

# Harmony in Conservatoire Education

## A Study in the History of Music Theory in Norway

Bjørnar Utne-Reitan



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This dissertation has a music-theoretical topic, was undertaken within the Academy’s music-educational PhD specialisation and forms part of a music-historical research project. It therefore balances the fields of music theory, music education and music history. While all three are fields of musical research, there are nonetheless clear differences between their research traditions. It has at times been challenging to juggle these in the knowledge that the expectations of different potential readers could vary greatly. I hope that the compromises found will be successful in making the study relevant for music theorists, music educators and music historians alike.

All the help and guidance I have been lucky to receive during my three-year PhD research fellowship has undeniably made this dissertation much better than I could ever have made it on my own. I take sole responsibility for any errors, omissions and shortcomings that remain in the final text.

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*Oslo, June 2022*

*Bjørnar Utne-Reitan*



# Abstract

The point of departure for this dissertation is one of the most fundamental questions in music theory education: Why do music performance students need to study music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint? The dissertation addresses this question through a historical study of music theory education in Norway in general, and Oslo in particular, and concentrates on the role of these disciplines in the mandatory portion of the conservatoire training of professional musicians in the tradition of Western classical music. The focus is on the Oslo Conservatoire, which opened in 1883 and became the Norwegian Academy of Music in 1973, but this case is also related to wider national and international contexts. More broadly, the dissertation investigates how the music theory discourse in Norway has been constructed and transformed from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The aim of the study is to develop a wide-ranging historical understanding of how music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint have been constructed and justified as part of higher music education. This understanding can challenge and inform current practices, as well as future developments, in conservatoire music theory. Theoretically, it is inspired by Michel Foucault's studies of historical discourse. The source material encompasses a wide range of historical documents, primarily formal curricula, textbooks and periodicals.

After presenting a survey and close readings of the source material, the dissertation discusses how the construction of the music theory discourse in Norway transformed during the long 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is argued that several important ruptures and transformations occurred c. 1945–1975. What until then had almost exclusively been a craft-oriented discourse was transformed into a broader discourse that constructed music theory as, among other things, being about 'understanding music'. Connected to this, Roman numerals were replaced by function symbols in harmonic analysis and the theory training was renamed *satslære*. The dissertation highlights the complexity of these changes, showing how the idea of theory as craft, coupled with an aversion to theoretical complexity, nonetheless remained strong throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Keywords: History of music theory; Music theory in Norway; Higher music education; Discourse of music theory; Music theory pedagogy; Music theory education; *Satslære*; Harmony and counterpoint.



# Sammendrag

Utgangspunktet for denne avhandlingen er et av de mest grunnleggende spørsmålene innen musikkteoriutdanning: Hvorfor må utøvende musikkstudenter studere musikkteoretiske disipliner som harmonilære og kontrapunkt? Avhandlingen utforsker dette gjennom en historisk studie av musikkteoriutdanning i Norge generelt og Oslo spesielt, og ser på disse musikkteoretiske fagenes rolle i den obligatoriske delen av utdanningen av profesjonelle musikere innen vestlig klassisk musikk ved konservatorier. Studien fokuserer på Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo som åpnet i 1883 og ble omgjort til Norges musikkhøgskole i 1973, men denne case-en sees også i lys av større nasjonale og internasjonale kontekster. I bredere forstand undersøker avhandlingen hvordan musikkteoridiskursen i Norge har blitt konstruert og transformert fra slutten av 1800-tallet til begynnelsen av 2000-tallet.

Målet med studien er å utvikle en bred, historisk forståelse av hvordan musikkteoretiske disipliner som harmonilære og kontrapunkt har blitt konstruert og legitimert som del av høyere musikkutdanning. Denne kan utfordre og informere nåværende praksis, og fremtidig utvikling, i musikkteori på konservatorienivå. Teoretisk er arbeidet inspirert av Michel Foucaults studier av historisk diskurs. Kildematerialet omfatter et bredt spekter av historiske dokumenter, først og fremst formelle læreplaner, lærebøker og tidsskrifter.

Etter å ha presentert en oversikt over, og nærlesninger av, kildematerialet, diskuteres det hvordan konstruksjonen av musikkteoridiskursen i Norge endret seg i løpet av det utvidede 1900-tallet. Det argumenteres for at flere viktige brudd og transformasjoner skjedde i perioden ca. 1945–1975. Det som før nesten utelukkende hadde vært en håndverksorientert diskurs, ble transformert til en bredere diskurs som konstruerer musikkteori som noe som blant annet handler om å «forstå musikk». I sammenheng med dette ble trinn erstattet av funksjoner i harmonisk analyse og teoriopplæringen omdøpt til *satslære*. Studien fremhever kompleksiteten i disse endringene ved å vise hvordan ideen om teori som håndverksfag, kombinert med en aversjon mot teoretisk kompleksitet, forble sterk gjennom hele 1900-tallet og inn på 2000-tallet.

Stikkord: Musikkteorihistorie; Musikkteori i Norge; Høyere musikkutdanning; Musikkteoridiskursen; Musikkteoripedagogikk; Musikkteoriutdanning; Satslære; Harmonilære og kontrapunkt.





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# **PART I**





# 1 Introduction

Why do music performance students need to study music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint? And conversely: Why teach harmony and counterpoint in conservatoires? Curiosity about this grand ‘why’ of music theory education is the point of departure for this dissertation, which discusses how music theory has been constructed discursively in Norway over a century-long period. These historical discussions will hopefully provide insights into aspects of music theory pedagogy that often are taken for granted, which in turn could be fruitful points of departure for conversations about current and future developments of music theory’s role in higher music education.

The motivation for investigating this topic is rather personal, so I will start on a personal note. During my own time as a student of musicology and music theory, I increasingly felt the need to address the issue of theory’s grand ‘why’. It seemed my fellow music students did not see the value and usefulness of studying music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint, and perhaps particularly so within the conservatoire context. Even within the musicological context, I felt there was a lack of opportunities to specialise in score-based music analysis and engage critically with Western classical music theory; in a think piece in the music magazine *Ballade*, I asked if music theory really had outplayed its role in classical music education (Utne-Reitan, 2017). More recently, far-reaching critical discussions on what higher music education is and should be have taken place both in Norway and internationally. The role of music theory is a central component in these discussions. Think, for example, of the international debates that followed the publication of Philip Ewell’s 2020 paper on music theory’s white racial frame – the so-called ‘Schenker gate’ of Anglo-American music theory. The question of music theory’s role in higher music education is even more pertinent now than it was when I wrote the *Ballade* article in 2017.

This study is part of a research project on the history of music education in Norway that will culminate with the 50-year anniversary of the Norwegian Academy of Music in 2023. Norway in general and Oslo in particular – the latter possesses institutions of professional music education dating back to 1883 – is used as a case to illuminate the overarching question of music theory’s *raison d’être* in conservatoire education. Music theory has primarily been a pedagogical field in Norway – its history of music theory and history of music theory education are more or less the same thing. This dissertation is the first to extensively investigate this field in the Norwegian context.

The dissertation is structured in nine chapters which make up three parts. Part I sets the stage for the study by presenting its research questions, relevant previous research, theory and

method. Part II is the main part of the study, presenting close readings of a range of historical texts related to music theory education in Norway. Part III presents a broader analysis and discusses the findings presented in Part II as well as their implications for our understanding of music theory in conservatoire education.

## 1.1 Aim, structure and scope

The point of departure for this study, the above-mentioned grand ‘why’ of music theory, is fundamental for all institutions of higher music education that teach music theory in the classical Western tradition – what we will call traditional music theory. It is at the core of the issue of traditional music theory education’s justification in the context of higher music education. The aim of this study is *to develop a broad historical understanding of how music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint have been constructed and justified as part of higher music education – an understanding to challenge and inform current practices, as well as future developments, in conservatoire music theory*. This aim may be addressed in several ways, of which this dissertation presents but one.

The theoretical perspective of this dissertation is that of discourse theory based on the work of Michel Foucault. Through this lens, I will investigate core mechanisms of music-theoretical discourse in the history of music theory education in Norway. But before presenting my specific research questions, I will briefly outline why I find such a study necessary, important and relevant.

Music theory – whether taught as standalone subjects or included in other pedagogical disciplines – has a major impact on future professional musicians’ understanding of how different aspects of music ‘work’. Take harmonic tonality as an example. As Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1987/1990) claimed, ‘[c]oncepts of tonal harmony are cultural concepts’ (p. 216). Harmonic tonality (or ‘tonal harmony’) may be – and has been – conceptualised in a number of different ways that again provide very different understandings of this fundamental musical, and music-theoretical, concept (cf. e.g. T. Christensen, 2019; Dahlhaus, 1968/1990; Hyer, 2002; Quinn, 2019; Rehding, 2011). Additionally, some form of music analysis is a central component of all kinds of music education, and analysis is tightly intertwined with aesthetic value judgement (cf. Dahlhaus, 1970/1983). The premises for these analyses – too often taken for granted *a priori* – are music-theoretical. Therefore, it is of high relevance to reflect on the choices made in the design of music theory curricula in higher music education – as well as

the justification of these choices – as they will shape future professional musicians' conception of central musical concepts (such as harmonic tonality).

Michael R. Rogers (2004) emphasises the importance of taking seriously the philosophical underpinnings of music theory curriculum design:

Like the myth of objectivity in journalism, even the most neutral [music theory] courses will have hidden biases. The simple choice of a textbook (or none), type of assignments and exams (or none), and course content and order will involve partisanship of some kind. What is important is an awareness of the biases and their opposite counterparts or complements so that they are thought of as part of some larger context and range of options. While a philosophy may remain unspoken, it should never remain unknown. (pp. 15–16)

The biases Rogers addresses are inevitable and need to be discussed. For instance, emphasising chorale harmonisation and post-Riemannian function analysis is a choice that has consequences. Other approaches (Roman numerals, Schenkerian reduction, Galant schemata, chordal geometry, transformational theory, etc.) provide students with other analytic tools and other ideas of how so-called tonal music works. Because teaching students 'everything' is a practical impossibility, choices must be made. These choices have consequences, and studies and discussions of and reflections on these choices are thus important.

Another reason for my choosing this dissertation topic is the fact that the relevance of music theory in conservatoires is regularly challenged – perhaps especially so in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is not necessarily taken for granted that one *needs* the music theory traditionally taught in higher music education at all. In his two-part article in the *Dutch Journal of Music Theory*, Hans-Ulrich Kretschmer (2006a, 2006b) reflects on the uniqueness (*Einzigartigkeit*) of music theory in order to discuss its fundamental 'why'-question and draws a telling picture of how he sees the situation: 'In our time music theory is increasingly challenged both to defend its status as a discipline in its own right and to prove its indispensability to the professional education of music students' (2006a, p. 28).

The problem is not a new one, either. Carl Dahlhaus (1969, 1976) and Ludwig Holtmeier (1997, 1999), for example, critically discussed music theory's position in the German context. Accordingly, my study of music-theoretical discourse in Norway aims to extend its relevance beyond future discussions of the role of music theory in this country – hopefully, the concluding discussions and findings may also be applicable to similar challenges faced elsewhere. In

short, the dissertation addresses central issues that have challenged traditional music theory education in Europe for decades.

### 1.1.1 Research questions

In analysing a wide range of written historical sources through a Foucauldian lens, this dissertation will scrutinise the history of what I label the ‘music theory discourse’ in Norway. More specifically, it will address the following main research question:

*In what ways has music theory in the context of conservatoire education (i.e. pedagogical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint) been discursively constructed in Norway in general, and Oslo in particular, during the long 20<sup>th</sup> century?*

In order to break this complex question down into more manageable chunks, I will use three sub-questions to approach the music-theoretical discourse in Norwegian conservatoire education from different angles:

1. How, and to what extent, do the music theory textbooks published in Norway build on music theory textbooks published elsewhere?
2. What has been presented as the purpose(s) of music theory – i.e. the kinds of knowledge and skills students are supposed to acquire through their study of music theory – in the formal curricula of the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music?
3. How has music theory in general, and music theory in conservatoire education in particular, been publicly debated in Norwegian periodicals (i.e. newspapers, magazines and journals), and what was at stake in these debates?

The sub-questions highlight different aspects of the music theory discourse (international music-theoretical contexts, music theory’s role in the curriculum and debates on music theory) and shine a light on different relevant materials (textbooks, formal curricula and periodicals). The discussion of each sub-question should provide a specific perspective on Norway’s music theory discourse. Together, these perspectives will inform the discussion of the main research question.

## 1.1.2 The structure of the dissertation

As mentioned, Part I of the dissertation addresses the preliminaries, Part II the details of the material and Part III the bigger picture. The three sub-questions presented above are the foundation of the main part of this dissertation, as the three chapters of Part II (Chapters 4–6) will address each sub-question individually. The dissertation is thus structured thematically, approaching the history of music theory in Norway from different angles. The separate discussions of the three questions aim to provide pointers for addressing the main research question in Part III (Chapters 7–9). In addition to answering this question, Part III also discusses the implications of the study's findings.

What I am studying – a discourse – must be treated as ‘an incomplete, fragmented figure’, to quote Foucault (1969/2002, p. 141). The ambition is therefore not to paint a complete picture of the music theory discourse in Norway in its historical development. Rather, I conceptualise this dissertation as searching for fragments and discussing which clues do and do not fit together in order to highlight both regularities and discontinuities in the construction of this particular discourse – both important parts of the study.

Structuring the dissertation thematically and focusing on specific types of material in each of Part II's chapters is advantageous in several respects. The primary aim of this choice of structure is enhancing transparency. The dissertation's structure follows my research process, making it possible to track how I constructed my argument. In the chapters of Part II (Chapters 4–6), which deal with each sub-question as almost its own study, the collected material is surveyed and discussed in all its complexity. The regularities and discontinuities discovered through these separate investigations are the foundation of my discussion of the main research question in Chapter 7. The implications of my study concerning the above-presented aim are discussed in Chapter 8.

A challenge that comes with such a structure is that some central topics and key historical persons repeatedly appear in Chapters 4–6. I have tried to reduce repetitions by using cross-references. However, these reappearances across the material also indicate something: Regularities across the diverse perspectives and materials studied in the different chapters only attest to the centrality of specific statements, texts and procedures for the discourse. Naturally, in addition to revealing important regularities, surveying and discussing this complex material also encourages the exploration of possible discontinuities. Indeed, the investigation of regularity and discontinuity in historical discourse is central to Michel Foucault's work, which provides the main theoretical foundation for the present study.

Rather than presenting the definitive history of music theory in Norway, this is a study *in* the history of music theory in Norway. Hoping to preclude the former reading, I have consciously chosen to avoid presenting a traditional chronological survey. The dissertation approaches a range of historical source materials from different perspectives, attempting to grasp regularities and discontinuities within the material. The structure of Part II allows for the exploration of the source material in its complexity, each chapter dealing with a particular aspect (deliberately not searching for one specific narrative at this stage) before the findings are pieced together in Chapter 7 to suggest a clearer, bigger picture.

### 1.1.3 Delimiting the scope

As stated in the research question, I will focus on the long 20<sup>th</sup> century. This loose category is used to indicate that I do not rigidly limit my scope to the 20<sup>th</sup> century but also include the preceding and succeeding decades. What was to become Norway's first long-lived conservatoire opened its doors as an organist school in 1883; moreover, there was a marked increase in the publishing of music theory books in Norway in the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Appendix A). This makes the late 19<sup>th</sup> century a natural starting point for my inquiry. I will also include material from the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, more or less up to the present. This means the scope for my historical study is the period c. 1880–2020.

I will focus on the education of performers in the tradition of Western classical music. I will therefore only occasionally comment on the education of conductors, composers, music teachers, performers in other genres and so on. My focus is also on what we today call the undergraduate level (which normally leads to a bachelor's degree), as it constitutes the years in which performance students usually go through mandatory training in theory subjects such as harmony and counterpoint. I will only to a small extent comment on music theory as part of music education at lower and higher levels than this. As will become clear, the distinction between these educational levels and specialisations has historically not always been clear-cut; I stress that my approach is a matter of focus, a means of delimiting the scope of my study. To grasp the bigger picture, I will address other types of music education for comparison (other levels, genres, professions and so on). These will, however, be in the periphery while undergraduate education of performers in the tradition of Western classical music will remain in the centre of this particular study.

The scope of the study will be further defined and delimited in the following sections, where I will address the study's central terms and situate it in relation to existing research. The concepts that make up the study's theoretical framework, which are presented in Chapter 2, also contribute to defining and delimiting the research object of the study.

## 1.2 Central terms

To further delineate the scope of this study, I will discuss some of the central terms which feature in the research question. I am thinking here of music theory, discourse, education (as well as the related term pedagogy) and conservatoire. In the following, I will provide preliminary discussions of how I understand these terms in the dissertation in general as well as within the research questions in particular.

### 1.2.1 Music theory

Our understanding of *music theory* needs to be somewhat open-ended. Indeed, it would be counter-productive to provide a once-and-for-all definition of the term here, as the dissertation seeks to untangle how aspects of it have, in different ways, been discursively constructed over time. Rather, the discussion below aims to pragmatically delimit which aspects of music theory fall within the scope of this study and which do not.

Michael R. Rogers (2004) opens his insightful book on the pedagogical philosophies of music theory – considered from a North American perspective – by stating how difficult it is to define this thing called ‘music theory’:

Defining music theory is almost impossible. Every college theory teacher in the country has an opinion – or should have – about why it is taught or even what it is. These opinions often vary tremendously from school to school and sometimes from individual to individual within the same department. This is not necessarily cause for alarm but is rather a measure of the diversity and richness of the discipline. (p. 3)

That music theory is a compound and at times ambiguous term that has different meanings in different contexts becomes evident when comparing the definitions provided in different dictionaries and encyclopaedias of music. Most encyclopaedic definitions of theory distinguish between music theory as an academic field and music theory as a collection of pedagogical disciplines. It is the latter that is the focus of this dissertation’s research question, which addresses music theory in the context of conservatoire education (although the lack of music theory as a separate academic field in Norway will be touched upon). Which pedagogical disciplines are included within the term also differs from definition to definition. In the definition given by *Grove Music Online* (Berry & Solkema, 2014), pedagogical music theory may refer to a wide range of different disciplines (rudiments, harmony, counterpoint, form, aural training, etc.). In the German *MGG Online* (Sachs, 2016), the term is limited to disciplines focusing on analysis and compositional craftsmanship (harmony, counterpoint and



form), as well as subjects treating melody and rhythm. In *The Oxford Companion to Music* (Fallows, 2011), meanwhile, the term is restricted to the study of fundamental rudiments (musical notation).<sup>1</sup> Thus, harmony and counterpoint, for example, are included in the first two definitions but excluded from the third, and aural training is included in the first, but not in the second or third. Rudiments – also called elementary theory, these are the basics of musical notation – are included in the first and third definitions, but not in the second.

This dissertation focuses on music theory in the sense of what in Norway today is usually called *satslære* (cf. the German terms *Satzlehre* and *Tonsatz*). The Norwegian encyclopaedia *Store norske leksikon* states that *satslære* has traditionally included pedagogical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint and pursued two main aims: writing music following certain stylistic ideals and analysing written music (Bjerkestrand, 2015). This understanding of music theory to a great extent overlaps with the definition of ‘pedagogical theory’ in *MGG Online* (Sachs, 2016). It is important to note that the term *satslære* is younger than most of the institutions discussed in this dissertation. Although these institutions were training students in music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint from early on, it would be imprecise and anachronistic to call this training *satslære* prior to the concept’s entry into music-theoretical discourse in Norway. I have therefore chosen to stick to the more generally applicable term ‘music theory’.

Generally, the concept of music theory in this dissertation includes neither the field of aural training nor elementary music theory (so-called ‘rudiments’), although – as may be deduced from the above-mentioned definitions – whether these are regarded as a part of music theory or as a separate subject does vary. The reason for not including them in my own understanding of the term is that they – as will also become clear – have generally been regarded as separate subjects in the Norwegian context. Elementary music theory (most often studied prior to conservatoire education) is, for example, normally called *musikkklære* or *notelære*. A distinction is also commonly drawn between *satslære* (harmony, counterpoint, etc.) and *hørelære* or *gehørtrening* (aural training), which often – at least at larger institutions – are taught separately as two distinct courses in the curriculum, by different teachers with specialisations in their respective fields. I will therefore speak of aural training (*hørelære*) as a separate subject and discourse, as opposed to music theory (*satslære*), the focus of this dissertation. It is important to emphasise that this division is a historical construct and not always clear-cut. The relationship between these discourses (as well as cases where this distinction is blurred or unfitting) will be discussed in due course. The same goes for other common subjects in higher music

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<sup>1</sup> Rogers (2004) problematises the habit of equating rudiments with music theory, which is done by ‘almost all students and even some teachers’, as rudiments really represent ‘a pre-theory stage’: ‘They are no more a part of the genuine study of music than knowledge of the alphabet, verbs, or commas is a part of the study of literature’ (p. 3).

education that border in various ways on the music theory discourse (composition, music history, performance, etc.).

In Norwegian, as in German, there is a distinction between musical materials and the pedagogical disciplines that train the students in the theory of a given material. Thus, there is a distinction between *harmonikk* and *harmonilære* in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. In the English language, no similar distinction exists. Consistently with the aforementioned choice to use the already existing English term ‘music theory’, I will generally use the English terms ‘harmony’, ‘counterpoint’ and ‘form’ to denote the relevant pedagogical disciplines. The difference in the availability of terminology in Norwegian (and German) and English is challenging. As a rule, I will – either in parentheses or footnotes – provide the original Norwegian for all passages that I have translated for this dissertation.

### 1.2.2 Discourse

The term discourse is used in numerous ways in the literature. As Jonathan Potter (2008) puts it, ‘different books with “discourse” in their title can exist with no overlap in content’ (p. 217). It is common to understand discourse broadly as ‘*a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of it)*’ (M. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 1). Studies of discourse are usually studies of language in use – more specifically, they study the production of meaning among human beings (Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001, p. 3). This applies to most – if not all – theories of discourse.

In the present dissertation, *discourse* will be used in a specifically Foucauldian sense. Discourse is one of the most essential concepts in Foucault’s writings. I draw my understanding of the concept from one of the most central texts by Foucault treating the ontological status of discourse: *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/2002). In this work, he claims that we should treat discourses as ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’ (p. 54). By pointing to practices, Foucault emphasises that discourse, composed of signs, cannot be reduced to language and speech. It is more than these signs, and it is this ‘more’ we must reveal and describe when analysing discourse. That these practices form the objects of which they speak points to the general social constructivism at the basis of this Foucauldian understanding of discourse. This is what is meant by ‘discursively constructed’ in the main research question.

The main material of discourse analysis is *statements*. To get a better understanding of how Foucault understands discourse, it is first necessary to consider how he understands statements. Foucault (1969/2002) understands a statement as ‘not in itself a unit, but a function that cuts across a domain of structures and possible unities, and which reveals them, with

concrete contents, in time and space' (p. 98). A series of signs – spoken, written or in other ways expressed – thus first appears as a statement when it also possesses 'something else' (cf. Foucault, 1969/2002, pp. 99–118). The emphasis on a statement's open-ness (or 'not in itself a unit'-ness) accords with the post-structuralist notion of decentralising meaning. A key principle of this notion is that the statement is immersed in an enunciative field where it reacualises other statements (Foucault, 1969/2002, pp. 110–112). The statement is thus highly context-dependent: A meaningful statement in one discourse may be utterly meaningless in another.

Foucault (1969/2002, p. 118) distinguishes between specific enunciations and statements by claiming that the latter are repeatable. Foucault's concept of enunciations may be understood as 'unique realizations of a statement' (H. Karlsen, 2020, p. 27).<sup>2</sup> Foucault summarises his notion of the statement by stating that 'the statement circulates, is used, disappears, allows or prevents the realization of a desire, serves or resists various interests, participated in challenge and struggle, and becomes a theme of appropriation or rivalry' (Foucault, 1969/2002, p. 118). Based on this understanding of statements, Foucault (1969/2002) argues that 'the term discourse can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation; thus I shall be able to speak of clinical discourse, economic discourse, the discourse of natural history, psychiatric discourse' (p. 121). The main discourse discussed in this specific dissertation is the *music theory discourse* – or *music-theoretical discourse* – understood as the 'group of statements' which belong to a single system of formation regarding music theory, as well as the relations between these statements. These are the statements that construct what music theory is and thus make some music-theoretical ideas thinkable and others unthinkable – the discursive formation draws limits. I will expand on my understanding of Foucauldian theory in Chapter 2.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the complex web of discourses is multi-layered. The music theory discourse is both part of more general discourses (e.g. of higher music education) and contains more restricted ones (e.g. of harmony theory). In addition, it has close connections to other related discourses (e.g. of composition and of church music). Choosing to focus on just one layer of the complexity that exists in discursive reality is an analytical choice made for this specific study in order to delimit its scope.

### 1.2.3 Education

Like the terms discussed above, the term education is complex and used in different contexts with different meanings. In the extensive article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *education* is

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<sup>2</sup> 'We will say that an enunciation takes place whenever a group of signs is emitted. [...]. The enunciation is an unrepeatable event; it has a situated and dated uniqueness that is irreducible' (Foucault, 1969/2002, p. 114).

defined as being ‘concerned with methods of teaching and learning in schools or school-like environments as opposed to various nonformal and informal means of socialization’ (Meyer et al., 2020). Based on this common understanding, I refer to education as, broadly, the facilitation of – as well as product of – learning that usually takes place in educational institutions. This is what I refer to when speaking of ‘music theory education’ and ‘higher music education’.

Education is a vast field of practice and research comprising many different traditions that understand their main research object rather differently. The central and northern European tradition of *Didaktik*, for example, understands education as something more than acquiring knowledge and skills: This is probably best understood through the high valuation of the rather broad concept of *Bildung* in this tradition (cf. Hopmann, 2007). The German distinction between *Bildung* and *Ausbildung*,<sup>3</sup> where the latter is closer to the above definition of ‘education’, is foreign in the English language; I will primarily build on Anglo-American pedagogy-theoretical literature in this dissertation.

I make a distinction between *education* and *pedagogy*. Generally, I understand the former to be a broader term than the latter. Pedagogy, meanwhile, refers to methods and practices of teaching but should not be reduced to teaching or didactics alone. Robin Alexander (2008) sees pedagogy ‘as starting with the discourse that attends the act of teaching’ (p. 75). He immediately elaborates by insisting ‘that teaching and pedagogy are not the same. Teaching is an observable act. Pedagogy encompasses that act *together with* the purposes, values, ideas assumptions, theories and beliefs that inform, shape and seek to justify it’ (p. 75). The idea of pedagogy is thus inherently discursive. It constitutes and is constituted by the discourse in question (with its values, assumptions, etc.). In a similar manner, the pedagogical disciplines that form part of an education – such as music theory, harmony and counterpoint – are also discursively constructed.

In short, I speak of ‘music theory education’ when referring to the formalised music-theoretical training which takes place in an institution (e.g. a conservatoire) and ‘music theory pedagogy’ when referring to more specific ways this training may be realised and the purposes, values and ideas ingrained in this realisation. When speaking about the process of teaching and learning music theory more generally, I have opted to use the more neutral term ‘training’ (e.g. ‘music theory training’ or ‘music-theoretical training’).

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3 A similar distinction is made in Norwegian (*dannelse* versus *utdannelse*) and the other Scandinavian languages.

### 1.2.4 Conservatoire

In my main research question, *conservatoire* is used as an umbrella term for institutions providing higher education in music performance. Thus, an academy of music, school of music or *Musikhochschule* is considered a type of conservatoire. This understanding is analogous with the common use of the word in Norway today (cf. 'Konservatorium,' 2012). However, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, the term is defined more broadly: 'School of musical training and instruction' ('Conservatory,' 2012). As this dictionary also states, the word derives from Italian: *conservatorio*. The old Italian conservatoires were institutions where homeless children were 'conserved' and educated in a craft such as music.

As the aforementioned definition encompasses lower levels of education as well as what is today considered higher education, I will adopt a narrower understanding of the term. Exceptions will need to be made to this rule, as the word has had different meanings at different times and places and was not always reserved for higher education institutions (cf. Weber et al., 2001) – as we have just seen. This has also been the case in Norway. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were several schools in Norway primarily aimed at educating children and amateurs called *konservatorier* (these would today be called *musikkskoler*). In the 1970s, many of these were transformed into modern higher music education institutions aimed at educating professional musicians, thereby effectively narrowing the use of the word (cf. Vollsnes, Holen, & Kleiberg, 2000, p. 150).

Even though I regard conservatoires as institutions of higher music education, not all institutions of higher music education are conservatoires. Departments of musicology are, for example, more often found in universities. Indeed, today, most Norwegian conservatoires – exceptions being the Norwegian Academy of Music and private academies – are also part of universities. Conservatoires (including the Norwegian Academy of Music) have become institutions of research, rendering their day-to-day activity closer to that of a university. What it comes down to, then, is the specialisation, with conservatoires focusing on providing specialisation in music performance. Below, my focus will be on conservatoires, as my research question emphasises the training of performing musicians. However, I will also touch upon other institutions of higher music education (e.g. musicology departments and teacher-training colleges) for comparison, as it is evident that there exists a shared music-theoretical discourse crossing institutional boundaries. In sum, my study will treat the history of music theory in higher music education, focusing on conservatoires.

## 1.3 Situating the study

In the following, I will survey relevant previous research to situate the present study in two specific research fields, namely the field of music education (or, more specifically, studies in the history of higher music education) and the field of music theory (or, more specifically, studies in the history of music theory). This underlines the interdisciplinary nature of my project, which lies firmly in the space between the research fields of music education and music theory. The historical focus of the study also ties it more generally to the field of music history. As the survey will elucidate, only limited relevant previous research exists on the topic of this dissertation.<sup>4</sup> The intention of the survey is primarily to indicate which gaps in the literature the dissertation aims to fill.

The overview of the literature in both fields focuses on two categories: research on the European context in general and research on the Norwegian context in particular. I stress this because there is extensive English-language research literature on North American higher music education in general, as well as on that continent's music theory pedagogy in particular,<sup>5</sup> which I will not address here. Especially within the field of music theory, there are several significant differences between the European and Anglo-American contexts.<sup>6</sup> I have therefore chosen, when situating this study, to focus on the literature that addresses music theory in Europe.

### 1.3.1 Studies in the history of higher music education

My survey focuses on research on higher music education (with an emphasis on conservatoires), first in Europe in general and then in Norway in particular. There are no standard works of reference in either category. There are, however, several relevant studies which treat specific aspects of the history of higher music education, including the history of specific institutions.

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4 I searched for literature through *Oria* (online catalogue of Norwegian academic libraries' collections) and *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature*. I followed up by consulting the bibliographies of existing historical studies of higher music education and music theory education (both ones with which I was already familiar and ones which showed up in my searches in the mentioned databases). In sum, the search for literature was more 'organic' than 'systematic'.

5 See, for instance, the numerous articles on the subject in the *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* and publications like Lumsden and Swinkin (2018), Rogers (2004) and VanHandel (2020).

6 This is, for example, accounted for in the 2020 dissertation by Thomas Husted Kirkegaard (formerly known as Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen), where Anglo-American Schenkerian theories and northern European post-Riemannian function theories are compared. He underlines that the former is both a pedagogical and scholarly tradition while the latter is a pedagogical tradition only, and he claims that the two traditions show 'absolutely fundamental differences in the conception of what "music theory" is, how it should produce knowledge, and what kind of knowledge it should produce – an ontological as well as epistemological difference' (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2020a, p. 240).

*Research on Europe in general*

It is safe to say that music education research has primarily focused on music as a subject in primary and secondary education. This does not mean that there is no research on higher music education, but that this is evidently a smaller sub-field in the scholarly field of music educational research.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, within this sub-field, there is surprisingly little written on the history of European higher music education at a general level (i.e. not tied to specific institutions). For example, in *RILM*, searches restricted to the languages of English, German, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish and combining the keyword ‘history’ with ‘higher music education’, ‘professional music education’, ‘conservatoire’ and ‘conservatory’ respectively all delivered surprisingly few hits.<sup>8</sup>

The majority of the hits concerned the histories of specific institutions and several were not histories of music education at all (rather, they were discussions of music history as a subject at higher music education institutions, for instance). Articles from one work stand out in the results, namely the 2005 two-volume anthology *Musical Education in Europe (1770–1914): Compositional, Institutional, and Political Challenges*, edited by Michael Fend and Michel Noiray. The majority of its 30 chapters are institutional histories within a sociological framework,<sup>9</sup> and due to the anthology’s focus on the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is only of restricted relevance for this study, which focuses primarily on the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The notion that there is a research gap here – as exemplified by the restricted results of the *RILM* search – is supported by Harald Jørgensen’s (2009, 2010, 2014) comprehensive study of the available research into higher music education. His study of 847 research publications on higher music education led to some interesting statistical findings:<sup>10</sup>

1. The majority (68%) of the studies stem from the USA and address US higher music education (H. Jørgensen, 2010, p. 76).<sup>11</sup>
2. An even greater majority of the studies take an empirical approach (86%); studies with a historical approach (7%) are rare (H. Jørgensen, 2010, p. 77).

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7 Harald Jørgensen (2010) claims that research into higher music education has for a long time been neglected by music education researchers but argues that it has now finally come of age as a separate (sub-)field of study.

8 The search in question was made on May 21, 2020. In the following, the exact search phrases are given in italics and the total number of results in parentheses: “*history*” AND “*higher music education*” (22); “*history*” AND “*professional music education*” (13); “*history*” “*conservatoire*” (15); “*history*” “*conservatory*” (56). ‘AND’ was omitted in the two latter search phrases as it (for an unknown reason) resulted in a very high number of results that had restricted relevance for the present topic.

9 It also includes a chapter dedicated to music theory pedagogy focusing on Hugo Riemann’s challenge to conservatoire education (Fend, 2005).

10 This probably covers 90–95% of the available research (H. Jørgensen, 2010, p. 70).

11 European countries for comparison: UK (9%), Norway (5%), Germany (3%), Sweden (2%).

Considering these findings, it is no wonder that historical studies of European higher music education are hard to come by. The majority of the available studies are histories of specific institutions: ‘The historical studies are nearly exclusively about institutions. Most of them are chronological descriptions of events and students, of famous teachers, and of leaders and administrators. The research element is often weak’ (H. Jørgensen, 2010, p. 76). As made clear by the latter claim, Jørgensen questions these publications’ status as research. While they are useful as gatherings of references and facts, they seldom take a very critical stance – which may be because many were written as documentation for jubilee celebrations (H. Jørgensen, 2009, pp. 19–21).<sup>12</sup> Jørgensen’s (2009) conclusion is clear: ‘Works that go thoroughly into the history of our major music education traditions are still lacking’ (p. 19). My searches for literature have not indicated that this has changed significantly since this 2009 study.

Some general overviews of the history of European higher music education do exist, however. Three examples are the entries on ‘Musikausbildung’ in *MGG Online* (C. Richter, 2016), on ‘Conservatories’ in *Grove Music Online* (Weber et al., 2001) and on ‘Universities and Conservatories’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Intellectual Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Tregear, 2020). All these shorter accounts of the history of higher music education emphasise the historical significance of the early Italian conservatoires in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Paris conservatoire in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and the Leipzig Conservatoire in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Stefan Gies (2019) recently provided another concise historical account of higher music education in Europe. He focuses specifically on how music performance education has gradually become more academic and marks the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century as a turning point triggering a widespread process of academisation.

As mentioned, there are many works of music education history chronicling the history of specific institutions, but most of these publications lack a critical edge. However, some more detailed musicological works on the history and influence of some of the most central European conservatoires have been published. Yvonne Wasserloos’ (2004) monograph on the Leipzig Conservatoire – and the influence of the ‘Leipzig model’ on (among others) the Nordic countries – is one such study, and it provides relevant historical background for the present dissertation. More recent important contributions to this field are articles that provide critical perspectives, using Foucauldian concepts such as ‘discipline’ and ‘regimes of practices’, on the establishing of pedagogical traditions at the conservatoires in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Paris (Rubinoff, 2017) and Leipzig (Navon, 2020) and highlight how these schools institutionalised the disciplining of music students to perform musical works ‘correctly’ (i.e. *Werktreue*).

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<sup>12</sup> The present dissertation is part of one such research project (for the 50-year anniversary of the Norwegian Academy of Music in 2023). As I hopefully have made clear through the research questions presented above – and as will be made even clearer by the chosen theoretical framework presented below – the dissertation does nonetheless aspire to take a critical stance towards the history of the music-theoretical tradition that is part of this institution’s history.



Most studies of the history of professional music education in Europe focus on the 19<sup>th</sup> century or earlier periods. Much less has been written about developments in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – the focus of this dissertation.

*Research on Norway in particular*

In her keynote lecture on contemporary Nordic research in music education at the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education conference in 2020, Sidsel Karlsen (2020) highlighted higher music education as a sub-field of scholarship that needed more research. As Karlsen emphasised, this is not a new sub-field: There already exists quite a lot of research on higher music education by Nordic researchers. However, higher music education faces new challenges in a changing society, and Karlsen calls on music education researchers to contribute to tackling these. How this study may contribute to present and future discussions regarding music theory's role in higher music education will be discussed in Chapter 8.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, few of the existing research studies on Norwegian higher music education deal with the topic in an explicitly historical way. One of the few examples of historically oriented music-educational research on higher music education in Norway is provided by Petter Dyndahl, Sidsel Karlsen, Siw Graabræk Nielsen and Odd Skårberg (2017), whose comprehensive study of Norwegian master's and doctoral dissertations in music critically sheds light on the academisation of popular music in the more recent history of Norwegian higher music education. Such historically oriented music-educational studies are, however, still rare in the literature. This seems to be a rather large gap in the field of music education research in Norway;<sup>14</sup> this study – along with the research project it is part of – aims to fill some of it.

This does not mean, of course, that nothing is written on the history of Norwegian music education.<sup>15</sup> Some key literature on the subject is found in articles and chapters by Øystein Gaukstad (1964, 1969), Einar Solbu (1981, 1998), Harald Jørgensen (1998) and Harald Herresthal (1982; 1993, pp. 185–193; 2005), as well as the chapters on organised music education in the five-volume *Norges musikkhistorie* (Vollsnes, Aksnes et al., 2001, pp. 194–203, 287–239; Vollsnes, Benestad et al., 1999, pp. 259–262; 2000, pp. 61–71; Vollsnes, Holen et al., 2000, pp. 148–150). Books have also been published treating the histories of the Oslo Conservatoire (T. Lindeman & Solbu, 1976) and the Barratt Due Institute of Music in Oslo (Nesheim, 2002), the Grieg

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13 It might seem counter-intuitive to study the past when addressing problems of the present, but this is a fundamental part of what Foucault (1975/1991) calls writing 'the history of the present' (p. 31). I will return to this (see Section 2.1).

14 I have already cited Jørgensen (2009, 2010, 2014) on this matter in relation to general research on European higher music education.

15 For a more comprehensive overview and discussion of the literature on the early history of higher music education in Norway, see the first part of Haselmann (2018).

Academy in Bergen (Storaas, 2005), Rogaland Conservatoire in Stavanger (Eikenes, 1986, 1990) and Agder Conservatoire in Kristiansand (T. Aasen, 2005b).<sup>16</sup> As research, most of these writings are rather superficial. This is probably because most of them were written in conjunction with the celebration of jubilees and anniversaries, as *Festschriften* and/or as music history aimed at a broad audience. But while they lack critical analysis components and do not necessarily constitute academic research as such, they do provide a valuable overview of historical facts (cf. H. Jørgensen, 2009, pp. 19–21).

Although the historical perspective on higher music education presents a gap in Norwegian music education research, the theoretical position chosen for this study is well-established. Examples of discourse-oriented studies building specifically on Foucault include Monika Nerland's (2003) study of the practices of instrumental teachers in classical higher music education, Tiri Bergesen Schei's (2007) study of the identity formation of professional singers, Live Weider Ellefsen's (2014) study of the constitution of student subjectivities in music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*) and parts of the research project *Discourses of Academisation and the Music Profession in Higher Music Education* (Angelo, Varkøy, & Georgii-Hemming, 2019). Additionally, there exist several discourse-oriented studies that do not use Foucault as their main theoretical framework, like Ingeborg Lunde Vestad's (2014) Potter and Wetherell-inspired study of children's everyday uses of recorded music in kindergarten and at home and Anne Jordhus-Lier's (2018) Laclau and Mouffe-inspired study of professional identities of teachers in Norwegian municipal schools of music and performing arts (*kulturskolen*). Thus, the theoretical foundation for the present study has a strong standing in this particular research field.

There are, however, some notable differences between those studies and this one. Firstly, the former all study the present.<sup>17</sup> Secondly, and relatedly, they all take interviews and/or participant observations as their main material of study. Even though studying discourse in general and using a Foucauldian framework in particular is part of many Norwegian music education studies, there seems to be no tradition of historical studies of discourse using archival sources as the main material.<sup>18</sup> Situated in the field of music education research, this study takes a familiar theoretical position (Foucauldian discourse theory) and applies it to a less common type of source material (archival sources) to address a gap in the literature (the history of higher music education) in Norway.

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16 The research project of which this dissertation is part has also commissioned a book on the institutional history of the Norwegian Academy of Music. The book, authored by Alfred Fidjestøl, will be published in connection with the institution's 50-year jubilee in 2023.

17 This is the norm in the field of general education research as well. However, arguments have previously been made in favour of using historical discourse analysis – in a Foucauldian sense – in this scholarly field (e.g. Ulleberg, 2007).

18 This is curious, given that this approach is much closer to Foucault's own studies.

### 1.3.2 Studies in the history of music theory

Music theory as a concept is closely related to pedagogical activity. Most theories of music are created in an attempt to explain something to someone. Of course, that does not mean that all music theory is made for the classroom, nor that all research in music theory is made for educational purposes, but it underlines that pedagogy is a central part of music-theoretical activity. Therefore, the history of music theory pedagogy has always been an important part of the research field called the history of music theory – at least implicitly. It follows that there is a great overlap between general histories of Western music theory and the history of Western music theory education. This dissertation is also situated in the field of ‘history of music theory’, and research within this field is a key category of previous research for the present study.

