned data suggest that Grieg's concert in Riga did not happen in April at all. The ultimate proof for this conclusion was provided by Prof. Dr Patrick Dinslage, whose help by correspondence was extremely useful and comprehensive; the meticulously recorded data from Grieg's housekeeping books kindly presented by Prof. Dinslage include travelling tickets, exchange of currency, stays in hotels, dinner on the train, coffee in Copenhagen and many other details of expenses. It becomes clear that Grieg stayed in Warsaw from 17<sup>th</sup> till 23<sup>rd</sup> April and afterwards went to Berlin. He left Berlin for Copenhagen<sup>15</sup> on 25<sup>th</sup> April and stayed there<sup>16</sup> until his departure for Christiania on 5<sup>th</sup> May.

Thus, the complete timeline of Grieg's tours in April 1902 is as follows:

Time	Place
The beginning of 1902	Bergen
The end of January – the beginning of February	Copenhagen via Christiania
16 <sup>th</sup> April 17 <sup>th</sup> April	Leaving Copenhagen Coming to Warsaw
22 <sup>nd</sup> April 23 <sup>rd</sup> April	Concert in Warsaw Leaving Warsaw for Berlin
25 <sup>th</sup> April	Leaving Berlin for Copenhagen
26 <sup>th</sup> April – 4 <sup>th</sup> May	Stay in Copenhagen
5 <sup>th</sup> May	Trip to Christiania
11 <sup>th</sup> May.	Troldhaugen

Such detailed information about Grieg's schedule from 15<sup>th</sup> April till 5<sup>th</sup> May allows us to deduce that the

composer definitely did not visit Riga in April 1902. The fact of visiting Berlin after Warsaw was the final proof which allowed this conclusion.

Although Levashova claims that Grieg's concert in Riga took place in April, it could be presumed that it was organised in some other month of the year 1902. However, the chronology section included in Grieg's collection<sup>17</sup>of articles, diaries, and speeches leaves no room for this. The source indicates that Grieg came to Troldhaugen on 11th May, took a trip to the mountains in July and wrote the article With Bjørnson in Years Gone By in September.<sup>18</sup> In a letter written to Iver Holter on 15th September from Troldhaugen, Grieg wrote: "I, for reasons of health, have had to decline an invitation to conduct on October 7 and 8 at music festival in Bristol."19 And it was only on 24th October that Grieg gave a chamber music concert in Bergen - the first concert that autumn. On 8th November, Grieg went to Christiania and spent a week in hospital. According to the chronology tables, the composer spent the rest of the year in Christiania. Clearly the year 1902 was typical of Grieg's later period: in summer time the concert activities stopped in order to restore his strength in the picturesque neighbourhood of Troldhaugen, and resumed only in the autumn.

Thus, the data obtained from the analysis of numerous documents and research works excludes the possibility of Grieg's visit to Riga in 1902.

#### <u>DISCUSSION</u>

The possibility that Grieg came to Riga not in 1902 but in some other year should also be considered. In this regard, an invitation by Finnish impresario Edvard Fazer is noteworthy. Fazer invited Grieg to come to Helsinki to deliver concerts in September 1904.<sup>20</sup> He also mentioned that he could organise a concert in Riga several days before the concerts in Helsinki. However, there is no proof that these concerts were held in Riga

19 Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends, 426.

**<sup>15</sup>** Patrick Dinslage also specified that Grieg had already come to Copenhagen on 26<sup>th</sup> (not 27<sup>th</sup>) April.

**<sup>16</sup>** In a letter sent from Copenhagen to Sigurd Hals on 30<sup>th</sup> April, Grieg remarked: "I have just received your letter en route northward from Warsaw" (*Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends*, 335).

**<sup>17</sup>** Edvard Grieg: Diaries, Articles, Speeches, ed. and transl. by Finn Benestad and William H. Halverson (Columbis, Ohio: Peer Gynt Press, 2011), 418.

**<sup>18</sup>** This statement contradicts Levashova's statement that the article about Bjørnson was written in February–March 1902 (Figure 1).

<sup>20</sup> Bergen Offentlige Bibliothek, The Grieg Archives website, accessed 10<sup>th</sup> June 2018, http://www.bergen.folkebibl.no/cgibin/websok-grieg?tnr=238950&kolonner=brev.



or in Helsinki in 1904 or in the subsequent years, either. Possibly some still unrevealed documents which could confirm the fact of Grieg's concert in Riga will be found in the future; therefore, the possibility that such concert really took place should not be unconditionally rejected. Meanwhile, the claim that Grieg never visited Riga seems indisputable.