#### *Research on Europe in general*

There are two modern reference works on the history of Western music theory. The first is the 2002 *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, edited by Thomas Christensen.<sup>19</sup> Some texts in this volume which are important for the present study include the introductory essay (T. Christensen, 2002a), the chapter on music theory as pedagogy (Wason, 2002) and the chapter on music-theoretical epistemologies (Cook, 2002). The other modern work of reference is the German multi-volume *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, edited by Frieder Zaminer among others. This ambitious work was initiated by Carl Dahlhaus in the 1980s, and it is especially his contributions that are relevant for the present dissertation: the introductory essay in the first volume (Dahlhaus, 1985) and his volumes on music theory in the 18th and 19th centuries (Dahlhaus, 1984, 1989). It is worth noting that this large multi-volume work does not chronologically go beyond the 19th century. In general, literature on this topic concerning the 20th century is rather limited, particularly with regard to the century’s second half.

In addition to the above-mentioned reference works on the history of Western music theory, much research exists on specific (often geographically defined) traditions, periods, institutions and theorists.<sup>20</sup> Much-cited monographs include Renate Groth’s (1983) study of composition and theory education in 19th-century France, Robert Wason’s (1985) study of Viennese harmonic theory in the 19th and early 20th centuries and Carl Dahlhaus’ (1989) volume on music theory in 18th- and 19th-century Germany in the already mentioned *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*. Additionally, several books have been published which are dedicated to music

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<sup>19</sup> This is the first modern historical overview of music theory in English. Previously, translations of Hugo Riemann’s 1898 *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* were the only available ones (T. Christensen, 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Especially since the 1990s, the available research on the history of music theory has grown immensely in both Anglo-American and European (especially German) literature. The account given here, providing an overview, only scratches the surface of this literature.

theory and analysis in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in general (e.g. Bent, 1996; Damschroder, 2008; Rummenh oller, 1967; Wagner, 1974), as have monographs that take specific theorists and their theories as points of departure for inquiries into the history of music theory (e.g. T. Christensen, 1993b, 2019; Cook, 2007; Harrison, 1994; Holtmeier, 2017; B. Petersen, 2018; Rehding, 2003).

Several recent monographs have addressed music theory education at the old Italian conservatoires and challenged several traditional conceptions of historical music theory pedagogy (e.g. Baragwanath, 2020; Gjerdingen, 2007a, 2020; Sanguinetti, 2012; van Tour, 2015). This research has precipitated a move away from so-called ‘monumental theory’ (T. Christensen, 2015), which focuses exclusively on the grand treatises and famous textbooks, instead including discussions of the oral practices of the classroom as well as the tacit knowledge of more ‘practical’ types of music theory. While textbooks are one of the main sources for this study, it also includes formal curricula and debates in periodicals to get a better overview of the discourse which goes beyond monumental texts.

Some of my previous work can be characterised as studying specific traditions in the history of European music theory. For my master’s project (Utne-Reitan, 2018a), I conducted a study of theory education at the Leipzig Conservatoire in the period 1858–1862, analysing the exercises of the young Edvard Grieg.<sup>21</sup> In a more recent essay, I have discussed traditions of conservatoire music theory pedagogy in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe more broadly (Utne-Reitan, 2022a). The case of music theory in Norwegian higher music education studied in the present dissertation will also – as a study of European institutions that have only barely been covered previously – be a contribution to this part of the research field of history of music theory.

It is of great value for the present study that scholarly articles on music theory in the other Scandinavian countries have recently been published. Articles by Thomas Husted Kirkegaard address the history of Swedish function theories (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2019a) and Schenker-reception in Scandinavia, focusing on Denmark and Sweden (Kirkegaard, 2022). Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen’s articles discuss Danish functional theory (Hvidtfelt Nielsen, 2012, 2022) and J rgen Jersild’s on position theory (Hvidtfelt Nielsen, 2019). Further works by these authors, which have a stronger focus on Norwegian theory, will be presented in the following section.

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21 Key findings from the master’s thesis are presented and elaborated upon in a journal article (Utne-Reitan, 2018b). Implications of this project for our understanding of Grieg and his music are explored in other publications (Utne-Reitan, 2020, 2021a, 2021b).

History of music theory as a field of research has grown considerably the last 30 years or so.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, there is still much to be explored in this field. A significant gap, for instance, is research on the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. Only a few historical studies address this period, including Ludwig Holtmeier's (2004) and Gesine Schröder's (2017) articles on developments in music theory in Germany in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and Thomas Husted Kirkegaard's dissertation on the European and Anglo-American reception of post-Riemannian and Schenkerian theories throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2020a). As this dissertation focuses on the (long) 20<sup>th</sup> century, it will also contribute to filling this gap, focusing on the Norwegian context specifically.

### *Research on Norway in particular*

Although not much has been written on the history of music theory in Norway specifically, some relevant literature does exist. The closest forerunner to the present dissertation is Nils E. Bjerkestrand's article on music theory at the Oslo Conservatoire 1883–1969, which he called 'a portrait gallery of teachers in music theory and composition' (Bjerkestrand, 1992).<sup>23</sup> He later revised and extended this article to include some comments on the theory curricula at the Norwegian Academy of Music (Bjerkestrand, 2002). Bjerkestrand's articles provide a useful overview of theory teachers in Oslo and sketch out some important trends in Norwegian music theory pedagogy. For this dissertation, the extension in the 2002 article is not only interesting because of its historical account but also as a form of primary source, since it presents Bjerkestrand's retrospective views on curricula he – as a theory teacher at the Academy – had been part of creating.

Some authors have also given scholarly attention to Norwegian music theory textbooks. This has been done mainly in relation to harmony textbooks and with discussions of the kind of musical analysis that they propound. Notes on Norwegian music theory have also been part of studies addressing the Scandinavian context in general. In 2018, Haakon Støring (2018, pp. 74–83) dedicated a section of his master's thesis to a survey of Norwegian harmony textbooks. In the same year, Thomas Husted Kirkegaard published an article comparing methods of harmonic analysis used in Scandinavian music theory textbooks (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2018). The latter has also commented on the influence of Riemann and Richter on Scandinavian music theory – including Norwegian perspectives – elsewhere (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2019b, 2020a). In addition to this, Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen is about to publish a monograph on

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22 Ian Bent (1992) discussed the initial challenge for this field in the Anglo-American context: existing somewhat in-between the established fields of musicology (emphasising historical studies) and music theory (emphasising theoretical studies). Scott Burnham (1993) pointed out that topics related to the history of music theory had for a long time been useful dissertation subjects for proving one's scholarly aptitude (and not much more), since the unstated assumption was that such studies would be of little relevance for more central topics of music research. History of music theory has since blossomed, including in North America, and come of age as a scholarly field.

23 'et portrettgalleri av lærere i satslære og komposisjon.'

the history of theories of functional harmony. Drafts of Hvidtfelt Nielsen's book have been available through his personal webpage for some time, including a chapter that provides a comprehensive overview of theories presented in Norwegian and Swedish harmony textbooks (Hvidtfelt Nielsen, 2017). I will build on Kirkegaard's and Hvidtfelt Nielsen's previous work when discussing the adoption of post-Riemannian function theory in Norway.

A broader discussion of the history of music theory in Norway is lacking in the literature. The present dissertation, situated within the field of music theory research and the first to make a large-scale historical study of music theory in Norway, aims to fill some of this gap.



## 2 Theoretical framework

As this is a study in the history of music theory education, it calls for perspectives related to studies of history, education and music theory respectively – or, more precisely, theoretical perspectives for analysis of historical discourse, curriculum and music theory. One could see these as three layers of a theoretical framework which brings different useful concepts to the study of the history of music theory education in Norway, as well as to the attempt to answer the research questions presented earlier. I will in the following present these layers of the theoretical framework – historical discourse, curriculum and music theory – focusing on concepts useful for application to the present study. The first layer of the theoretical framework, as theoretical point of departure, lays the groundwork for the remaining layers.

### 2.1 Layer one: Historical discourse

Carl Dahlhaus (1977/1983) opens his influential work on music historiography, *Foundations of Music History*, by defining history broadly as ‘memory made scientific’ (p. 3). But how does one make memory scientific? An important task for scholarly history writing is to attempt to understand past phenomena on their own premises as well as to situate them in their historical context and relate them to processes of change in history (Andresen et al., 2015, p. 16). The ways in which one may approach this are manifold and diverse. First, one can access history through many different types of source material (the material chosen for this study will be presented in Section 3.1). Secondly, the chosen source material may be analysed from different theoretical positions (hermeneutically, critically, sociologically, and so on). To answer the above-presented research question, I have decided to read the selected source material through the lens of Foucauldian discourse theory, a theory that gives much emphasis to the historical context – particularly what is taken for granted in this context – stressing how some statements become admissible and others not.

The core of Foucault’s work are historical studies of discourse. In an interview, emphasising the role of history in his work, he stated: ‘I don’t do anything *but* history’ (Foucault, 1980/2000, p. 278). His corpus encompasses historical studies of madness (Foucault, 1961/2001), clinical medicine (Foucault, 1963/2003), the human sciences (Foucault, 1970/2002), punishment (Foucault, 1975/1991) and sexuality (Foucault, 1984/1990, 1984/1992, 1976/1998). Despite the scepticism that Foucault’s work was initially met with by historians, its contribution to contemporary historiography has turned out to be pivotal (O’Farrell, 2013). That a Foucauldian



approach is now considered methodologically legitimate for historical research is reflected in recent textbooks in historiography (e.g. Andresen et al., 2015; Melve & Ryymin, 2018).

Foucault's earlier works – mainly those from the 1960s – were 'archaeological' in the almost positivist sense that Foucault summarised in his work of theory titled *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/2002). In his later 'genealogical' works – mainly those from the 1970s – he claimed as his goal the writing of 'the history of the present' (Foucault, 1975/1991, p. 31). My take on this Foucauldian notion is to use history as a tool to challenge what we take for granted in the present – to show how these assumptions are contingent and transformable as well as how they are products of power-knowledge structures. This contrasts with the type of history writing that attempts to grasp the past from the perspective of the present. In short, Foucault wants to interrogate the present through studying the past. It is in this regard that I am influenced by Foucault in my attempt to investigate the history of music theory education in Norway. By way of the Foucauldian discourse theory presented below, I aim to render the memories of a music theory discourse scientific.

## 2.1.1 Philosophical premises

Discourse theory relies on the very influential strain in 20<sup>th</sup>-century philosophy of science dubbed the *linguistic turn*. This turn builds on central thoughts of philosophers of language such as the structuralist understanding of language associated with Ferdinand de Saussure (1916/1959) and the idea of 'language-games' associated with Ludwig Wittgenstein (1953/1967). In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a belief that words do things became current, especially among 'speech act' theorists such as J. L. Austin (1962). This notion is an essential theoretical premise for this project: I am assuming that through their institutional authority, conservatoires wield a power of definition in music theory education. Moreover, defining what music theory is in a historically situated discourse is a performative utterance: Something happens as a consequence of the words used.

But words may also operate in much more subtle ways when, as it were, doing things. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (2003) have, for instance, shown how our – often unconscious – use of metaphors in everyday language impacts how we understand concepts and is therefore part of the constructing of truth. In this act of construction, our metaphors exclude other possible understandings and truths. It is when addressing such subtle workings of how words and other communicative practices do things that discourse theory may provide a fruitful theoretical framework for going even further than speech act theory and cognitive linguistics,

while still retaining the central premise of the linguistic turn.<sup>24</sup> In the way Foucault has defined statements as the building blocks of discourse (see Section 1.2.2), also non-linguistic practices may (re)produce discursive statements. In the context of the present dissertation, this means that, for instance, musical notation and analytical nomenclature too are parts of the discourse. The latter is especially important in the construction of music theory and will form an important part of the analysis.

The crucial and overarching theoretical point of departure for this study is that of understanding history through the lens of discourse inspired by Michel Foucault's studies. Discourse has already been defined above as one of the central terms in this study, and it has been claimed that it covers something more than speech acts – a 'something more' that makes some statements possible, and others not. This something is a discursive web that constitutes the world in the form of 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1969/2002, p. 54). This definition underlines the social constructivist foundation of this theoretical approach, but also introduces a performative element. Foucault (1969/2002) claims that his project 'is an attempt to reveal discursive practices in their complexity and density; to show that to speak is to do something' (p. 230). However, in Foucault's understanding, the power mechanisms controlling discourse also restrict the performative possibilities of each speaking subject (see Section 2.1.3).

Another important theoretical – and ontological – question regarding discourse is whether there is anything outside discourse. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 20) compare different discourse theories, placing Foucault in the category of those who view the discursive (text, speech, etc.) as being in a dialectical relationship with the non-discursive (institutions, economy, etc.). But how this dialectical relationship works is unclear in Foucault's writings (cf. Howarth, 2000, pp. 64–66). In subsequent discourse-theoretical schools of thought, this issue has been treated quite differently. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2014, p. 93) claim that Foucault is inconsistent when writing about this topic. Their theory is instead based on the notion that we create meaning in discourse, and it is thus only meaningful to study discursive practices (Howarth, 2000, p. 104). On the other hand, critical discourse analysis – such as the theory of Norman Fairclough (2003) building on Roy Bhaskar's critical realism – is also founded on the notion of a dialectical relationship between the discursive and non-discursive and has developed this idea into a more coherent theory with a narrower understanding of discourse as opposed to other aspects of society that it sees as non-discursive.<sup>25</sup>

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24 See Foucault (1969/2002, pp. 93–94) for a discussion of the relationship between speech act theory and Foucault's concept of discursive statements.

25 For a concise introduction to critical discourse analysis in general and Fairclough's theories in particular, see Skrede (2017).

Although he operates with a distinction between the discursive and non-discursive, an important part of Foucault's theoretical premise is that meaning is created in discourse. It is this meaning-making that is of interest in the present study, which is strictly Foucauldian in its conception of discourse. I do not claim that there is nothing outside discourse, nor that reality should be reduced to our discursively produced knowledge of it. I do, however, claim that meaning is constructed discursively – in the broadest possible sense. Thus, I will restrict myself to the study of discourse – of how words, and other practices that (re)produce statements, do things.

### 2.1.2 Power-knowledge

*The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/2002) is Foucault's only monograph dedicated to discussion of his theory, and is based on his experiences of writing the so-called 'archaeological' studies (i.e. Foucault, 1961/2001, 1970/2002, 1963/2003). A key question in the archaeological description and analysis of the historical events of discourse is why one historical statement appeared rather than another. Foucault (1969/2002) emphasises this by stating that '[w]e do not seek below what is manifest the half silent murmur of another discourse; we must show why it could not be other than it is' (p. 31). Foucault's archaeology is 'not an interpretative discipline: it does not seek another, better-hidden discourse. It refuses to be "allegorical"' (p. 155). In short, it aims at defining 'a limited system of presences' (p. 134).<sup>26</sup>

Following the publication of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault began to give more emphasis to studies of power, seeing discourse as a web of regulations that control what is regarded as true and false, what is possible and impossible to utter and who gets to speak and who does not – a web of (productive) power that regulates which statements get to do things. This initiated Foucault's 'genealogical' phase inspired by Nietzsche's concept of genealogy (Foucault, 1971/1977). *Discipline and Punish* (1975/1991) is an example of a study following this theoretical development in Foucault's work. David Howarth (2000) describes the distinction between archaeology and genealogy in the following way: 'Whereas archaeology describes the rules of formation that structure discourse, genealogy examines the historical emergence of discursive formations with a view to exploring possibilities that are excluded by the exercise of power and systems of domination' (p. 49).

Discourse is intimately related to knowledge. It forms our knowledge and understanding of the object of which it speaks. Knowledge is on the other hand intimately related to power. Foucault (1977/1980b) claims that power is not only a repressive force but also a *productive* force that 'induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse' (p. 119). Power and

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<sup>26</sup> See Foucault (1969/2002, pp. 133–141) for a detailed discussion of this aspect of his theory.

knowledge thus imply one another – they are often even combined into one term, ‘power/knowledge’ or ‘power-knowledge’. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1975/1991) underlines this by claiming that ‘there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations’ (p. 27). Discourse constitutes relations between knowledge and power; there is much at stake at the level of discourse. As Foucault (1976/1998) claims in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* – ‘[i]ndeed, it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together’ (p. 100).

When talking about discourse, power and knowledge in Foucauldian terms, it is important to be aware of the structuralist heritage that was Foucault’s theoretical point of departure. His approach gives little attention to individual agents and much to the structures that govern these historical subjects. An example is his study of the history of the human sciences in *The Order of Things* (1970/2002). Here – in contrast to traditional history – the focus is not on the individuals who uttered the statements in question; instead, Foucault tries to elucidate the epistemological foundation (*épistémè*) that made similar statements across different scientific discourses possible, and how changes and transformations of this foundation are noticeable simultaneously in given historical periods of change. This underlines how knowledge is contingent: The truths constructed by the discourses rely on an *épistémè* that is culturally and historically contingent, not ahistorical and universal. That this structure is seen as dynamic and not fixed makes this a post-structuralist understanding, as opposed to drawn from traditional structuralism (cf. M. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 10). From a historiographical point of view, this indicates two important things about Foucault’s theory: (1) it is ‘non-anthropological’ in focusing on statements rather than authors,<sup>27</sup> and (2) it sees knowledge as historically contingent and is thus not seeking the one truth but rather truth as understood in the given historical context of the discourse. This last point also points to the aforementioned social constructivist foundation for the theory, which is closely related to the philosophical notion of non-essentialism.

### 2.1.3 ‘The Order of Discourse’

There is a complex relationship between discourse, power and knowledge, all of which are of relevance to the present study. The remaining question is how to knit them together into a coherent theory of discourse that may be operationalised. Foucault is hard to grasp – not only due to his intricate prose, but also because his opinions regularly changed. Indeed, in the end of the introduction to *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, he writes: ‘Do not ask who I am and do

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27 Foucault (1969/2002) underlines this when stating the following about his archaeological perspective: ‘The authority of the creative subject, as the *raison d’être* of an *œuvre* and the principle of its unity, is quite alien to it’ (p. 156).

not ask me to remain the same' (Foucault, 1969/2002, p. 19). This is why – for purely pragmatic reasons – it is necessary to define *which* Foucault one is to rely on for one's theoretical foundation.

I will now introduce 'The Order of Discourse,' Foucault's inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, given on December 2, 1970 (Foucault, 1971/1981).<sup>28</sup> This text includes both archaeological and genealogical elements, and – together with the definition of 'discourse' based on *The Archaeology of Knowledge* – it represents the Foucault that serves as the core of my theoretical framework in studying the history of my chosen discourse.

Compared to *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, which was published one year earlier, this text heightens the focus on the workings of power/knowledge in discourse. Foucault (1971/1981) puts forward the hypothesis to be investigated in his lecture, supposing

that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality (p. 52).

He goes on to present three categories of procedures that control discourse: procedures of exclusion (pp. 52–56), internal procedures (pp. 56–61) and the rarefaction of speaking subjects (pp. 61–64). While the two former categories of procedures control which statements are made possible within a discourse – either by exclusion or by internal control – the latter category controls who gets to be a valid speaking subject in a given discourse. Foucault presents several examples of these procedures, which may be summarised as follows:

1. Procedures of exclusion: the forbidden speech, the division of madness and the will to truth
2. Internal procedures: the commentary, the author-function and the disciplines
3. Rarefaction of speaking subjects: the speech-rituals, the societies of discourse, the doctrinal groups and the social appropriation

The procedures of exclusion and the internal procedures both treat the divide between what is regarded as true and false in a discourse. The procedures of exclusion do this through explicit or implicit prohibitions, through the opposition between reason and madness and

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<sup>28</sup> The lecture was published in French as *L'ordre du discours* in 1971. It has since appeared in several English translations, under the titles 'The Order of Discourse,' 'Orders of Discourse' and 'The Discourse on Language.'

through our overarching will to truth. These procedures rest on institutional support, including that of pedagogy. The internal procedures do the same through commentaries that relate to (and maintain) a canon of predominant narratives, through the author-function<sup>29</sup> and through the overarching procedures of the disciplines that demand that one operate ‘in the true’. Foucault (1971/1981) defines a discipline as ‘a domain of objects, a set of methods, a corpus of propositions considered to be true, a play of rules and definitions, of techniques and instruments’ (p. 59). It does not really matter if a proposition is ‘true’ if it is far from the established truths of the discourse. If the statement is not ‘in the true’, it will be excluded. But, as Foucault studied closely in *The Order of Things* (1970/2002), the foundation for knowledge (*épistémè*) is neither universal nor constant. It is rather historically and culturally contingent and is thus subject to change over time.

The procedures of rarefaction control which subjects get to take part in a discourse. The speech-rituals define what qualifications are needed by the speaking subject in a discourse, how this subject is to behave and the effect of the subject’s statements. The societies of discourse preserve (and produce) discourse in a closed space with strict rules of distribution. These are somewhat rare today, but Foucault mentions the modern institutionalised act of writing – the book, the publishing-system, the person of the writer – as a possible example. A similar example closer to the theme of this dissertation would be the society of discourse built around the production, preservation and distribution of Western musical notation. The doctrines (e.g. religious, political, philosophical) are larger and more open groups that bind individuals to certain types of enunciation and forbid them others. The last procedure – social appropriation – is explicitly relevant for the theme of this dissertation. This much broader procedure includes the principle that education grants entrance to discourse: ‘Any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and powers which they carry’ (Foucault, 1971/1981, p. 64).

Foucault (1971/1981, pp. 67–73) rounds off his lecture with a discussion of approaching the study of discourse. He presents four principles to be followed:

1. a principle of reversal: to recognise the negative cutting-up and rarefaction of discourse rather than searching for its origin in traditional categories such as the author, the discipline or the will to truth (rather, by reversing, focusing on how such categories limit the discourse)

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29 When speaking about author-function rather than the human being that wrote the text in question, Foucault decenters the notion of an author and treats it as a discursive construction; the author-function is a function of writing. This is Foucault’s take on ‘the death of the author’ (cf. Barthes, 1968/1977). He comments on the concept in more detail elsewhere (Foucault, 1969/1984).

2. a principle of discontinuity: to treat discourse as discontinuous practices rather than searching for a repressed underlying discourse of the unsaid and unthought that binds the discursive web together
3. a principle of specificity: to conceive of discourse as a violence we do to – and a practice we impose on – things rather than pre-existing signification in the world around us that we choose to decipher
4. a principle of exteriority: to base our analysis on discourse itself – its appearance and regularity as well as its external conditions of possibility – rather than searching for its interior, hidden nucleus; in other words, to analyse the positivity of a discourse

In accordance with this, Foucault (1971/1981) claims that we must regulate our analysis following four notions – namely, ‘the event, the series, the regularity, the condition of possibility’ (p. 67). This stands in opposition to notions of creation, unity, originality and signification which have traditionally dominated the history of ideas. When writing history, the fundamental notions that are required to undertake Foucault’s proposed form of discourse analysis are ‘those of the event and the series, along with the play of notions which are linked to them: regularity, dimension of chance (aléa), discontinuity, dependence, transformation’ (p. 68). Again, this stands in opposition to more traditional notions such as consciousness and continuity, which are closely related to those of freedom and causality. Moving the focus of the study of history to event and series (regularity, chance, discontinuity, dependence, transformation) means moving away from a master narrative driven by causal links.

Further, Foucault (1971/1981) explains how his four principles are divided between the ‘critical’ (closely related to what elsewhere is called ‘archaeological’) and ‘genealogical’ categories of discourse analysis:

The analyses which I propose to make, following these principles and making this horizon my line of reference, will fall into two sets. On the one hand the ‘critical’ section, which will put into practice the principle of reversal: trying to grasp the forms of exclusion, of limitation, of appropriation of which I was speaking just now; showing how they are formed, in response to what needs, how they have been modified and displaced, what constraint they have effectively exerted, to what extent they have been evaded. On the other hand there is the ‘genealogical’ set, which puts the other three principles to work: how did series of discourses come to be formed, across the grain of, in spite of, or with the aid of these systems of constraints; what was the specific norm of each one, and what were their conditions of appearance, growth, variation. (p. 70)

This form of Foucauldian discourse analysis includes the study of how discourse is structured by procedures of power-knowledge. Foucault's 'The Order of Discourse' (1971/1981) thus provides a theoretical framework for the study of discourse as a complex structural web regulated through different controlling procedures. It also provides premises for studying how discourses are formed and transformed historically. These are useful tools for my study in the history of music-theoretical discourse in Norway.

## 2.2 Layer two: Curriculum

The majority of the material studied in the present dissertation is of a curricular nature (e.g. formal curricula and textbooks) or addresses curricula in some way (e.g. debates on theory curriculum in periodicals). As discourse theory is the main theoretical framework for this study, I will not provide an exhaustive review of the vast field of curriculum theory here. It is, however, necessary to (1) explain how I understand the concept of curriculum, (2) with basis in this understanding, delimit what parts of the educational domain I will study and (3) discuss how my understanding of curriculum fits with the Foucauldian premises presented above.

Below, I will present the conceptualisation of curricular domains and specify which domains will be emphasised in the present study. Following this, I will discuss the important distinction between integration and separation for music theory curricula specifically. Lastly, I will discuss how curriculum may be understood as historical discourse. This last section will connect the second layer of the theoretical framework to the premises laid out in the first layer presented above.

### 2.2.1 Curricular domains

Curriculum may be conceived of both in a quite literal sense, as a specific type of text, or in a broader and more abstract sense. It is the latter understanding of curriculum I take as my jumping-off point. John Goodlad and his associates (1979) have provided a model of curriculum that divides this broad and abstract concept into five substantive domains – the *ideal*, the *formal*, the *perceived*, the *operational* and the *experiential* – arranged from the general idea to the specific student experience and expanding the notion of curriculum to something more than a text setting up goals and syllabi for a set of educational courses. This model implies an ontological understanding of curriculum as a broad and multi-layered concept that exists in varying forms depending on the context (e.g. in formal texts, classroom practice or the personal understanding of teachers and students). With a basis in the overarching theoretical



framework of Foucauldian discourse theory, I understand the abstract concept of curriculum as something that is socially constructed in discourse in all these different domains.

To analyse something is to take it apart. Thus, Goodlad's division is already analytical in the way it splits the imagined unity of a curriculum into five theoretical domains that may individually be subject to scholarly inquiry. But at the same time, it is also an expansive theory, as it clearly expanded the ontological status of curriculum to a broad and multi-layered entity that is more than a specific text. I will now take a closer look at Goodlad's domains and explain how they will be used as a tool for delimiting the scope of the present study.

Goodlad and his associates (1979) define the five 'substantive domains' of curriculum, of which I consider the first two 'upper' and the rest 'lower', thus:

1. '[I]deal curricula emerge from ideaistic planning processes. [...] It is rare for the elements of some ideal curriculum to be carried through to students in their original form. [...] One determines the contents of ideological curricula by examining textbooks, workbooks, teachers' guides, and the like' (p. 60).
2. 'Formal curricula are those which gain official approval by state and local school boards and adoption, by choice or fiat, by an institution and/or teachers. [...] It is in the formal curriculum that society's interests usually are embedded' (p. 61).
3. 'Perceived curricula are curricula of the mind. [...] [A]t any given moment, the most significant perceptions probably are those of the teachers' (pp. 61–62).
4. 'What teachers perceive the curriculum of their classrooms to be and what they actually are teaching may be quite different things. [...] The operational curriculum is what goes on hour after hour, day after day in school and classroom' (pp. 62–63).
5. '[Experiential curriculum is] the one experienced by the students' (p. 63).

All Goodlad's domains may be analysed, but one's choice of material and method will delimit to what extent one can gain access to each. The study of official institutional documentation (e.g. formal curricula) and teaching materials (e.g. textbooks) in this dissertation will thus give emphasis to the ideal and formal domains. Other types of source material and methods, such as interviews with current and former teachers and students and classroom observation, would shift the emphasis to the remaining domains. This does not mean that these layers will not be touched upon in this study, but they will receive less attention. Indeed, I would argue

that textbooks written by conservatoire teachers explicitly based on their teaching practice shed light both on a perceived and an operational curriculum. The same applies for the idea of experiential curriculum with regard to statements by current or former students made when debating the relevance of music theory – these relevant debates will be discussed in Chapter 6. Even so, I do not claim that I can provide a full picture of the historical developments related to these lower curricular domains; that is beyond the scope of the present study. My focus will rather be on the upper domains.

Goodlad rightly implies that curriculum is not confined to its text (i.e. the formal curriculum). There is, however, one aspect of curriculum that is not quite captured by the five domains: the hidden curriculum. This term, coined by Philip W. Jackson (1968), covers what is not experienced by teachers and students as part of the curriculum, but is still – if implicitly – part of the students' learning outcome (an example being norms and values). Jackson's understanding of *hidden curriculum* might be summarised as 'student learning that is not described by curriculum planners or teachers as an explicit aim of instruction even though it results from deliberate practices and organizational structures' (Boostrom, 2010, p. 439). We can add hidden curriculum to Goodlad's framework as a sixth domain as it covers much of the taken-for-granted knowledge that is unknowingly taught and therefore, in some sense, just as much part of the curriculum.<sup>30</sup>

The above-presented curriculum theory is designed to apply to the study of the mandatory education normally undertaken by children and teenagers (i.e. primary and secondary school). I will be using this theoretical framework in the context of higher education studies, which is naturally a somewhat different field. Although the domains remain the same, there is what one might call a 'shorter distance' between them in higher education. Thus, it is common in higher education for the formal curriculum to be created locally at each institution – often with involvement by the teachers themselves, who might even have authored the textbooks. Even though this likely leads to more curriculum variation among higher education institutions than in schools beholden to formal nation-wide curricula, there are also many pressures and expectations exerting quite a strong, if indirect, regulatory force on these higher education curricula (cf. Bernstein, 2000, p. 60). This indirect regulation may be exerted by the government as well as by other institutions. In the case of conservatoires, it could also stem from central musical institutions like major orchestras and from competition with other conservatoires, both nationally and internationally.

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30 For a recent discussion of the little-explored topic of hidden curriculum in higher music education, see Johansen (2021).

### 2.2.2 Integration and separation

Michael R. Rogers (2004) makes it clear that when it comes to studying music theory curricula, the distinction between integration and separation is key. Have, for example, music theory and aural training been taught as one subject (integration) or as two individual subjects (separation)?<sup>31</sup> Rogers discusses this issue in music theory curriculum design for undergraduate studies, arguing that

curriculum design can take one of four rather than just two different forms: (1) integrated teaching within integrated classes; (2) integrated teaching within separated classes; (3) separated teaching within integrated classes; and (4) separated teaching within separated classes. (p. 18)

Rogers is mainly interested in the link between analysis and aural training, but the same model can also be used to investigate the integration of music theory with other disciplines (e.g. music history or performance) and the links between other music-theoretical sub-disciplines (e.g. between harmony, counterpoint and form). His main point, however, is that the formal organisation of teaching activities is not in itself enough to determine if a music theory course is emphasising any form of integration or separation. It is possible to run separate classes in analysis and aural training and still practice an integrational approach. In contrast to this, as Rogers (2004) puts it, it is possible 'for ear training and analysis to coexist within the same fifty-minute class and still be treated as isolated topics' (p. 18).<sup>32</sup>

We can link Rogers' ideas of integration and separation to Goodlad's domains presented above. Rogers claims that the choice of an integrational or separational music theory curriculum can be made within several curricular domains – they need not match one another. Thus, it is possible for the formal curriculum to be based on an integrational ideal but for this ideal to be neither operationalised in the classrooms nor experienced by the students. In the same way, it is possible for the formal curriculum to be based on a separational ideal but for the teachers to operationalise it with an integrational attitude.

The question of integration and separation in music theory curricula is central in all domains of music theory curriculum studies. But as both Rogers and Goodlad's theories emphasise, there is not necessarily any correlation between formal curriculum and classroom practice.

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31 What Rogers simply calls integration and separation would in the theoretical universe of Basil Bernstein (2000) be a question of the amount of 'classification' between subjects.

32 Even though Rogers (2004) argues for the advantages of integrational approaches in music theory pedagogy, he also makes clear the challenge such approaches face: It generally takes more time to train the ear than the mind, which may cause 'a rigid and unnatural slow pacing in written topics' (p. 17).

With a mind to its proposed research questions, the present dissertation will primarily concern itself with the ideal and formal domains. It is important to consider how music theory in these domains has been constructed in relation to other subjects taught as part of conservatoire training, and the distinction between integration and separation is of high relevance for commenting on these relations.

### 2.2.3 Curriculum as historical discourse

The domains of curriculum may be related to the above-mentioned 20<sup>th</sup>-century philosophical premise that words do things – a central assumption in the paradigm of the linguistic turn. To use Austin's (1962) terminology, the ideal curriculum represents an *illocutionary* act (something is intended), the formal curriculum a *locutionary* act (a statement is enunciated in an attempt to make the intended something happen) and the remaining domains of curriculum are different perspective on the *perlocutionary* acts (something – not always what was intended – happens as a consequence of the statement). Although this is a major over-simplification, I believe it efficiently illustrates how different curriculum domains do different things discursively. However, as we have seen, Foucauldian theory covers more than speech-acts. In the following, I will discuss how curriculum – in this case in historical source material – is a matter of discourse.

Michael W. Apple (2003) has claimed that '[w]hether we like it or not, curriculum talk is power talk' (p. 7). Drawing on Foucauldian theory, the connection between curriculum and power may be elaborated quite easily – and need not be restricted to explicitly political power talk, either. As Foucault has claimed, knowledge and power always imply one another (see Section 2.1.2): Curricula define what kind of knowledge is considered legitimate in a field (sometimes in a society as a whole), thereby both exercising power and forming part of the construction of knowledge.<sup>33</sup> However, this knowledge is not only a product of power mechanisms, but is in itself part of the construction and maintaining of these mechanisms. The core assumption of Foucauldian theory is that power and knowledge are interdependent; this is why one cannot understand one without the other. Taking this point of departure, I posit that the curricular domains have throughout history constituted and been constituted by discursive mechanisms of power-knowledge. What remains to be explored, however, is how curriculum can generally be understood in a historical sense; how curriculum may be understood as historical discourse.

While the older school of curriculum theory, which is represented by Goodlad and Jackson above, extended the ontological status of curriculum, later theorists in the field have focused

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33 Developing this premise of power-knowledge, one may further claim that curricula are part of constructing and disciplining individuals as subjects within discursive fields (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998, p. 13). However, this aspect of Foucauldian theory, as applied to curriculum, will not be the primary consideration of this dissertation.

on reconceptualising curriculum studies by moving the focus from curriculum development to understanding curriculum (cf. Pinar et al., 1995). This shift in focus has brought into the field both post-structuralist theories and a heightened focus on historical perspectives. The new generation of curriculum researchers understand curriculum as a highly symbolic concept:

It is what the older generation chooses to tell the younger generation. So understood, curriculum is intensely historical, gendered, phenomenological, autobiographical, aesthetic, theological, and international. Curriculum becomes the site on which the generations struggle to define themselves and the world. (Pinar et al., 1995, pp. 847–848)

One of the early proponents of historical curriculum research and an advocate for social constructivist perspectives was the British educationalist Ivor Goodson.<sup>34</sup> He argued for the development of a better understanding of ‘preactive curriculum’, as opposed to curriculum as practiced in the classrooms. To that end, Goodson (1995) makes two central claims:

Firstly, that studying the conflict over preactive definition of written curriculum will increase our understanding of the interests and influences active at this level. Secondly, that this understanding will further our knowledge of the values and purposes represented in schooling and the manner in which preactive definition may set parameters for interactive realization and negotiation in the classroom and school. (p. 16)

Goodson’s aim is a ‘move towards a more historical and social constructionist view of curriculum work’ (p. 17). This resonates well with the Foucauldian understanding of curriculum at work in the present dissertation. Foucauldian discourse theory rests on a social constructivist premise, and Goodson further claims that ‘[s]ocial constructionist study has the intrinsic value of allowing insights into the assumptions and interests involved in the making of curriculum’ (p. 19). Given the closer proximity of curricular domains in higher education, I would argue that a study of higher education curriculum informed by social constructivism would not only bring insight into the taken-for-granted values and tenets underlying the process of curriculum making but also elucidate the given discourse (e.g. the music theory discourse) more generally.

Goodson (1995) argues for the importance of preactive curriculum study for avoiding the mistake of uncritically adopting traditional assumptions:

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<sup>34</sup> Goodson uses the term ‘constructionist’ instead of ‘constructivist’. While there are subtle differences between these concepts, they are sometimes used interchangeably and the general idea that knowledge is socially constructed is shared between them.

To begin any analysis of schooling by accepting without question a form and content of curriculum that was fought for and achieved at particular historical points on the basis of certain social and political priorities and to take that curriculum as a given is to forego a whole range of understandings and insights into features of the control and operation of the school and the classroom. It is to take over the mystifications of previous episodes of governance as unchallengeable givens. We are, let us be clear, talking about the systematic ‘invention of tradition’ in an arena of social production and reproduction, the school curriculum, where political and social priorities are paramount. (p. 21)

Goodson’s description of curriculum as the systematic ‘invention of tradition’ is an intriguing perspective, which builds on the social constructivist foundation for studies in curriculum history which we saw Goodson propose above. He comments on this in another text (Goodson, 1994), underlining the important critical aspect that such a perspective invites:

[T]he written curriculum, whether as courses of study, syllabuses, guidelines or textbooks, is a supreme example of the invention of tradition; but as with all tradition it is not a once-and-for-all given, it is a given which has to be defended, where the mystifications have to be constructed and reconstructed over time. Plainly, if curriculum theorists substantially ignore the history and social construction of curriculum, such mystification and reproduction of ‘traditional’ curriculum form and content becomes easier. (p. 118).

Goodson borrows the concept of *invented tradition* from the historian Eric Hobsbawm, who claims that some traditions – which might appear to be, or even claim to be, old – are in fact of quite recent origin and sometimes even consciously invented. Hobsbawm (1983) defines his concept in the following way:

The term ‘invented tradition’ is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both ‘traditions’ actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period – a matter of a few years perhaps – and establishing themselves with great rapidity. [...]. ‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. (p. 1)

When studying the history of music theory in higher music education in this dissertation, the idea that curriculum as discourse (in a social constructivist sense) is part of inventing and/or maintaining tradition will prove a fruitful and productive prompt. Conservatoires are, after all, often institutions of conservation, and it is natural that they regularly, implicitly or explicitly, refer to or even ‘invent’ tradition as justification. To adopt Bernstein’s (2000, pp. 65–79) terminology, a typical grounding in a proud tradition (recently invented or not) is a form of *retrospective* pedagogic identity – an identity that focuses on cultural or religious grand narratives of the past. Other possible pedagogic identities are the *prospective* identity, which is grounded in narratives of the future, and the *decentred* identities – either instrumental (focused on the market) or therapeutic (focused on the self).<sup>35</sup> The prospective and decentred identities may also be understood as systematic inventions of tradition, but these would be traditions with other values than those of the past (those of the future, the market or the self).

In short, curriculum systematically invents tradition and may take on different identities reflecting different values, depending on how it is constructed. I will shortly return to the idea that music theory as a pedagogic discourse may be constructed in numerous different ways.

### 2.3 Layer three: Music theory

Carl Dahlhaus is known for his discussion of the challenges of art history broadly, as well as music history specifically.<sup>36</sup> In the already mentioned *Foundations of Music History* (1977/1983), he defines a core question – ‘how to write an art *history* that is a history of *art*’ (p. 129). Arguing with such constructed, virtually empty binarisms – as is typical of Dahlhaus’ dialectic arguments – is somewhat problematic (cf. Taruskin, 2010a, p. xix). Nonetheless, Dahlhaus’ idea does point out the necessity of avoiding writing histories of music that neglect music and writing music histories that neglect history – balance is called for. Similarly, this dissertation must avoid ending up as a piece of history of music theory that neglects music theory. Put another way, to analyse the theories of music that are part of the historical discourse this dissertation studies, theoretical concepts from the field of music theory are needed. An exploration of several such meta-music-theoretical perspectives, which are relevant to the research field of the history of music theory, follows.

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35 For a concise introduction to Bernstein’s theories, see Hovdenak (2011).

36 See Sprick (2016) for a discussion of how Dahlhaus’ historiography of music theory relates to his more famous historiography of music, where the paradigms of Dahlhaus’ which I will discuss in detail in the following are also addressed.

Writing a history of music theory is a somewhat paradoxical exercise, given that it goes against much theory's implicit claim to being temporally immutable (cf. T. Christensen, 1993a; Sprick, 2010). In Dahlhaus' words, '[s]trictly speaking, to explain theory historically means to take away the very claim upon which it as theory has been based' (Dahlhaus cited in T. Christensen, 1993a, p. 10). However, as research in the field also has shown, music theory is in fact more often than not a historically and culturally contingent practice – and must be treated as such. This assertion, in line with the Foucauldian theory presented above, is a fundamental premise for the treatment of music theory in the present dissertation.

As initiator of the multi-volume *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, Dahlhaus (1984, pp. 6–9) provided a crucial theoretical framework dividing music theory into three paradigms: speculative, regulative and analytic. The following exposition and discussion will build on this theoretical framework and provide the present study with categories for the analysis of music-theoretical sources. Firstly, I will present and discuss these music-theoretical paradigms. Then, I will – in light of them – discuss music-theoretical epistemologies. Lastly, I will discuss how music theory is constituted as a pedagogic discourse to connect this third layer to the other layers of the theoretical framework.

### 2.3.1 Music-theoretical paradigms

It has already been made clear that defining 'music theory' as it is understood today is difficult (see Section 1.2.1), and it does not get easier when the historical dimension is added. From the ancient Greeks to the modern Western world, what has been meant by 'music theory' has varied greatly. Moreover, writings and practices that were not called music theory in earlier times might be regarded as such today. Dahlhaus (1985) has shown how these are major challenges for the study of the history of music theory. I quote Thomas Christensen's (2002a) paraphrase of Dahlhaus' claim: 'Music theory [...] is a subject that notoriously resists its own history' (p. 1).

In a search of a solution to the challenge of the shifting history of music theory, Dahlhaus looked to Thomas Kuhn. The latter's analyses of the history of science from the perspective of paradigm shifts – presented in the 1962 book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* – had themselves become paradigmatic. For Kuhn (2012), paradigms 'provide models from which spring coherent traditions of scientific research' (p. 11). According to Kuhn, such a paradigm must be 'sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity' as well as 'sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve' (pp. 10–11). Generally, science follows a paradigm which justifies the investigation of specific types of problems – or puzzles to be solved – until it reaches a point of crisis: The following scientific revolution leads to a



new paradigm. This is what is meant by *paradigm shift*, which Kuhn defines as ‘a reconstruction of the field from new fundamentals, a reconstruction that changes some of the field’s most elementary theoretical generalizations as well as many of its paradigm methods and applications’ (p. 85). But how may Kuhn’s theory of the structure of scientific revolutions help us understand the history of music theory?

The natural sciences – which Kuhn studied – and music theory are fields of different natures, and music theory is not necessarily always research as such, either. Accordingly, Dahlhaus (1985, pp. 28–36) does not adopt Kuhn’s model uncritically. For example, he emphasises that the change from ancient mathematically oriented music theory to modern compositionally oriented music theory cannot be explained as having been provoked by internally unsolvable problems in the field of music theory – the process is more complex than this and demands an eclectic approach. Dahlhaus’ work therefore advocates that the concept of *paradigm*, in the context of music theory, be used in a somewhat looser sense than Kuhn’s.

According to Dahlhaus (1984, pp. 5–9), there are three main paradigms of music theory, which have come to prominence in the following chronological order: speculative, regulative and analytic. The speculative paradigm is concerned with the ontological contemplation of tone systems (e.g. as mathematical structure). The regulative paradigm – called the ‘practical’ paradigm by Christensen (2002a, p. 13) – is concerned with regulative ideas of compositional practice.<sup>37</sup> The analytic paradigm is concerned with the individuating particulars of a given artwork. It comes as no surprise that the analytic is the last paradigm: Having first gained prominence in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, it hinges on the Romantic idea of the regulative work-concept emphasising notions of geniality and originality (cf. Goehr, 2007). Prudently, Dahlhaus (1984, p. 9) claims that although it is firmly established that music theory developed from the contemplation of tone systems to the general regulation of the craft of composition and then to the analysis of the particularities of individual works, this historical development is complex and full of discontinuities.

Dahlhaus’ paradigms have undergone several transformations in recent decades. Christensen, adapting Dahlhaus’ categories for use in the 2002 *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, favoured the term ‘tradition’ over ‘paradigm’. Arguing that the boundaries between Dahlhaus’ paradigms are porous (one can, for instance, see regulative, analytic and speculative aspects in Schenker’s theories), Christensen (2002a) proposes that the three traditions better serve as ‘useful heuristics in sorting out the diversity of theoretical “styles” we find throughout

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<sup>37</sup> The distinction between speculative and practical music theory dates back to Hugo Riemann (cf. Riemann, 1900). Rummenhüller (1967, pp. 27–28) and Rehding (2003, p. 65) elaborate on this distinction in Riemann’s definition of music theory.

history' (p. 14).<sup>38</sup> Later, Christensen (2007) also proposed calling Dahlhaus' paradigms 'genres' of music theory.

Nonetheless, I do find the idea of paradigms, understood as schools following overarching model examples of how practice is conducted, informative – even if one does not assume, for instance, that speculative music theory ceased to exist following the turn towards regulative music theory, or that all speculative music theory adheres to Pythagorean ideals.<sup>39</sup> As I argue below, Dahlhaus' paradigm concept has affinities with the Foucauldian *épistémè*; his use of the Kuhnian concept makes more sense when seen in light of the epistemological underpinnings of paradigmatic examples (terms like 'tradition', 'style' or 'genre' might therefore, as alternatives, be too vague). Consequently, I have chosen to follow Dahlhaus' appropriation of the paradigm concept and understand his three music-theoretical paradigms as three different model examples of music-theoretical practice with different epistemological underpinnings. Usefully, the three paradigms represent three different ways of doing music theory.

Without doubt, conservatoire music theory pedagogy is usually associated with regulative theory, but I argue that these categories should be held conceptually distinct as music theory pedagogy at conservatoires can also include speculative and/or analytic components. In addition, regulative theory is a large and diverse paradigm. It is always practical in some sense, but *practical* can mean different things. For instance, it might be practical in the sense of 'by the keyboard' or in the sense of 'written exercises'. Both are certainly instances of regulative music theory, but these 'practical' practices are fundamentally different from each other. I therefore propose adding two sub-categories to Dahlhaus' taxonomy: *non-written* regulative theory and *written* regulative theory. The former is typically practiced at the keyboard (alternatively through song or another instrument), the latter in the workbook.<sup>40</sup> I claim that both are practical but represent different forms of practice and teach regulative music theory in different ways. While non-written regulative theory typically transmits knowledge tacitly, written regulative theory typically transmits knowledge in a more explicitly formal form. It is to such epistemological distinctions that I will now turn.

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38 Christensen's critique of Dahlhaus' appropriation of Kuhn's terminology was first presented in his review of *Die Musiktheorie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Grundzüge einer Systematik* (cf. T. Christensen, 1988, pp. 135–136). Other commentators have defended Dahlhaus's appropriation of the paradigm concept (cf. Heidlberger, 2017).

39 As Nathan John Martin (2017) suggests, such model examples in Dahlhaus' history of music theory may also be understood as Weberian 'ideal types'.

40 I have previously argued that there was a turn towards written regulative theory in 19<sup>th</sup>-century conservatoire education (Utne-Reitan, 2022a).

### 2.3.2 Epistemologies of music theory

Kuhn's concept of paradigm (as appropriated by Dahlhaus) resembles the concept of *épistémè* described in Foucault's *The Order of Things* (1970/2002). The *épistémè* is the epistemological foundation that makes the emergence of distinct scientific discourses possible in a given period. It is similar to Kuhn's paradigm-concept in that it describes the *raison d'être* of scientific discourse. However, it sees as the driving mechanism a common epistemological foundation among different scientific discourses rather than the internal mechanisms of a given science. In an interview several years after the publication of *The Order of Things*, Foucault (1977/1980a) defined his concept in the following way:

I would define the *episteme* retrospectively as the strategic apparatus which permits of separating out from among all the statements which are possible those that will be acceptable within, I won't say a scientific theory, but a field of scientificity, and which it is possible to say are true or false. The *episteme* is the 'apparatus' which makes possible the separation, not of the true from the false, but of what may from what may not be characterised as scientific. (p. 197)

To take this perspective in the context of Dahlhaus' paradigms of music theory would be to emphasise the different epistemological foundations that make the different paradigms possible. In a chapter in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, Nicholas Cook (2002) explores the similarities between Dahlhaus' paradigms – calling them 'traditions' – and Foucault's *épistémès*, asserting that there are clear overlaps between Foucault's notion of the pre-17<sup>th</sup> century *épistémè* (i.e. knowledge built on similitude and resemblance) and Dahlhaus' 'speculative' paradigm. The same goes for Foucault's classical *épistémè*, comprising the rationalism of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (i.e. knowledge built on representation, ordering, identity and difference) and Dahlhaus' regulative paradigm. In epistemological terms, Cook claims that the link in the former pair is notions of coherentism – that 'one is justified in a particular belief if it is consistent with one's other beliefs, or in changing one's beliefs when the result is a higher degree of consistency between them' (p. 82) – while the link in the latter pair is notions of foundationalism, or 'to sweep away sedimented knowledge and start with a new slate, admitting as knowledge only that which can be regarded as certain' (p. 84). He also discusses Foucault's modern *épistémè* of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in terms of an epistemological pluralism in which notions from the two preceding *épistémès* can run side-by-side (pp. 81–82). Cook does not, however, mention that for Foucault (1970/2002), the modern *épistémè* (i.e. knowledge built on organicism and historicism, among other things) made man and humanity legitimate objects of scientific study. This last *épistémè* does not directly overlap with Dahlhaus' 'analytic' paradigm, but it does have some affinities with it in

its focus on the particularities of the individual work as a legitimate object of study (this also relies on notions of Romantic aesthetics).

Dahlhaus himself seems not to have engaged with the thoughts of contemporaries in the school of French poststructuralism, and he did not reference Foucault in his works (Hepokoski, 1991, p. 239). In the context of this dissertation, however, it is important to discuss the compatibility of Dahlhaus' music-theoretical paradigms with our generally Foucauldian theoretical framework. In this regard, one could view the different music-theoretical paradigms as products of different ways of understanding music-theoretical knowledge – they are based on different *épistémès*. Even though the rough historical sketch works to a certain extent (with the Kuhnian paradigms overlapping with the Foucauldian *épistémès*), I want to stress that it is unwise to delimit Dahlhaus' paradigms to the specific historical periods pertaining to Foucault's *épistémès*. That caveat notwithstanding, it is likely that some of the paradigms were originally products of a historical *épistémè* in the Foucauldian sense and dominated in a specific historical period. For example, this seems to be the case with the speculative paradigm, i.e. the medieval and Renaissance notion of the 'harmony of the spheres' which relies on the *épistémè* of similitude and resemblance in its linking macrocosm with microcosm. But as stated above, many exceptions belie the idea that all speculative theory belongs to this period – think, for example of the clearly speculative work by Moritz Hauptmann (1853).

Foucault's theory of historical *épistémès* does lend credence to Dahlhaus' notion of historical changes – called, after Kuhn, 'paradigm shifts' – creating the foundation for music-theoretical knowledge. It follows that if one finds Foucault's argument to be convincing, this also strengthens the case for Dahlhaus' narrative of grand paradigms which change historically. However, there are many exceptions, and to reduce each paradigm to one historical period adhering to a specific *épistémè* would be a gross oversimplification. Thus, although I have retained the paradigm labels, I agree with Christensen (2002a) that it is best to treat them as heuristic concepts. As a theoretical tool, they may be used for categorising different kinds of music theory that imply both different ways of doing music theory and different types of music-theoretical knowledge. To give one example: all speculative music theories do not follow the medieval *épistémè*, but the paradigmatic model examples (like *musica universalis*) certainly do. In short, one should avoid equating paradigms and *épistémès* but still be aware of the close affinity between these concepts.

An important notion missing so far from this discussion of music-theoretical epistemologies is that of so-called 'tacit knowledge'. The distinction between theoretical-scientific knowledge (in Greek, *episteme*, or 'know-that') and practical-productive knowledge (*techne*, 'know-how') has been central in Western thought since Aristotle, who in his *Nicomachean Ethics* also presented

a third, more ethically oriented category – *phronesis*, ‘practical wisdom’. *Phronesis* and *techne* both have practical components; *techne* especially encompasses what in modern Western thought has been dubbed ‘tacit knowledge’.<sup>41</sup> Within 20<sup>th</sup>-century philosophy, this notion is connected to two philosophers in particular. The first is Ludwig Wittgenstein (1921/1922), who ended *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* by claiming the following: ‘Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent’ (§ 7). This is an acknowledgement of the existence of knowledge that one cannot express; at the same time it is an argument for science to focus on expressible knowledge. In fact, Wittgenstein later changed his opinion regarding the latter argument. In *Philosophical Investigations* (1953/1967), he tried to unravel some of problems connected to this knowledge ‘whereof one cannot speak’ through investigating meaning-making in the ‘language-games’ of every-day language use. The other philosopher significant for a discussion of tacit knowledge is Michael Polanyi. In *The Tacit Dimension* (1966), he elaborates on ‘the fact that *we can know more than we can tell*’ (p. 4). For Polanyi, all formalised knowledge – or as he calls it, ‘focal knowledge’ – is rooted in tacit knowledge. Thus, it has both a tacit and focal dimension, but in varying degrees.

Having acknowledged that tacit knowledge is an important part of human knowledge, the question that now remains to be answered is how this relates to the case of music-theoretical knowledge. Upon first glance, it is easy to assume that tacit knowledge and theoretical knowledge are incompatible entities. In terms of Aristotle’s categories, the former is in the domain of *techne*, the latter in that of *episteme*. This incompatibility holds true if the theoretical knowledge we are considering is music theory as theory in the strict sense. However, if we operate with a more pragmatic understanding, treating music theory also as a collection of pedagogical disciplines (see Section 1.2.1), the idea becomes nonsensical. Dahlhaus (1985, p. 23), for example, claims that the teaching of musical craftsmanship (*musikalische Handwerkslehre*) is a thousand-year-old practice that was taught orally for many centuries before being theorised. From our modern perspective – with our modern understanding of music theory as a pedagogical matter – we consider this musical training of long ago to constitute training in music theory. The difference with modern theory classrooms lies in the mode of music-theoretical knowledge. The older traditions that Dahlhaus refers to were likely of a tacit nature; they learned a lot of what we today would call music theory, but tacitly.

The bottom line is that music-theoretical knowledge takes many forms. This is why I have followed Cook (2002) in speaking of ‘epistemologies’ of music theory in the plural rather than subscribing to one all-encompassing epistemology. This pluralist stance is compatible with Foucauldian discourse theory and its social constructivist premise (see Section 2.1.1). In

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41 My understanding of Aristotle’s epistemology in general, and its relation to modern notions of tacit knowledge in particular, is influenced by Gustavsson (2000).

light of this, I have explored possible connections between Dahlhaus and Foucault. As I have argued, Dahlhaus' Kuhnian paradigms are not analogous with Foucauldian *épistémès*. They are, however, compatible, tightly connected and at certain points overlapping.<sup>42</sup>

### 2.3.3 Music theory as pedagogic discourse

In the above presentation of music-theoretical meta-theory I have focused on paradigms in the history of music theory and how they relate to different music-theoretical epistemologies. The question that remains is how these ideas can feed back into this study in the history of music theory education in Norway. As previously mentioned, music theory is in many contexts synonymous with music-theoretical pedagogical disciplines, as e.g. harmony, counterpoint and form (see Section 1.2.1). In this section, I will discuss how music theory may be understood as a pedagogic discourse, drawing on the work of Basil Bernstein and connecting it to the dissertation's main theoretical outlook based in the work of Michel Foucault.

It is clear – from a post-structuralist point of view at least – that educational disciplines are not static entities. They have historically been constructed and reconstructed and are continually negotiated. This negotiation may be theorised in several ways. The above-mentioned concepts of 'pedagogic identities' (Bernstein, 2000) and the 'invention of tradition' (Goodson, 1994) are but two ways to consider such discursive constructions. Building on Foucault and Derrida, Petter Dyndahl and Live Weider Ellefsen (2009, 2011) have additionally coined the term 'didactic identities' to conceptualise the discursive construction of school subjects. By employing the metaphor of identity, they underline how 'analogous to human subjects' constructions of identity, the didactic identities of school subjects are also created and negotiated by means of, and in relation to, culture, meaning and power' (Dyndahl & Ellefsen, 2009, p. 14). Although they take a similar premise (and use the same metaphor), Dyndahl and Ellefsen's concept is thus broader than Bernstein's categories of 'pedagogic identities'. My broader point here is simply that it is well-known that educational subjects are constructed, and – in line with my main research question – it is this process of construction I am interested in. As I see it, Basil Bernstein's broad concept of pedagogic discourse is a useful theoretical tool for discussing the discursive processes of such constructions of school subjects (which again may be understood as 'cultural identities', 'pedagogic identities', 'invented tradition', etc.) and can complement the Foucauldian core of my theoretical framework. But what is a pedagogic discourse compared to other kinds of discourses?

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42 For further discussions of epistemology in music theory, particularly regarding the question of 'scientificity' in academic music theory, see Broman and Engebretsen (2007).

For Bernstein (2000), *pedagogic discourse* is ‘a principle for the circulation and reordering of discourses. In this sense it is not so much a discourse as a principle’ (p. 32). This ‘principle’ is that of *recontextualisation*, which appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates selected aspects of other discourses to construct an order that is the pedagogic discourse. According to Bernstein (2000, p. 33), this is done by those designing the official guidelines and the formal curriculum (the *official recontextualising field*) as well as by individual institutions and the pedagogues themselves in their everyday practice (the *pedagogic recontextualising field*). As previously mentioned, these fields are not as clear-cut in higher education as in primary and secondary school (see Section 2.2).

Bernstein’s concept of pedagogic discourse as recontextualisation is in some ways similar to the concept of a general ‘basic subject’ (*basisfag*) that is realised as a specific ‘teaching subject’ (*undervisningsfag*) – a distinction much used in Scandinavian music education literature (cf. Hanken & Johansen, 2013, pp. 27–33; F. V. Nielsen, 1998, pp. 103–125). I will, however, still rely on Bernstein here, as I perceive his concept of pedagogic discourse to be broader and somewhat more flexible. For instance, Bernstein’s view does not imply that there is one ideal, foundational unity that is ‘music theory as basic subject’. Music theory as pedagogic discourse is rather the result of different recontextualisations from the practices of various discourses. Bernstein’s concept of recontextualisation, as well as the social constructivist premise that supports it, is also closer to the philosophical premises set out by Foucauldian theory. In the opening of an essay entitled ‘The Social Construction of Pedagogic Discourse,’ Bernstein (1990, p. 165) states explicitly that the work of Foucault has influenced his approach. This does not entail that all aspects of Bernstein’s theory are compatible with Foucault’s – indeed, he stresses that his focus is very different from Foucault’s – and I emphasise that it is the latter’s concept of discourse that forms the premise of the present study.<sup>43</sup> I will, however, complement this premise with Bernstein’s idea of pedagogic discourse as socially constructed through processes of recontextualisation. This much harmonises well with the philosophical premises presented above.

In Bernstein’s terms, one should not confuse the music theory discourse with music theory as pedagogic discourse. The latter is manifested through a principle that recontextualises elements of the former (and/or elements from other adjacent discourses) in a pedagogical setting, with a pedagogical purpose. While this distinction of Bernstein’s clearly has value as a conceptual tool, I will for the sake of simplicity only speak of ‘the music theory discourse’ here. Music theory in Norway has not thus far been a separate field of research (as it is in the

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43 For a concise comparative discussion of Bernstein and Foucault, see Singh (2017).

US, for example);<sup>44</sup> it has primarily been a pedagogic field. Its discourse has consequently been largely pedagogic – following Bernstein’s definition of a pedagogic discourse as a principle of recontextualisation, the question remains where the music theory discourse recontextualises from. Building on Foucault’s social constructivist discourse theory, I have defined music theory discourse as the formation of statements on music theory (see Section 1.2.2). Some of the most central and defining statements should therefore reflect the relevant processes of recontextualisation.

When analysing the material collected for the present dissertation, the concept of recontextualisation will be of value in analysing which parts of the broader international music-theoretical discourses and other adjacent discourses (such as church music and composition) play a part in the construction of the music theory discourse as pedagogic discourse in Norway. The process of recontextualisation is interesting from a discourse-analytical point of view as it points to which kinds of music-theoretical knowledge are accepted and which are excluded (this underlines Foucault’s idea of the close connection between power and knowledge).

As Rogers (2004, pp. 27–29) has noted, makers of music theory curricula must weigh up the balance between concepts and skills. The three general paradigms of music theory provide categories for highlighting differences in this recontextualisation into a pedagogic discourse. Pedagogic discourses of music theory that emphasise speculative music theory will be qualitatively different from those that emphasise regulative or analytic music theory. The kinds of skills recontextualised may also vary: Are they those of a performer, an organist, a composer, a musicologist?

Constructing music theory as a pedagogic discourse thus involves choices. One’s perspective on these choices is, to a great extent, affected by one’s theoretical perspective and the chosen source material. There is, for example, a difference between the perspectives of Bernstein and Foucault:

Like Foucault [...], his [Bernstein’s] object of inquiry was the structuring principles internal to the discourses. But unlike Foucault, Bernstein [...] was interested in empirically investigating the agencies and agents in the increasingly complex field of symbolic control producing new knowledge forms, and the differential distribution, recontextualisation and acquisition of these new knowledge forms. (Singh, 2017, p. 149)

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44 To the extent that there has been interest in conducting music-theoretical research at all, it has been as part of broad musicological research at the universities.



In a somewhat crudely simplified way, one could claim that from Bernstein's sociological perspective, the emphasis is on the agents making the choices in question – those who produce, challenge and transform the discourse – whereas from Foucault's perspective, the emphasis is on the procedures that restrain the possibilities of these agents when making choices. As I see it, these positions emphasise different sides of the same coin and are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they offer contrasting perspectives, differently weighting the age-old distinction between agency and structure. Given the Foucauldian premise of the present study, my focus will be on the historical construction of the music theory discourse as well as the procedures governing this structure and less on the agency of the individual historical agents.

In conclusion, I understand the music theory discourse in Norway to be a pedagogic discourse which may be analysed via the concept of recontextualisation. The construction of music theory through recontextualisation can be done in several ways and can therefore emphasise different paradigms and epistemologies of music theory. The formation of statements that, from a Foucauldian perspective, constitutes the music theory discourse reflects the relevant processes of recontextualisation.

## 2.4 Chapter summary

This dissertation's theoretical framework comprises three layers. Arranged from the most general philosophical foundations to the most topic-specific ideas, the three layers provide a toolbox of theoretical concepts that will be useful when approaching the discourse of music theory in the history of higher music education in Norway:

1. Foucauldian discourse theory forms my main theoretical foundation, providing both the philosophical and historiographical premises for this study. A central notion is the interdependence of knowledge and (productive as well as repressive) power. Michel Foucault's lecture 'The Order of Discourse' provides useful categories of procedures that make up core mechanisms of discourse (procedures of exclusion, internal procedures and rarefaction of subjects) and provides some methodological ground rules (principles of reversal, discontinuity, specificity and exteriority).
2. Theories of curriculum provide a broad understanding of curriculum as encompassing multiple domains (ideal, formal, perceived, operational, experiential, hidden). An additional useful distinction is that between integration and separation of different subjects;

this distinction may be discursively constructed in different ways in individual curricular domains. I follow Ivor Goodson in understanding curriculum as inventing tradition discursively in various ways.

3. Theories of music theory provide a framework of paradigms that characterise different types of music theories (speculative, regulative, analytic). These Kuhnian paradigms, first put forward by Carl Dahlhaus, share some affinity with – but are not analogous to – Foucault's *épistémès*. I follow Nicholas Cook in taking a pluralist stance when speaking of epistemologies of music theory – epistemologies that encompass both formalised and tacit forms of knowledge. I draw on Basil Bernstein's notion of pedagogic discourse as processes of recontextualisation to discuss how the music theory discourse is constructed in an educational context.



### **3 Methodological considerations**

This dissertation investigates the history of music theory in conservatoire education in Norway in general and the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music in particular. Based on this, it will, as previously stated (see Section 1.1), attempt to say something about music theory's role in higher music education more generally. I will now turn to the chosen source material for the study and to how this material has been analysed. As discussed in the previous chapter, the theoretical perspective of the study is that of Foucauldian discourse theory. As the topic of this study is music theory and the majority of its sources are curricular, I have also included in the theoretical framework concepts from theories of music theory as well as curriculum theory. The theoretical outlook selected – the ontological and epistemological foundation chosen – is, however, fundamentally Foucauldian, and it therefore builds on a social constructivist premise. This has methodological implications. In this chapter, I will discuss how I have searched for relevant material and how analysis of this material was conducted within the above-presented theoretical framework.

#### **3.1 Collecting material**

I have chosen to focus on written sources as these are available for the whole period I will be investigating and make up a rich and varied body material that tells us much about developments in music-theoretical discourse in Norway. In accordance with my stated research questions, I have searched libraries and archives for writings on music theory in three main categories: textbooks, formal curricula and periodicals. To ensure transparency in the research process and thereby strengthen its reliability, I will in the following present how I have collected material in each of the categories. In addition to this, I include a section on 'other material' where I comment on other types of sources that have been included in, or excluded from, the study. My source material (especially the formal curricula) centres around sources related to the Norwegian Academy of Music and its predecessor, the Oslo Conservatoire, as this is Oslo's and Norway's oldest and largest conservatoire. The material I have collected is, however, not restricted to the history of these two institutions. Although I have focused on them, my aim has been to collect source material that also reflects the music theory discourse in Norway more broadly. This is especially the case with textbooks and periodicals, where I have searched nationwide.

### 3.1.1 Textbooks

Textbooks are very valuable sources for this study as they bridge curricular domains. To a much greater extent than formal curricula, textbooks give an impression of music theory pedagogy as such. This is especially the case for textbooks written by teachers employed by the institution where their books are used; these books are often explicitly written for (and/or based on) their authors' classroom practice. Norwegian theory textbooks do not, however, cover all the teaching material that has been used in Norwegian music theory education. From my own experience as a student, I know that books in other languages (English, Danish, Swedish, German, etc.) and manuscripts of unpublished books have been used, along with various hand-outs, and it seems likely that this has been the case throughout the history of music theory education. Norwegian textbooks in music theory are therefore probably only the tip of the iceberg of the teaching material used in Norway. However, the fact that the available textbooks have been published and distributed widely grants them an extra level of impact. What has been published in Norway, along with what has *not* been published, gives good insight into what ideas dominate Norwegian music-theoretical discourse.

When collecting textbooks, I have mainly searched Norwegian academic libraries (via *Oria*) and the National Library of Norway's digital library (*Bokhylla*). I started by using search terms such as 'musikkteori OR musikteori OR musiktheori', 'musikk lære OR musiklære', 'satslære', 'harmonilære', 'kontrapunkt', 'formlære', 'musikk AND form' and 'musikk AND former' to find relevant titles in the National Library's collection. I also searched specifically for books authored by known teachers in music theory at Norwegian institutions. For books on harmony, I consulted the already existing surveys (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2018; Støring, 2018, pp. 74–83). The list of books has gradually grown as I have looked through bibliographies and visited the music theory shelves in physical libraries (e.g. the library of the Norwegian Academy of Music).

I have particularly searched for music theory books related to classical music theory education (e.g. harmony, counterpoint, form). However, as such disciplinary boundaries are not always clear-cut, deciding what to include and what not to include has been challenging. Take harmony as an example: Is an aural training book on harmony that includes an introduction to functional analysis also a book on harmony? Are books on elementary music theory (musical rudiments) that include introductions to four-part harmony and harmonic analysis books on harmony? In short, how much harmony is needed for a book to be called a book on harmony? I decided to include all books that are clearly dedicated to harmony, counterpoint and form – what in Norway today is usually called *satslære*. To get a broader insight into music theory education in Norway, I also included a range of relevant books not specifically dedicated to these topics but nonetheless touching upon them (e.g. books on elementary music theory

and aural training).<sup>45</sup> The aim has been to compile a corpus that may justifiably be said to represent Norwegian music-theoretical discourse in published book form.

The focus of this dissertation is on undergraduate education in the conservatoire context. However, a number of textbooks not meant for this audience (either because they are aimed at other domains or discuss other musical genres) are of interest to us for two reasons. First, some books have been used in other domains than those for which they were initially intended. Secondly, they will simply help provide a broader and more general picture of music theory education in Norway. I have included many books not written for conservatoires but rather for music teacher education or music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*). That said, I have not included books aimed at the lowest levels of music education (textbooks for primary schools, music courses for children, etc.).

In short, what I have ended up doing is to include all textbooks specifically focused on harmony, counterpoint and/or form (*harmonilære, kontrapunkt, formlære, satslære*, etc.). In addition, I have included textbooks in elementary theory, aural training and music history which include sections on the subjects of interest to me, thereby also emphasising the connectedness of the music theory discourse. Published books dedicated to music theory in the Western classical tradition that are not explicitly textbooks have also been included. However, I have excluded all textbooks aimed at educational levels below upper secondary school. See Appendix A for a chronological survey of the resulting corpus of theory books.

### 3.1.2 Formal curricula

As discussed in the theory chapter above, curriculum is more than text. The typical curricular texts make out only one domain: formal curricula. I treat the idea of formal curricula in a quite broad manner, including all official institutional documentation that says something about what the aim and scope of the education in general and of the music theory courses in particular should be.

For my main case study, the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music, I have utilised two archives in particular. Regarding its recent history – from the transition from private conservatoire to state academy until today – the material is located at the Norwegian Academy of Music campus (in physical and digital archives). The older material related to the Oslo Conservatoire is located at the National Archives of Norway (*Riksarkivet*). Although

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45 For a survey of textbooks widely used in aural training in Norway, see Bergby and Blix (2016). As this dissertation focuses on music theory, I will not go into questions that are specific to the field of aural training in Norway. Indeed, this is also covered in existing literature (e.g. Blix & Bergby, 2016; Reitan, 2006; Reitan et al., 2013).

much of the material in these archives is exempted from public disclosure, the material used in this study consists of official, public documentation. Reference codes for the specific sources consulted at the National Archives can be found in the reference list. The material from the Norwegian Academy of Music is more readily available, either through its archives or library.

From 1970, when the institution was still called the Oslo Conservatoire, there are detailed and comprehensive 'study plans' (*studieplaner*) for all its educational programmes. The first formal curriculum of the Norwegian Academy of Music (opened in 1973) is that of 1975. A completely new curriculum for undergraduate studies appeared in 1982. The curricula for the different programmes have since been revised almost continuously; larger reworkings of all undergraduate curricula occurred in 1992/1993 and 2002/2003. Since 2010, the formal curriculum has been published digitally on the institutional website. It appears in new editions yearly – sometimes revised, other times not.

From prior to 1970 (i.e. for most of the Oslo Conservatoire's history), there are fewer sources documenting the formal curriculum. This is partly because the Conservatoire was a private and less regulated institution. It did, however, produce pamphlets with its regulations, including short presentations of the curricula of its various subjects. The Conservatoire offered education both at lower and higher levels, the prime example of the latter being the professional education of organists for the Lutheran church. It also offered professional music teacher education; for the professional education of organists and teachers there existed relatively detailed 'exam plans' (*eksamensplaner*) listing what specifically candidates would need to master in order to pass. I will treat both the collected regulations and the exam plans as formal curricula.

### 3.1.3 Periodicals

Music-theoretical matters have occasionally been discussed in public throughout history, for example in newspapers, music magazines and academic journals. Often taking the form of debates, such historical sources can give an impression of the attitudes towards the state of music theory education in Norway at a given time. I have searched Norwegian newspapers, magazines and journals for sources representing music-theoretical discourse in the broadest sense.

My main searches have been in two digital archives with full-text search: the National Library of Norway's digital collection of scanned Norwegian newspapers and journals and Retriever's media archive *Atekst* of printed and digital media from Norway. For the purposes of this dissertation, simple keyword searches were sufficient, and I ended up using the following keywords: *musikkteor\** OR *musikteor\** OR *musiktheor\**, *satslær\**, *harmonilær\**, *musikkanaly\** OR

*musikanaly\** and *funksjonsharmon\**. The Boolean operators (AND and OR) are self-explanatory; the wildcards (\*) widen the search by including different endings (e.g. *musikkanaly\** gives *musikkanalyse*, *musikkanalysen*, *musikkanalytisk*, *musikkanalytiske*, etc.). I decided on these keywords after doing some experimentation. In some cases, it was a challenge to find keywords that were accurate enough. For example, *funksjonsteor\** and *funksjonsanalys\** provided results mainly from mathematical discourse. Similarly, *kontrapunkt\** gave tens of thousands of hits referring to the popular and long-running pan-Nordic TV show of the same name. The finally selected keywords gave mostly relevant hits in manageable volumes.<sup>46</sup> I went through the hits manually, extracting the sources relevant for the topic of this study.

Recent research in literary studies has shown that these kinds of archival searches are a useful foundation for Foucauldian studies of historical discourse (cf. H. Karlsen, 2020).<sup>47</sup> But these archives – extensive as they are – are not exhaustive. Historical newspapers and journals, for example, are scanned and added to the National Library’s digital collection continuously.<sup>48</sup> This, in addition to the imperfections of OCR technology used for searching the material, makes it impossible to claim that I have found the totality of relevant sources using this method.

Many of the relevant journals and magazines from 1980 until today – a great deal of which are not yet digitised – are also indexed in the National Library of Norway’s search engine for journals (*Norart*). This tool made it possible for me to quickly get an overview of the contents of many different journals, both through keyword searches and by skimming through the table of contents of the issues. This method is not failproof, however, as not all journals are indexed and the level of detail in the registered metadata varies. Nonetheless, combined with the searches in the digital collections of the National Library and Retriever, it did make it possible to efficiently explore a vast amount of material.

To complement these digital searches, I have consulted a diverse collection of Norwegian music magazines and journals by manually searching for titles indicating topics related to music theory. These searches have mainly been conducted in the Norwegian Academy of Music library’s rich collection of music periodicals dating back to the early years of the Oslo

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46 The largest being the 13,330 hits (on November 18, 2020) for *musikkteor\* OR musikteor\* OR musiktheor\** in newspapers included in The National Library of Norway’s digital collection. The majority of the hits were teaching adverts. Note that the number of hits does not represent the number of unique hits – many of the adverts were printed simultaneously in several newspapers and reprinted regularly.

47 The approach has also been used in musicological research (cf. Meling, 2019). Heidi Karlsen (2019; 2020; 2021) uses a more sophisticated search method, ‘sub-corpus topic modeling’, which I have not employed.

48 The main searches were done in November 2020. When I started preparing the searches (on September 19, 2020), the National Library’s searchable digital collection – excluding material older than 1880 – listed 2,761,447 newspaper issues and 63,095 journal issues. The majority of my material comes from this collection. The hits from Retriever – many overlapping with those from the National Library – mainly led to relevant material in newer (especially online) media.



Conservatoire. In conducting these manual searches, I have prioritised relevant periodicals not (yet) included or only partially included in the mentioned digital resources.

When searching for material, I was surprised to discover that no list of relevant music periodicals was readily available. I have therefore compiled an overview of central Norwegian music magazines and journals in Appendix B. Through a combination of digital and manual searches in these as well as in daily newspapers, I was able to extract a large amount of relevant material. The resulting corpus of articles from periodicals provided a solid foundation for the study of Norwegian public discourse on music theory in general, and music theory pedagogy in particular, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the present.

### 3.1.4 Other material

In addition to the three above-mentioned categories, a few other types of material have also provided insightful perspectives on the history of Norwegian music theory discourse. These include, for example, unpublished teaching materials.

A note on possible oral sources is also due. Apart from the mere pragmatic reasons for limiting the source material to a manageable amount, there are theoretical and methodological reasons why I have excluded a systematic collection and analysis of oral sources and chosen to focus on written material instead. Although there are many advantages of writing ‘oral history’ (cf. Grove & Heiret, 2018), there are challenges attendant with using this as one’s entry to historical discourse. While there are people alive who remember their conservatoire education fifty years ago (although not a hundred years ago), they will – like the historian writing history – tell their story from their present point of view. By contrast, written historical source material has the advantage of proffering the exact enunciations of the discourse of the past. Thus, analyses of the oral sources could end up telling us more about contemporary discourse than the historical one. In other words, the validity of the findings may be impacted. I must stress that interviews are, in many cases, of high value as source material – for instance, in the study of contemporary discourse and in documenting stories of the past. Regardless, written sources were preferable for the present study.<sup>49</sup>

Conversely, a challenge when studying history through written (as opposed to oral) sources is that one only gets to hear the voices of those historical actors who actually produced writing. I stress this because I am aware that there are theory teachers who have published

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<sup>49</sup> This study is part of a research project on the history of the Norwegian Academy of Music. As part of this project, interviews with key persons (principals, long-time teachers, etc.) have been conducted to preserve their stories of working at the institution. For the above-mentioned reasons, these are not part of the key source material for this study.

few (or no) texts themselves and will not appear in my material. Nonetheless, I believe that my choice to include a range of different types of written material, as described above, gives a broad and detailed insight into the complexity of the music theory discourse in Norway and its historical development.

## 3.2 Analysing material

The next big question to be discussed is how to process the above-mentioned material in order to be able to answer this study's research questions. The most important tools for this process were presented in the theory chapter above. In the following, I will focus on how to put these tools to use.

The importance of the initial reading and evaluation of a text must not be underestimated. I will therefore begin by discussing how I initially approached the source material. Following this, I will discuss how theory will be operationalised in my analyses. Lastly, I will comment on my view of my role as researcher as well as on some ethical considerations.

### 3.2.1 Approaching texts

In 'Music Theory and its Histories,' Thomas Christensen (1993a) warns us: 'It is precisely when we are confident that we understand the meaning of a past text because of its familiar resonance that we are most vulnerable to anachronism' (p. 30). This is relatable to Foucault's (1969/2002) claim that 'it is not possible for us to describe our own archive' (p. 146). Foucault uses the concept of the 'archive' to describe the general system of formation and transformation of statements which is rooted in the already circulating statements. Foucault's archive is not an ideal and static collection of everything said – rather, it changes continuously and is organised in different ways in different cultures and historical periods. Broadly, the archive defines the limits of what is thinkable in a given context. That one cannot describe one's own archive does not necessarily mean that it is impossible to analyse the discourse of the near past, or the present for that matter, but mistakes occur easily given that we cannot remove ourselves completely from the mechanisms we use to form and transform statements – the mechanisms we use to understand the world. When approaching historical texts, especially texts that are close to the present understanding of a given phenomenon, one must attempt to take two steps back and try to put one's own taken-for-granted notions on hold. A central part of the Foucauldian approach is instead to reconstruct the accepted notions that made a statement possible in a given discourse at a given time in history. One's own preconceptions

should not be mixed up with these. Foucault asserts that such an approach is easier when studying a historical archive (understood in Foucault's discourse-theoretical sense, not in the sense of an actual, physical archive) which is significantly different from one's own. It is, as Christensen points out in the context of the history of music theory, much more difficult when the archives overlap to a great extent.

To methodologically leave oneself 'out' when approaching texts, even historical texts, is easier said than done. Hermeneutic writers following Hans-Georg Gadamer (1960/1989) would claim that it is impossible: On their view, we must necessarily understand the world through our own perspective (including our prejudices, our adherence to tradition, etc.). Thus, one should rather aim to include oneself in the hermeneutic inquiry, thereby avoiding a fallacious illusion of objectivity. Foucault (1969/2002, p. 180), however, emphasises that his archaeological approach is not hermeneutical. He would rather be called a positivist (p. 141); his method deals with the positivity of a discourse rather than with our interpretations of it. This might seem like a somewhat simple solution to a very complicated issue.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, when approaching historical discourse, one necessarily must understand (at least some of) the meaning of the source material, and that necessarily includes (at least some) interpretation. Nevertheless, this is neither the end – nor the primary means – of the analysis. Instead of searching for valid interpretations of the material and evaluating the material's truthfulness, we shall focus on which statements are invoked and why some statements were acceptable and others not.

I will follow general principles of Foucauldian research by approaching texts in a non-interpretative, non-anthropological manner (cf. Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 26). First, I will focus on describing regularities, discontinuities, transformations and ruptures in discourse rather than on writing hermeneutical interpretations. Secondly, I will focus less on the persons that speak and write and more on the enunciations in themselves as well as the statements these invoke. For identifying Foucauldian statements (the building blocks of discourse), and discussing the relations between them, the mentioned focus on regularity (but also awareness of discontinuity, transformation and rupture) is central. To identify a statement, one must 'identify something constant that runs through a certain multiplicity of enunciations' (H. Karlsen, 2020, p. 31). These enunciations are found in my collected material.

Both principles mentioned, i.e. approaching texts in a non-interpretive and non-anthropological manner, move the focus from individuality (interpretation, author) to generality (discourse).

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<sup>50</sup> In fact, it is an over-simplification. As stated, Foucault did recognise that we are tied to our 'archive'. His 'positivist' studies are possible because they study historical archives. However, when writing 'the history of the present', he is actually studying historical archives as a means of illuminating the (contingent) foundations of his own archive. Clearly, summarising Foucault's ideas is a complex task.

The non-anthropological attitude implies an emphasis on *subject positions* rather than individual persons. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) explain the concept thus:

Discourses always designate positions for people to occupy as subjects. For instance, at a medical consultation the positions of 'doctor' and 'patient' are specified. Corresponding to these positions, there are certain expectations about how to act, what to say and what not to say. For instance, the doctor has the authority to say what is wrong with the patient; the patient can only guess. If the doctor does not believe that the patient is sick, and the patient insists on it, then the patient has exceeded the boundary for what is allowed in the patient position and is branded a hypochondriac. (p. 41)

In the context of writers, one accordingly focuses on the author-function – how the author is constructed in the text and, by extension, positioned in the discourse – rather than the actual person who wrote a text. Then one may, for example, focus on whether the author – as constructed in the text – is positioned as a theorist, a composer, an organist, an institution, etc. This is in line with Foucault's (1969/2002) wish 'not to exclude the problem of the subject, but to define the positions and functions that the subject could occupy in the diversity of discourse' (p. 221). Although I admitted above that discourse analysis does involve some interpretation (in a broad sense) – and that a completely non-interpretive approach is therefore utopic – my initial approach to the texts was done in the most non-interpretive manner possible to avoid the errors of which Christensen warns. Following Foucault, this study is, in short, not hermeneutical. In line with his (1971/1981) 'principle of exteriority', the aim is to treat the positivity of a discourse: The ideal is a kind of 'surface reading' operating at the level of enunciations in the material to identify statements in the discourse.