The question still remains in what way the allegation of Grieg's concert(s) in Riga first appeared in the Russian sources. To date the author's efforts to find appropriate information from Russian musicologists were unsuccessful. Hopefully in the future Russian researchers will explain the fact how and when such information could appear in texts written by musicologists of that country. Meanwhile, only some conjectures could be made.

In this context, one secondary question should be dealt with at least briefly. Did Grieg visit Russia or not? Grieg was fond of Russian music and was on friendly terms with Russian musicians (Piotr Tchaikovsky, Adolf Brodsky, Alexander Siloti). Initially he was eager to go to Russia. Nevertheless, he never visited that country. Grieg received invitations in 1903, 1904, 1905, and 1907 from Alexander Siloti, as well as from the Music Teachers' Association in Saint Petersburg, but none of these concert tour plans was implemented. Grieg's poor health was definitely one of the reasons why he postponed the journey to Russia. However, some of Grieg's letters reveal that at least from 1904 he deliberately rejected the possibility of such a tour. In letters to Adolf Brodsky (26th April 1905)<sup>21</sup> and Alexander Siloti (12<sup>th</sup> February and 29<sup>th</sup> October 1904; 16th August 1907)<sup>22</sup> Grieg explicitly stated that the predatory policies of the Russian government, which most clearly manifested themselves in the war with Japan (1904–1905) and the cruel suppression of the 1905 revolution<sup>23</sup>, were the most important reason for him not to visit Russia. A noble and humane composer could not put up with such brutalities and a concert in a suffering country ruled by a tyrant was unacceptable to him.<sup>24</sup>

**21** Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends, 174.

24 It is not completely clear what Grieg meant in his letter to Alexander Siloti (16<sup>th</sup> August 1907) in which he again rejected the

Naturally, it is likely that the indication concerning the concert in Riga appeared in Soviet musicology as an occasional mistake. But it should be taken into account that Russians made much of Grieg's music in all times, including the Soviet period-at least such a claim can be found in numerous Russian sources.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, there is a possibility that because of the desire to make Grieg's personality closer to Russian music culture, his presumed concert in Riga was generated as a soft and almost indiscernibly deliberate counterfeit. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Riga was a de jure part of the Russian Empire and even became the third largest Russian city after Moscow and Saint Petersburg in terms of the degree of industrial development. So, if Grieg had had a concert in Riga, this fact would have been interpreted as a concert in Russia.

Thus, if it is firmly proved that Grieg never came to Riga, it can be stated that he did not visit Russia in general. But this seemingly simple and obvious conclusion appears more questionable if we remember that he did visit Poland several times. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Poland was also a *de jure* territory of the Russian Empire. However, despite this fact, all sources (including Grieg's letters) refer to Grieg's concerts in Warsaw as concerts in Poland but not in Russia.<sup>26</sup> The long and rich history of Poland and its significance as a part of the European sub-continent were too important to conceal the identity of this country behind the magnitude of the Russian Empire. Grieg apparently realised that Poland had a separate historical and cultural identity. This should be regarded as a conscious and highminded political and cultural attitude.<sup>27</sup>

proposal to go to Russia: "Moreover, I could finally be killed by the Russians! And I much prefer a natural death!" (*Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends*, 634).

**25** For example: Nikolai Mokhov, "Grieg and Russia," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 19 (1993), 23–126.

**26** The author of this article did not succeed in finding an English translation of Grieg's letter to Oscar Meyer written in Copenhagen (28<sup>th</sup> April 1902), but in the collection of Grieg's letters translated into Russian by Ukrainian musicologist Yelena Biteryakova (Эдвард Григ. Избранные письма [Edvard Grieg. Izbrannye pisma], vol. 2, Moskva: Impeto, 2013) the words "I was not in Russia but in Poland" (p. 98) can be found. In the copy of the page from Grieg's housekeeping book, the name of Oscar Meyer is mentioned on 28<sup>th</sup> April; thus, the letter to him was certainly written. Grieg treated Finland in the same way (see the letter to Edvard Neovius (17<sup>th</sup> January 1904) in Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends, 544).

**27** His likely attitude toward Riga is also arguable. For many centuries Riga was ruled mostly by the Germans and Swedes (1581–1621 by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Russia

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 632-634.

**<sup>23</sup>** It is also worth mentioning the occasional remark in a letter to Frantz Beyer (14<sup>th</sup> January 1906): "...critics' treatment of significant new works such as that [Grieg wrote about *Death and Transfiguration* by Richard Strauss] is almost like that of the Cossacks toward the poor Russian peasants. They fire away and don't care in the least whom they hit" (*Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends*, 103).

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occupied the city from 1710; however, even in the beginning of the twentieth century the German language was still significant. Thus, even if Grieg had had concerts in Riga, it is questionable whether they would have been considered as concerts in Russia (naturally, this is only a supposition).