### 3.2.2 Operationalising theory

The entry on 'Foucauldian discourse analysis' in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* neatly presents the challenge inherent in turning Foucault's theory into a method: 'In one sense *Foucauldian discourse analysis* could be considered something of a misnomer in that Foucault did not develop a method for doing discourse analysis per se; in fact, he actively resisted doing so' (Cheek, 2008, pp. 355–356). The entry ends by defining Foucauldian discourse analysis as being 'about identifying, selecting and using tools from those in the extensive toolbox provided by Foucault's work to shape and frame the research conducted and analysis undertaken' (p. 357). Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 147) have pointed out the

same issue: Those discourse analysts working with quite an abstract concept of discourse and an extensive corpus of material seldom provide details regarding their method.<sup>51</sup>

Nick Hardy (2013) elaborates on the intricate question of method in Foucault's work:

Foucault did not single-handedly generate new *methods* for undertaking research; his actual method was nothing more than extensive *archival research*. These are the kind of research skills most often used by the historian: finding, accessing and extracting information buried deep within an archive of documents. It was Foucault's *methodology* – the particular *theoretical frameworks* he used to order and interrogate his collected data – that was so innovative and particular to him. (p. 96)

As this quotation lays bare, Foucault's method per se was the traditional archival research which is at the core of so much historical work. I have chosen this as my main method of collecting material, too. The theoretical framework has already been presented (Chapter 2), with selections from Foucault's extensive toolbox forming the main theoretical point of departure. It remains to be discussed how this theory may be operationalised in order to 'interrogate' the collected data.

Foucault himself does provide a few, if somewhat vague, comments on method. In the interview 'Questions of method' (1991), he emphasised what he calls *eventalisation* as a key term:

What do I mean by this term [eventalization]? First of all, a breach of self-evidence. It means making visible a singularity at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant, an immediate anthropological trait, or an obviousness which imposes itself uniformly on all. [...] Secondly, eventalization means rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary. (p. 76)

This 'breach of self-evidence' sums up what is crucial about operationalising Foucault's theory: When writing a historical study of historical discourse, one has to approach the material in a way that illuminates how something becomes self-evident rather than taking this self-evidence for granted, *a priori*.

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51 The situation is quite different for other traditions of discourse analysis, which have developed rigorous methods for close study of a smaller amount of source material (e.g. discourse psychology following Potter and Wetherell or critical discourse analysis following Fairclough).

David Armstrong – a prominent practitioner of Foucauldian historical discourse analysis in medical sociology – touches upon this in his chapter ‘A Note on Methodology.’ When commenting on how to operationalise Foucault’s notion of a history of the present, Armstrong (2002) emphasises the importance of accepting that all texts speak the truth: ‘Each text belongs to a regime of truth and the task is not to judge that truth but to make clear its relationship to the present’ (p. 192). Thus, when analysing texts, it is not of great concern whether the content is true or not according to our present discourse’s regime of truth (that which we take for granted, that which for us is self-evident). It is more interesting to see in what ways it was regarded as true within the discourse in question (the relevant regime of truth), and how this relates to the present.

Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) suggest that one should treat discourse ‘as an analytical concept, that is as an entity that the researcher projects onto the reality in order to create a framework for study’ (p. 143). This corresponds well with how I see the role of all the theoretical perspectives presented in Chapter 2. What I call the music theory discourse, for instance, is really entangled in a complex web of discourses that are all interrelated. Meanwhile, the concept of a discourse of music theory is used as a way of sorting out the relevant parts of this reality in order to create a framework for study focused on the historical discursive construction of music theory in Norway. The choice of scope also impacts the level of detail such an analysis will be able to grasp: A study like this one, which analyses a discourse’s development over a period of more than a century, will necessarily be less detailed than a similar study focusing on a single decade (cf. Neumann, 2021, p. 54). But what it lacks in level of detail, it makes up for in the ability to grasp developments on a more general level over a longer stretch of time (much in line with Foucault’s own studies).

Already in my discussion of how to approach historical texts above, I have claimed that I will attempt to identify discursive statements by following the general principles of approaching texts in a non-interpretative and non-anthropological manner. This is the first step of operationalising theory. To explore my findings, I will then invoke the different layers of the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 – the discursive procedures, the distinction between integration and separation, the music-theoretical paradigms and so on. In the manner proposed by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 143), all of these concepts will be treated as analytical concepts that I as researcher project onto reality when constructing meaning. This lays much responsibility on me as researcher, which is what I now will turn to.

### 3.2.3 The role of the researcher

Glenn A. Bowen (2009) sees 'lack of obtrusiveness and reactivity' as an advantage when doing document analysis, further claiming:

Reflexivity—which requires an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings attached to social interactions and acknowledgment of the possibility of the investigator's influence on the research—is usually not an issue in using documents for research purposes. (p. 31)

However, if one assumes that the researcher is never entirely neutral – that there always is some degree of interpretation at play – then reflexivity becomes an issue for document analysis too.

Foucault is as good as invisible in his own historical studies. Like positivism, the invisibility of the author certainly gives an impression of objectivity. But as I have already indicated, discourse analysis cannot claim to be a completely objective enterprise removed from interpretation altogether. As with other qualitative research, the role of the individual researcher is central. Even though this is a Foucault-inspired study, I do not follow Foucault in 'hiding' myself completely. Instead, I play with open cards – in order to increase transparency – in my attempt at analysing music-theoretical discourse in the history of Norwegian higher music education.

The entry on 'Historical discourse analysis' in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* makes the responsibility of the researcher clear:

Working against the disciplinary assumptions of traditional history (scientific historiography or historical realism), historical discourse analysis contests the ideal of the historian as an objective observer or recorder of facts, an author who stands outside the texts she or he reads and writes. [...] The historian's role, from Foucault's perspective, is not the impossible task of writing the true historiography or the revisionist aim to produce a truer history, but the task of uncovering the processes through which history becomes established as such. (Park, 2008, p. 394)

As mentioned above, the necessity of some level of interpretation has an impact on how I approach my source material. It is also often considered an advantage in discourse-oriented studies to possess some degree of insider knowledge of the culture one is studying to be able to grasp its complexities (cf. Nerland, 2003, p. 121; Neumann, 2021, p. 47). Again, although Foucault would rather be called a 'positivist' than a hermeneut and is strikingly anonymous

in his own studies, I believe that it is important to maintain full transparency when it comes to the perspective I am writing from as well as my motivation for undertaking this study.

My own background is in musicology and music theory, and I have mainly worked in the fields of music history and music analysis. As a Norwegian-trained music theorist, I have insider knowledge of the theory discourse in Norway. On the other hand, my own education is somewhat different compared to the conservatoire context I am studying. I also have not regularly taught theory (*satslære*) in conservatoires before or while conducting this study. In essence, my position is neither that of an insider nor that of an outsider; it is somewhere in-between.

As a music theorist, I see the value of music-theoretical knowledge and have my own opinions on this knowledge's relevance for different kinds of music professionals. This is crucial to my motivation for conducting research in the history of music theory and uncovering the processes that have constructed a music theory discourse in Norwegian music education, as well as investigating how the relevant educational choices have been justified. That I value music theory as such does not, however, entail that I would uncritically defend the established Norwegian music theory discourse and its pedagogies. Going into this project, I did believe – and still do – that the theory training in Norway might need to be improved and/or renewed in some way. Or, if it was to remain more or less in its current state, that it would at least benefit from some scrutinising of why students should spend their time studying harmony and counterpoint in this or that way. It is beyond the scope of this study alone to provide a final solution to these complicated issues, but my hope is that it will provide fruitful insights for future discussions on the relevance and value of music theory in higher music education. This will be addressed in Chapter 8.

I see my role as a researcher in this project as providing a critical account of the developments of the music theory discourse in Norway, focusing on the conservatoire context. Active use of theory, as described above, will aid in providing the necessary critical perspectives. I stress that the resulting account will not be the definitive history of music theory education in Norway. Rather, it will be an attempt at uncovering how the relevant theory discourse has been constructed, transformed and justified historically.

### 3.2.4 Ethical considerations

The material for the study is public (either published or unrestrictedly accessible in archives). The material itself is therefore not sensitive. Nonetheless, there are ethical considerations connected to this study.



My critical gaze is not directed toward individual persons, but towards the discourse. I do not deny that this discourse is constituted of statements which are circulated by persons, but these persons are, in turn, also restricted by the available subject positions and the discursive procedures that make some statements tenable and others not. It is this latter perspective that will dominate this study. Treating discourse 'positivistically' (i.e. choosing a non-interpretative approach) is not ethically unproblematic: In some instances, it may lead to accusations of misreading. One might object that what is written is not what was really meant, or that the author's (more or less) obvious intention has not been considered.

Choosing a non-anthropological approach comes with similar ethical challenges in that it reduces the agency of real human beings (both deceased and living) and focuses on the structures constricting the available statements, rather than accepting the personal influence individuals can have on history. Persons central to the historical development I am studying, such as textbook authors and those who have taken part in public debates, will be mentioned in the study. How they as historical agents have contributed to constructing, maintaining and transforming their discourse will therefore not be completely neglected. Still, my focus will be on the discourse rather than historical figures and their intentions.

My above-discussed role as a researcher could also be considered to contain an ethical challenge – the danger of bias, for instance, looms. Although I do not presume to be able to stand 'outside' the discourse as a completely neutral observer, I believe that it is imperative – particularly in a study like this – to avoid one's insider knowledge blinding one from perceiving the taken-for-granted tenets one wishes to detect and study. The 'solution' to this challenge is to question the material through a chosen theoretical framework: 'It is by seeing the world through a particular theory that we can distance ourselves from some of our taken-for-granted understandings and subject our material to other questions than we would be able to do from an everyday perspective' (M. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, pp. 22–23). Using theory actively – and transparently – helps reveal blind spots in one's own perspective, thereby reducing the possible influence of bias on the results.

A general ethical challenge for the research project this dissertation falls under is that it is funded by the institution it sets out to investigate: more specifically, it is funded by the Norwegian Academy of Music and the Lindeman Foundation (*Lindemans Legat*) in the lead-up to the 50-year anniversary of the Academy in 2023. Thus, we are conducting research on the institution paying us to do this and receiving external funding from a foundation that facilitated the establishment of this institution in 1973. As a research fellow, I am also employed at the institution I am investigating. We are aware of these issues in the research

group and have strived to maintain our integrity as researchers by taking a critical approach and aspiring to full transparency in the research process.

### **3.3 Chapter summary**

The main material for this study comprises textbooks, formal curricula and periodicals. The material has been collected through searches – digital and manual – in archives and libraries including, but not restricted to, the National Library of Norway, the National Archives of Norway and the archives and library of the Norwegian Academy of Music.

Following Foucauldian principles, I will approach the material in a largely non-interpretive and non-anthropological manner. The former entails a surface reading treating the positivity of a discourse rather than hermeneutically interpreting the texts in question; the latter entails focusing on the construction of subject positions and author-functions rather than the actual persons speaking and writing. Put simply, the aim of Foucauldian discourse analysis is to identify formations of discursive *statements* from the material which provides a plethora of discursive *enunciations*. It is from the enunciations in my material that I will identify central statements circulating in, and thus defining, the music theory discourse in Norway. This is how I understand the workings of the Foucauldian historical discourse analysis which is the theoretical and methodological basis of my study.



## **PART II**



## 4 Looking outward: Theory books and international contexts

The music theory discourse in Norway is connected to international theory discourses, and it has continuously drawn on international music-theoretical developments throughout its history. This is especially pertinent in the case of theory textbooks that are often – implicitly or explicitly – modelled on international textbooks. By discussing how music theory textbooks published in Norway build on similar books published elsewhere – or, in Bernstein's (2000) terms, how the music theory discourse in Norway recontextualises from other international theory discourses – this chapter aims to address the international contexts of music-theoretical discourse in Norway. Specifically, I will address the following question: *How, and to what extent, do the music theory textbooks published in Norway build on music theory textbooks published elsewhere?*

So, this chapter aims at positioning the music theory discourse in Norway within international music-theoretical contexts. These international connections provide some rather definitive indications of historically central statements and procedures (cf. Foucault, 1971/1981, 1969/2002) in the music theory discourse in Norway. These findings will be elaborated upon in the following chapters and will be important for the analysis in Chapter 7. The material for this chapter has been collected as described in the previous chapter (see Section 3.1). The resulting corpus of relevant books is available in Appendix A. I have approached this material with an analytical attitude founded on the theoretical framework described above (see Chapter 2). While the focus in this chapter is on how international connections – as seen through the textbooks – have been part of the construction of the music theory discourse in Norway, it will be necessary to go into some technical music-theoretical discussions. This chapter will thus also address some key meta-theoretical issues regarding the types of music theory that have been dominant in the music theory discourse in Norway.

Following Foucault (1971/1977, 1971/1981, 1969/2002), this chapter does not aim to uncover one specific 'origin': It is not an attempt at writing the one true history of linear and continuous development that connects the music theory discourse in Norway to international trends in music theory. Rather, it is an attempt at mapping some – definitely not all – of the different international connections that in various ways, and to varying degrees, made possible the emergence of – and developments within – the music theory discourse in Norway. These mapped connections will hopefully lead to some insights regarding how various taken-for-granted notions in Norwegian music theory discourse (both historically and presently) are based on models from other countries, as well as how some of these taken-for-granted notions are historical constructs that once were not taken for granted at all.

I will begin by addressing the international context which dominates the material: German music theory. To this end, I will introduce two music-theoretical frameworks, the *Richterian framework* and the *post-Riemannian framework*, which I argue have been central in the construction of music-theoretical discourse in Norway. Drawing on Foucauldian terminology, I argue that they have been granted a special position in the discourse through commentary (Foucault, 1971/1981). The Norwegian theory discourse has, however, not only built on Germany music theory. I will follow the discussion of German theory with discussions of other international contexts, focusing on the Scandinavian and the Anglo-American. Before concluding, I will provide a brief discussion of theory works that have deliberately tried to maintain a 'Norwegian' profile and thereby resisted internationality.

## 4.1 Looking to Germany

German music theory has been central in the construction of Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. The ties to the former are strong in Norway to this day, although they have weakened somewhat compared to the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The dominance of German (or Germanophone) music theory in Norway could well be described – at least in certain historical periods – as *hegemonic*. Hegemony is here understood in a Gramscian sense, i.e. as a 'social consensus' where power relations have 'become naturalised and so much part of common-sense that they cannot be questioned' (M. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 32). The reasons for this near-hegemonic dominance are manifold. Some are general, including the long tradition of teaching German in Norwegian schools. Others are connected to the close ties between Norwegian and German musical culture – ties which have sometimes been met with strong opposition – that were firmly established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Herresthal, 1993). Several key figures in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Norwegian music and music education were German immigrants (e.g. Carl Arnold and Friedrich August Reissiger). In addition, many of the most famous Norwegian performers and composers received their formal musical education in Germany (e.g. Edvard Grieg and Johan Svendsen). Furthermore, for 19<sup>th</sup>-century musicians, 'the unmarked native tongue for music was (like it or not) [...] German' (Taruskin, 2010b, p. 767). This was also the case for music education:

By the mid-nineteenth century, not only Austrian and German musicians but also Austrian and German institutions were considered the ultimate arbiters of classical music and thus what constituted universal musical value, notwithstanding the fact that they also remained contested ideas. (Tregear, 2020, p. 283)

That said, the ties between music-theoretical discourse in Germany and Norway go back further than the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The very first music theory book to be published in Norway (i.e. Berlin, 1744) was written by the German-born composer and organist Johan Daniel Berlin (Vollsnes, Edwards, et al., 2001, pp. 254–255).<sup>52</sup> In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ole Andreas Lindeman – organist and father/grandfather of the two founders of the Oslo Conservatoire – translated several music-theoretical works by, among others, Albrechtsberger, Fux, Kirnberger, Koch, Marpurg and Vogler into Norwegian (Karevold, 1996, pp. 183–201).<sup>53</sup> These translations were, however, never published. They are nevertheless proof of the circulation of the writings of some of the most central German music theorists of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Norway, as well as of the intimate knowledge of these sources the Lindeman family possessed.

As I will show in the following, German – and specifically Leipzigian – frameworks were adapted in Norway. I will argue that two frameworks in particular (both with ties to Leipzig theorists) became the dominant ways of teaching and understanding music theory in general and harmony in particular. It is, however, important to stress that there were well-known alternatives available in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that proposed somewhat different ways of teaching and understanding harmony. For instance, throughout the century, the Paris Conservatoire championed a harmony pedagogy built on older Italian *partimento* practice (Gjerdingen, 2020). And at the Vienna Conservatoire, Simon Sechter in the mid-century created a harmony pedagogy based on Ramellian fundamental bass theory (Wason, 1985).<sup>54</sup> That one in Norwegian music theory pedagogy ended up looking to Leipzig, however, was probably due to the cultural ties mentioned above as well as the central position and *Ausstrahlungskraft* – to use Wasserloos' (2004) word – of the Leipzig Conservatoire in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. This institution attracted many international students, including Norwegians, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Keym, 2011; Norheim, 1992). Indeed, the whole 'Leipzig model' of conservatoire education – including its theory pedagogy – would spread widely (Wasserloos, 2004).

In the following, I will discuss how the authors of Norwegian textbooks in music theory built on the work of German music theorists. Harmony has arguably been (and still is) the central music-theoretical discipline of modern conservatoire education.<sup>55</sup> It is also in the field of

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52 Berlin was the privileged town musician (*stadsmusikant*) in Trondheim. His book covers elementary music theory (rudiments) as well as an introduction to different keyboard, string and wind instruments. The second Norwegian textbook on music theory to be published in Norway (i.e. Berg, 1782) had similar contents and was written by the privileged town musician in Kristiansand (Vollsnes, Edwards et al., 2001, p. 238).

53 These manuscripts, including a draft for an original harmony textbook (possibly the first of its kind in Norway) are now digitally available through the National Library of Norway's web services.

54 For a discussion of music theory pedagogy at three different European conservatoires in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, see Utne-Reitan (2022a).

55 The number of textbooks dedicated to harmony compared to textbooks dedicated to counterpoint, form or analysis published in Norway – as well as the inclusion of fundamental harmony and harmonic analysis in many of



harmony that the reliance on German models – the so-called *Harmonielehre* tradition – is most obvious. I will therefore focus on harmony in treating two German music-theoretical frameworks that I argue have been key to Norwegian music-theoretical discourse throughout its history: the ‘Richterian’ and the ‘post-Riemannian’. Following these two discussions, I will comment on a few other cases where Norwegian music theory looked to German-language sources for models.

#### 4.1.1 A Richterian framework

What Foucault (1971/1981) calls *commentary* is one of the central internal procedures that order discourse (see Section 2.1.3). Commentary as a discursive procedure produces a discursive hierarchy, wherein a few central sources (e.g. religious or juridical texts) are repeatedly returned to and commented upon. I will argue that in Norwegian music theory of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the music-theoretical and pedagogical work of Ernst Friedrich Richter was granted a special position, as several music theory books published in Norway at the time relate to his work through commentary.

Richter’s *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (1853) was exceedingly popular in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century European music theory education (Holtmeier, 2005, pp. 227–229; Wason, 2002, p. 64).<sup>56</sup> In the decades following its publication in 1853, it was translated into many languages (cf. Damschroder & Williams, 1990, p. 266), including Danish (E. F. Richter, 1853/1871, 1853/1883) and Swedish (E. F. Richter, 1853/1870), making it easily accessible in Scandinavia. The construction of the author-function in the text is telling: On the title page, it is specified that Richter taught at the Leipzig Conservatoire and that the book was intended for use at said institution (Richter, 1853). That the book was presented as the curriculum of a renowned institution – authored by one of its teachers – was likely instrumental to it becoming a key text internationally.

What I have dubbed the ‘Richterian framework’ encompasses the pedagogical model put forward in Richter’s *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (1853) as well as the different adaptations of this model. The framework’s central hallmarks are the use of Roman numeral analysis (in the style of Gottfried Weber), figured bass exercises to be written out by the student in four parts and an adherence to the (written) regulative music-theoretical paradigm. The latter – a very practical, bordering on anti-speculative attitude – is central to the framework. As Richter (1853/1899) writes in his preface: ‘Here the question to be asked is not *Why?* The inquiry of immediate application is *How?*’ (p. vi). Because of this, Dahlhaus (1989, p. 25) reduces him

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the textbooks of elementary music theory and aural training – attests to harmony’s central position (cf. Appendix A).

<sup>56</sup> The harmony textbook was the first part of Richter’s trilogy *Die praktischen Studien zur Theorie der Musik*. The second volume covers simple and double counterpoint (E. F. Richter, 1872), the third canon and fugue (E. F. Richter, 1859). The two latter volumes did not achieve the same status internationally as the first, which I focus on here.

to a 'banal pragmatic.' Another, related feature of the Richterian framework is the concise textbooks: 'Richter's aim in all of his textbooks was to present the material as briefly and concisely, yet completely, as possible' (Christophersen, 2016, p. 224).

A clear example of an adaptation of the Richterian framework in Norway is the very first harmony textbook published in Norwegian, which was written by Gustav Lange. The thoroughly practical focus central to the framework was adopted into Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. Thus, Lange's 1897 textbook is brief and concise; its title – *Praktisk harmonilære* – literally translates as 'Practical Harmony'. In his preface, Lange explicitly states that his textbook is based on Richter's because Richter's framework is best for teaching the hardest part of learning harmony, namely voice leading. The choice of the Richterian framework thus says something central about the Norwegian music theory discourse: Adapting said framework is part of constructing music theory discursively as something practical. It is about learning to master a craft and learning proper voice leading was considered to be the most important, and hardest, part of the study of harmony. I will argue that the statement, *music theory is craft*, is fundamental to the construction of music theory discourse throughout the long 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The reliance on the practical and to-the-point Richterian framework, including the focus on learning a craft and – in the most practical and simple way – learn traditional voice leading rules, says much about the workings of power-knowledge in the music theory discourse in Norway. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Foucauldian perspective always connects knowledge to (productive and/or repressive) power: Knowledge includes something and excludes other things, some ideas are taken for granted and others become unthinkable and equal to madness. In this case, music theory is constructed as a pedagogical discipline in which a specific kind of knowledge – about what musical craft is and about what good voice leading is – circulates.

Although Lange's harmony textbook remained the only harmony text published in Norway until WWII (it appeared in several editions in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century), the dominance of the Richterian framework is also visible in a range of other music theory books published in Norway. For instance, a number of textbooks on elementary music theory provide introductions to harmony that are thoroughly Richterian. Thus, Gustav Bøhn (1907) recommends that students practice voice leading by realising basses following Richter's model. In his 1923 correspondence course in music theory, meanwhile, Johannes Hanssen (n.d.) recommends that students continue their studies by thoroughly studying Lange's book.<sup>57</sup>

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57 That Lange, who began teaching in 1889, taught at the Oslo Conservatoire for forty-eight years also helped position his work as a standard text in the Norwegian music-theoretical discourse long into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Lange also taught central theory teachers of the next generation: Thorleif Eken (who taught from 1930 to 1954), Per Steenberg (who taught from 1935 to 1947) and the Conservatoire's longtime director Trygve Lindeman. As my

That the Richterian framework was the dominant way of teaching and understanding harmony is additionally underlined by how works proposing other approaches explicitly or implicitly targeted their critique at this framework. One early example of this in Norway is the work of Peter Lindeman (1893), who states in the preface to the textbook *Praktisk Modulationslære* ('Practical Modulation') that although students will 'have read the complete *Harmony* by Richter, they are often unable to swiftly *perform* a modulation when this is demanded' (p. 3).<sup>58</sup> Richter's international position at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is similarly negatively affirmed by criticisms from key music theorists keen to propose changes to harmony pedagogy (cf. Louis, 1906; Schenker, 1906/1954; Schoenberg, 1911/1976). But while the many early 20<sup>th</sup>-century critiques of Richter led to transformations in German music-theoretical discourse – most noticeably an increase in speculative and/or analytic music theory<sup>59</sup> – the Richterian framework remained dominant in Norway throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The aforementioned comment by Lindeman actually proposes an even greater focus on the 'how' rather than the 'why', as it aims to increase the emphasis placed on non-written aspects (i.e. practice at the keyboard rather than on pen and paper).

As I will discuss in the following section, the Richterian framework would – following WWII – be challenged by a slightly different way of teaching and understanding harmony. Nonetheless, this framework proved to be long-lived in Norway. Its almost exclusive focus on written regulative theory, realising figured basses (or melodies) and labelling chords with Weberian Roman numerals remained the norm even in the books published in the decades following the war. Although they are not as close to Richter's model text as Lange's book, all the harmony textbooks published in Norway in this period more or less adhere to the mentioned hallmarks of the Richterian framework. These include the 1944 correspondence course by Karl Andersen (n.d.), the conservatoire textbook by Thorleif Eken (1948), a translation of the harmony textbook by Paul Hindemith (1944/1953) and the secondary school textbook by Ingeborg Kindem (1969). This indicates that the position of the statement *music theory is Richterian* remained very strong in the construction of the Norwegian music theory discourse until at least the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>60</sup>

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gaze is 'non-anthropological', I will not pursue these biographical traces any further; this has already been done by Bjerkestrand (1992, 2002).

58 'men selv om de har læst hele Richters Harmonilære, staar de gjerne fast, naar det forlanges, at de i en Fart skal *spille* en Modulation'.

59 Although there are many possible examples, I am thinking of the harmony textbooks by Riemann (1893), Louis and Thuille (1907) and Schreyer (1911).

60 The strong position of the Richterian framework and Lange's work in Norway at the middle of the century is also underlined by how Rykkja (1948), in a review of a Danish theory book, presents the idea of harmonic functions as something completely new and modern since it differed so much from Lange's work (cf. also Nilsen, 1950).

The just-listed sources deviate slightly from the Richterian framework in various ways, demonstrating the discontinuity and complexity of the music-theoretical discourse we are dealing with. Hindemith's book is even more committed to the regulative paradigm than the work of Richter and Lange, and its translator – Olav Gurvin, Norway's first professor of musicology – argues in the preface that he chose to use this book at the University of Oslo because it was unusually concise. Gurvin's translation received favourable reviews in several newspapers, all of which asserted that the book's strength lay in its practical and concise nature (cf. Baden, 1953; P. Hall, 1953; Winding Sørensen, 1953b). This reception underlines once more how music theory, in this case harmony, was constructed as craft – that it is regulative theory.

The subtitle of Hindemith's (1944) book states explicitly that it emphasises exercises and a minimum of rules because 'hardly anyone will feel a great desire to spend more time in the acquisition of harmonic knowledge than is absolutely necessary' (p. iii). Contrastingly, Eken's book from around the same time incorporates some post-Riemannian notions while nonetheless remaining relatively close to the Richterian framework (more on this shortly). A similar hybridity is noticeable in the elementary theory textbook by another teacher (and director) of the Oslo Conservatoire, Trygve Lindeman (1943).

#### 4.1.2 A post-Riemannian framework

By the 1970s, the work of Hugo Riemann – a central figure in the history of Western music theory and in the founding of modern musicology in turn-of-the-century Germany (cf. Fend, 2005; Holtmeier, 2011; Rehding, 2003) – had replaced Richter's as the authoritative source for a music-theoretical framework. Compared with the commentary on Richter, the discursive connections engendered by Riemann are a bit more complicated. This is because although musical function theory, function symbols and functional analysis are all intimately connected to Riemann's name and his works of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, only few later authors of harmony textbooks adapted his theory without making rather large changes. In one of the prefaces to his *Handbuch der Harmonielehre*, which appeared in many editions, Riemann (1929, p. xi) proclaimed confidently that it did not seem likely that his system would need any further changes in the future; on the contrary, he was convinced that by grounding all chords in the three functions (tonic, subdominant and dominant) he had reached a definitive conclusion in the field of harmony theory.

As it turned out, things were not as simple as that. Although Riemann's influence on early 20<sup>th</sup>-century understandings of harmony is indisputable, it seems there was a broad agreement that his theories needed to be developed further. There were, however, many disagreements about

how they should be developed.<sup>61</sup> Following Kirkegaard's use of the term 'post-Riemannian traditions' (not to be confused with 'neo-Riemannian theory'), I speak of a 'post-Riemannian framework' being adopted in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse (cf. Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2020a). Although Hugo Riemann is consistently constructed as the founder of harmonic function theory, different adaptations of his theory would become common in German and Scandinavian music-theoretical discourse; the 'post-Riemannian framework' refers to the range of such later adaptations. Said framework is essentially defined by pedagogy based on the idea that there are only three functions (those of the cadence) – all chords and chord progressions may be reduced to these – and the use of function symbols in harmonic analysis.

Riemann's own works – published in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries – had very limited impact on Norwegian music theory. This is hardly surprising, given Riemann's heavy leaning towards the speculative paradigm (especially regarding the adherence to *harmonic dualism*,<sup>62</sup> which post-Riemannian theorists removed in favour of a so-called *monistic* theory). As stated above, the dominating Richterian framework in Norway propagated a clearly regulative (bordering on anti-speculative) approach. This partly explains the decades-long dismissal of Riemannian (and early post-Riemannian) ideas in Norway. These discursive limits seem to have been stronger in this country than in Denmark or Sweden, as textbooks using the post-Riemannian framework were published in both of the latter countries in 1933. Meanwhile, a full-fledged post-Riemannian harmony textbook did not appear in Norway until 1975 (cf. Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2018, 2019a, 2019b, 2020a; Hvidtfelt Nielsen, 2013a, 2013b, 2017). I will return to detail the Scandinavian context below (see Section 4.2.1).

Developments within the music theory discourse in Germany in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century may also have made possible the eventual adoption of function theory in Norway. Ludwig Holtmeier (2004) has argued that the national socialism of the 1930s and 1940s in Germany had a lasting negative impact on German music-theoretical discourse, even after 1945. He argues that there was a turn away from a theoretically rich tradition of music analysis and towards theoretical simplification and generalisation. At this point, Hermann Grabner's and Wilhelm Maler's adaptations of Riemannian function theory became the standard methods of analysing – and teaching – harmony in Germany. The focus turned from speculative to regulative music theory, also within post-Riemannian theory. This turn towards theoretical

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61 The jungle of function theories following Riemann is discussed in detail elsewhere (e.g. Holtmeier, 2011; Imig, 1970; Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2020a).

62 Harmonic dualism 'represents categories of music-theoretical work that accept the absolute structural equality of major and minor triads as objects derived from a single, unitary process that structurally contains the potential for twofold, or binary, articulation' (Klumpenhouwer, 2002, p. 459). It is especially associated with the theoretical works of Moritz Hauptmann (1853) and Arthur von Oettingen (1866) as well as Riemann's extensive work on harmony. Only very few later music theorists grappling with function theory stuck strictly to the idea of harmonic dualism (one example being Siegfried Karg-Elert).

simplification was probably an important factor in enabling the gradual emergence of a post-Riemannian framework in post-war Norway. The dominating view was still, after all, that function theory was too speculative, too complicated and unsuited for theory pedagogy. As is stated in a 1949 Norwegian music encyclopaedia: 'F. [function theory] is furthermore in its fully developed form very complicated, which makes its practical use somewhat difficult' (Gurvin & Anker, 1949).<sup>63</sup> Grabner's is undoubtedly among the most 'pragmatic' versions of the post-Riemannian framework in the sense of theoretical simplification (cf. Harrison, 1994, pp. 302–307). Accompanied by Maler's later developments, Grabner's became the standard way of doing function analysis in Germany. It is this theoretically simplified foundation that Norwegian textbooks – via developments in Denmark – later would build on.

As has already been mentioned, there are many works which fall in between these key frameworks. While Lange's work is explicitly positioned discursively as a commentary on Richter, Anfinn Øien's (1975) is similarly explicitly positioned discursively as a commentary on Riemann. Again, few authors comment directly on Riemann's work, commenting instead on adaptations, or adaptations of adaptations, thereof (hence, 'post-Riemannian'). Øien mainly builds on the work of the Dane Povl Hamburger (1951) but mentions several other inspirations as well – including the influential German music theorist Hermann Grabner. It must be said that most Norwegian harmony textbooks – except for Lange and Øien – are less clearly positioned, but are usually close to one or the other. Thus, the textbooks by Lange and Øien have a special place in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse: They have both served the role of Norway's main reference book on harmony. The former was the only Norwegian harmony textbook published prior to WWII and appeared in many editions; the latter has since the 1970s been positioned as a key text on harmony.<sup>64</sup> The dissemination of the post-Riemannian framework of Øien's adaptation through central figures of the next generation of theory teachers has also helped position this work as a standard text (cf. e.g. Bjerkestrand, 1976 and K. Habbestad, n.d.-a).<sup>65</sup> The latter is at present used as the main textbook in harmony at the Norwegian Academy of Music.

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63 'F. [funksjonsteorien] er dessuten i sin fullt utviklede form meget komplisert, noe som gjør dens praktiske anvendelse litt vanskelig.'

64 This is also due to the position of its author as a theory teacher with a very long career at central institutions: at the Oslo Conservatoire (1943–1966 as teacher, 1969–1973 as principal), at the University of Oslo (1966–1969) and at the Norwegian Academy of Music (1973–1990 as professor).

65 Bjerkestrand and Habbestad are both long-time theory teachers of the generation following Øien. The former started teaching at the Oslo Conservatoire in 1970 and retired from his position as professor of music theory at the Norwegian Academy of Music in 2011. The latter retired from his position as professor at the Academy in 2022. Habbestad developed the cited teaching material in the early 1980s, while teaching at the Grieg Academy in Bergen, but has revised it several times (most recently in 2015). He has also authored other compendia, which I will return to. These are newer, but similarly undated. I specify which version I have consulted in the reference list.

In order to be able to grasp the different ‘hybrids’ constructed of these frameworks, it is necessary to first point out the key differences between them:

1. The most obvious difference between the Richterian and post-Riemannian frameworks is the chosen system of harmonic analysis. The former uses Weberian Roman numerals (I, ii, iii etc.), the latter Riemannian function symbols (T, S, D etc.). The ontological status of Riemann’s concept of harmonic function – both what a function is and what the symbols represent – is disputed, and has been widely discussed (cf. Dahlhaus, 1966, 1975; Harrison, 1994; Hyer, 2011; Kopp, 1995; Polth, 2001). Rather than going into this general discussion, the present dissertation focuses on how post-Riemannian function theory has been constructed and employed in music-theoretical discourse in Norway. In Foucauldian terms, the change of analytical nomenclature is significant as the adoption of a new ‘modality of enunciation’ – a new method of communication – in the discourse (cf. Foucault, 1969/2002, pp. 81, 83). Each analytical nomenclature says something about its framework’s understanding of tonality.
2. In the Richterian framework, the *scale* is the point of departure and each scale degree may – on an equal basis – take a diatonic triad or seventh chord. In the post-Riemannian framework, the *primary chords* are the point of departure: A key is defined by the three primary functions of T (tonic), S (subdominant) and D (dominant). The other chords of a key are either ‘apparent consonances’ (*Scheinkonsonanzen*) or substitutions (*Stellvertreter*) of a primary function. For Riemann (1893), the only truly consonant chords in a key are the primary chords. All other chords are modifications of these chords – they only appear to be consonant. All this does not entail that there is no distinction between primary and secondary harmonies and no use of the terms tonic, subdominant and dominant in works adhering to the Richterian framework, but in its purest form, functional thinking à la Riemann is foreign to it. Thus, the triad on the second scale degree is, for example, nothing more than the triad on the second scale degree (i.e. it is not implied that it is a modified subdominant or substitution of the subdominant). Additionally, in post-Riemannian theory, some chords (e.g. on the third and sixth scale degrees) may represent different functions depending on context – this notion is foreign to the Richterian framework.
3. To use Dahlhaus’ (1984) terminology, the Richterian framework is situated clearly within the regulative paradigm: The question is how, not why. This is reflected in the descriptive nature of the Weberian Roman numerals utilised. Edward T. Cone (1960) once claimed that ‘analysis as such ceases with the choice of the tonic; once this has been made, the assignment of degree numbers to the chords is pure description’ (p. 173). In the form associated with Weber and Richter, the Roman numerals are almost entirely descriptive

(cf. Rummenh oller, 1967). The post-Riemannian framework, on the other hand, to a far greater extent attempts to convey a sense of tonal logic, thereby incorporating aspects of the speculative paradigm. This is reflected in the hierarchal (and inherently interpretative) nature of Riemannian function symbols.

As mentioned, the harmony textbook by Thorleif Eken (1948) is an example of a work that positions itself in between said frameworks. In its preface, it recommends – among others – the harmony textbook by Louis and Thuille (1907). This textbook was an adaptation of Riemann’s theory widely used in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Germany,<sup>66</sup> but it deviated from most post-Riemannian works in one important respect: It used Roman numerals.<sup>67</sup> Similar to Louis and Thuille, Eken incorporates central post-Riemannian tenets but sticks to Roman numerals. For example, he claims that ‘there are really only three functions in a key, namely the primary triads. The secondary triads are considered as substitutions of these’ (Eken, 1948, p. 19).<sup>68</sup>

Thus, Eken not only uses the keyword *functions*, but states explicitly that the secondary triads are only to be considered as *substitutions* of these functions. The post-Riemannian traits of his book are, however, rather superficial:

Eken (1948) uses the term ‘function numbers’ [*funksjonstall*] about his Roman numerals. In practice, however, there is full congruence between scale step and ‘function’ in Eken’s book, so that even the cadential six-four is labeled as a I in six-four position, rather than a V<sub>4</sub><sup>6</sup>. (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2018, p. 81)

Although Eken (1948) stuck to the descriptive Weberian Roman numeral analysis of the Richterian framework, he did point out that this labelling was misleading: ‘In reality this chord [the cadential six-four] is more like a dominant than a tonic. Why do we double the fifths here? Because it really is a dominant chord, and it is thus the root and not the fifth that is doubled’ (p. 28).<sup>69</sup> All in all, Eken’s book adheres more closely to the Richterian framework than, for example, Louis and Thuille’s. This is most obvious in Eken’s emphasis on regulative theory, which contrasts starkly with Louis and Thuille’s incorporation of a great deal of speculative

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66 A survey from the 1960s also showed that Louis and Thuille’s was the harmony textbook that most theory teachers at conservatoires (*Musikhochschulen*) in West-Germany, Austria and Switzerland used and recommended (von Forster, 1966, p. 259). Its popularity in German-language music theory pedagogy was clearly lasting.

67 The book was, however, given ‘a thoroughgoing Riemannization’ when its tenth and last edition appeared in 1933 (Harrison, 1994, p. 302).

68 ‘Tonearten kjenner egentlig bare tre funksjoner, nemlig hovedtreklangene. Bitreklangene betraktes som stedfortredere for disse.’

69 ‘I virkeligheten er denne akkord [den kadenserende kvartsekstakkord] mer en dominant enn en tonika. Hvorfor har en kvintdobling her? Jo, fordi den egentlig er en dominantklang, og det er alts  ikke kvinten, men grunntonen som er fordoblet.’



theory. The latter is text-heavy and emphasises why-questions throughout;<sup>70</sup> Eken's book is much more in line with the focus on being brief and to the point, expounding harmony's 'how' rather than explaining its 'why'. Early on in his book, after presenting the secondary chords, he claims that one can connect all triads with any of the other triads built on any of the scale degrees of a given key (Eken, 1948, p. 20), underlining the pragmatic attitude as well as the Richterian scale-oriented heritage of his work.

The Richterian framework seems to have lost some of its grip in the 1940s, but it would not be decisively replaced until several decades later. Eken's book demonstrates that some post-Riemannian notions were part of the discourse by 1948, while the Richterian framework still dominated his work. The 1944 correspondence course in harmony by Karl Andersen (n.d.) and the elementary theory textbook by Trygve Lindeman (1943) include some post-Riemannian notions (for example, the idea that secondary chords are substitutions of primary chords), while still retaining Roman numeral nomenclature. Post-Riemannian function symbols do appear in Medbøe (1950), Benestad (1963) and Grinde and Nielsen (1966), but none of these are primarily harmony textbooks. They also propagate a slightly different version of the framework compared to the version that would become standard in Norway.

The first conservatoire textbook in harmony providing a full-fledged post-Riemannian framework is Øien's (1975),<sup>71</sup> which can therefore be considered the definitive turn in Norwegian harmony literature. Arguably, the post-Riemannian framework was considered the dominant way of teaching and understanding tonal harmony in Norway from this point on. It had become a regularity in the discourse – its position was now taken for granted. The wide dissemination of the post-Riemannian framework was due in part to the widely used secondary school harmony textbook by Lisa Bekkevold (1976, 1988). This book roughly follows Øien (with some simplifications) and has been through several reprints, most recently in 2007. A range of later textbooks in music theory (cf. Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1986, 1995; Dugstad, Hagerup, & Smidt, 2010; Dyndahl, 1991; Jeffs, 1995; Jeffs & Rosland, 2009; S. Tveit, 1984) and aural training (cf. J. Christensen, 2017; G. S. Kruse, 2000a, 2000b; Lavik, 1986; Lavik & Krognnes, 1998; Ophus, 2011; Reitan, 2010; Shetelig, 2006; Øye, 2009, 2017a, 2017b) also promote the post-Riemannian framework, cementing its central position in Norway from the

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70 As several changes were made to the book over the years, I note that this claim is based on my reading of its seventh edition (Louis & Thuille, 1920). For example, the authors regularly exclaim '*Grund!*' in parenthesis, indicating that the reader/student should – based on the previously presented theoretical premises – reason and provide a rationale for these principles.

71 An unedited draft was published some years earlier (Øien, 1971). This draft's preface states that the work was a requested reprint (i.e. that it had in fact circulated earlier than 1971) and also that it was intended to fill a gap in the literature, as no modern Norwegian textbook in functional harmony existed.

1970s onwards.<sup>72</sup> While the Norwegian music theory discourse continued to be Germanophile and craft-oriented, an important change had arguably occurred in its formation of statements: *music theory is post-Riemannian* had effectively replaced the previously dominating statement, *music theory is Richterian*.

There are two ways of considering the turn towards the post-Riemannian framework represented by Øien's work. On the one hand, it represents a break – a rupture – in the history of Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. This is what I have claimed above: The earlier works mentioned, those which move towards the break, are thus part of this discursive transformation (a gradual but discontinuous development taking place from the 1940s at least). On the other hand, Øien's work still focuses predominantly on regulative theory; indeed, I will argue that the version of the post-Riemannian framework adopted by Øien brings his work closer to the established Richterian framework than any of the other versions of the post-Riemannian framework used in Scandinavia. It should be said that the two frameworks, Richterian and post-Riemannian, do share many similarities, such as their focus on the writing of four-part harmony and the chord-to-chord vertical (i.e. micro-level) analysis of these settings – what Brian Hyer (2011) termed a 'mania for naming and labeling chords' (p. 111).<sup>73</sup> This would be a focus on the regularity in the historical development of music-theoretical discourse in Norway. I will return to this development later, when I will also discuss debates which pitted the two frameworks against each other (see Section 6.2.1). First, a bigger picture of music-theoretical discourse in Norway is necessary to fruitfully inform this discussion.

The emergence of a post-Riemannian framework did not eradicate the adherence to the anti-speculative notions central to the Richterian framework. I will argue that these notions go deep in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse: They had been a key driver in preventing the emergence of a full-blown post-Riemannian framework prior to Øien (1975). As mentioned above, Norway came late to the post-Riemannian party compared to both Denmark and Sweden. That the discursive procedures of exclusion which dismissed speculative theory were strong is made clear by the theoretical development of the post-Riemannian framework adapted in Norway. As stated, Øien's work really presents a version of the post-Riemannian framework that is more than usually Richterian. He opens his chapter on the primary triads by stating the fundamental tenet of the older theory: 'Triads may be built on all steps of the minor and major scales' (Øien, 1975, p. 22).<sup>74</sup> Nonetheless, he makes it clear that it is the primary triads

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72 Note that some of the works cited employ Roman numerals and/or jazz chord symbols in addition to the post-Riemannian function nomenclature.

73 Another similarity between these two types of analytical approaches to harmonic tonality is, in Ian Quinn's (2019) words, 'the principle that a chord's tendencies depend on the scale-degree identity of its members, or at least of its root' (p. 468).

74 'Det kan dannes treklanger på alle trinn i dur- og mollskalaene.'

and their functions that are at the core of his theoretical framework by constructing a clear hierarchy in which triads built on the other scale steps are seen as either modifications of, or substitutions for, the primary functions (he uses a repertoire of function symbols to express this). Clearly, Øien's work adheres to the post-Riemannian framework. That his is a version of this framework that dispenses with as much speculative theory as possible, however, becomes clear when it is compared to those of other post-Riemannian textbooks. I will return to this when discussing the Scandinavian context (Section 4.2.1).

Sigvald Tveit's still widely used harmony textbook is an even clearer example of the strength of the aforementioned exclusionary discursive procedures (i.e. of the exclusion of speculative theory). Tveit (1984) explicitly attempted to combine the best of both worlds – Roman numerals and function symbols – by reducing the function symbols to an alternative set of labels for the triads and seventh chords of each scale degree. He calls this 'scale degree-oriented function analysis' (*trinnorientert funksjonsanalyse*), and the result is effectively the disguising of Roman numerals as function symbols. In his tables showing how all diatonic triads and seventh chords can be analysed with Roman numerals, function symbols and jazz chord symbols, the systems of analysis are presented as analogous and directly translatable (S. Tveit, 1984, pp. 187–192). I have reproduced Tveit's table of functions for diatonic root-position triads in C major as Figure 1, where I have also added the corresponding nomenclature used by Lange and Øien for comparison.



Lange (1897):	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">C:</span>	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII°
Øien (1975):	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">C:</span>	T	Ss	Ds/Tm	S	D	Ts/Dm	⊘ <sup>7</sup> <sub>3</sub>
Tveit (1984):	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">C:</span>	T	Ss	Tm	S	D	Ts	Dm

Figure 1. Analytical nomenclature for diatonic root-position triads in C major used in three central harmony textbooks published in Norway.

In line with traditional Roman numeral analysis, one can build triads on each scale degree equally in Tveit's (1984) system: 'All chords based on the triads on the seven scale degrees are regarded as independent chords. None of them are "abridged" or "incomplete"' (p. 191).<sup>75</sup> Thus, the diminished triad on the seventh scale degree in a major key would be labelled 'Dm' which

75 'Alle akkorder med utgangspunkt i treklangene på de sju skalatrinnene regnes som selvstendige akkorder. Ingen av dem er "forkortede" eller "ufullkomne".'

is completely analogous to 'vii°'. In most other adaptations of the post-Riemannian framework, this chord would be labelled 'D7' to indicate its identity as a dominant seventh chord without root. Tveit instead labeled this chord as the mediant of the dominant ('Dm') and rendered it autonomous, in line with common practice in Roman numeral analysis. This clearly demonstrates Tveit's bringing function symbols even closer to Roman numerals. Additionally, not a single chord in the table is presented with different possible functional interpretations (as is customary, at least for iii and vi, in most adaptations of the post-Riemannian framework).<sup>76</sup> Another difference between Tveit's system and more emphatically post-Riemannian ones which is not visible in this example is that the former always analyses inversions of the secondary chords according to Roman numeral analysis (i.e. as actual inversions) rather than as primary functions with added tones (commonly the latter's approach). The chord ii<sup>6</sup> is, for example, analysed as 'Ss' in first inversion rather than as the more common 'S6' (a subdominant chord with a sixth replacing the fifth). In short, although the post-Riemannian framework has had, and still has, a central position in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse, its speculative heritage has generally been toned down. Removing as much speculative theory as possible was a necessary condition of its acceptance in the discourse. This is not only evidenced by the relevant textbooks themselves, but also by various debates on music theory in Norway which I will delve into in Chapter 6.

It is worth stressing the complexity of the developments described in this and the last section (4.1.1 and 4.1.2). When I say that the post-Riemannian framework replaced the Richterian framework, I do not mean that Roman numerals were never used again after this change. Rather, I am implying that the dominant way of teaching and understanding tonal harmony changed, and with it the preferred analytical nomenclature. This implies a transformation from one discursive regularity to another. Several later textbooks use Roman numerals (though often in addition to the function symbols); some of these may be read as consequences of growing connections to the Anglo-American context (which I will return to below). In short, although the post-Riemannian framework came to dominate the discourse, several different sets of analytical nomenclature for harmonic analysis were in use at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. For example, the harmony compendium by Reidar Bakke (2000) employs both Øien's and Tveit's variations of the function symbols in addition to Roman numerals.<sup>77</sup>

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76 In his book, Tveit does mention that 'Ds' and 'Sm' may be used in special cases, but he uses them very sparingly and does not include them in this table. In a similar table of primary and secondary triads in Øien (1975, p. 125), they are included.

77 Bakke taught at NTNU in Trondheim.

### 4.1.3 Other connections to German-language sources

Otto Winter-Hjelm's (1888) textbook in elementary music theory is one of very few Norwegian music-theoretical textbooks to be positioned clearly in the speculative paradigm. It is the only trace I have found of the dissemination of harmonic dualism – widespread in 19<sup>th</sup>-century German music theory (cf. Harrison, 1994; Klumpenhouwer, 2002, 2011) – in Norway. Winter-Hjelm (1888) specifically mentions Moritz Hauptmann as an inspiration, and he makes use of the distinction between *tonicity* and *phonicity* put forward by Oettingen (pp. 46–59). Crucially, Winter-Hjelm's understanding of the relationship between major and minor triads is purely dualistic:

In the same way as the *major triad* (the tonic harmony) builds itself *upwards* from a tone to its major upper-third and its over-dominant [over-fifth], the *minor triad* (the phonic harmony) similarly builds itself *downwards* from a tone to its major under-third and its under-dominant. (p. 75)<sup>78</sup>

Compared to other early Norwegian textbooks in elementary theory, which include only the bare minimum of speculative theory (Bøhn, 1907; Kobberstad, 1879, 1881; Lange, 1904; Roques, 1889/1892; Ziener, 1893), it is safe to say that Winter-Hjelm's work is an instance of discontinuity in late 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century music-theoretical discourse in Norway.

The German writings of Hermann Grabner, whose way of doing functional analysis became standard in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, did not only leave traces in harmony pedagogy, but also in the pedagogy of tonal counterpoint. For instance, Nils Grinde's textbooks in Bach counterpoint are built on, among others, Grabner's counterpoint textbooks (Grinde, 1989; Grinde & Nielsen, 1966). The ideas of musical form presented in Medbøe (1950), meanwhile, build on central German-language music-theoretical literature from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the work of Ernst Kurth and Rudolf von Tobel.

During the second half (and especially the last third) of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it became increasingly common to include newer stylistic idioms in theory courses in addition to modal counterpoint and functional harmony. Thus, Paul Hindemith's *Unterweisung im Tonsatz* – known in English as *The Craft of Musical Composition* (Hindemith, 1939/1941, 1937/1942)<sup>79</sup> – has been used and adapted. Both Bjerkestrand (1998g) and Habbestad (n.d.-e) authored compendia aimed at conservatoire students with summaries in Norwegian of Hindemith's principles.

78 'Ligesom *durklangen* (den toniske klang) bygger sig *op* fra en tone til dens store overterz og dens overdominant, saaledes bygger *mollklangen* (den foniske klang) sig nemlig *ned* fra en tone til dens store underterz og dens underdominant.'

79 A third volume was published posthumously in 1970, but this has not been translated.

These examples prove the centrality of recontextualising from German-language music theory even beyond the Richterian and post-Riemannian frameworks. At least until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and one may argue up until today, the Norwegian music theory discourse has been constructed primarily by looking to models in German literature. In conclusion, it is safe to say that ‘German’ music theory has held a more or less hegemonic position in Norway.

## 4.2 Other international contexts

The dominating frameworks of Norwegian music theory discourse in the period we are interested in – the Richterian and the post-Riemannian – are clearly constructed as ‘German’ due to the commentary on the works of Richter and Riemann. But despite taking so many impulses from Germany, Norwegian music theorists have also looked elsewhere. Many (less dominating) impulses have come from other international music-theoretical discourses. For instance, there has been much exchange within Scandinavia due to the geographical, cultural and linguistic proximity of Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Secondly, Anglo-American music theory was increasingly looked to following WWII.

### 4.2.1 The Scandinavian context

The exchange between music theorists of the Scandinavian countries has always been extensive. As already indicated, many of the impulses Germany gave to Norway were more or less ‘filtered’ through their earlier reception in other Scandinavian countries. This is especially the case with the adoption of post-Riemannian theory in Norway. The history of post-Riemannian function theories in Scandinavia has already been thoroughly discussed by Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen (2013a, 2013b, 2017, 2019, 2022) and Thomas Husted Kirkegaard (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2018, 2019a, 2019b, 2020a).<sup>80</sup> My understanding of harmony theory in the Scandinavian context heavily relies on these previous works. Here, I will focus on broadly situating the ways in which connections to Sweden and (especially) Denmark have affected Norwegian music-theoretical discourse.

When it comes to the post-Riemannian framework, Norwegian music theorists have almost consistently looked to Denmark. For instance, Øien (1975) builds on Hamburger (1951). Although Øien builds on a Danish adaptation of the post-Riemannian framework, this framework would not have as much impact in Denmark as in Norway where it was propagated by Øien. Meanwhile, Eken (1948) builds on Hamburger and Godske-Nielsen (1939),

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80 Mattias Lundberg (2019) also discusses the early reception of Riemann in Sweden.

who also incorporate some post-Riemannian notions into an otherwise rather Richtertian framework. As noted above, Eken – like Hamburger and Godske-Nielsen – probably took the post-Riemannian notions he incorporated into his otherwise Richtertian framework from Louis and Thuille (1907), a markedly more post-Riemannian work than either Eken’s or Hamburger and Godske-Nielsen’s.

Neither Hvidtfelt Nielsen nor Kirkegaard have mentioned in their recent scholarship that the theories put forward in the first Danish post-Riemannian textbook, by Finn Høffding (1933), were adapted in Norway by Jon Medbøe (1950).<sup>81</sup> Medbøe’s book is not, strictly speaking, a harmony textbook: It is rather an attempt at a holistic approach to music integrating music history and music theory (harmony, counterpoint, form, melody, rhythm, acoustics), and it was used as a textbook in music history at the Oslo Conservatoire in the years following its publication in 1950.<sup>82</sup> That function nomenclature was considered something new in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse is made clear by a reviewer who remarked that it was ‘something new and decidedly valuable in harmony pedagogy in contrast to the common “Roman numeral analysis” which alone does not give the correct understanding of the logic and deeper meaning of harmony’ (Nilsen, 1950, p. 4).<sup>83</sup> Although a similar function nomenclature is found in a few other sources from the 1960s (Benestad, 1963; Grinde & Nielsen, 1966), a full-fledged harmony textbook primarily built on Høffding’s system did not appear in Norway. Medbøe’s book received a mixed reception from more established figures in Norwegian musicology (cf. Gurvin, 1950), and it had little lasting impact on the harmony discourse in Norway.<sup>84</sup> One possible explanation for the restricted influence of Medbøe’s work on the music theory discourse in Norway is that the adaptation of the post-Riemannian framework he presented was arguably theoretically more complex than the version that would become the norm two decades later.<sup>85</sup> As I have argued and will continue to argue, the idea that music theory was practical (or ‘regulative’, in Dahlhaus’ terminology), and therefore uncomplicated and especially not speculative, was extremely persistent in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse, effectively excluding too-speculative frameworks.

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81 Using the typology to be presented shortly, Høffding’s adaption of the framework is ‘key-relational’ (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2018, 2020) but using only the p-relation (i.e. without *Leittonwechselklang*, *Gegenklang*, etc.).

82 Medbøe was a teacher in music history and form at the institution from 1949 to 1964 (T. Lindeman & Solbu, 1976, p. 104)

83 ‘noe nytt og avgjort verdifullt i harmonilæren i motsetning til den vanlige “trinanalyse” som alene ikke gir den rette forståelsen av harmonikkens logikk og dypere mening’.

84 Jon Medbøe did, however, act as a mentor for the Norwegian modernist composer Arne Nordheim, who found Medbøe’s philosophical lectures more inspiring than the traditional theory training offered at the Oslo Conservatoire. Herresthal (2015, pp. 42–44) discusses Nordheim’s relation with Medbøe. He also claims that Medbøe was dismissed from his position at the Conservatoire in 1964.

85 See, for example, Medbøe’s (1950, p. 161) intricate visualisation of tonal space, showing how all chromatic tones may be functionally interpreted within C major.

Despite there being a lot of exchange between the Scandinavian countries when it comes to the adopting of the post-Riemannian framework, there are also striking differences between their individual approaches. Somewhat like the Scandinavian languages, the versions of the post-Riemannian framework in Norway, Sweden and Denmark are similar – but not the same. The ways in which the post-Riemannian framework was ultimately adopted and adapted in Norway differ from the developments in Denmark and Sweden, and these differences give several clues to the inner workings of the music theory discourse in Norway. I will therefore present a brief comparison and discuss the implications of the differences.

A defining feature of the post-Riemannian framework is the notion that the secondary triads of a key are transformations of, or substitutions for, the three functions associated with the primary chords (T, S, D). Thus, secondary chords are related to primary chords with roots a third apart (with which, in diatonic contexts, they share two common tones). Exactly how this third-relation is conceptualised and expressed analytically, however, varies across our countries of interest. Kirkegaard presents an extremely useful typology of function theories and their nomenclature (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2020a),<sup>86</sup> which elucidates the key differences between the most influential versions of the post-Riemannian framework in post-WWII Norway, Sweden and Denmark:

1. *Key-relational function theory*: ‘Functional relations are conceptualized on the basis of how secondary functions are positioned in the tonal network of the prevailing major or minor key. Third-relations are thus designated with symbols such as p for *Parallel* or *Parallelklang*, and g for *Gegenparallel* or *Gegenklang* (k for *kontraparallell* in Sweden)’ (p. 538).<sup>87</sup> This type is particularly associated with Hermann Grabner. It is (together with its sub-type, presented below) widespread in Germany and is, in the Scandinavian context, particularly common in Swedish harmony literature.
  - (a) *Mode-relational function theory*: ‘Functional relations are conceptualized on the basis of how secondary functions are positioned in the tonal network extending from the major-minor tonic. [...] The mode-relational function theory posits that in any key (typically in Romantic music), the three main functions may relate *directly* to all third-related chords of their major *and* minor versions’ (p. 538). This sub-type of the key-relational function theory is associated with Wilhelm Maler.

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86 This typology has previously been presented in an earlier article (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2018), but I cite from the revised version presented in the 2020 dissertation.

87 Kirkegaard specifically italicises the German *Parallel* (English: ‘Relative’) to avoid confusion with the English ‘parallel’.



2. *Progressional function theory*: ‘Functional relations are conceptualized on the basis of paradigmatic chord progressions. The *Parallel*-term is often reserved for instances where there is an actual indication (by tonicization or modulation) of the *Parallel* key. Within the key, secondary functions are named after their third relation to one of the main functions with symbols like a/af (derivation [*afledning*]), s/st (substitution [*stedfortræder*]), g (passing chord [*gennemgang*]), f (extension [*forlænger*]) and otst (overthird substitution)’ (p. 539). This is the most wide-spread type in Denmark.
  - (b) *Processual function theory*: ‘Functional relations are conceptualized on the basis of repeated chord-to-chord processes. In a manner that resembles the transformational attitude of neo-Riemannian theory to some extent (see Kirkegaard-Larsen 2018), the functional suffixes imply that a chord is transformed, but – importantly – that it retains its tonal character by referring to the main function from which it is derived’ (pp. 539–540). This sub-type is found in some Danish textbooks.
3. *Interval-relational function theory*: ‘Functional relations are conceptualized on the basis of a secondary function’s directed intervallic distance from a main function. Like progressional theories, the *Parallel* is usually reserved for actual modulations of the *Parallel* key. Without such implications of change of key center, third-related chords are determined as s (submediant) and m (mediant)’ (p. 540). This type was introduced in Denmark by Hamburger (1951) but became most common in Norway following its use by Øien (1975).

Broadly speaking and using Kirkegaard’s terminology, one can claim that in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the key- and mode-relational versions were used in Sweden,<sup>88</sup> the progressional and processual versions in Denmark and the interval-relational one in Norway.

Let us consider the various interpretations of an A minor chord in C major to illustrate the differences between these adaptations of the post-Riemannian framework. In key-relational terms, this A minor chord would normally be labelled ‘Tp’, since A minor is the *Parallel* (i.e. relative) of C major; in some rarer contexts, it would be labelled ‘Sg’ (or in Swedish, ‘Sk’).<sup>89</sup> In progressional terms, the label would depend on the context (the *progression*): If the A minor chord followed a C major chord, it would be labelled ‘Taf’ (a derivation of the

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88 As these correspond to the much-used German adaptations of Grabner and Maler, the Swedes have stayed most true among the Scandinavians to the models imported from Germany.

89 In major keys, the p-relation would therefore be a third below and, in minor, a third above. Although interval-relational theory has been the norm in Norway since Øien at least, one also finds a few Norwegian theory books presenting functions using key-relational terms (cf. Benestad, 1963; Grinde & Nielsen, 1966; Medbøe, 1950; Risa, 1995; Stigar, 2004). These do, however – like Høffding (1933) – solely use the p-relation and not the term *Gegenparallel* (or any equivalent of it). I have not encountered full-blown key-relational function theory using both kinds of parallels in the Norwegian sources.

tonic), but if it followed a G major chord, it would be ‘Tst’ (substituting for the tonic), and it would be ‘Sf’ (extending the subdominant) if it followed an F major chord. In interval-relational terms, the chord would be labelled ‘Ts’, as it is the diatonic chord a third below (*submediant*) the tonic, or – much more rarely – ‘Sm’, because it is the diatonic chord a third above (*mediant*) the subdominant. The term *mediant* initially meant ‘in the middle’ – the secondary chords on the third and sixth step are in the middle of the fifth-related primary chords. It has since changed meaning, now denoting third-relation. Øien (1975), meanwhile, could – especially if the chord was in first inversion with a doubled C – also label it ‘T6’ (i.e. as the tonic triad with a sixth replacing the fifth). This transformational option for the tonic is, however, not commonly found in other Norwegian harmony textbooks (c.f. Bekkevold, 1976; 1988; Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1995; S. Tveit, 1984).

There is no consensus in the Norwegian textbooks about when to label a chord as a submediant (i.e. ‘Ts’ or ‘Ds’) or a mediant (i.e. ‘Tm’ or ‘Sm’). Most agree that it depends on context. Bekkevold (1976, 1988) claims that under-mediants substitute for primary chords in root position, while over-mediants substitute for primary chords in first inversion. Tveit (1984) asserts that the chords built on the third and sixth scale degrees are first and foremost perceived as being related to the tonic chord: He therefore labels them ‘Tm’ and ‘Ts’ with only few exceptions (see Figure 1). In her aural training book, Jorun Christiansen (2017) proposes that submediants only be used in major modes, mediants only in minor modes. I have not found this rather obscure variant of the theory elsewhere.

In interval-relational function theory, as in Roman numeral analysis, chords are labelled based on the scale degree of their root. ‘Ts’ is always analogous to vi (or VI), because it is the triad a third below the tonic and therefore necessarily the sixth scale degree, regardless of minor or major key context. The key- and mode-relational variants differ in that the chord of the sixth scale degree (sticking to this one example) is assigned different symbols depending on the key: A minor in a C major-context is ‘Tp’ or ‘Sg’ while A flat major in a C minor context is ‘Tg’ or ‘Sp’ (mode-rationally: ‘tG’ or ‘sP’). In interval-relational theory, both are normally labelled ‘Ts’ (or, less commonly, ‘Sm’). Interval-relational functions are, however, not analogous to Roman numerals – albeit Tveit’s variant comes pretty close – as the chord on the sixth scale degree may represent two different functions and thus be labelled in two different ways. This also applies to the chord on the third scale degree. Another difference is that  $ii_5^6$  and  $ii^6$  are usually analysed as modified subdominants, with an added sixth (‘S<sub>5</sub><sup>6</sup>’) and with added sixth and omitted fifth (‘S6’) respectively. One is therefore interpreting the fourth scale degree, not the second, as the root. Lastly, the diminished triad on the leading tone is – as customary in most adaptations of the post-Riemannian framework – not regarded

as an independent chord, but as a dominant seventh without a root. All of these distinctions are more or less erased in Tveit's system, however.

Two example progressions using vi in C major and VI in C minor are reproduced as Figure 2. They are analysed following the three main function theory types to illustrate the aforementioned differences between these. Notice how the key-relational analysis differentiates between the tonal contexts with different analyses in major and minor, as well as how the progressional analysis differentiates between the different progressional contexts. The interval-relational type, for better or worse, does neither.



Key-relational:	[C:] T Tp S D Tp S D <sup>7</sup> T	[c:] T Tg S D Tg S D <sup>7</sup> T
Progressional:	[C:] T Taf S D Tst S D <sup>7</sup> T	[c:] T Taf S D Tst S D <sup>7</sup> T
Interval-relational:	[C:] T Ts S D Ts S D <sup>7</sup> T	[c:] T Ts S D Ts S D <sup>7</sup> T

Figure 2. Analyses of two chord progressions exemplifying the approaches of key-relational, progressional and interval-relational function theories.

One could thus argue that, in the context of Scandinavian adaptations of the post-Riemannian framework, Norwegian theorists adopted the most descriptive type – the one which is closest to Roman numeral analysis. Furthermore, this type was – having first been adopted by Øien – later revised by Tveit to make it as similar to Roman numeral analysis as possible. This says much about the notions of pragmatism and practicality ingrained in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse: Any traces of speculative theory had to be removed when replacing the old Roman numerals with the new function symbols (an indication of the complex workings of power-knowledge within this discourse). Although the function symbols, as a new enunciative modality, did to a greater degree convey some sense of tonal logic, the theoretical rationale for this logic – i.e. the speculative aspect – was reduced to a bare minimum. Building on Foucault (1971/1981), I will argue that this is a consequence of exclusionary discursive procedures – more specifically, what I call an *aversion to complexity*. I will elaborate on this in Chapter 7.

Impulses from the Scandinavian context have not only been vital in the case of harmony pedagogy. Danish sources have been essential to counterpoint pedagogy in Norway – more

specifically, regarding modal counterpoint. This is, however, not particularly surprising, seeing as the work of Knud Jeppesen (1927/1970, 1930/1992) is a rare example of a Scandinavian music theorist with global reach. Richard Taruskin (2010a) rather dismissively writes: 'Either in the original or in its English language edition, published in 1939, Jeppesen's *Counterpoint* was standard pabulum in European and American conservatories and universities at least until the early 1960s' (p. 670). He then asserts that the study of Palestrina style in general, according to Jeppesen's work in particular, has lost some of its hold on the curriculum internationally since then. Jeppesen's work has remained a popular way of teaching modal counterpoint in Norway, however, and several of the country's music theorists have written compendia in Norwegian based on Jeppesen's textbook in order to make it more accessible for students (Bjerkestrand, 2011; Grinde, 1990; K. Habbestad, n.d.-c).<sup>90</sup>

As has been made clear, Norwegian music-theoretical discourse has strong ties to its Danish counterpart. But there are also several works that demonstrate connections to Swedish sources. Olaf Ziener (1893), for example, cites Jacob Axel Josephson as one of his main sources (together with the German Johann Christian Lobe), and Eken (1948) recommends Harald Fryklöf's work to those undertaking further studies in the harmonisation of melodies in the church modes. In the context of aural training, there also has been much exchange between the Scandinavian countries, and works by the Swede Lars Edlund and the Dane Jørgen Jersild especially have been frequently used in Norway since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Bergby & Blix, 2016). The latter has also provided theoretical impulses for a post-Riemannian approach to romantic harmony, the so-called position-theory (Jersild, 1970).<sup>91</sup> This theory is, for example, presented in Stigar's (2011) textbook on music analysis, as well as in an unpublished textbook on romantic harmony used at the Norwegian Academy of Music (Tykesson, 2016).

#### 4.2.2 The Anglo-American context

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, connections to English-language literature became increasingly common in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. Proponents of keeping (or re-introducing) Roman numerals looked to Anglo-American music-theoretical discourse, where Riemannian function symbols had never supplanted Roman numerals. One early example of this phenomenon is the work of Ingeborg Kindem (1968, 1969), which is explicitly based on British textbooks for secondary school music teaching.

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90 Per Steenberg, theory teacher at the Oslo Conservatoire, had also studied with Jeppesen in Copenhagen (Bjerkestrand, 2002, p. 118). According to Herresthal (2019, p. 444), Steenberg used Jeppesen's textbook when teaching Palestrina's style of vocal polyphony and Grabner's textbook when teaching Bach's style of counterpoint.

91 See Hvidtfelt Nielsen (2012), for a discussion of Jersild's position theory.

Petter Stigar (2004) modelled his comprehensive textbook in ‘Elementary Harmony’ (*Elementær harmonilære*) – with the subtitle of ‘Chorale Harmonisation, Counterpoint, Figured Bass and Variations’<sup>92</sup> – on the even more comprehensive, and widely used, English-language textbook by Robert Gauldin (1997).<sup>93</sup> Stigar (2004, p. 5) writes in his preface that, prior to authoring this book, he had for several years based his teaching in Bergen on Gauldin’s work. As such, he incorporates much of Gauldin’s reductive method, which is the closest a Norwegian music theory textbook in harmony and counterpoint has come to the Anglo-American Schenkerian approach. In addition to basing his textbook on Gauldin’s work, Stigar makes numerous references to another staple of Anglo-American harmony pedagogy, namely Aldwell and Schachter (2003). Indeed, Stigar’s work stands out in the context of Norwegian music-theoretical discourse in that it is thoroughly Americanised and only to a limited extent builds on the established German-centric discourse. Stigar (2004) explicitly states that his book aims to ‘adapt an American music theory tradition for Norwegian conditions’ (p. 5).<sup>94</sup> Although Roman numerals are the primary means of harmonic analysis in the book (together with more horizontally oriented Schenker-inspired methods), Stigar emphasises that students need to know the function symbols as well. These are therefore included and occasionally used in the textbook’s analyses.<sup>95</sup> However, he argues that the function symbols are best suited to the interpretation of larger formal units than the chord progressions in the musical foreground (pp. 239–241).

As mentioned above, Sigvald Tveit proposes a fusion of Roman numeral analysis and post-Riemannian function analysis. By retaining post-Riemannian function symbols as a central part of his textbook, he is clearly taking part in the commentary on Riemann and engaging in the continued reception of German music theory in Norway. The other elements of his work, which make it stand out among Norwegian harmony textbooks, are the result of connections to the Anglo-American context. They are also the impulse for the ‘new’ in the book’s title, *Harmonilære fra en ny innfallsvinkel* (1984), which translates as ‘Harmony From a New Perspective.’ That Tveit’s work draws heavily on Anglo-American music theory is underlined by the fact that 13 of the 17 books in his list of recommended literature were published in the US. In addition to (re)introducing a Roman numeral-based approach to harmony, Tveit also

92 ‘Koralharmonisering, kontrapunkt, generalbass og variasjonssatser’.

93 Stigar, a professor at the Grieg Academy in Bergen, was not the first Bergen-based theory teacher to disregard the post-Riemannian framework. Trygve Fischer, to whom I will return in Chapter 6, was highly critical of the use of Riemannian function symbols. In the preface to his harmony compendium (probably from around 1970), he argues that function terminology is pedagogically impractical and that the simpler Roman numerals are to be preferred (Fischer, n.d.).

94 ‘tilpasning av en amerikansk satslæretadisjon til norske forhold’.

95 Stigar’s (2004, p. 41) function nomenclature differs from both Øien’s and Tveit’s in that he calls the secondary triads parallel chords instead of mediant chords.

assimilated a fundamentally empirical attitude from the Anglo-American literature. This is especially evident from his presentation of different chord progressions.

Tveit (1984) claimed that ‘the study of harmony as such is really neutrally descriptive’ (p. 17).<sup>96</sup> As Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen (2017, p. 144) notes, this kind of descriptive and empirical stance has in the history of music theory been associated with the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century German writings of Gottfried Weber but was later championed by authors of 20<sup>th</sup>-century American harmony textbooks such as Walter Piston, Robert W. Ottman and Gordon Delamont (all three of which are included in Tveit’s list of recommended literature). Hvidtfelt Nielsen (2017) claims repeatedly that the special attention accorded to so-called ‘progression rules’ – principles of how chords typically progress with regard to root motion (not to be confused with progressional function theory) – is typically ‘Norwegian’ in the context of Scandinavian harmony textbooks. Although he points to some precedents in earlier Norwegian harmony textbooks (Eken, Øien), Tveit gives more focus than any other Norwegian writer to progression rules. In Tveit’s (1984, pp. 92–97) system – which Hvidtfelt Nielsen (2017, pp. 153–155) notes Tveit tacitly adopts from Delamont’s (1965, pp. 102–106) ‘Basic Theory of Chord Progression’ – root motions by descending fifths, ascending seconds and descending thirds are *primary*, whereas the remaining are *secondary*, because the former are used more frequently than the latter in tonal music.<sup>97</sup> This is at the core of Tveit’s presentation of functional harmony, which is therefore rather different from the (post-)Riemannian framework – despite Tveit’s use of its symbols – in that it focuses on typical root motions rather than the relation of each chord to a primary function.<sup>98</sup> As indicated above, the descriptive focus of Tveit’s work also reduces the speculative aspects of the function symbols, which become almost equal to Roman numerals in their descriptiveness.

Tveit’s harmony textbook also discusses a much broader range of musical styles than was common, including chapters on jazz and popular music arranging.<sup>99</sup> A similar stylistic span to Tveit’s was later propagated by Bjerkestrand and Nesheim’s (1995) textbook, which includes chapters on blues and jazz. That said, these works include references to other styles while maintaining their focus on Western classical music which utilises mostly functional tonality – four-part chorales in particular. A more recent, contrasting approach is provided by Audun Molde’s (2013) harmony textbook, which focuses on popular music while nonetheless including

96 ‘Harmonilære som sådan er egentlig nøytralt beskrivende.’

97 While the justification of this division is empirical, Delamont and Tveit also propose a theoretical explanation based on whether sevenths would be resolved or not in the progressions.

98 For an in-depth discussion of this aspect, see Hvidtfelt Nielsen (2017, pp. 140–145).

99 Tveit (1984) cites several works by Dick Grove, with whom he studied in the late 1970s. In his speech at Tveit’s retirement from the musicology department at the University of Oslo, Jon-Roar Bjørkvold (2012, p. 96) claimed that Tveit’s use of Grove’s textbooks ‘completely revolutionised the music theory training in our department’ (*revolusjonerte hele satslæreundervisningen ved vårt institutt*).

an introduction to classical harmony. Furthermore, music theory textbooks more completely dedicated to styles beyond Western classical music have also been published. These include Bjørn Kruse's (1978, 1980) textbooks on jazz theory and popular music arranging that are heavily based on American music theory textbooks.

Music theory has developed into a large and autonomous field of academic research in the United States since the 1970s. Impulses from this field on the music theory discourse in Norway have been limited. The most explicit are found in Hroar Klemp's (1999) introduction to generative theories of music analysis where he presents key concepts from Schenker (1935/1979), Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983) and Forte (1979) – all of which are canonical in Anglo-American academic music theory. The core activity of this research field is music analysis – traditionally, specifically score-based music analysis. Among the music theory textbooks published in Norway, there are few that are dedicated to teaching this aspect of music theory. Analysis is included in most textbooks on harmony, counterpoint and form, but as a means to learning a specific aspect of the compositional craft in question. It is only with Stigar (2011) and Dahl (2011) that Norwegian textbooks dedicated to music analysis appear, and particularly the former draws heavily on Anglo-American music theory.

Lastly, several of the compendia that, at the time of writing, are used as textbooks in courses at the Norwegian Academy of Music's undergraduate programmes present summaries of central Anglo-American theory works: The course in sonata form (K. Habbestad, n.d.-d) builds on Caplin (1998), the course in tonal counterpoint (K. Habbestad, n.d.-b) on Kennan (1959)<sup>100</sup> and the course in 20<sup>th</sup>-century harmony (K. Habbestad, n.d.-e) on Persichetti (1961). In the recent history of the Norwegian Academy of Music, the work of Anders Tykesson – professor of music theory since 2014 – has been influential. In his dissertation, published in Sweden, Tykesson (2009) draws on Robert Hatten's (2004) work on gestural energy and implicit musical agents, among other things.

In short, connections to the Anglo-American context have had a growing importance in the music-theoretical discourse in Norway since the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This especially applies to – but is not restricted to – the works of Sigvald Tveit and Petter Stigar.

### 4.2.3 Other international contexts

It is possible to identify connections to other international contexts than just those mentioned above, even if these mainly occur in single instances. For example, several secondary sources mention that W. v. Kvetzinsky – who taught at the Oslo Conservatoire from 1929

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100 Habbestad mixes Kennan's ideas with principles from Povel Hamburger's work on instrumental counterpoint.

to 1949 – used Rimsky-Korsakov’s harmony textbook in his teaching (Bjerkestrand, 2002, p. 117; T. Lindeman & Solbu, 1976, p. 52). Also, among the above-mentioned translations by Ole Andreas Lindeman, there is one of the German edition of Luigi Cherubini’s originally French-language counterpoint textbook (cf. Karevold, 1996, pp. 183–201).

Particularly for theories of newer music, important impulses have come from the French-language literature. Bjerkestrand (1998f) provides a summary of the musical theories of Olivier Messiaen. The ‘Aural Sonology Project’, which developed a method of aural analysis of *music-as-heard* that was for years taught as part of the composition education at the Norwegian Academy of Music, also builds on connections to French music theory (the work of Pierre Schaeffer in particular), among other influences.<sup>101</sup> The main output of this project, initiated in the 1970s, is Lasse Thoresen’s monograph *Emergent Musical Forms* (2015). I will return to the Aural Sonology Project later (see Sections 5.2.2 and 6.2.2).

### 4.3 Resisting internationality

Music theory has never been an autonomous field of research in Norway. Its main profile has been pedagogical, and it has – as argued above – been built on various existing (mainly German) theoretical frameworks. This is not to say that no Norwegian music theorists have produced original ideas, but rather that most of these developments have taken existing international frameworks as their point of departure (e.g. Tveit’s simplification of the post-Riemannian framework). There have, however, also been some very few attempts at creating original ‘Norwegian’ theories of music explicitly resisting international impulses.

The best example of a music theory book proposing an original ‘Norwegian’ (or even ‘Norse’) theory in opposition to the dominating German theories is Norwegian composer Geirr Tveitt’s *Tonalitätstheorie des parallelen Leittonssystems* (G. Tveit, 1937b)<sup>102</sup> – the treatise was published in Norway but written in German. In this theoretical treatise, Tveitt proposes a (modal) tonality built on parallel leading tones (in contrast to major/minor tonality, which is built on leading tones in contrary motion). He bases his study on Norwegian folk music as well as a contemporaneous art music tradition rooted in this folk music. While Tveitt takes

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101 Rolf Inge Godøy (1984) discusses Schaeffer’s theories in an academic article published in the Norwegian journal of musicology, *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*. In a later article in the same journal, he discusses the music-theoretical work of Greek-French composer Iannis Xenakis (Godøy, 1991).

102 Tveitt changed the spelling of his surname, which was originally spelled ‘Tveit’. He did this after publishing the book, which therefore retains the old spelling of his name in the citation. At this point he had already changed his first name from ‘Nils’ to ‘Geirr’.



folk music as his point of departure, he creates a theory of tonality – and of harmony – that one primarily finds in the music of contemporaneous composers. His work thus reaches beyond the domain of folk music and into the domain of Western classical music and its associated music theory discourse. In the treatise, Tveitt confers new Old Norse-inspired names on the common church modes: *rir* (dorian), *sum* (phrygian), *fum* (lydian) and *tyr* (mixolydian). He claims that these ‘Norse’ scales are different from their identical Greek counterparts. Not only does Tveitt address modal instead of functional harmony, but he insists on a purely ‘Norwegian’ foundation.

Tveitt’s theoretical work is different from most other music theory books published in Norway in its focus on the ontology of tone systems. In Dahlhaus’ (1984) terms, it is thus fundamentally speculative. As I have already suggested, and will elaborate on in the following chapters, the procedures of music-theoretical discourse in Norway seem to have preferred the simple and pragmatic over the complicated and speculative. Although Tveitt is one of few Norwegian authors attempting to construct a completely new music-theoretical system, he is also one of very few to comment directly on Riemann’s works. He cites Riemann’s theory of function when presenting functional tonality, which he then pits against his own theory of modal tonality (which adopts and adapts several Riemannian traits, including a set of function symbols). Throughout his theoretical argument, Tveitt challenges the central position held by minor/major tonality in the music theory discourse, arguing in favour of a specifically ‘Norwegian’ alternative.

An in-depth discussion of Geirr Tveitt’s theory (which had no impact on conservatoire education) is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead, I have provided this in a separate article (i.e. Utne-Reitan, 2022b). There I have claimed that Tveitt’s ideas, in the Norwegian context, were – to say it like Foucault (1971/1981) – not ‘within the true’ (p. 61). This is indicated by the reception of Tveitt’s book among Norwegian music scholars, showing the workings of the discursive procedure called the discipline. His ideas, which are problematically tainted by a radical nationalist ideology with national socialist ties, were too extreme and deviated too much from the established truths of the discipline. The release of Tveitt’s book in 1937 sparked one of the most heated debates in the history of music theory in Norway. The treatise was also rejected by a musicological committee when Tveitt delivered it to the University of Oslo as a doctoral dissertation (cf. Storaas, 2008, pp. 114–118). His controversial harmonic theory was never, and is still not, acknowledged as serious theory within musicological and music-theoretical circles (cf. Aksnes, 2002, pp. 231–232; Bjerkestrand, 2009, p. 114).

Other theory works focusing specifically on Norwegian folk music have been written; these necessarily have a national rather than international focus, as well. Examples include a modern

textbook in folk music theory (Kvifte, 2000). In the 1920s and 1930s, there were several composers and scholars discussing folk music in Norway in music-theoretical terms, such as Ole Mørk Sandvik, Erik Eggen, Catharinus Elling and Eivind Groven.<sup>103</sup> A central topic in their literature is the scales of Norwegian folk music, particularly in connection with questions of pure intonation and temperament.<sup>104</sup>

Eken's (1948) harmony textbook demonstrates several model examples of the harmonisation of Norwegian folk tunes but claims that 'one should rather not take on such tasks without sufficient musical insight' (p. 125).<sup>105</sup> He advises students to restrain themselves from harmonising folk tunes until they have finished their training in counterpoint. He argues that one needs a broader understanding of music, and to have matured artistically, to master the art of folk tune harmonisation. Folk tunes have also been used for sight-singing training in Norwegian aural training books (e.g. T. Lindeman, 1951). Thus, a sense of 'Norwegianness' – of conveying Norwegian cultural heritage – has been part of Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. These instances are, however, best understood as discontinuities – as exceptions proving the rule. (Folk tunes are, for example, not discussed in either of the two central harmony textbooks by Lange and Øien.) Given how central notions of 'Norwegianness' have been in Norwegian musical discourse more broadly (especially in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>106</sup> it is rather striking how minor a role a national focus has played in the construction of music theory in Norway.

## 4.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has addressed the following research question: *How, and to what extent, do the music theory textbooks published in Norway build on music theory textbooks published elsewhere?* My discussions of the material have shown that the music theory textbooks published in Norway have indeed to a great extent built on music theory textbooks published elsewhere. From a Foucauldian perspective, I have argued that (especially) through commentary, the music theory discourse in Norway has been constructed on the foundation of specific international

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103 For a bibliography of early folk music research in Norway, see Gaukstad (1951, pp. 46–55). The absence of Tveitt's work in this otherwise comprehensive bibliography underlines once more how his work was not accepted as proper research.

104 These works are important contributions to music theory in interwar Norway but, since my focus is on conservatoire music theory education within Western classical music, I will not discuss them here. For a concise discussion of folk music studies in the interwar period, see Dalaker (2011, pp. 59–72).

105 'En bør helst ikke ta på seg slike oppgaver uten å ha tilstrekkelig musikalsk innsikt.'

106 See Herresthal (1993) for discussions of national romanticism in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Norway including the resistance against German influence in Norwegian music.

contexts. The (clearly) dominant connection has been to German music-theoretical discourse, but there are also ties to other contexts, such as the Scandinavian and Anglo-American. The ties to the former have often functioned as mediators between the Norwegian discourse and the near-hegemonic German context. Impulses from the latter has, in recent decades, grown significantly, challenging the primary position of German theory.

Two German music theorists have been particularly central to Norwegian music-theoretical discourse: Ernst Friedrich Richter and Hugo Riemann. It seems that what I have termed the *Richterian framework* was the dominant way of understanding – and teaching – harmony and tonality in Norway from the late 19<sup>th</sup> until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The key Norwegian adaptation of this framework, and the standard reference on harmony in Norway pre-WWII, was Lange's (1897). From the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was a turn towards what I have called a *post-Riemannian framework*. Although some earlier books did adopt some tenets of this function-theoretical framework, the first full-fledged harmony textbook replacing Roman numerals with function symbols appeared in Norway in the mid-1970s. Øien (1975) became a new standard reference on harmony in Norway, and the post-Riemannian framework challenged (and more or less replaced) the Richterian framework as the most common way of understanding – and teaching – harmony and tonality. In discourse-analytical terms, this indicates a discursive transformation where one regularity (the central position of the Richterian framework, which is taken for granted) is replaced by another (the post-Riemannian framework, which later comes to be similarly positioned).

Sweden and Denmark have similarly close ties to German music theory, and books published in Norway have built on the adaptations of German theory produced in other Scandinavian countries (especially Denmark). Since the 1980s, stronger ties to Anglo-American music theory have been formed in Scandinavia. Tveit (1984) merged the by-then established post-Riemannian framework with the influence of Anglo-American Roman numeral analysis, while Stigar (2004) distanced himself more definitively from the established German-centred music-theoretical discourse in Norway, positioning himself in favour of an Anglo-American framework following Robert Gauldin's model. But although the post-Riemannian framework has clearly has been challenged, it has not been displaced. As of this writing, an adaptation of Øien's textbook (K. Habbestad, n.d.-a) is the main textbook used in the mandatory harmony training at the Norwegian Academy of Music, proving the continued adherence to the post-Riemannian framework in at least parts of early 21<sup>st</sup>-century Norwegian music-theoretical discourse.

This chapter has outlined how music-theoretical discourse in Norway has changed over our period of concern, especially by pointing to the change of dominant framework. However,

when considering the two frameworks that have dominated Norwegian textbooks, I have stressed the importance of their fundamental similarity: The post-Riemannian framework adapted and developed in Norway was constructed in a way that erased much of the apparent distinction between itself and the previous Richterian framework. Both frameworks take for granted a focus on writing exercises in four-part harmony and analysing these settings vertically chord-to-chord. Clearly, these notions were taken-for-granted tenets in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse regardless of which framework was dominant at a given time. I have therefore argued that both regularity and continuity (e.g. the same fundamental tenets remaining regulative regardless of the change of framework) and both rupture and discontinuity (e.g. the transition from one framework to the other) are at play here. This chapter has given a glimpse of the complex and discontinuous – sometimes contradictory – fabric of the discourse in its historical development.



## 5 The conservatoire: Theory curricula and institutional contexts

Music theory has been part of higher music education in Norway ever since the country got its first conservatoire. What has been included in the mandatory music-theoretical education for professional performing musicians – and how this has been related to the other subjects in the education – has, however, changed over time. In this chapter, I will discuss the shifting roles of music theory in the conservatoires of Norway. This discussion will revolve around my main case of the privately owned Oslo Conservatoire, established in 1883, that became the state-owned Norwegian Academy of Music in 1973. In short, I will discuss the following research question: *What has been presented as the purpose(s) of music theory – i.e. the kinds of knowledge and skills students are supposed to acquire through their study of music theory – in the formal curricula of the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music?*

I will argue that the change of institutional structure from the Conservatoire to the Academy (which again is connected to notions of academisation) was part of changing how music theory was constructed discursively: At first, it was primarily a practice- and organist-oriented discourse, but then a stronger focus on broader aspects such as *understanding music* and *creativity* was effected. This idea is an essential part of the analysis in Chapter 7. However, this chapter will also demonstrate the complexity of this development, underlining that the developments of the discourse were discontinuous and multi-faceted.

While Chapter 4 focused on music-theoretical textbooks published in Norway and how these built on international models, the present chapter will focus on formal curricula (cf. Goodlad et al., 1979). Although the focus is on dissecting the formal curricula, references to selected other materials will be made where relevant to informing the discussion of the institutional documents collected in the archives of the Oslo Conservatoire and Norwegian Academy of Music.<sup>107</sup>

The chapter is divided into three sections followed by a chapter conclusion. Firstly, I will discuss how the music-theoretical disciplines are constructed in the collected formal curricula. Secondly, I will discuss music theory's role(s) in intra-institutional contexts (i.e. how it has been related to other selected subjects in conservatoire education) in terms of

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107 These documents are public and the specific copies I have consulted are located in the archives of said institutions: the former at the National Archives of Norway (Sognsveien 221, 0862 Oslo), the latter at the Norwegian Academy of Music (Slemdalsveien 11, 0363 Oslo). As copies of the material from the Oslo Conservatoire are much rarer than those from the Norwegian Academy of Music (which one may easily find, for example, in the institution's library), I have provided the reference codes for the material from the National Archives in the reference list.

integration and separation (cf. Rogers, 2004). Thirdly, I will consider the case of the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music in light of inter-institutional contexts (i.e. how this case relates to the situations at other selected institutions of music education in Norway). Together, these discussions will provide a foundation for understanding the changing discursive constructions of music theory in the history of higher music education in Norway.

## 5.1 The Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music

Einar Solbu (1998, p. 45) claims that the Norwegian Academy of Music probably holds a ‘world record’ in curriculum revisions. The rapidity of revisions has certainly not decreased since Solbu made this assertion. Given the Academy’s status as a state-owned institution of higher music education, detailed formal curricula have been carefully produced since its opening in 1973. This is quite a different approach compared to the older privately-owned Oslo Conservatoire. There was no such culture of bureaucracy in the earlier institution, and the material which can tell us about its curricula is therefore scarcer. The Conservatoire produced its first comprehensive ‘study plan’ (*studieplan*) in 1970 – a step towards turning into the state-owned Academy. Before this, all that was produced were exam plans for the highest levels of education and pamphlets with general regulations of the institution’s activity. The latter were regularly revised and therefore do provide insight into the changing roles of music theory in the curriculum.<sup>108</sup> Before diving into the discussion of music theory in the different curricula, I will provide a brief introduction situating these institutions in their historical contexts.

### 5.1.1 Historical backdrop

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it had been the norm for Norwegian musicians to receive their education abroad. As already mentioned (see Section 4.1), Germany was a very popular destination, and in the second half of the century, the Leipzig Conservatoire had a special draw. Given the many students that travelled abroad, there was a demand for music education in Norway itself, but a permanent conservatoire (providing what today would be called higher music education) would not be established until 1883.

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<sup>108</sup> I was, however, able to discover a limited amount of such regulations, and these only provided a fragmentary picture of the development.

There had been several attempts to establish a conservatoire in Christiania (now Oslo). The first relatively large such institution was the music academy established by Edvard Grieg and Otto Winter-Hjelm in 1867 (Vollsnes, Benestad et al., 2000, pp. 157–159). This constituted an expansion of the latter’s music school for children, which employed many of the young professional musicians in the Christiania area as teachers. The academy aimed to provide education in a range of different subjects, but the two composers explicitly emphasised the importance of students (both those aiming at becoming professional musicians and amateurs) studying harmony in addition to their main instrument (Winter-Hjelm & Grieg, 1866/1957, p. 226). The academy did not, however, last longer than a couple of years.

The lack of a conservatoire did not mean that there was no music education to be had in Norway. Many prominent musicians ran private music schools. Most of these specialised in singing and instrumental lessons, providing only the minimum of necessary theory, but Johan Henrik Østrem’s school founded in 1847 is an example of a school focused primarily on elementary music theory (Gaukstad, 1964, p. 69; Haselmann, 2018, p. 62). Other arenas for music education in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Norway included teacher education (cf. Årva, 1987) and military bands (Vollsnes, Benestad et al., 2000, p. 251).

In 1883, Peter Brynie Lindeman founded a school for organists in Christiania together with his father, Ludvig Mathias Lindeman. The school would soon expand to provide instruction in other instruments as well. As soon as 1885, the school changed its name from ‘The Organist School’ (*Organistskolen*) to ‘The Music and Organist School’ (*Musik- og Organistskolen*); from 1894, it was called ‘The Music Conservatoire’ (*Musik-Konservatoriet*). In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, conservatoires were founded in other Norwegian cities, and Lindeman’s institution eventually became known as ‘The Oslo Conservatoire’ (*Musik-Konservatoriet i Oslo*).

Although this meant that Norway finally had its own conservatoire, it did not discourage students from wanting to study abroad. Indeed, the institution was used by many as preparation for more advanced studies at the more prestigious institutions abroad. From 1928, Peter Lindeman’s son, Trygve Lindeman, became director of the Conservatoire. The privately-owned Conservatoire – which now provided both lower and higher music education – remained in the hands of the Lindeman family until it was transformed into the first Norwegian state-owned academy of music, something the Lindeman family had wished for.<sup>109</sup> There were many (at times heated) debates on this process, including arguments against basing the new Academy on the old Oslo Conservatoire and calls to establish the new state-owned music academy in Bergen instead.

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109 The directors themselves have also largely been responsible for penning the official history of the Oslo Conservatoire (cf. P. Lindeman, 1908a; T. Lindeman, 1933; T. Lindeman & Solbu, 1976).



The Norwegian Academy of Music opened its doors in Oslo in 1973 as the first state-owned institution dedicated to higher music education in Norway. The founding of the institution was the result of several long-running political processes (cf. H. Jørgensen, 1998). The Oslo Conservatoire had worked strategically to make the transition possible, including expanding the lower education department (which became a music specialisation at Foss Upper Secondary School) and creating a more extensive formal curriculum for the higher education department. In preparation for the takeover, the Lindeman Foundation was founded and took charge of the Conservatoire from 1969, with organist and theory teacher Anfinn Øien heading the institution as its principal.

I will now turn to the formal curricula and other relevant institutional documentation. I will focus on the mandatory music theory training that has been part of the higher education of performing musicians but will occasionally glance at other domains (e.g. theory specialisation) to provide a bigger picture.

### 5.1.2 Regulations and exam plans (1883–1970)

In September 1883, Ludvig Mathias Lindeman and his son Peter Lindeman advertised the opening of their new school in several Oslo newspapers (T. Lindeman & Solbu, 1976, p. 8) – the advert is reproduced as Figure 3. The institution's main aim was to educate organists. In other words – and to say it with Bernstein (2000) – this pedagogic discourse would recontextualise by drawing on certain needs and characteristics of organist practice.<sup>110</sup> The advert states that the school had two mandatory 'teaching subjects' (*undervisningsfag*): organ and harmony. 'Piano playing' (*pianospil*) and 'elementary singing' (*elementærsang*), which were 'voluntary subjects' (*frivillige fag*), could be added as well, if that was desired. As mentioned above, the Lindeman family had strong ties to German music-theoretical discourse. From the translations by Ole Andreas Lindeman, father and grandfather of the Conservatoire's two founders, they would have known the central works by, for example, Albrechtsberger, Fux, Kirnberger, Koch, Marpurg and Vogler (cf. Karevold, 1996, pp. 183–201).

When extending the scope of the institution and changing its name in 1885, father and son Lindeman also penned a pamphlet outlining a new 'plan' with general regulations for the institution that was now called 'The Music and Organist School' (*Musik- og Organistskolen*). This three-page pamphlet is reproduced in Figure 4. The first sentence states the institution's aim of providing affordable high-quality music education and the teaching subjects were

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<sup>110</sup> While this makes the connection between music theory and organist practice very explicit in the case of Norway, a similar connection was common elsewhere too. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were close ties in Leipzig and Vienna between the theory pedagogy at the conservatoires and church music (Utne-Reitan, 2022a, p. 79).

now 'organ, piano, violin, violoncello, singing (solo and choir) and harmony (and counterpoint)' (L. M. Lindeman & P. Lindeman, n.d.).<sup>111</sup> All these subjects were taught in groups of two, with the exception of harmony, which was taught in groups of four. The document does not reveal any details about the content of the lessons in harmony and counterpoint. Students could choose to study only one subject, but if they were to study several subjects, harmony had to be one of them. Those wishing to become organists were recommended to study organ, piano, harmony and singing. Clearly, harmony was one of the key parts of the education provided at the institution. It was the only teaching subject which did not constitute instrumental training, and it was mandatory for all students wishing to follow more than one class.



Figure 3. The first advert for Lindeman's organist school. This version was printed on September 18, 1883, in Dagbladet. In the following days, the same advert also appeared in Aftenposten and Morgenbladet.

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111 'Orgel-, piano-, violin- og cello-spil, sang (solo- og kor-sang) og harmonilære (og kontrapunkt)'.

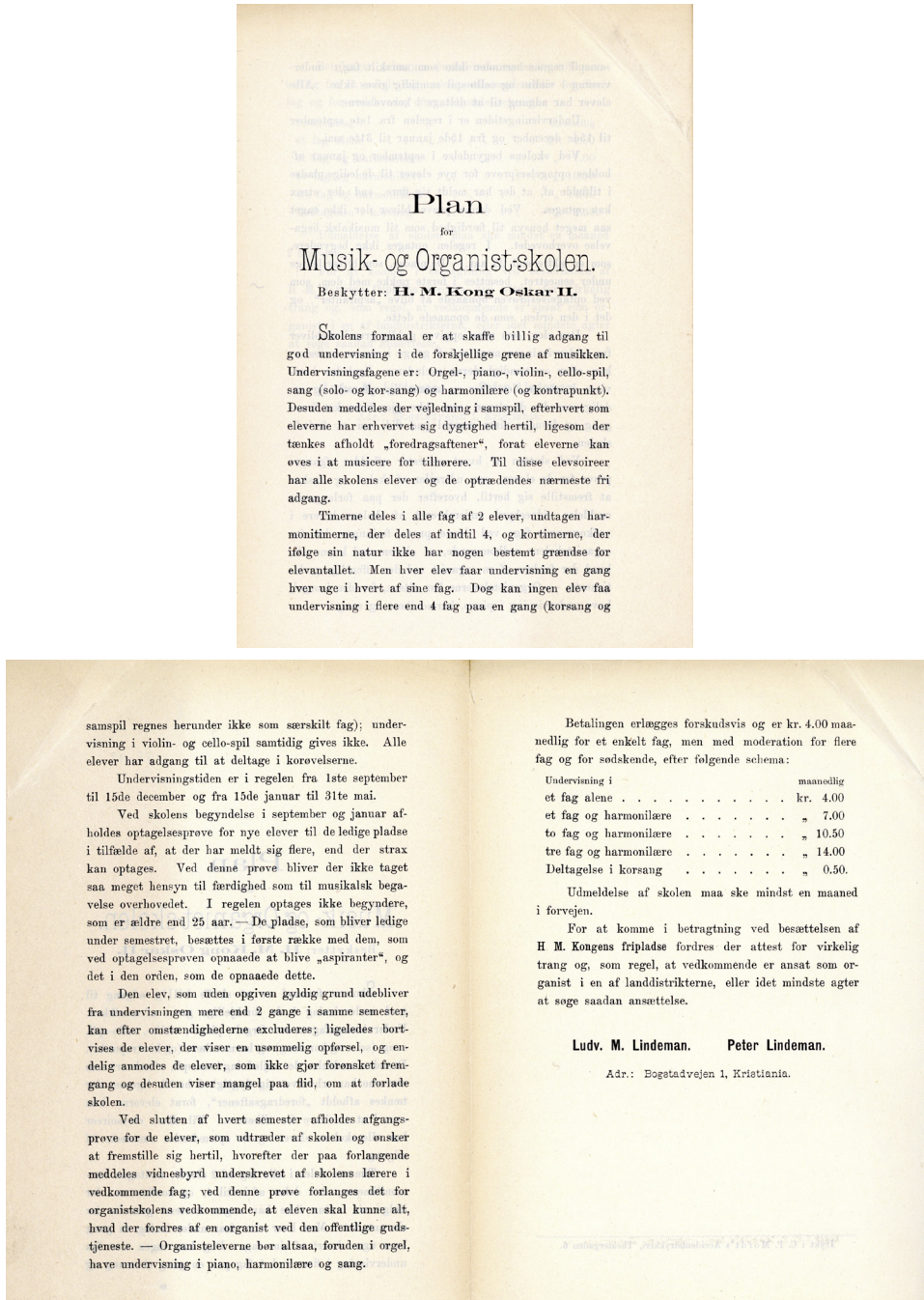


Figure 4. Plan for Musik- og Organist-skolen, three-page pamphlet (L. M. Lindeman & P. Lindeman, n.d.).

Before moving on to the later documents, I want to stress an important detail about the nature of the documents from the Oslo Conservatoire which is clearly demonstrated in both Figure 3 and Figure 4. The internal discursive procedure that Foucault (1971/1981, 1969/1984) calls the author-function is very explicit here. At the bottom of each of the official documents from the Oslo Conservatoire that I will treat in this section (i.e. pre-1970), the names of the authors – the director(s) at the time – are explicitly stated. This small detail tells us something about the kind of institution this was. It was a family business, and the official documentation provides a clear author-function in naming the specific director and owner who was to be constructed as the document's author. This is also why I have chosen to cite the above source as 'L. M. Lindeman & P. Lindeman, n.d.' and not 'Musik- og Organistskolen, n.d.' (I have done the same with all similar sources in the following.) I will return to the question of the author-function at the beginning of the next section, when discussing how this specific detail of the source material changed in the period of transition to the Norwegian Academy of Music.

By the early 1890s, the range of subjects available at the Conservatoire had again been broadened, and there was now a clear distinction between 'main subjects' (*hovedfag*) and 'secondary subjects' (*bifag*). Harmony, counterpoint and composition were – together with the common instruments – reckoned as main subjects, while elementary music theory, ensemble playing, choir, instrumentation and piano tuning were reckoned as secondary subjects (P. Lindeman, 1892).<sup>112</sup> The students could, as before, select subjects more or less according to their preferences. They were, however, required to participate in the elementary theory course until they reached a sufficient level. The secondary subjects of elementary music theory, choir and ensemble playing were also free of charge for students studying one of the main subjects. Finally, the students aiming at becoming professional musicians and organists had to study harmony and piano in addition to their main instrument.<sup>113</sup>

In the Conservatoire's regulations of 1894, two new subjects not mentioned two years earlier are included (P. Lindeman, 1894): 'practical modulation' (*praktisk Modulation*) and 'sight singing' (*Tonetræfning*). The latter is the predecessor of the modern aural training subject, while the former was included among the subjects that students aiming at becoming musicians or organists had to study. The regulations of 1894 not only attest to the continued emphasis on music-theoretical subjects, but also present a hierarchy among them: Elementary music theory was required for studying harmony (and a range of other subjects), and sufficient knowledge in harmony was required for joining the classes in counterpoint. This widely used

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112 'Der meddeles Undervisning i følgende Hovedfag: *Orgel, Harmonium, Pianoforte*, alle *Stryge- og Blæse-Instrumenter, Solosang, Harmonilære, Kontrapunkt og Komposition*, samt i følgende Bifag: *Musikteori, Samspil, Korsang, Instrumentation og Pianostemming*'.

113 Students of the higher department could take an exam in order to receive the official diploma and testimony (*Skolens Vidnesbyrd*).

framework remained more or less intact throughout the long 20<sup>th</sup> century. By 1906, music history had been introduced as a secondary subject, and it was emphasised that students wishing to compete for positions as organists should study counterpoint and composition in addition to the already mentioned pool of recommended subjects (P. Lindeman, 1906).

In the Conservatoire's regulations of 1919, director Peter Lindeman sketches out what was expected to pass the organist exam:

To pass the complete *organist exam*, one must be able to confidently perform chorales at the organ with manuals and pedals, have the skills to playing fitting preludes and postludes for the service, have training in improvising the necessary interludes and modulations, as well as sufficient knowledge in harmony to harmonise a chorale melody and write modulations without the aid of an instrument. (P. Lindeman, 1919)<sup>114</sup>

Evidently, theory was a central part of the highest level of education provided at the Conservatoire, both with regards to non-written regulative theory (being able to improvise and modulate at the keyboard) and written regulative theory (being able to write harmonisations and modulations without a keyboard). It was also possible to take a lower-level exam which did not include written harmony. Based on these conclusions, I argue – drawing on Dahlhaus' (1984, 1985) music-theoretical paradigms – that the emphasis of this education was predominantly regulative. Speculative and analytical perspectives, on the other hand, were almost completely foreign to the discourse of music theory. This may be read as a consequence of the continued recontextualisation from organist practice, which focused on learning the practical skills necessary to fill a position as an organist.<sup>115</sup> To qualify for all of the official exams (which led to graduation from the higher department at the Conservatoire), one had to have completed tests in elementary music theory (*Musiklære*), sight-singing (*Tonetræfning*) and music history (*Musikhistorie*).

To have graduated with a complete (later called 'higher') organist exam from the Conservatoire was the closest thing at that time to what today is called possessing higher music education. This was an education for music professionals. Later, a similar exam came to be offered for other disciplines – most notably for music teachers. The organist and teacher exams constituted the highest level of professional music education in Norway in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and as I will return to below, the music theory curricula leading to both were similar (i.e. rather

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114 'Til Opnaelse av fuldstendig *Organisteksamen* fordres i Orgelspil for Manual og Pedal Sikkerhet i Koralspil, Ferdighet i aa foredra For- og Efterspil passende til Gudstjenesten, Øvelse i aa improvisere nødvendige Mellemspil og Modulasjoner, samt tilstrekkelige Kundskaper i Harmonilære til aa harmonisere en opgit Koralmelodi og utføre Modulasjoner uten Hjelp av Instrument.'

115 This seems to have been the situation from the start in 1883. The notion that the theory training should be regulative, not speculative, remained strong throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

organist-oriented even for the music teachers). These professional aspects of the Conservatoire's activities were gradually formalised with official formal curricula (the above quotation from the 1919 regulations is a step in this direction). Later, formal exam plans were developed that were more detailed regarding the content of the education and the expected level required.

In 1936, organists and teachers Per Steenberg and Arild Sandvold wrote a proposal for an official exam plan (*eksamensplan*) for organist studies (Steenberg & Sandvold, 1936). The proposal was approved with only few changes by the Norwegian Organists' Association and became the official national curriculum for organists (Norges Organistforening, 1937). This exam plan provides insight into expected learning outcomes. It distinguishes between a 'higher' and a 'lower' exam (*den høiere og lavere organisteksamen*): The former qualifies you for all church musician jobs, the latter only for smaller positions. When attempting to pass the higher exam, the candidate would be tested in the following main subjects: (1) organ performance, (2) improvisation and practical modulation, (3) harmony, (4) counterpoint and (5) liturgy. Additionally, they would be tested in the following secondary subjects: (1) elementary music theory, (2) form and analysis, (3) music history, (4) music dictation and sight-singing, (5) choir instruction and (6) organ tuning.

Harmony and counterpoint were thus central; they were treated as main subjects. A high proficiency was expected, as is made clear in the description of the theory tests:

1. Four-part settings of two given melodies (one in major/minor, the other in a church mode)
2. A four-part modulation constructed periodically
3. An exercise in counterpoint. Either:
  - (a.) A four-part mixed species setting on a given *cantus firmus*
  - (b.) A three- or four-part vocal fugue on a given theme
  - (c.) A three- or four-part instrumental fugue on a given theme
  - (d.) A vocal fugue in a church mode on a given theme

It was specified that the tests in harmony and modulation had to be undertaken without the aid of an instrument. This implies that theory was considered something *written*, an intellectual activity that one should be able to undertake without improvising or in other ways experimenting at the keyboard. While the lower exam had significantly lower requirements

and did not include counterpoint at all, and its theory test only consisted of harmonising a melody for four parts and writing a modulation, this was also to be done without the aid of an instrument.

The music teacher exams were for a long time administered by the Norwegian Music Teacher Association (*Norske Musikklæreres Landsforbund*). In 1950, the Association introduced an admissions test (*opptaksprøve*) for higher studies to complement the existing 'normal' plan. In this test, harmony was one of the central subjects, and form was also included as a theory discipline. To pass the harmony exam, candidates had to pass written, oral and practical tests (cf. Dirdal, 1964, p. 43; Nesheim, 2002, pp. 75–76):

1. Written: Harmonise two melodies in four parts, one of them a chorale in a church mode (without instrument).<sup>116</sup>
2. Oral: Give a pedagogical presentation of elementary harmony and practical analysis of a simple piece for piano or organ.
3. Practical: Improvise four modulations on a piano or organ and transpose a simple piece in a slow tempo.

The music-theoretical requirements of the two programmes that come closest to what today is called higher music education – those for educating organists and music teachers – thus share several similarities. The four-part harmonisation of melodies in major/minor and church modes, the writing of contrapuntal settings and good knowledge of modulation are at the core of both theory curricula, indicating that even in music teacher education, music theory was a pedagogic discourse mainly built on recontextualisation from organist practice.

The official exam plans for organist and music teacher education were, as indicated above, penned outside of the Conservatoire by national organisations. The Oslo Conservatoire would, however, also pen their own exam plans to complement these. The Conservatoire's exam plan of 1956 indicates that much remained the same since 1936 with regards to the higher organist exam (T. Lindeman, 1956). What was different with regards to the theory test was that one could deliver previously written exercises to pass the counterpoint element instead of writing a new contrapuntal setting of a given theme (without using an instrument). Doing the latter was only necessary if one was applying for the 'organist diploma exam' (*diplomorganisteksamen*), which was more demanding than the traditional higher exam and aimed at

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116 In a revision from 1965, the requirement of harmonising a melody in a church mode was replaced by a test in counterpoint: writing a two-part invention on a given theme without the aid of instrument (Dirdal, 1965, p. 137).

soloists. A similar diploma programme – with similar theoretical requirements – was offered for piano soloists. At this time, the conservatoire offered a range of different exams for orchestral musicians, conductors and several types of music teacher. For orchestral musicians, the theoretical requirements were significantly lower than for organists or piano soloists: They did not have harmony as a main subject, but as a secondary one, and their harmony exam consisted of a figured-bass exercise (which, following the Richterian framework, was still the dominating exercise type) and an analysis. It is not specified whether this analysis was to be of the figured-bass exercise or of another piece entirely. Moreover, orchestral musicians did not have to study counterpoint.

More or less the same exam plan had earlier been presented in the Conservatoire's regulations of 1952 (T. Lindeman, 1952). There, the following progress of study is additionally suggested: (1) elementary theory, (2) harmony and practical modulation, (3) form and counterpoint, (4) instrumentation and composition. The illustration of different possible paths is reproduced as Figure 5. To be accepted into some of the subject classes, one was required to have passed the lower-level ones (for instance, one could not study counterpoint, form, instrumentation or composition without being proficient in harmony first). However, these paths were mere advice, and the students could choose which courses to follow. Only if one wanted to take an official exam (e.g. to become a professional organist or music teacher) would one need to take the necessary mandatory subjects for the exam in question, as stated in the exam plan. Although composition (*komposisjonslære*) is here depicted as a continuation of one's theory training, there was no exam plan for specialising in composition. Thus, this training does not constitute formal, professional education in composition.

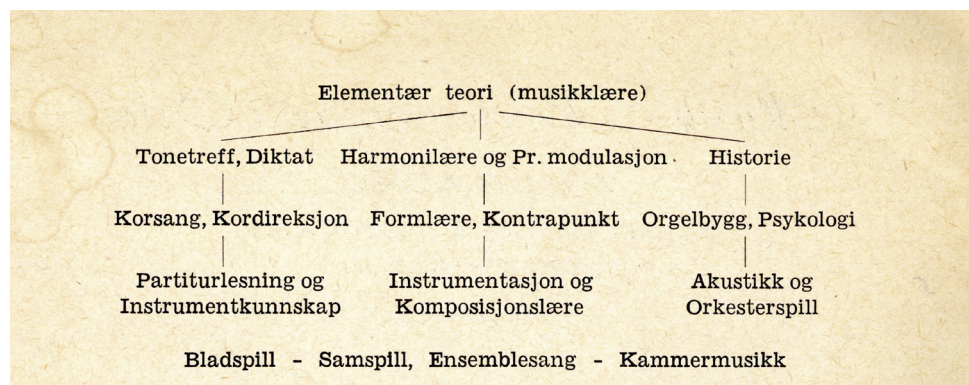


Figure 5. Musik-Konservatoriet i Oslo, figure depicting different paths for choosing courses (T. Lindeman, 1952, p. 2).



In 1960, the Norwegian Organists' Union (*Norges Organistforbund*) penned a new national exam plan for organist studies (Norges Organistforbund, 1963). For the higher exam, the harmony test remained largely the same (two melodies, one in a church mode), but it was specified that it needed to be completed within five hours and without the use of an instrument. The counterpoint requirements, meanwhile, were closer to the older 1936 proposal than the exam plan of the Conservatoire used in the 1950s. Now, the candidate had to write a three- or four-part motet to a given text, a three- or four-part instrumental fugue on a given theme or a contrapuntal composition for organ based on a chorale (chorale prelude, fugue etc.). This had to be written within ten hours, and the candidate would in this particular case have access to an instrument.

A similarity between all the mentioned exam plans is that most tests were focused on compositional technique: The student was expected to write something (either a composition or an arrangement) in a specific style and using specific techniques. As claimed above, the most obvious recontextualisation processes constructing this music theory discourse are the recontextualisations from organist practice. This is also reflected in the written exams, as the genres and compositional techniques of harmonising chorales, writing contrapuntal settings of chorales, etc. are central to said profession. However, this part of the music theory discourse also recontextualises from compositional practice by adapting certain aspects from the workshop of the composer. There were separate courses in composition (cf. T. Lindeman, 1952), but these required that one have studied music theory (i.e. harmony and counterpoint) in advance. Music theory is also constructed as a form of composition training. As mentioned, there was no separate exam in composition. Thus, no formal composition education similar to that training organists, music teachers or musical performers was available (cf. T. Lindeman, 1956). In short, music theory's ties to organist practice and its identification as compositional training – both processes of recontextualisation – are fundamental in the construction of the music theory discourse in Norway in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

This survey and discussion of curricula at the Oslo Conservatoire in the period 1883–1970 indicates a rather loose institutional structure. The formal curricula of this institution are not comparable to the comprehensive study plans we normally think of when using the term 'curriculum'. Indeed, in the narrowest sense of this concept, only the so-called exam plans make up the formal curricula of this institution prior to 1970. The loose institutional structure which this indicates, as well as the individual freedoms which it implies were accorded to teachers, is significant. The introduction of the comprehensive study plan into this discourse therefore marks a substantial structural shift. I will now turn to this shift, as well as to the many study plans that appeared following it.

### 5.1.3 Comprehensive study plans (1970–)

The Oslo Conservatoire's first comprehensive formal curriculum – a comprehensive 'study plan' (*studieplan*) – was penned in preparation for the state takeover that would take place in 1973. This document exhibits a much higher level of detail than the former exam plans and conservatoire regulations discussed above. As of 1970, the Conservatoire was no longer a family business. It had been transferred to the care of a separate organisation, the Lindeman Foundation, in 1969, and the institution's head was not a member of the Lindeman family.

An important change occurred in the author-function (Foucault, 1971/1981, 1969/1984) of the institution's official documents at this point. The documents produced at the Oslo Conservatoire that I have discussed above were explicitly penned by the director-owners of the institution, but the author(s) of the first comprehensive formal curriculum are anonymous. The preface, which is reproduced in Figure 6, is signed laconically with 'The Oslo Conservatoire, principal' (Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, p. 4).<sup>117</sup> The author-function of the study plan is that of a collective institution; the names of the actual writers of the text (even that of the principal who authored its preface) are hidden. Rather, the preface subsumes the authors into a collective 'we' – the institution. It is the institution that is constructed as the text's author-function.

Compared to the older exam plans, which merely state what a candidate would be tested in, the newer study plans also to a large degree dictate the content of classes and their expected learning outcomes. Clearly, large structural changes were afoot in the institution. Indeed, its fundamental economic situation was to change, given that it was transitioning from being family-owned to being funded by the government. An increase in bureaucracy is certainly visible in the archives: All activities were henceforth more firmly regulated by official documents (e.g. the comprehensive 'study plans' now delineating the formal curricula of the institution). Importantly, these documents primarily reflect Goodlad's (1979) ideal and formal curricular domains. Naturally, what is stated in these texts is not necessarily what played out in the classrooms.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, these formal curricula provide insight into the values ingrained in the discourses in question. Most importantly, they indicate that discursive changes in music education were taking place.

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117 'Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, rektor'.

118 Bjerkestrand (2002, p. 126) mentions some specific challenges in operationalising the early formal curricula at the Norwegian Academy of Music.

- 4 -

Forord.

I det følgende presenteres opplegg for undervisningen ved Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo. Alle gamle planer trer med dette ut av funksjon, men der gis anledning for studenter som har kort tid igjen av sitt studium, til å fullføre etter gamle planer.

Arbeidet med disse studieplaner har vært omfattende. Vi har forsøkt å bygge på de bestående opplegg, samtidig som vi har bestrebet oss på å nå en internasjonal standard og bredde uten å tape av syne de norske forhold med hensyn til behov for og krav til musikere og musikkpedagoger.

Planene blir ikke trykket før man har vunnet en tids erfaring, og har hatt anledning til å foreta de korreksjoner som viser seg å være hensiktsmessige. En del eksperimentering er forbundet med gjennomføringen av planene, kanskje spesielt det som angår eksamenbedømmelser og karaktergivning. Det er vårt håp at et forsøk av den art som er beskrevet her, vil kunne gi positive resultater, også for andre skoleslag.

Beklageligvis vil man i planene finne en rekke inkonsekvenser, så som i komponistangivelser, verkangivelser, terminologi, språkform etc. Dette vil bli korrigert i senere opplag. Vi vil være takkneilig for kommentarer og reaksjoner både på det saklige og det formelle, slik at planene kan bli så detaljerte og gjennomarbeidede som mulig før de blir trykket.

Vi vil takke de utvalg og de enkeltpersoner som har gitt sine bidrag til planene og på den måten gjort det mulig på det nevnte tidspunkt å presentere Musikkonservatoriets studieplaner.

Oslo i juli 1970.

Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo,

Rektor.

Figure 6. Studieplan, preface (Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, p. 4).

These curricular changes may be understood as part of processes of change in the institutional structure, which I will later argue were accompanied by notions of academisation (see Section 7.2.4). The change in author-function demonstrated by the curricular documents is a clear indication of the conservatoire becoming a different kind of institution than it had been. The introduction of comprehensive study plans also indicates a formalisation of the curriculum. The Oslo Conservatoire's 1970 curriculum was not only the first comprehensive formal curriculum in the institution's 87-year history, but it was also to be the first formal curriculum of Norway's first state music academy, which opened in 1973. This text is therefore a key source for this dissertation, together with the Norwegian Academy of Music's first curriculum under its own name, which was completed in 1975 (*Musikkhøgskolen*, 1975).<sup>119</sup> Together, they formally mark the transition from one kind of institution to another. As I will discuss in the following, this also entailed rather big changes in the contents of the institution's mandatory music theory training.

The 1970 curriculum states that 'the study of harmony will provide an introduction to the principles for functional harmony, as well as to the interpretation of the harmonic possibilities of a melody' (*Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo*, 1970, p. 337).<sup>120</sup> This course in harmony was mandatory, and a list of recommended literature included works focussing on harmony and chorale harmonisation in English (Boyd), German (Wolf), Swedish (Fryklöf), Danish (Glahn & Sørensen, Hamburger, Høffding, Westergaard) and Norwegian (Øien). This list attests to the implementation of the post-Riemannian framework that had by this point taken place in the Norwegian sphere, especially in its inclusion of harmony books by the Danish authors Høffding, Hamburger and Westergaard. Øien's work, at that point circulating as an unpublished manuscript, is the only work in Norwegian included.

Notably, the 1948 harmony textbook by former Oslo Conservatoire teacher Thorleif Eken is not included in the list of recommended literature. One possible explanation for this exclusion is the growing preference for function symbols over Roman numerals in the theory discourse. At last, the study of harmony following the post-Riemannian framework was replacing the older Richterian framework.

According to the 1970 curriculum, the contents of the harmony classes were to be the same for all Conservatoire students in the first year of their studies. From the second year, there would be some differences according to the available study programmes. The first-year exam consisted of two parts: (1) writing a four-part chorale setting of a given melody with modulations and (2) writing a harmonic analysis of a given excerpt from a composition built on

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119 The Norwegian Academy of Music was originally named *Musikkhøgskolen*, changing to its current name, *Norges musikkhøgskole*, in 1978.

120 'Harmonilærestudiet skal gi en innføring i prinsippene for den funksjonelle harmonikk, og for fortolkning av melodiens harmoniske muligheter.'

functional harmony (Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, p. 338). The exam lasted five hours, and candidates did not have access to an instrument.

The first part of this exam is clearly connected to the tradition ‘invented’ (cf. Goodson, 1994) by conservatoires in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is reflected in the older exam plans discussed above. Thus, although the theory training was the same for all students regardless of their main instrument, the continued centrality of the chorale indicates that the main recontextualisation was still from organist practice. This approach has certainly been common outside Norway as well, but in this specific context, it clearly constitutes a retrospective pedagogic identity (cf. Bernstein, 2000) latching onto a strong sense of tradition. The second part of the exam, by contrast, indicates a change in the theory discourse, as the focus on harmonic analysis is strengthened (compared to the craft-focused tradition of the previous theory curricula).

According to the 1970 curriculum, all degree programmes in music performance (with the exception of voice) include mandatory training in counterpoint (as well as harmony). It states that ‘the teaching of counterpoint aims at getting the students to know principles of polyphonic compositional technique’ (Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, p. 364).<sup>121</sup> As with the harmony training principles quoted above, the regulative aspects are heavily emphasised. The aim is to acquaint students with the principles of writing in a specific stylistic idiom. While the harmony course specifically focuses on functional harmony, the counterpoint curriculum opens things up to other styles. The curriculum mentions three options for counterpoint studies, but stresses that others may be added. The three are (1) 16<sup>th</sup>-century vocal polyphony in the style of Palestrina, (2) the polyphony of the late Baroque following Bach and (3) twelve-tone composition (also called dodecaphony). The students cannot, however, choose freely: They must have experience in either 1 or 2 to study 3. Again, the content to be studied and the format of exam vary according to one’s study programme. For the majority of instrumentalist students (those specialising in either piano or an orchestral instrument), the following applies to their exam: They must choose between style 2 or 3, writing a two-part invention on a given theme in the former case and solving a provided exercise in the latter. They will have six hours to do this, as well as access to an instrument. The curriculum recommends that students also practise analysis of musical works in their chosen style, but this is not part of the exam. A list of recommended literature includes textbooks on the three named styles in English (Boyd, Krenek), German (Grabner, Jelinek), Danish (Bentzon, Jeppesen) and Norwegian (Grinde & Nielsen).

In addition to the mandatory theory training for performers, conductors, church musicians, music teachers and so on, the 1970 curriculum also included a programme for students specialising in music theory or aural training. Students were required to have completed the

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121 ‘Kontrapunktundervisningen tar sikte på å gjøre studentene kjent med prinsippene for polyfon satsteknikk.’

above-presented theory courses in harmony and counterpoint in order to be accepted onto this programme of specialisation, the introduction of which can be read as an acknowledgement of music theory as a profession requiring a specific skillset. Students specialising in theory would study *satslære* as their main subject (Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, p. 395). This term was not used in any of the previously discussed sources. Although the course was billed as a specialisation in music theory, its content indicates how being a professional music theorist was equated with being a theory teacher. The curriculum had two parts: developing the student's own skillset or musical craft (i.e. regulative theory) and practicing teaching theory. The former entailed analysing and writing style copies in a range of different styles, from Palestrina to Ligeti and Penderecki. The course's assessment was also divided into two parts – personal theory skills and teaching skills. The former included three written exams – harmony, counterpoint and analysis – and an oral exam in analysis and form. The latter included three practical exams testing the candidates in different teaching situations. In addition to this, each candidate would write a thesis and study other related subjects, such as aural training and figured bass realisation. The curriculum states that the training in theory (*satslære*) should be closely tied to the training in composition, so that the students specialising in theory could also follow the classes in composition. One is left in no doubt as to the fact that the position of a professional music theorist was constructed as (1) a craftsman and (2) a pedagogue. In this programme for specialising in theory, the content is predominantly regulative (although to some extent analytic as well). Speculative aspects are nowhere to be found. The training of theorists at the Conservatoire was clearly not comparable to the more research-oriented academic training of musicologists at the university. In Foucauldian terms, the subject position of 'music theorist' in the discourse was constructed as a pedagogue teaching a craft, not an academic conducting research.

The 1975 curriculum of what was now the Norwegian Academy of Music is different from the 1970 curriculum in several respects, indicating further ruptures and transformations in the discourse. The compulsory music theory training, now called *satslære*, covered what had previously been the courses in harmony and counterpoint and was mandatory the two first years of education at the Academy. A table showing the compulsory subjects for instrumentalists undertaking a four-year undergraduate degree is reproduced as Figure 7. As previously, but now more intensely, the content varied according to degree programme. The primary aim of the training, however, was the same across all the courses: 'to give students a background for understanding what music is and why it sounds the way it does' as well as 'theoretical insight into and practical skills in the use of compositional elements and the principles for creating music themselves' (Musikkhøgskolen, 1975, p. 182).<sup>122</sup> What was previously a mainly practical

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122 'å gi studentene bakgrunn for forståelse av hva musikk er, og hvorfor den klinger som den gjør'; 'teoretisk innsikt og praktisk ferdighet i bruken av kompositoriske elementer og prinsipp til selv å skape musikk'.

introduction to principles of functional harmony and polyphonic writing is transformed into explaining to the students *what music is and why it sounds as it does* – through both theoretical and practical study.<sup>123</sup> Another important aspect is the new ambition to develop the students' creativity, not just their craft in a specific idiom. Statements – in Foucault's (1969/2002) sense – which emphasised *understanding* and *creativity* began, to a greater extent than before, to circulate in the discourse. This may indicate that some changes had taken place regarding the processes of recontextualisation, which now to a greater extent targeted versatile music performers rather than primarily organists (although organist practice continued to be an important source for recontextualisation). The fresh idea, it seems, was that music theory should aid in developing musicianship – creating versatile and creative musicians – by emphasising the need to understand musical structures and exploit them creatively. This new angle did not, however, lead to a marked increase in music theory drawing on the speculative and/or analytic paradigms in the discourse.

In the 1975 curriculum, a specific exam format is no longer outlined – rather, 'continual evaluation' (*kontinuerlig evaluering*) is advocated, and the content to be learned is broadly outlined. Looking back, Bjerkestrand (2002) summarises the shift as from teaching 'a lot about little to less about a lot', and argues that the new mandatory *satslære* subject was not only inspired by the 1970 theory specialisation in name but also in the expansive content (pp. 125–126).<sup>124</sup> He mentions several possible reasons for this change, including international influences on curriculum design, increasing scepticism about the usefulness of mastering historical styles, new theory teachers being hired and the general anti-authoritarian attitudes inspired by the student protests of 1968. For all students, their music theory course now included studies in the modal and minor/major systems, extended tonality/atonicity and serialism, thereby touching upon different periods in the history of Western classical music as well as Norwegian folk music. This 'period focus' was a way of 'historicising' music theory pedagogy – there was a move away from learning the craft of one particular style and towards learning about how compositional techniques have changed historically.<sup>125</sup> The training included both analysis and writing style copies in the various styles, using different techniques (the training varied according to the students' main instrument). In 1975, it was still possible to specialise in theory, but note that this option would soon disappear, only to reappear as a master's programme in 2005.<sup>126</sup>

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123 See also Øien (1975, p. 17).

124 'Fra mye om lite til litt om mye'.

125 A similar turn, to which Carl Dahlhaus was central, took place in Germany in the 1970s (cf. Schröder, 2017). Due to the close ties between the German and Scandinavian discourses of music theory, it is not implausible to read the significant changes visible in the 1975 plan as connected to analogous contemporaneous developments in Germany.

126 The master's programme was explicitly named 'applied music theory' (*anvendt musikkteori*), underlining its construction as a practical study of music theory (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2005b). The word 'applied' was removed from the title in the large-scale revision of the programme in 2020 (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020c).

## 3.3. Fag- og timefordelingsplaner:

Instrumentallinjen/Orkesterinstrumenter				Normalt antall undervisnings- timer å 45 minutter:			
Obligatoriske fag	Kurs- kode	Beskr. side	Vekt- tall	1. år	2. år	3. år	4. år
Hørelære	Hø 1	87	4	2	2		
Satslære	St 2	183	4	2	2		
Musikkhistorie	Mh 1	140	2	3			
Musikkhistorie	Mh 2	141	2		2		
Arbeidsfysiologi	Af 2	56	1	1	1		
Klaver	Kl 3	116	4	1	1		
Musikkformidling	Mf 1	138	2			2	
Hovedinstrument			35				
Solospill	In 7	97		5/3	4/3	4/3	4/3
Kammermusikk	Km 1	108				1-3	
Orkester	Os 1	160			6		
Interpretasjon	Ip 1	105					2
Improvisasjon	Im 1	90				1	
Instrumentkunnskap	Ik 1	104					
Sum obligatoriske fag:			54	Vekttall til valgfag: 26			

Som alternativ til hovedinstrument med 35 vekttall kan velges:

Hovedinstrument			45				
Solospill	In 8	97		5/3	5/3	5/3	5/3
Kammermusikk	Km 2	108				1-3	1-3
Orkester	Os 2	160			6	6	
Interpretasjon	Ip 2	106				2	2
Improvisasjon	Im 1	90				1	
Instrumentkunnskap	Ik 1	104					
Sum obligatoriske fag:			64	Vekttall til valgfag: 16			

Eller:

Hovedinstrument			55				
Solospill	In 9	97		5/3	6/3	6/3	6/3
Kammermusikk	Km 2	108				1-3	1-3
Orkester	Os 2	160			6	6	
Interpretasjon	Ip 2	106				2	2
Improvisasjon	Im 1	90				1	
Instrumentkunnskap	Ik 1	104					
Sum obligatoriske fag:			74	Vekttall til valgfag: 6			

Figure 7. Studieplan, table of mandatory courses for instrumentalists (Musikkhøgskolen, 1975, p. 21).



From the perspective of Bernstein (2000), the inclusion of a range of styles and compositional techniques in the 1975 curriculum's compulsory undergraduate music theory training not only indicates that church music and organist practice were losing ground as the primary sources for recontextualisation within the pedagogic discourse of music theory, but also that the pedagogic identity in question had moved away from a clearly retrospective identity to a (somewhat) more prospective one. In comparison, the theory training of the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century clearly had a stylistically retrospective focus, especially in its focus on harmonising modal melodies and its lack of focus on modern techniques.

It is important to note, though, that this had not always been the case. Albeit somewhat conservative, the training in tonal harmony given at the Conservatoire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not far from the style of many contemporaneous composers and did, for example, include romantic chromaticism (cf. Lange, 1897). This would gradually change during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with music theory classes becoming more retrospective as theory education and the dominating compositional practice of the day slid further and further away from each other in terms of style.<sup>127</sup> Although it did not dismiss older styles in any way, the 1975 curriculum indicates a reversal of this development by broadening the stylistic contents of its music theory syllabus and including selected newer techniques.

The next big revision of the Academy's curriculum was completed in 1982. This brought with it several important changes that become clear immediately when comparing Figure 7 with the corresponding 1982 table reproduced as Figure 8 (the list of mandatory subjects for orchestral instrumentalists is here used as the example). Firstly, a hierarchy of the subjects making up the education is reintroduced. As previously mentioned, the Conservatoire had long practised a distinction between primary (*hovedfag*) and secondary subjects (*bifag*), though this was disposed of in the 1970 and 1975 curricula. In 1982, a new distinction is introduced between main instrument (*hovedinstrument*) and supporting subjects (*støttefag*). This distinction affects all study programmes in instrumental performance (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982a, 1982b, 1982d, 1982g): Everything that is not instruction in the main instrument now plays a supporting, or secondary, role. Additionally, neither music theory (*satslære*) nor harmony (*harmonilære*) is treated as its own separate subject anymore. Instead, several music-theoretical disciplines are combined under the umbrella of 'work studies' (*verkstudier*).<sup>128</sup> This new subject incorporates harmony and counterpoint (*satsskriving*), analysis, instrumentation, acoustics, aesthetics and music history. Underlining the overarching idea that theory is a supporting subject, it is emphasised that 'there should be a strong connection between the student's music

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127 This is connected to aesthetic debates in the church music discourse which I will go into in the following chapter (see Section 6.3).

128 'Work studies' was also part of the voice curriculum, even though that study plan did not draw the same distinction between main instrument and supporting subjects (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982h).

performance and the studies of music-theoretical disciplines' (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982g, p. 51).<sup>129</sup> The only study programme to retain music theory (*satslære*) as one of its central subjects, with the same aim of understanding what music is and why it sounds as it does, was the church music programme (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982c).<sup>130</sup> The students in church music also received three years of music theory training rather than two.

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### 3.2. Fag- og timefordelingsplaner

#### ORKESTERINSTRUMENTER

#### Fag- og timefordelingsplan - 1. avdeling

Fagområde/fag	Kurskode	Se side	Vekttall	Norm. antall underv.t.pr.uke	
				1. år	2. år
HOVEDINSTRUMENT		19	25		
Instr.teknikk/ interpretasjon	II02A	20		2-6	2-6
Kammermusikk	KM30C	29		2-4	2-4
Orkester	OS08A	34		0-4	2-4
STØTTEFAG		39	15		
Verkstudier	VS01C	49		3-5	
Verkstudier	VS02C	49			3-5
Musikkformidling	MF09A	45		1-2	
Musikkformidling	MF10A	45			1-2
Gehørtrening	GH05C	40		1-2	
Gehørtrening	GH06C	40			1-2
Klaver	KL42A	42		1	1
Prestasjons- forberedelse	PF01A	47		1	
Prestasjons- forberedelse	PF02A	47			1
		SUM	<u>40</u>		

Figure 8. Kandidateksamen: Studieplan for orkesterinstrumenter, table of mandatory courses (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982g, p. 12).

<sup>129</sup> 'det skal være en sterk forbindelse mellom studentens musikkutøvelse og studier av musikkteoretiske emner'.

<sup>130</sup> The music pedagogy curriculum also had a subject called *satslære*, but this was rather different to (more oriented towards arranging/composition), as well as much smaller in scope than, that of church music studies (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982f).

The introduction of the work studies subject is a significant event. It is quite possible that this turn, along with similar turns taking place at other Scandinavian institutions of higher music education (cf. Solbu, 1982b), built on impulses from North America, where the idea of ‘comprehensive musicianship’ dominated the development of higher music education curricula (Rogers, 2004, pp. 19–25).<sup>131</sup> In Bernstein’s (2000) words, ‘[e]very time a discourse moves, there is space for ideology to play’ (p. 9). And as pedagogic discourse is – we have established – a field of continual recontextualisation, a change like the introduction of the work studies subject is drastic: It implies a double devaluing of music theory training in the degree programmes, as theory is not only recontextualised into a larger and broader subject, and is therefore no longer (at least in the formal curricular domain) autonomous, but also explicitly labelled as a supporting subject and therefore considered peripheral.

The next large-scale revisions of the Academy’s undergraduate curricula were undertaken in the early 1990s.<sup>132</sup> From then on, revisions of the study plans occurred almost yearly, although not all programmes were revised every year.

In the Academy’s 1993 curriculum for all music performance students, there are several noticeable differences to previous iterations. The table of mandatory courses for the first half of the four-year undergraduate degree in piano performance is reproduced as Figure 9 as an example. The comprehensive musicianship-inspired structure (i.e. the work studies subject) is removed; music theory (*satslære*) is treated as a separate subject once again. The strict divide between main instrument (*hovedinstrument*) and supporting subjects (*støttefag*) is, however, retained, and theory belongs to the latter. Moreover, the different instrument groups are no longer formally taught differing theory content; the theory training is the same for all students within ‘performance studies’ (*utøverstudiene*). The aim of the theory course is now, first and foremost, to ‘develop the students’ creative skills’ (*utvikle studentenes kreative evner*), but also to introduce them to and teach them how to use specific musical elements, while also getting them to practice analysing music and writing for different instrumental and vocal ensemble types (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1993, p. 119). Creative and compositional aspects are therefore important in this curriculum.

Specifically, the 1993 curriculum proposes that music theory be taught in a chronological fashion. The four semesters could (but did not need to) be organised in the following way: (1) introduction to elementary theory and harmony, (2) writing simple homophonic and polyphonic exercises in the styles of the Renaissance and Baroque (both modal and minor/major) and analysis, (3) writing advanced exercises based on Classical and Romantic music

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131 Karevold (1982) confirms that impulses from the USA were part of this process.

132 Revisions of the 1982 curriculum appeared in 1990, but they did not touch upon music theory.

and analysis and (4) study of compositions from the 20<sup>th</sup> century (impressionist, neoclassical, twelve-tone/serialist, aleatory) and writing of original compositions. It is stressed that the produced exercises should be played/sung by the students in the group. Although analysis is part of this theory course, it clearly plays a subordinate role compared to writing exercises and even whole compositions. In the context of *satslære*, analysis is evidently conceived as a means of learning to write in a specific style.

## Hovedinstrument: KLAVER

### Kandidatstudiet i instrumental utøving - 1. avdeling

Fagområde/fag	Kurskode	Vekttall	Normal mengde undervisningstid pr uke		Se side
			1. år	2. år	
HOVEDINSTRUMENT		22			
Klaver	II01A	(12)	75 min.	75 min.	52
Klaverforum	KU03A	(3)	90 min.	90 min.	54
Kammermusikk	KM61A	(2)		45 min.	103
Akkompagnement	AO01A	(3)		90 min.	55
Bruksklaver	BU04A	(2)	45 min.		56
STØTTEFAG		18			
Arbeidsfysiologi	AF08A	(0,5)	45 min.		105
Gehørtrening	GH05A	(2)	90 min.		110
Gehørtrening	GH06A	(2)		90 min.	110
Innstuderingssteknikk	IB01A	(1)	45 min.		112
Instrumentering	IT10A	(2)		90 min.	113
Musikkformidling	MF09A	(0,5)	45 min.		116
Musikkhistorie	MH10A	(2)	90 min.		117
Musikkhistorie	MH11A	(2)		90 min.	117
Satslære	ST26A	(2)	90 min.		119
Satslære	ST28A	(1)		45 min.	119
Verkanalyse	VY01A	(1,5)	90 min.		121
Verkanalyse	VY02A	(1,5)		90 min.	121
SUM 40					

Figure 9. Kandidatstudiet: Studieplan for utøverstudiene, *table of mandatory courses in years 1 and 2 for pianists* (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1993, p. 18).

However, the overall focus on analysis is strengthened in this curriculum. In addition to both music history and music theory, there is now a mandatory two-year course in ‘work analysis’ (*verkanalyse*) with the aim of training students in score reading and musical analysis, working chronologically with Baroque, Classical, Romantic and 20<sup>th</sup>-century music (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1993, p. 121). This analysis subject is constructed as a seemingly autonomous discipline, but it may also be read as a bridge between music theory and music history (which the 1982 plan had integrated into one subject). The curricular structure of 1993 remained largely consistent in the revised plans that appeared in the following years (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1995a, 1998).

It is worth noting that church music had its own curriculum and was not included in the performance studies mentioned above. Its theory training remained somewhat more conservative, more retrospective, even into the 1990s. This had also been the case in 1982, when church music studies retained the traditional theory course (*satslære*) instead of introducing the more progressive course in ‘work studies’ (*verkstudier*). Unsurprisingly, all the church music curricula recontextualise strongly from organist practice. An interesting detail, however, is the first sentence of the theory training section in the formal church music studies curricula of the 1980s and 1990s: It states that its purpose is to ‘give students a background for understanding what music is and why it sounds the way it does’ (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982c, p. 44; 1995b, p. 25).<sup>133</sup> In contrast to the performance studies curricula, the church music curricula retained this formulation – first encountered in the 1975 curricula – over a two-decade period.

In 2002/2003, there was another major revision of all the Academy’s study plans, which represented a marked decrease in the amount of mandatory theory training required of all classical performers.<sup>134</sup> As the table of mandatory courses reproduced as Figure 10 (using strings, brass, woodwinds and harp studies as an example) shows, the separate course dedicated to analysis is not only removed, but music theory (*satslære*) is now mandatory in three rather than four semesters. Furthermore, a one-semester course in arranging and instrumentation has been introduced.<sup>135</sup> In the mandatory theory (*satslære*) curriculum, the aspect of creativity is still emphasised but no longer tops the list of aims. Instead, the primary aim of the theory training is now that students ‘develop their insight into musical structure’; producing independent creative work is the second aim listed (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2003e, p. 50).<sup>136</sup> The same is the case for church music studies students, who now follow a much more similar theory curriculum to the those in performance studies than what had been the case earlier (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2003a, p. 23). On the one hand, the highlighting of insight into musical structure can be read as a strengthening of the position of statements emphasising *analysis* and *understanding music* in Norway’s music theory discourse (which, as seen above, had been a vital part of that discourse since 1975). On the other, the removal of the two-year work analysis course and its replacement with a one-semester arranging course indicate the opposite.

133 ‘gi studentene bakgrunn for forståelse av hva musikk er og hvorfor den klinger som den gjør’.

134 At this point, there were three types of undergraduate programmes in music performance available: classical, folk and improvised/jazz. All three, however, involved similarly Western classical-oriented music theory training (cf. Norges musikkhøgskole, 1999, 2003c, 2003d) until, somewhat later, the two latter programmes received their own genre-specific theory courses (cf. Norges musikkhøgskole, 2006a, 2008a).

135 This course was mandatory if a student was following the ordinary music performance pathway. If the student was including pedagogy in their undergraduate studies, studying arranging was not compulsory.

136 ‘utvikle sin innsikt i musikalsk struktur’.

## 1.2.1 Oversikter over fag, emner og studiepoeng

*Stryke-, messing-, treblåseinstrumenter og harpe*

	1. avdeling		2. avdeling var. a med PPU		2. avdeling var. b/c		Emnebeskrivelse på side
	1. år	2. år	3. år	4. år	3. år	4. år	
<b>UTØVENDE FAG</b>							18
Hovedinstrument	33	31	25	25	25/40	25/40	18
Innstudering og akkompagnement	*	*	*	*	*	*	21
Interpretasjon	*	*	*	*	*	*	22
Forum	*	*	*	*	*	*	23
Improvisasjon 1 h/v	*						24
Orkester	*	*	*	*	*	*	25
Kammerorkester	*	*					26
Formidling 1 og 2 h/v	*	*					27
Kammermusikk	3 v	5	5	5	5	5	28
<b>Sum utøvende fag</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30/45</b>	<b>30/45</b>	
<b>STØTTEFAG</b>							
Musikkhistorie	6	6					48
Satslære 1 – 2	3 v	6					50 og 51
Arrangering/instrumentering					5 h		52
Gehørtrening 1 – 2.1	6	3 h					53 og 54
Musikkteknologi 1 h/v	3						56
Bruksklaver 1	3						57
Musikketetikk og -filosofi h/v		3					59
Ensembleledelse 1 h/v		3					60
Historisk orientert interpretasjon		3					61
Arbeidsfysiologi	* h						62
Prestasjonsforberedelse, øving og egenutvikling	3 v						62
<b>Sum støttfag</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>			<b>5</b>		
<b>VALGENHETER/-EMNER</b>					<b>25/10</b>	<b>30/15</b>	63
<b>PPU (Praktisk-pedagogisk utd.)</b>			<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>			<sup>1</sup>
<b>SUM HELE STUDIET</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>	

\* Angir tidsmessig plassering av emne uten egne studiepoeng

h Emnet lagt til høstsemesteret

v Emnet lagt til vårsemesteret

h/v Emnet ligger enten i høstsemesteret eller i vårsemesteret

I tillegg til de angitte emnene, må studenten gjennomføre et oppstartkurs ved begynnelsen av 1. studieår og diverse andre obligatoriske kurs og seminarer i løpet av studietiden, bl.a. et innføringskurs i norsk folkemusikk .

<sup>1</sup> Praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning følger egen studieplan

Creativity and craft thus remain important elements in this early 21<sup>st</sup>-century curriculum, and practice in analysis and writing arrangements is mentioned as an aim. The first sentence describing the contents of the music theory course states that it ‘aims to unite theoretical knowledge and practical skills’ (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2003e, p. 50).<sup>137</sup> The theory training takes place in the second, third and fourth semester of study. The students have to pass a test in elementary harmony to enter the course.<sup>138</sup> The three semesters of mandatory theory training have the following structure: (1) tonal harmony focusing on four-part settings and analysis, (2) specialisation in a given topic (a music-historical epoch, a style or a composer – the available courses vary from year to year) and (3) compositional techniques of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The structure described here goes on to remain more or less unchanged in the revised plans of the following years (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2005a, 2006b, 2007, 2008b).

Recent years have seen several revisions to the formal curricula of the institution. Since 2010, the study plans have only been available online, and small revisions are made regularly. To round off, I will briefly comment on the situation at the end of the historical period studied by this dissertation. As of 2020, music theory (*satslære*) is mandatory in the two first years (all four semesters) for all students studying classical performance. The first year is dedicated to an introduction to functional harmony. The third semester focuses on more advanced tonal harmony, while the fourth and final semester focuses on 20<sup>th</sup>-century compositional techniques. In the curricula of both the first and second years, the mandatory music theory (*satslære*) lessons are described in the following way:

Harmony is a practical subject in which the student should acquire fundamental knowledge of harmony and structure in Western art music. The student should develop an understanding of musical harmony for use as a tool in music performance such as interpretation and composition. (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020d, 2020e)<sup>139</sup>

This particular formulation has stayed the same since 2014/2015. It is clear that music theory (*satslære*) is now constructed as a supporting subject intended to aid in music performance and develop students’ skills as interpreters and composers. The former purpose

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137 ‘tar sikte på å forene teoretiske kunnskaper og praktiske ferdigheter.’

138 Those who did not pass this test could follow a preliminary theory course in their first semester.

139 ‘Satslære er et ferdighetsfag hvor studenten skal tilegne seg grunnleggende kunnskaper om sats og struktur i vestlig kunstmusikk. Studenten skal utvikle en forståelse for musikalsk sats som kan anvendes som verktøy i musikkutøving, så som interpretasjon og komposisjon.’ The above translation comes from the institution’s official English version of its curriculum (the website with course descriptions is available in Norwegian and English), where the words *satslære* and *sats* are translated using the narrower term ‘harmony’. While *satslære* is generally a wider term in Norwegian parlance (hence I have most often translated it as ‘music theory’), it is in some contexts used almost synonymously with ‘traditional harmony’ – underlining the strong position of harmony training in the discourse.

is strengthened in this curriculum, while the latter, which was salient in the plans from the 1990s and early 2000s, is somewhat weakened. This may be read as a continuation of the strengthening of the position of statements emphasising *understanding music* in the theory discourse, as indicated in the 2002/2003 revisions, while the focus on *creativity* is weakened. The aims for the first year are threefold (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020d): (1) acquire insight into the structure of tonal harmony, (2) be able to analyse and describe different kinds of compositions (e.g. for choir, piano and smaller ensembles) and (3) be able to harmonise and arrange using functional harmony. The focus on *structure* has thus retained the place at the forefront which it also holds in the second-year curriculum (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020e).

The survey and discussion of music theory in the different formal curricula throughout the histories of the Norwegian Academy of Music and at the Oslo Conservatoire in the two previous sections attest to the complexity of this material. There are some clear ruptures, such as the renaming of the theory training as *satslære* in 1975 and its integration into the ‘work studies’ course in 1982. The practice of categorising music theory as a ‘supporting subject’ (*støttefag*) at the Norwegian Academy of Music also differs from the earlier practice of the Oslo Conservatoire, where music theory – in most contexts – was considered a ‘main subject’ (*hovedfag*). There is also a tendency to move away from the almost exclusively *crafts* focus of the earlier sources and towards a greater emphasis on *understanding music* and *creativity* from the 1970s onwards. In addition to highlighting the clues which point to this overarching development, I have also tried to capture the complexity and discontinuity thereof, for instance by noting how the role of composition and analysis in the theory training has varied greatly from curriculum to curriculum.

## 5.2 Intra-institutional contexts

In the foregone discussion of music-theoretical curricula at the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music, I have focused on music theory in a rather restricted sense of the word (i.e. the compulsory training in subjects such as harmony and counterpoint). However, music theory in a broader sense is part of several closely related subjects in conservatoire education. While retaining my focus on the above-discussed material, I will in this section look at music theory in connection with other elements of the conservatoire education offered in various periods. These are what I call the intra-institutional contexts of the mandatory theory training, and they include exploration of how the training in harmony and counterpoint has been related to theory components in closely related subjects. The subjects



I will discuss are music performance, composition, aural training and music history. As my sources – the institutional documents dissected above – gives insight into the upper curricular domains (the ideal and formal), this discussion of how music theory has been integrated and separated (cf. Rogers, 2004) will be limited to these domains. I stress that what is stated in the documents is not necessarily what was practised in the classroom (see Section 2.2.2).<sup>140</sup> The following is therefore not meant to be an exhaustive discussion of the relationships between these subjects, but rather intends to make more general comments on selected cases in the material that shed light on the intra-institutional contexts.

### 5.2.1 Music theory and music performance

In the early 1890s, the Oslo Conservatoire introduced a new main subject into its curriculum: ‘practical modulation’ (*praktisk Modulation*). This subject was not restricted to theory, nor to musical performance, but rather integrated both these subjects. Practical modulation is not mentioned in the 1892 regulations, but is included in 1894 (cf. P. Lindeman, 1892, 1894). As Peter Lindeman’s (1893) textbook in the subject makes clear, it was an attempt at integrating theory and practice for organists and pianists. The aim was learning how to modulate from one key to another effectively and musically and be able to improvise preludes. The subject’s core was therefore what I call non-written regulative theory, and it was a central part of the Conservatoire’s higher education, mandatory for organists (*høyere organisteksamen*) and music teachers (*musikklærereksamen*), at least until the 1956 exam plan (T. Lindeman, 1956). Orchestral musicians did not have to study practical modulation at the Conservatoire; as mentioned above, they were generally required to undertake far less theory than the organists. There was also a tension between written theory and practical modulation, as the former was valued somewhat higher than its non-written counterpart. Indeed, in early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Norway, there was a discussion of which of the two subjects (written harmony and practical modulation) was the most fruitful way of teaching theory. I will return to this discussion in the next chapter (see Section 6.1.1).

Practical modulation was removed from the curriculum when the first comprehensive study plan of 1970. In the church music programme, it was replaced by the broader subject of ‘organ improvisation’ (*orgalimprovisasjon*), which included training in modulation and improvising preludes. This subject has remained central in the study plans for the programme training church musicians (cf. Musikkhøgskolen, 1975, p. 157; Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, p. 382; Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982c, p. 67; 1995b, p. 11; 2003a, p. 12). The integration of

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140 A 1996 study gave indications of there being significantly more cross-subject collaboration at the Norwegian Academy of Music than one would assume from reading the study plans (Eiriksson, Lund, Winge, & Zimarseth, 1996).

theory and improvisation is also noticeable in John Lammetun's (1983) textbook in organ improvisation.<sup>141</sup>

Compared to both the earlier organist exams and the later study programmes in church music, the relationship between theory and music performance is significantly harder to grasp in the other music performance programmes. Some of the study plans include mandatory training in improvisation, but this appears to have been very different from the course in organ improvisation and less tied to the mandatory training in music theory (Musikkhøgskolen, 1975, p. 90; Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982d, p. 23; 2003e, p. 24). The programme in guitar performance is an exception, as it included mandatory training in 'practical harmonisation' (*praktisk harmonisering*) – and still does. This aspect seems to have been introduced in the 1982 plans, where it is explicitly stated that guitar students were to combine their skills in guitar playing with what they had learned in their music theory classes (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982b, p. 55).

There have been many attempts to link theory training more closely to the students' activities as performers. In the curriculum of 1970, it was stated that one should try to make all groups (of c. 6 students) include a vocal quartet, clearly implying that the harmony exercises were to be sung (Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, p. 337). Music theory would later often be taught in groups made up of students studying the same main instrument in order to tailor the content to their needs. In the 1982 plan, it is stressed that the theory training should be inspired by the repertoire the students were playing at a given time – for example, in their chamber music or orchestra courses (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982g, p. 51). The 2003 plan moreover states that students were to arrange, rehearse and perform some of the theory exercises within their groups (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2003e, p. 50). Yet another recent example of an attempt at greater integration is a chamber music course currently taught collaboratively by instrumental teachers, composition teachers, theory teachers and aural training teachers at the Academy (cf. Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020a). This is, however, an elective course not mandatory in the undergraduate classical music performance programme. This type of interdisciplinary chamber music course was offered for the first time in 2004 (cf. Bergby, 2006).

In short, there have been several attempts at integrating theory and musical performance in the Conservatoire/Academy curricula. Overall, however, the mandatory theory training has focused primarily on written skills, and the norm has been a clear separation between performance subjects and theory subjects.

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141 Lammetun was a central theory teacher at the Conservatoire (cf. Bjerkestrand, 2002, pp. 121–122).

## 5.2.2 Music theory and composition

In the early years of the Conservatoire, many of the same teachers who taught music theory (counterpoint in particular) also taught composition.<sup>142</sup> Composition appears to have been seen as the natural continuation of studies in music theory, as indicated by the 1952 music theory exam (cf. Figure 5). As noted, however, there was no exam plan for composition and thus no formalised composition education. For most of the Oslo Conservatoire's history, then, there was strong integration of music theory and composition: Studying composition was – at best – a continuation of the conservatoire theory training, which focused on various bygone styles and was thus (as a form of composition education) rather conservative (cf. Herresthal, 2015, p. 200).

Composition would continue to be an important part of Norwegian music theory pedagogy later as well, but they would not remain one and the same thing. As a consequence of the establishment of a separate composition education in 1970 (first only at graduate level, later also at undergraduate level), music theory was no longer the primary means of getting an education in composition in Norway. The interesting, almost paradoxical, fact is that in the same period, the music theory curriculum strengthened its focus on composition and creativity.

According to Herresthal (1982, p. 63), Hindemith's *Unterweisung im Tonsatz* and Jelinek's textbook in twelve-tone technique were central resources for the Conservatoire's newly established composition programme. Both have been mentioned above as being used in the theory education at the Norwegian Academy of Music. Composition professor Finn Mortensen also wrote introductions to twelve-tone technique and serialism, which were published posthumously by music theorist Nils E. Bjerkestrand (i.e. Mortensen, 1991). There are obviously significant connections between these two pedagogic discourses, particularly regarding newer compositional techniques.

As long as composition education only existed as a graduate programme, the usual progression remained intact: One had to have undertaken the mandatory theory training of undergraduate music studies before studying composition. This would change, however, when the first undergraduate programme in composition was introduced in the early 1980s.<sup>143</sup> In the 1982 study plan, undergraduate composition students are not instructed to follow the same mandatory theory training as the performance students. Instead, they receive courses in

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142 As Bjerkestrand (2002, p. 115) notes, this was the case for Iver Holter, who taught 1887–1891, Johannes Haarklou, 1891–1896, and Catharinus Elling, 1896–1908. Gustav Lange also taught composition in addition to harmony.

143 Note that this was primarily a formal change. In practice, it was still common for some time to study music performance (e.g. an instrument) before being accepted onto the composition programme – many students would thus have studied theory prior to their composition education. However, my focus here is the formal domain.

composition techniques and aural sonology (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982e). The former was the closest the composition students came to traditional mandatory music theory (or *satslære*), but it was tailored to their needs by focusing more on techniques used in 20<sup>th</sup>-century music. The latter, meanwhile, was based on a method of aural analysis. These two subjects would make up the mandatory theory core of the Academy's composition education in the following decades too (cf. Norges musikkhøgskole, 1992, 2003b). All in all, one might argue – using Bernstein's (2000) terminology – that the theory training given to composers more strongly recontextualised from the discourse of compositional practice, particularly that of contemporary music, than the mandatory theory training for performers (though this also recontextualised from said discourse). Even though newer techniques were included in the performers' theory courses as well from the 1970s, the composition courses have generally had a more prospective identity.

Interestingly, aural sonology has largely remained constrained to the composition education. Looking at the study plans, it seems to have had little to no impact on the mandatory theory training of performing musicians.<sup>144</sup> Rather, it has mainly been practised (and developed) by the composition teachers at the Norwegian Academy of Music, particularly Olav Anton Thommesen and Lasse Thoresen. Since the 1980s, therefore, there has been a qualitative difference in the mandatory theory training provided to composition versus performance students – a clear separation. However, in the more recent history of the institution, this has begun to change. Today, composition students receive the same mandatory theory training as the music performance students in the Western classical tradition – in addition to a separate course in composition techniques and analysis (cf. Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020b).

Composition as a pedagogical activity has been central to the music theory curriculum of the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music since the beginning. As has been stressed repeatedly, regulative theory has been the core of Norwegian music-theoretical discourse throughout this discourse's history. In the 1993 plan, students writing their 'own compositions' (*egne komposisjoner*) was the culmination of the mandatory theory course (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1993, p. 120). Indeed, theory teacher Nils E. Bjerkestrand's (1986) motto was that 'we study what has been created in order to be able to create ourselves' (p. 40).<sup>145</sup> It is thus clear that, despite the composition students undertaking a separate – and somewhat different – theory training, the craft of composition has, to a high degree, continued to be

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144 It has, however, been available as an elective course. It should also be mentioned that 'auditive analysis' (*auditiv analyse*) has been part of the formal curricula for aural training since the 1970s (cf. Musikkhøgskolen, 1975, p. 88; Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982g, p. 41; Norges musikkhøgskole, 1993, p. 110; Norges musikkhøgskole, 2003e, p. 53). This much more open term is, however, not synonymous with aural sonology (a term not used in the cited curricula).

145 'vi studerer det skapte for selv å kunne skape'. I will return to his argument for a very composition-oriented theory pedagogy when discussing debates in the next chapter (see Section 6.1.2).

integrated in the mandatory theory training for performers through the focus on developing their creativity. With the emergence of a separate composition education – which distanced itself from the traditional theory training and focused on its own framework of music analysis (aural sonology) – studying music theory was no longer the primary means of gaining a professional composition education at the Academy. This change constructed separation. Although there is regularity to the music theory discourse's composition-oriented nature, there is also discontinuity inherent in the emerging separation between music theory training and formal composition training. We are dealing with neither integration nor separation but both (on different levels) – a further demonstration of the complexity of these discursive ruptures.

### 5.2.3 Music theory and aural training

At the Oslo Conservatoire, aural training seems to have revolved around two components: sight-singing (*tonetrefning*) and musical transcription (*musikkdiktat*). The 1956 exam plan (T. Lindeman, 1956) and the set text (T. Lindeman, 1951) both indicate that these two components focused on melody. The exam consisted of the transcribing of a melody and the sight-singing of another. In the comprehensive study plans that first appeared in the 1970s, aural training is treated as a much wider subject than in the previous exam plans and existing textbooks. Harmony is now a central element in the aural training courses too, and the disparity between these courses and the mandatory theory training is thereby significantly reduced. Separation into different disciplines would, however, nevertheless remain the norm.

In some contexts, aural training is considered as much a part of the subject of 'music theory' as harmony, but this has traditionally been the case in neither Norway in general nor in Oslo in particular. Even in the 1982 plans, with their comprehensive musicianship-like structure, aural training was kept as a separate subject and not included in the broad and heterogeneous 'work studies' course (cf. Figure 8). Evidently, at least in the formal curricula of the Norwegian Academy of Music, there has been a strong separation between music theory (*satslære*) and aural training (*hørelære* or *gehørtrening*) – just as at the Oslo Conservatoire.

As of 2020, this divide is also underlined by the available master's programmes in Norway. Since 2010, there has been a master's programme at the University of Tromsø dedicated to educating music teachers specialised in aural training (Universitetet i Tromsø, n.d.). By contrast, the new master's programme in music theory at the Norwegian Academy of Music, established in 2020, gives greater emphasis to *satslære*-related subjects in general, and analysis in particular (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020c). Moreover, in the earlier master's programme in 'applied music theory' (*anvendt musikkteori*) at the Academy, each student had to choose a specialisation – *satslære* and *hørelære* were separated as two different options (Norges

musikkhøgskole, 2005b). Across all these examples, there is some overlap: The aural training students study harmony and analysis as secondary subjects; the theory students receive some aural training. Nonetheless, this indicates a rather strong separation (Rogers, 2004) of *hørelære* and *satslære* into individual disciplines, even though these subjects are in many ways are closely related and have clearly overlap between them in terms of topics.

The most obvious field of overlap is that of harmonic analysis. Anfinn Øien (1975, p. 14) mentions aural training as a completely necessary assisting subject (*hjelpesfag*) when studying harmony. As harmonic transcription became an increasingly central part of the Academy's aural training curriculum in the 1970s, the latter classes became another arena for students to learn harmonic analysis. Given that the aural training pedagogy adhere to the same theoretical framework (in this case, the post-Riemannian), they reinforce this framework as the natural way of understanding (in this case, tonal) music. That the aural training used function analysis specifically as a tool for analysing and understanding sounding harmonies is explicitly stated in several formal curricula (Musikkhøgskolen, 1975, p. 87; Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, p. 345; Norges musikkhøgskole, 1993, p. 111). Such mutual reinforcements of the post-Riemannian framework across aural training and music theory is evident in several aural training textbooks utilising the interval-relational post-Riemannian framework which had dominated the Norwegian harmony literature since the 1970s (cf. J. Christensen, 2017; G. S. Kruse, 2000a, 2000b; Lavik, 1986; Lavik & Krognnes, 1998; Ophus, 2011; Reitan, 2010; Shetelig, 2006; Øye, 2009, 2017a, 2017b). Petter Stigar's (2007) aural training textbook is an exception here. The situation at the Grieg Academy in Bergen – where Stigar has been teaching for several decades – has, generally, been somewhat different from the one in Oslo (see Section 5.3.1).

The strong separation of theory from aural training, of *satslære* from *hørelære*, in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse is reinforced when we look beyond formal curricula. The reception of Stigar's 2007 textbook is a good example. Stigar, who had also authored a harmony textbook in 2004, integrates much theory (*satslære*) into this aural training textbook, thereby presenting a pedagogy highly unusual in the Norwegian context – something that was pointed out and criticised by reviewers. One reviewer seems to not see the point of this integration, taking for granted that theory and aural training are separate subjects and should be treated in separate literature: 'To be a textbook in aural training, it contains a lot of music theory. This is already covered in music theory textbooks' (Karstein Djupdal, 2007).<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, Guro Gravem Johansen (2007), affiliated with the Norwegian Academy of Music, voices her concerns with regard to the implications of Stigar's integration. In her review, she argues that 'aural training is a subject with a different knowledge base than the subject of music theory, and must not

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146 'Til å være en bok for hørelærefaget, inneholder den mye satslæreteori. Dette dekkes jo allerede av satslærebøker.'

be reduced to be the servant of music theory' (p. 26).<sup>147</sup> Clearly, there is a form of discursive struggle taking place between the discourses of music theory (*satslære*) and aural training (*hørelære*, also called *gehørtrening*), where positions are defended and boundaries drawn.

Although different attempts at integration have been made – indeed, there have been clear links drawn between these subjects' discourses – most of the sources indicate that there generally has been (and still is) a rather strong separation between aural training and music theory in Norway – at least, in Goodlad's (1979) upper curricular domains.<sup>148</sup>

## 5.2.4 Music theory and music history

As advanced above, several of the Norwegian Academy of Music's theory curricula since 1975 have integrated music history into the theory classroom by chronologically presenting different historical styles. The most obvious previous attempt to integrate music theory and music history in the formal curriculum is the 'work studies' course of the 1982 curriculum. Earlier, Jon Medbøe's (1950) book, which was used as textbook in music history at the Oslo Conservatoire, had propagated a similar integrative approach. It should also be mentioned that Nils E. Bjerkestrand, long-time theory teacher at the Academy, collaborated closely with Elef Nesheim, a music history teacher there. Bjerkestrand and Nesheim co-authored music theory books, drawing on their respective fields of expertise (Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1986, 1987, 1995). Bjerkestrand has also authored books that are more firmly positioned within music history (Bjerkestrand, 2005, 2009), demonstrating the overlap possible between these fields.

The clearest link between music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint and music history has traditionally been analysis. One could consider analysis to reside somewhere in the middle of these disciplines. Most of the time, however, music theory is primarily focused on the micro level (e.g. harmonic analysis, voice leading principles, etc.), whereas music history concentrates on the broad historical and cultural contexts whence the music springs. As mentioned above, the analysis of musical works has, at the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music, varyingly existed as a separate subject or been combined with others, just as it has at times been mandatory and at others not. In the exam plans of the Conservatoire before 1970, there was no separate analysis subject, but it is clear from the exam requirements that the course in form (*formlære*) filled its place. In the Conservatoire's 1970 curriculum, meanwhile, music analysis and form are integrated into one analysis-oriented

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147 'Hørelære er eit fag, med eit annleis kunnskapsgrunnlag enn faget satslære, og må ikkje reduserast til å bli satslæra sin tjenar.'

148 Reitan (2006, pp. 83–89) finds that there is a closer relation between these subjects in the lower curricular domains.

subject (Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970, pp. 373–374, 728–729). Note that while analysis is often mentioned in the formal curricula, it is seldom specified what it entails.

There are also traces of a notion that music analysis, at least in the academic sense of the word, belongs in university musicology departments and not at conservatoires. As Per Dahl (2011) elucidates in his analysis textbook:

The academic analysis of musical works has generally been a part of the education at conservatoires and musicological institutions. Its impact seems to have been greater in musicology studies than in the more performer-oriented studies at the music conservatoires, as the students of the latter have a greater interest in how music should be performed than how it (the work) has been created (composed). (p. 20)<sup>149</sup>

That the general interest in work analysis as an autonomous subject in Norwegian conservatoires has been restricted is also indicated by the limited number of Norwegian textbooks dedicated to this topic. However, interest seems to have been increasing since the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, as indicated by the fact that the first two Norwegian textbooks in musical analysis aimed at (among others) conservatoire students – and written by teachers at the conservatoires in Bergen and Stavanger – appeared in 2011 (i.e. P. Dahl, 2011; Stigar, 2011).

In conclusion, there are connections between music theory and music history in the discourse we are considering, and there have been attempts at integration. However, the position of, and interest in, musical analysis (especially the analysis of larger musical structures) – the clearest link between these subjects – has varied over time.

### 5.3 Inter-institutional contexts

The Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music are, combined, Norway's oldest and largest institution of higher music education. However, they have not been the only educational arena for music-theoretical discourse in Norway. In the following, I will comment on selected other institutions which have provided and/or still provide music-theoretical education. I do this in order to draw a broad picture of the national context; I will not conduct a systematic study of these other institutions' histories. In addition to selected

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149 'Den akademiske verkanalysen har stort sett oppholdt seg ved konservatorieutdanninger og ved de musikkvitenskapelige læresteder. Gjennomslagskraften synes å ha vært større ved de musikkvitenskapelige studier enn ved de mer utøverorienterte studier ved musikkonservatoriene, ettersom studentene der har større interesse av hvordan musikken skal fremføres, enn hvordan den (verket) er blitt til (komponert).'



available formal curricula, I will draw on selected textbooks written for the different contexts. I begin by addressing the most similar institutional contexts – other conservatoires – before moving on to non-conservatoire institutions of higher music education and, lastly, on other arenas for music theory education.

### 5.3.1 Other conservatoires in Norway

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, conservatoires were established in Norwegian cities other than Oslo such as Bergen, Trondheim and Stavanger. Lindeman's institution would no longer retain a monopoly in Oslo, either. By 1980, there were conservatoires in Oslo, Trondheim, Bergen, Tromsø, Stavanger, Kristiansand and Drammen (cf. Solbu, 1981). In Oslo, the Barratt Due Institute of Music (*Barratt-Dues musikkinstitut*) and Eastern Norway's Conservatoire (*Østlandets musikkonservatorium*) had been established in 1927 and 1959 respectively. Barratt Due still exists as a private institution, whereas the latter was merged with the Norwegian Academy of Music in 1996. Additionally, the Norwegian National Academy of Opera (*Statens operaskole*), today part of the Oslo National Academy of the Arts (*Kunsthøgskolen i Oslo*), has provided higher education in opera specifically from 1964 onwards.

The discussion of textbooks in the previous chapter, like the discussion of the debates in the next, indicates that the music-theoretical discourse in Norway has to a large extent been inter-institutional. It is this inter-institutional discourse that is the research object of the present study, but the focus on the Oslo Conservatoire/Norwegian Academy of Music is warranted by this institution's status as the oldest and largest Norwegian conservatoire. The later conservatoires largely followed its model, which in turn was inspired by other European institutions. Thus, the short-lived conservatoire established in Stavanger by Sturla Dalhbach in 1918, for example, implemented the same now-familiar divide between main subjects (*hovedfag*) and secondary subjects (*bifag*), listing harmony among the former ('Musikkonservatoriet,' 1918). When a new, longer-lasting conservatoire was established in Stavanger in 1945, the same occurred. The 1945 formal curricula of the Stavanger Conservatoire indicates that it followed in the footsteps of the Oslo Conservatoire in other ways as well:<sup>150</sup> It was possible to take exams to become different kinds of music teacher, as well as to take the by now traditional organist exam. Both harmony and practical modulation were treated as main subjects, but could also be studied as secondary subjects. Interestingly, when the conservatoire in Kristiansand opened in 1965, it initially only provided training in music theory. Modelled after that of the Oslo Conservatoire, its curriculum was developed in close collaboration with Anfinn Øien (T. Aasen, 2005a, p. 14).

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150 The 1945 curriculum is reproduced in Eikenes (1986, pp. 25–28).

Of course, the presence of a shared music-theoretical discourse across institutional boundaries of the Norwegian conservatoires does not entail that they have all been the same in every way: There are clear discontinuities as well. The Bergen Conservatoire, today the Grieg Academy (*Griegakademiet*), is a good example. Comparing its formal curricula as of 2020 for the mandatory theory education which forms part of its undergraduate programmes in classical performance with those current at Norwegian Academy of Music throws light on some differences, the most salient of which is the much higher integration of music theory and aural training in Bergen (Universitetet i Bergen, 2020a, 2020b). The harmony textbook by Petter Stigar (2004), written for his students at this institution, also deviates significantly from the dominating frameworks of the music-theoretical discourse in Norway (as discussed in the previous chapter).<sup>151</sup> But Stigar was not the first Bergen-based theory teacher opposed to the national (or, perhaps more accurately, Oslo-based) trends in music theory pedagogy: In the 1970s, Trygve Fischer outspokenly criticised the turn towards the post-Riemannian framework in the music theory discourse.<sup>152</sup> In sum, while there is a shared conservatoire music theory discourse in Norway, it also evinces several discontinuities.

### 5.3.2 Other institutions of higher music education in Norway

It should be emphasised that higher music education is not restricted to conservatoires. There are at least two other relevant arenas: teacher education focusing on music and the more academically oriented musicology education provided at various universities. In Norway, music education has been a topic of teacher seminars since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Årva, 1987); today, several teacher-training colleges offer programmes for teachers specialising in music. Meanwhile, Norway's first musicology department was founded in 1958 at the University of Oslo. However, there had been earlier academic musical activities at this university as well: The first doctoral dissertation in music was accepted at Oslo as soon as 1913, and Olav Gurvin, Norway's first music professor, was employed there from 1947 (Paus, 2014). Today, musicology programmes exist at the universities in Bergen and Trondheim, too.

Many of the music theory textbooks published in Norway have been written specifically for music teacher education. This includes a range of books in elementary music theory (Barkved, 1926; Bøhn, 1907; Knut Djupdal, 1993; Graasvoll, 2008; Kobberstad, 1881; Winter-Hjelm, 1888; Årva, 1971) and several in arranging for the classroom (Bisgaard, 1980; Nagelhus, 2004; A. I. Petersen, 1994; Runsjø, 2012; Øhrn, 1996). For a long time, there was a clear relationship between the music theory education intended for (music) teachers and the music theory taught

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151 The same applies to the compendium currently used at the institution (Stigar, 2019).

152 I will return to this in the next chapter (see Section 6.2.1).

in the conservatoires. All the elementary music theory books written for teacher education prior to Årva (1971) include introductions – some more thorough than others – to traditional four-part harmony relying on the Richterian framework. But Øystein Årva's 1971 book marks something of a turning point: Its harmony chapter is restricted to only the most rudimentary knowledge of chords. This reduced emphasis on traditional four-part harmony, coinciding as it did with books published specifically on 'pedagogical arranging' (*pedagogisk sats*), is likely tied to a general turn away from primarily classical music-oriented pedagogy and towards so-called rhythmic music pedagogy more oriented towards jazz/pop/rock.

Although several Norwegian theory books have been written specifically for types of music education other than the conservatoire, there has been a lot of overlap between the textbooks used in these various educational arenas. Finn Benestad's (1963) still widely used textbook in elementary music theory is, for example, explicitly aimed at all kinds of higher music education, including conservatoires, teacher education and universities. Several Norwegian theory textbooks were also written by teaching staff in the universities' musicology departments – from the University of Oslo, this includes Sigvald Tveit's (1984) harmony textbook and the counterpoint textbooks by Nils Grinde (1989, 1990; Grinde & Nielsen, 1966). Anfinn Øien also wrote much of his harmony textbook (1971, 1975) when teaching at the University in the period 1966–1969 (he returned to the Conservatoire in 1969). All these textbooks have been used both at the University and at the Conservatoire; as the example of Øien attests to, there were also teachers who taught at both, strengthening the ties between the institutions.

Even though education in musicology is arguably very different from education in music performance, their approaches to music theory seem to have been rather similar over time. Thus, the textbooks produced at the universities are just as craft-oriented as those written by conservatoire teachers. The already mentioned examples by Tveit and Grinde testify to this: They are short, to the point and clearly positioned within the regulative paradigm. It seems, therefore, that the restricted interest in speculative theory – apparently characteristic of music-theoretical discourse in Norway in general – was current across institutional boundaries. The perceived purpose of studying music theory – its grand 'why' – may nonetheless have been different in the musicological context than in the conservatoires. Indeed, it is natural to think that the intra-institutional context of a musicology department at a university would be rather different to that of a conservatoire. In order to retain the intended focus and scope of my dissertation, however, I will wrap up my discussion of the details of the musicology education context at this point.

### 5.3.3 Other arenas for music theory education in Norway

Music theory has also been taught in other educational arenas, including at lower educational levels. Specifically, an important arena for the dissemination of traditional music theory (especially harmony) has been the music specialisation available in some Norwegian upper secondary schools (*musikklinja*). The first upper secondary school in Norway to provide this kind of specialist music education was Hartvig Nissens skole in Oslo, beginning in 1955.<sup>153</sup> In the 1970s, several other schools in Norway began to offer music specialisation as a programme in upper secondary school. The department for lower education at the Oslo Conservatoire, for example, was turned into the music department of Foss Upper Secondary School in Oslo before the higher education department became the Norwegian Academy of Music (in 1973). Since the 1970s, music specialisation has been a popular choice amongst musical youths in Norway and is therefore an important arena for the dissemination of music-theoretical discourse to a much broader population of students than higher music education can reach. Thus, this arena has also had a significant impact on the amount and kind of music-theoretical knowledge of many applicants to higher music education in Norway.

In the national curricula for music specialisation in upper secondary school developed in the 1970s, elementary music theory (*musikkklære*) and advanced music theory (*satslære*) were mandatory (Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, 1979). In this context, the latter was primarily a course in tonal harmony, as is made clear not only in the formal curriculum but also in the many theory textbooks written for this part of upper secondary school education (cf. Bekkevold, 1988; Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1995; Jeffs, 1995; Kindem, 1969). Bekkevold's book was much used and reprinted as late as 2007. Although Øien's work – aimed at higher education – remained the main reference on post-Riemannian theory in Norway, Bekkevold's work played a central part in disseminating this framework to the broader audience of upper secondary school students. Traditional four-part harmony (which has at times been treated as synonymous with *satslære*) remained an important part of secondary school music specialisation even following the curriculum revisions of the 1990s (Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet, 1995). In both the earlier and later curricula, the first year of theory training (*satslære*) was focused on harmony, the second on instrumentation and arranging/composition (the latter called *satslære* in 1979, but *arrangering og komponering* in 1995). In both harmony curricula, post-Riemannian terminology is used, indicating that the students were meant to learn harmony by way of function-theoretical concepts. These formal curricula for upper secondary schools thus repeat the statement, *music theory is post-Riemannian*. In

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153 This was initiated by Ingeborg Kindem, the only music teacher at the school for over twenty years (Rygg, 1999), who also authored textbooks in music theory (i.e. Kindem, 1968, 1969).

short, the position of the post-Riemannian framework has from the 1970s been a regularity in the music-theoretical discourse of Norway also beyond the conservatoire context.

In 2006, however, the construction of music theory in the upper secondary school context underwent a significant transformation. The term *satslære* was completely abandoned, being replaced by ‘composition’ (*komposisjon*) in the formal curriculum (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2006). This course had a much more liberal profile, focusing more on free creativity and less on traditional regulative theory. The teaching of traditional four-part harmony was no longer mandatory; teachers could just as easily teach completely different styles as well as other aspects of arranging and compositional technique. In essence, the curriculum was loosened up, giving more freedom to the teachers – including the freedom to not teach traditional four-part harmony. This compositional part of the education, built into a larger music specialisation subject (*musikk fordypning*), was not even mandatory, being offered only as an elective course. Although upper secondary school continues to be a central arena for the dissemination of music-theoretical discourse, it is safe to say that its similarities to the mandatory theory training at the conservatoires (at least in the case of studies in Western classical music, which is my focus) have receded.<sup>154</sup>

Since the 1970s, upper secondary school has been one of the most important institutional environments for preparing students for higher music education – but not the only one. Before the advent of such programmes, a similar function was filled by the lower-level departments at conservatoires. This was, for example, the case at the Oslo Conservatoire, which provided both lower and higher education within the same institution. Other important arenas for the dissemination of music-theoretical knowledge at lower educational levels – which I will not go into here beyond mentioning them – include the municipal schools of music and performing arts (*musikkskole* or *kulturskole*), school bands (*skolekorps*), private tutoring and the mandatory music training included in primary school education.

## 5.4 Chapter conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been the formal curricula outlining the mandatory training in music theory undertaken by undergraduate students in Western-classical music performance at the Oslo Conservatoire and Norwegian Academy of Music. These curricula have been further contextualised from intra- and inter-institutional perspectives – the former by

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<sup>154</sup> For a historical overview of music curricula in upper secondary school focusing especially on composition and music theory (*satslære*), see Stavsøien (2014, pp. 13–29).

discussing integration and separation between theory and other related subjects internally at the institution, the latter by discussing connections and difference to music theory training at other educational institutions in Norway. More specifically, the following research question has been addressed: *What has been presented as the purpose(s) of music theory – i.e. the kinds of knowledge and skills students are supposed to acquire through their study of music theory – in the formal curricula of the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of Music?*

The sources indicate that the discursive construction of the purpose(s), and position, of music theory in the education of professional musicians has varied historically. Harmony had a very strong position at the earlier institution of the Oslo Conservatoire. In the later undergraduate programme for performing musicians at the Norwegian Academy of Music, theory would not retain the same central position. This is indicated by, among other things, the move from music theory being constructed as a 'main subject' (*hovedfag*) at the Conservatoire to a 'supporting subject' (*støttefag*) at the Academy.

The ties to organist practice are important to understanding the key skills and kinds of music-theoretical knowledge that have historically been part of the music theory discourse in Norway. From the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup>, music theory curricula remained thoroughly regulative (seemingly completely excluding what Dahlhaus calls 'speculative' theory). Under this category fall both written and non-written regulative theory tailored to the needs of organists (like writing chorales and improvising preludes). This organist-oriented theory training was the foundation for the theory training provided to both music teachers and music performers: The general music theory discourse was closely related to the church music discourse. In the early 1970s, however, substantial changes in the music theory discourse took place which are noticeable through changes in the curricula. The earlier, almost exclusive focus on practical aspects – practical in the sense of most directly useful for organists – was challenged by discursive statements emphasising *understanding music* and *creativity*. The discourse was thus broadened.

Since the time when formal music education was established in Norway, music theory training in the country was predominantly craft-oriented, focusing on training students in the specific compositional techniques of various stylistic idioms. In its early history, the Oslo Conservatoire's educational model blurred the boundaries between theory, composition and performance. Studying theory (at least at a higher level) was as close to a composition education one could get, and – especially through the subject known as 'practical modulation' – students would also develop their theoretical knowledge through improvisation. Later, at the Norwegian Academy of Music, composition became a completely separate study programme (as it remains today). The mandatory music theory training of the performance programme

has, nevertheless, retained (and even strengthened) its focus on compositional technique. An important change in the music-theoretical discourse is noticeable in the sources dating from the time of transition from Conservatoire to Academy: There, the term *satslære* is now used instead of the more specific terms *harmonilære* and *kontrapunkt*.

That several important changes in how music theory is discursively constructed appear in the early curricula of the Norwegian Academy of Music is hardly coincidental. It is likely that these changes are somehow connected. That the period following the end of World War II (up until c. 1975) was a time when the music theory discourse in Norway went through significant transformations is also indicated in Chapters 4 and 6 and will be further explored in Part III.

## 6 What's at stake? Theory debates in periodicals

Music theory, including the conservatoire training in harmony and counterpoint, has long been a subject of frequent debate among music professionals in Norway and beyond. In this chapter, I will – based on written sources – discuss some of the most important debates on music theory in Norway. I will focus on what has been written in Norwegian periodicals and particularly on debates on music theory education. I will also comment on several more general music-theoretical discussions in order to paint a picture of the music-theoretical discourse in Norway more broadly. More specifically, I will discuss the following research question: *How has music theory in general, and music theory in conservatoire education in particular, been publicly debated in Norwegian periodicals (i.e. newspapers, magazines and journals), and what was at stake in these debates?*

What was at stake in these debates provides important clues for the historical discourse analysis that is the main goal of this dissertation. Drawing on Foucauldian discourse theory (see Sections 1.2.2 and 2.1), I will sketch out some possible implications of these debates for our understanding of the music theory discourse in Norway as well as historical changes within this discourse. This will feed into the bigger picture presented in Chapter 7. To get an overview of what was at stake for theory teachers, I will also – where relevant – link the debates in periodicals with other relevant material, such as the prefaces of central textbooks.

This chapter is divided thematically into three parts. Firstly, I will discuss debates on the value and purpose(s) of music theory education. Secondly, I will consider debates on different methods of musical analysis (which reflect different music-theoretical frameworks). Lastly, I will go into some of the music-theoretical debates that are less directly connected to music theory education. These themes, arising from my first explorations of the sources, were chosen as they appeared especially pertinent to answering this dissertation's research questions.

### 6.1 The value and purpose(s) of music theory education

As long as there has been higher music education in Norway, its theory training has been subjected to criticism. As I will demonstrate in the following, however, the extent and nature of this criticism has changed over time. These critical debates show what has been at stake for music theory education in Norwegian conservatoires, giving clear indications of what was taken for granted at different points in history and how these tenets have changed over time.



The material discussed in this chapter is not primarily curricular, but it nonetheless sheds light – by addressing the justification of different forms of music theory education – on the ideological domain of music theory curriculum in Norway (cf. Goodlad et al., 1979).

I will address the debates on the value and purpose(s) of theory education in two sections. Firstly, I will discuss specific critiques of and attacks on music theory education in Norway along with the responses they received. Secondly, I will discuss instances of theory teachers in Norway ‘unprovokedly’ arguing for the value of their specific way of teaching theory.

### 6.1.1 Public critiques of and attacks on music theory education

The earliest attack on conservatoire music theory in Norway I have been able to find was penned by the Stavanger-based organist and composer Karl Svensen. In 1898, the year after Gustav Lange’s harmony textbook was published, he wrote a starkly condemning review of it. First, in September, he sent it to the Oslo-based daily newspaper *Dagbladet*. Although the paper did not find space to print the complete article, a brief summary of Svensen’s argument was given: ‘The book is anything but practical and contains several inaccuracies, which is why it is not suitable as a textbook at the Conservatoire’ (‘Om Hr. Gustav Langes “Praktisk Harmonilære”’, 1898).<sup>155</sup> A month later, the complete review was printed in the Bergen-based daily newspaper *Bergens Tidende* (Svensen, 1898). As hinted at by the summary in *Dagbladet*, the review criticises not just the book but also the practice at the Conservatoire in Christiania (now Oslo). According to Svensen, writing a harmony textbook requires that the author both have full mastery over his subject as well as manage to convey the subject in an easily comprehensible way – as he sees it, Lange does not live up to these expectations. Svensen (1898) concludes: ‘The book is, in my opinion, a failed attempt’ (p. 2).<sup>156</sup>

Svensen’s review straightforwardly attacked Lange by claiming that he was not only a bad textbook author, but also that he did not fully understand the subject he taught. In Svensen’s opinion, the Conservatoire should instead use either Richter’s old textbook or the later Danish adaption of the Richterian framework by J. D. Bondesen. Svensen’s objections to Lange’s work were mainly on points where Lange deviated from Richter and/or Bondesen. Most vehemently, Svensen argued that Lange presented too strict a rule against the doubling of thirds. Additionally, as well as pointing out an example in Lange’s book that contained parallel fifths, Svensen objected to a range of minor issues:

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155 ‘Bogen er alt andet end praktisk og indeholder flere Ukorrektheder, hvorfor den ikke er skikket som Lærebog ved Konservatoriet.’

156 ‘Bogen er efter min Mening et mislykket Forsøg.’

1. Lange's erasure of the difference between the dominant triad and the dominant seventh chord
2. Lange's propensity to name inversions of seventh chords as seventh chords (instead of six-five, four-three or second chords)
3. Lange's designation of the minor six-four chord as the resolution of the augmented six-five chord (instead of calling it a chord interposed before the actual resolution)
4. Lange's dismissal of alterations of the dominant seventh chord in minor as useless
5. Lange's claim that mastery of four-parting writing meant no further rules were needed for writing in three parts

Ten days later, Gustav Lange (1898) responded to this open attack on his abilities as a music theory teacher and textbook author. He objected to Svensen's dismissal of aspects of his textbook as 'incorrect', as it seemed to treat music as a hard science rather than an art. He also objected to Richter and Bondesen's approach being presented as the only really correct way of understanding and teaching harmony. Moreover, he accused Svensen of cherry-picking claims from the text and completely removing them from their context, thereby presenting a distorted picture of the textbook. Indeed, as discussed above (see Section 4.1.1), Lange's textbook was – regardless of Svensen's aspersions – a fervent propagator of the Richterian framework and remained the standard text on harmony in Norway for a half century.

What is intriguing from a discourse-analytical point of view when it comes to Svensen's attack on Lange is what was at stake in the debate, and conversely (and equally crucially) what was not up for discussion. On the latter point, Svensen and Lange clearly agree that harmony is an important, essential part of professional musical education. They also both propagate the same theoretical framework, namely the Richterian. Although several details within this framework clearly cause disagreement, its position is not at stake. Svensen's objection to Lange was rather that he deviated too much from the practice established by Richter in Germany and Bondesen in Denmark. Lange, on the other hand, claimed that all he had done through his textbook was provide a more practical, simpler approach to the material. The flaming criticisms of Svensen's are an indication of how ardently the Richterian framework was considered the correct way of teaching harmony; in short, they reveal the limits of harmony as an educational discipline as they were conceived. To be 'in the true' in harmony pedagogy at that time was to propagate the Richterian framework in some way. This may be read as

an instance of the internal discursive procedure Foucault (1971/1981) calls the *discipline*. It moreover elucidates the workings of power-knowledge in this discourse.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new critique of the mandatory music theory training at the Conservatoire appeared. Here again, the value of learning traditional tonal harmony as part of a professional musical education is not up for discussion. What is questioned at this point is the method of teaching it. As outlined in Chapter 5, the Oslo Conservatoire had since the 1890s provided courses in ‘practical modulation’ in addition to training in written harmony (this had been provided since the opening of the institution in 1883). Now, the relationship between these two subjects is questioned. In several articles, Geburg Aasland – an organist and composer who taught practical modulation and improvisation at the Conservatoire – questions the presumption that written harmony education (which he calls ‘theoretical harmony’) is more important than practical modulation. Indeed, in his reviews of the two first editions of Peter Lindeman’s textbook in modulation, which were used at the Conservatoire, Aasland (1907, 1912) points to the brilliance of the book as a more intuitive and hands-on approach to teaching harmony. In a short 1908 article, he claims that teaching harmony following Lindeman’s book – which instructs students to play and improvise exercises instead of writing them – could get the students to a decent level in just one semester (Aasland, 1908). Aasland sees Lindeman’s work as a faster and simpler alternative to written harmony training. In a later article, he asks why studies in practical modulation are not enough to pass the higher organist exam (Aasland, 1913) – at the time, students who had only studied practical modulation, not traditional written harmony, could only qualify for lesser/‘smaller’ organist positions. To qualify for all positions, including the larger ones with better pay, it was necessary to have undergone the complete course in written harmony. Aasland argues that Lindeman (director of the Conservatoire, author of the textbook in modulation and editor of *Musikbladet*, the journal which published Aasland’s text) should change the Conservatoire’s regulations to value practical modulation as harmony education as much as traditional written training. Aasland stresses the importance of learning theory in general – and harmony in particular – but he argues that this should be done at the keyboard.

In his response, Peter Lindeman (1913) concurs that courses in practical modulation and harmony have the same aim, though they utilise different means. However, he does not consider changing the Conservatoire’s regulations to be necessary. Firstly, he asserts that practical modulation and harmony are already equally valued in the education. Secondly, he argues that the Conservatoire has a responsibility to ensure that the highest-level students possess a thorough theoretical knowledge, which can only be fulfilled by demanding that these students pass traditional written exams. It seems that although Lindeman agreed with Aasland that both subjects in question were of equal value, he did not wish practical harmony to replace

the traditional written version. Being proficient in harmony at the keyboard (i.e. improvising modulations and preludes) was not sufficient in itself; theoretical skills (in the literal sense) demonstrated through written exercises were also necessary. To take a more bird's-eye view of the debate: Although the written form of the Richterian framework was challenged by Aasland, his and Lindeman's shared strong belief in the regulative theory at the core of the Richterian framework – the belief in focusing on *how* rather than *why* – was not up for discussion. Music theory was, in fact, considered to be necessarily practical, whether it was written or practised at the keyboard, and it was expected to be simple and straightforward in its theoretical foundation. I argue that the strength with which these tenets were held in the discourse precluded the possibility of any attention being paid to aspects of the analytic and (especially) speculative paradigms.

In a 1919 article,<sup>157</sup> the Norwegian composer David Monrad Johansen discusses the state of theory training in Norway. The premise for his critique is the hegemonic position of the Richterian framework in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse:

At the Conservatoire in Christiania [Oslo] they use a harmony textbook by Gustav Lange, which is essentially an abridged version of Richter's textbook. If one wants to study harmony in more detail, and seek out a private tutor for doing so, one is again referred to Richter's book, which represents a conception of music that is 50 to 60 years old and even in its time was considered conservative. This is what is available for a young musician in Norway. (Monrad Johansen, 1919, p. 132)<sup>158</sup>

Monrad Johansen goes on to say that the situation in Germany, where one would likely be referred to Louis and Thuille (1907), is not any better. As indicated by the quotation above, Johansen's likely aesthetically motivated objection to the theory training of the day is that it lags behind contemporaneous compositional practice. Although he elsewhere in the article admits that it is the composer's, not the theorist's, job to be innovative and that theory must always lag behind practice, he claims that the gap between the two has become too large for students to be able to see the relevance of their theory training upon leaving school and entering the musical profession. Monrad Johansen presents a solution to this problem by praising two more recent harmony textbooks: Arnold Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre* (1911) and Arthur Eaglefield Hull's *Modern Harmony* (1915).

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157 The text was published in a Danish periodical rather than a Norwegian one. However, as its relevance for this study is evident, I have chosen to include it regardless.

158 'Ved Musikkonservatoriet i Kristiania brukes en harmonilære av Gustav Lange, som i det væsentlige er en forkortet utgave av Richters. Vil man ha et mere grundigt kjendskap til harmonilæren, og opsøker man i den anledning en privat lærer, saa henvises man igjen til Richter som representerer en opfatning av tonekunsten som ligger 50–60 aar tilbake i tiden og som allerede dengang gjaldt for konservativ. Slik er en ung musiker stillet i Norge.'

Again, although David Monrad Johansen explicitly attacked the Richterian framework as being outmoded, he did not question the value of learning traditional harmony. Schoenberg's book is, after all, also a text on tonal harmony, and Hull stresses that his own textbook should be read as a continuation of – not a break with – tradition. Monrad Johansen, like these textbook authors, clearly states his belief that modern music springs out of the music of the past. What he called for was an updated theory training that also included more modern developments in order to bridge the gap between the theory classroom and contemporaneous compositional practice. Additionally, he asserted that it was not the role of theory textbooks to tell students what was aesthetically right or wrong. In Monrad Johansen's opinion, this was completely up to the composer, not the theorist. Unfortunately, I do not know how Monrad Johansen's criticisms were received by Norwegian theorists. Considering the textbooks and institutional documents discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively, it does not seem like they led to any immediate changes in music theory pedagogy. The fact remains that, although it argued for a renewal, Monrad Johansen's text also clearly underlined the strong position of the Richterian framework in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse in his time.

Around the middle of the century, Dag Winding Sørensen (1953a) published a summary of a lecture given by Danish musicologist Knud Jeppesen in the Norwegian yearbook *Norsk musikkgranskning*. In the lecture, held at the international musicological conference in Basel in 1949, Jeppesen presented several criticisms of classical harmony theory.<sup>159</sup> His attack focused on how music theory was not a once-and-for-all given grounded in nature (although speculative theorists had tried to argue this since Rameau), and he enjoined music theorists to acknowledge that harmony was not an exact science. His main target was the Riemannian theories by then widely taught in Europe. Jeppesen questioned the tenability of Riemann's theoretical claims and in his conclusion pronounced that he preferred Weberian Roman numerals due to their descriptive nature (Jeppesen, 1952, p. 13). He was therefore lending support to the maintenance of the Richterian framework, but this framework would nonetheless gradually lose its hold in Norway in the following decades in favour of (post-)Riemannian ideas. Winding Sørensen merely summarises these points, without discussing to what extent Jeppesen's arguments were seen as relevant in Norway – Riemannian theory was known in the country at the time, but its influence on harmony pedagogy was still limited (see Chapter 4). I will discuss the debates among theory teachers in Norway on Roman numerals versus function symbols later in this chapter.

I have found fewer explicit attacks on the value and purpose of the mandatory theory training at the conservatoires in late 20<sup>th</sup>-century periodicals. There are, nonetheless, indications of a

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159 The lecture was given in German and published in the conference proceedings in this form (Jeppesen, 1951). It was later translated into Danish (Jeppesen, 1952), which is the version that I have consulted and which Winding Sørensen cites.

marked change in music-theoretical discourse when it comes to this subject. An example is long-time theory teacher Conrad Baden (1971) defending the value of 'the hated harmony training' (*den foraktede harmonilære*) in his review of Bjarne Brustad's autobiography.<sup>160</sup> Then, Lasse Thoresen (1981, p. 132) criticises traditional theory training – assumed to have been originally intended as training in compositional craft – for not being in touch with contemporary composition due to its limited scope, with regard to both musical style and parameters. As will become clear in the next section of this chapter, music theorists also started defending their subject much more: It seems the self-evidence of mandatory training in harmony was gradually crumbling. The fact that the self-evidence of the purpose and value of traditional theory training was at stake, that it was literally under attack, is made particularly clear in a fiery debate that occurred at the turn of the millennium.

'Warning: This text is an undisguised attempt to remove a music subject from the face of the earth' (Haugland, 2005a).<sup>161</sup> This is how, in 2005, composer Glenn Erik Haugland initiates a debate on the value and purpose of traditional theory training in the daily newspaper *Bergens Tidende*. Using a sarcastic tone, he argues for removing traditional harmony and counterpoint from higher music education:

In music theory, students will learn to write for four-part choir using a set of rules that make Norwegian customs and excise rules resemble building instructions from IKEA. [...] After years of understanding the unsurpassable status of the chorale setting less and less, I am today ready to declare the study of music theory as the work of the devil. (Haugland, 2005a)<sup>162</sup>

Haugland blames the influence of the Leipzig Conservatoire, which was founded by Felix Mendelssohn in 1843. Leipzig in general and Mendelssohn in particular were central to the Bach revival that took place in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Haugland connects the dots to explain why the Bach chorale ended up being the centrepiece of compulsory music theory education (what he calls *satslære*, meaning traditional training in harmony and counterpoint). Haugland argues that it is hard to grasp the value and purpose of this time-consuming mandatory subject:

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160 In the autobiography, Brustad (1971, pp. 90, 169) argues that the study of the melodic line should replace harmony as the foundation of all music-theoretical training. He had himself previously taught at the Conservatoire from 1937 to 1961 and in the period 1954–1956 authored a textbook in composition (Nesheim, 2009). That textbook – written in English – was never published, but the manuscript is preserved (Brustad, n.d.).

161 'Advarsel: Denne teksten er et utilslørt forsøk på å fjerne et musikkfag fra jordens overflate.'

162 'I satslære skal elevene lære å skrive for firestemmig kor ved bruk av et regelverk som får norske toll- og avgiftsregler til å likne bruksanvisninger fra IKEA. [...] Etter år med stadig mindre forståelse for koralsatsens uovertruffenhet, er jeg i dag klar til å erklære satslære for djevelens verk.'

That one should be able to acquire a better understanding of music by learning to copy a style in paper is a true mystery. Real insight comes first and foremost through the ears, as well as from learning the codes of sameness and difference in different pieces of music. Instead of providing deeper insight, young music students' interest in writing music is stifled through excessive focus on music theory. (Haugland, 2005a)<sup>163</sup>

Haugland concludes by claiming that while much has changed in music since Mendelssohn opened his conservatoire in 1843, little has changed within music education. The solution, he says, is to remove traditional music theory (*satslære*) and replace it with an intensified focus on composition and music analysis. The justification of teaching traditional music theory is therefore now clearly at stake.

In a response, Odd-Arve Hjørungdal (2005) compares Haugland's project to the witch hunts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He argues that music theory (*satslære*) is about learning a musical craft, and that it is less about rules and prohibitions and more about learning to recognise the harmonic patterns with which musicians work, improvise and experiment. Haugland answers this rebuttal with yet more sarcasm, opening by calling Hjørungdal a 'master of dark arts' (*svartekunstner*) and continuing by stating that 'the embers from the south-western witch bonfires will flare up to 400-year-old heights, unless you and your music theory-conspirators stop throwing mediocrity into the eyes of composition talents' (Haugland, 2005b).<sup>164</sup>

Haugland's position as a composer is essential in understanding his virulent attack on the status quo of music theory education in Norway. His main point of criticism is that this education is about copying, not about creating something original:

To study the compositional techniques of other composers is to acquire crafts that could be useful enough for neo-classicists such as Stravinsky and others who might benefit from such for artistic purposes. For everyone else (c. 999%), it is a matter of pure copying, and the music world already has more than enough copyists. (Haugland, 2005b)<sup>165</sup>

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163 'At en skulle kunne tilegne seg en bedre musikkforståelse ved å lære seg skriftlig å kopiere en stil, er et sant mysterium. Reell innsikt kommer først og fremst gjennom ørene, samt ved å lære seg kodene om likt og ulikt i de forskjellige musikkstykkene. I stedet for å gi en dypere innsikt, kveles unge musikkstuderendes interesse for å skrive musikk gjennom overdreven fokus på satslære.'

164 'Glørne fra de sør-vestlandske heksebålene vil blusse opp til 400 år gamle høyder, om ikke du og dine satslære-sammensvorne snart slutter å kaste middelmådigheter i øynene på musikalske skrivetalenter.'

165 'Å studere satsteknikkene til andre komponister, er å tilegne seg håndverk som kunne være nyttig nok for neoklassikere som Stravinsky, og andre som har kan nytte seg av slikt i kunstnerisk øyemed. For alle andre (ca 999% [*sic*]) dreier det seg om ren kopivirksomhet, og kopister har musikklivet allerede mer enn nok av.'

He ends his response by tying the debate into the ongoing revisions of the music curricula in upper secondary schools. In his opinion, music theory (*satslære*) should be replaced with 'subjects that can stimulate the ability to analyse, the ability to talk about and not least imagine music!' (Haugland, 2005b).<sup>166</sup>

Haugland was not alone in wanting to remove the mandatory training in traditional harmony from music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*). Jon Øystein Rosland and Roger Jeffs (2005) also argued in favour of removing traditional four-part harmony from the curriculum. Their argument was that many of the students worked in other musical genres, making classical harmony less relevant. The curriculum therefore needed to be more open, allowing teachers to more easily choose approaches that fitted the students in question. As outlined above (see Section 5.3.3), the wishes of Haugland, Rosland and Jeffs were fulfilled in 2006.

Haugland's initial attack on traditional music theory was reprinted in the music magazine *Musikkultur*. There, it received a new response, this time from Petter Stigar (2005b). He concedes that Haugland's text is rich in vivid pictures of the miserable condition of music theory education but argues that it lacks any strong justification for this image. However, Stigar agrees with Haugland's conclusion that music theory education needs to be thoroughly scrutinised and modernised. He argues that, in conservatoire education, music theory is a supporting subject (*støttefag*) intended to support a student's primary subject: their main instrument. Stigar asserts that it is worth scrutinising whether traditional music theory fulfils this function, and he suggests considering whether it could be an elective courses rather than a mandatory subject. He also mentions the possibility of combining instrumental and theoretical training. In short, we can say that Stigar agreed with Haugland that the value and purpose of theory in music education needed to be discussed, but completely disagreed with the conclusion to which Haugland drew his arguments. Stigar makes this very clear in his concluding sentences:

What one should not be tempted to do, however, is to completely remove traditional music theory which, in the hands of a reasonably competent teacher, is far from Haugland's caricatured description. The subject will certainly live and last as long as there are students who want to deal with classical music from a theoretical point of view, and who unlike Haugland realise the relatively obvious connection between understanding a style and copying it. (Stigar, 2005b)<sup>167</sup>

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166 'fag som kan stimulere evnen til å analysere, evnen til å samtale om og ikke minst innbille seg musikk!'

167 'Hva man imidlertid ikke bør la seg friste til, er å avskrive det tradisjonelle satslærefaget som i hendene på en noenlunde kompetent lærer befinner seg langt fra Hauglands karikerende beskrivelse. Faget vil ganske sikkert leve og bestå så lenge det finnes studenter som ønsker å besjefte seg med klassisk musikk fra en teoretisk synsvinkel, og som i motsetning til Haugland innser den relativt innlysende sammenhengen mellom stilforståelse og stilkopiering.'



In conclusion, music theory education has been critically discussed throughout the history of higher music education in Norway. The nature of these discussions has, however, changed over time. The issues that have been debated, as well as what has been at stake, give strong indications of the changing structures of music-theoretical discourse in Norway. Training in harmony and counterpoint was considered a self-evident part of music theory education in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century: As a regularity in the discourse, it was taken for granted and not up for discussion at least until the middle of the century. The training provided at the Oslo Conservatoire was accused first of not being Richterian enough, by Svensen in 1898, and then for being too Richterian, by Monrad Johansen in 1919. Aasland challenged the position of the written exercise in 1913, arguing in favour of teaching at the keyboard instead. All of this was, however, a discussion of *how* harmony was learnt: Challenging the foundational idea that harmony should be a central part of a musical education was unthinkable in this discourse. To say it with Foucault (1971/1981), discursive procedures seem, at least to a great extent, to have excluded such notions. Even Monrad Johansen, who argued for more modern compositional techniques to be included in the theory training, thought that these should be an extension– not a replacement – of training in the more traditional styles. A century later, this is no longer the case. The critics of traditional music theory, such as Haugland in 2005, have argued in favour of removing traditional harmony training from the curriculum entirely. Thus, the value and purpose of this training is no longer self-evident. No abrupt rupture occurred in 2005, however: Music theorists increasingly felt the need to defend their subject throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even though it was not explicitly being ‘attacked’ (as in the cases discussed above). This indicates a discursive transformation, with the value and purpose of music theory education gradually leaving the comfortable field of the taken-for-granted. It is to these music theorists defending their own subject that I will now turn.

### 6.1.2 Theory teachers on theory education

While more infrequent than in the later sources, there are a few instances of theory teachers commenting on the value of their subject in the earlier material as well. In 1908, for example, Peter Lindeman complained that few young students prioritised theory. Expressing his frustration regarding the paucity and/or inferior quality of theory teaching occurring at the lower levels of musical education, he observed that at the auditions to the Conservatoire, it was not uncommon to see candidates who were brilliant performers but could not answer the most basic theoretical questions. As such, Lindeman was not really arguing for the value of music theory; indeed, he states its purpose as an obvious fact: ‘One knows that theoretical knowledge is the key to understanding musical art’ (P. Lindeman, 1908b).<sup>168</sup> In the preface

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168 ‘man vet, at teoretiske Kundskaper er Nøklen til Forstaaelse av musikalsk Kunst’.

to his harmony textbook, Gustav Lange (1897) articulates the same frustration, arguing that it was necessary to grasp the fundamentals of elementary music theory before undertaking to the study of harmony. Nonetheless, his experience had shown that this was not always the case among the Conservatoire's students.<sup>169</sup> Articles by Peter Lindeman (1908c) and Trygve Lindeman (1928) indicate that both Conservatoire directors found it especially difficult to convince singers of the value of elementary theory, including needing to be able to read musical notation in the first place. Although these instances primarily point to problems at the lower levels of musical education, which are not the topic of this dissertation, they nevertheless demonstrate that the value of music theory was never completely taken for granted by everyone: There are discontinuities in the discourse. I have not found indications of there being similar issues in this period of justifying the value and purpose of studying theory (i.e. harmony and counterpoint) to higher-level students aiming to take the exams to become professional musicians.

During the second half of the century, however, it became increasingly common for theory teachers to present arguments justifying the value and purpose of such education. In the preface to the harmony textbook by Thorleif Eken (1948), which was used at the Oslo Conservatoire, the following is stated:

The harmonisation of chorales provides the best foundation for all healthy and good music for multiple voices. Whether it is light or serious music, one finds the deepest profundity in the composers who have gone through the strict school that choral harmonisation provides. (p. 3)<sup>170</sup>

This is not so much a defence as a declaration of something considered self-evident. Eken does not explain to his readers *why* writing four-part chorale settings is the best way for learning harmony; he simply asserts that because the great composers all studied strict chorale harmonisation (he mentions Bach, Bruckner, Brahms and Franck as examples), even their lightest music has a special profundity. Eken's claim was that chorale harmonisation builds a knowledge (or a craft) that is profound and transferrable to a range of musical styles and expressions. Why this should be so is not discussed – this much was taken for granted.

In 1967, the Norwegian music magazine *Norsk musikk Tidsskrift* published a report from a Nordic conference for theory teachers which had been held in Stockholm in June the same year

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169 Lange later authored a textbook in elementary theory covering what he claimed all musicians should know before studying harmony (i.e. Lange, 1904).

170 'Koralharmoniseringen er det beste grunnlag for all sunn og god flerstemmig musikk. Enten det er lettere eller alvorlig musikk finner en den dypeste grunnklang hos de komponister som har gått igjennom den strenge skole som koralharmoniseringen gir.'

(Johnsson, 1967). It stated that there were four attendees from Norway: We know that Olav Gurvin, professor in musicology at the University of Oslo, was among them, but the others are unnamed. From Finland there were six attendees, from Denmark fifteen, from Sweden twenty-five. Norway's delegation was therefore the smallest. Why so few theory teachers from Norway attended is hard to tell. It might be because Norwegian conservatoires at this time were private institutions (the conference took place prior to the opening of the Norwegian Academy of Music in 1973). The musicology department at the University of Oslo was also less than a decade old. The other Scandinavian countries had older and more established higher music education institutions, both conservatoires and universities. At the conference, delegates from Denmark and Sweden argued for more analytical and 'productive' approaches to music theory as well as for more cooperation across the music-educational disciplines. One suggestion was that students should be taught theory using repertoire relevant to their main subject of study, meaning that pianists would write and analyse piano music, for instance, instead of the old tradition of everyone writing four-part chorale settings. The majority of the delegates at the conference seem to have been sceptical towards the perceived centrality of chorale harmonisation and Palestrina counterpoint in mandatory theory training; it was argued that approaches which would be useful to musicians after leaving education should be prioritised. Clearly, there was a wish to reform music theory pedagogy in higher music education across the Nordic countries, as well as to make it more explicitly relevant for students. This clearly demonstrates the aforementioned loss of self-evidence of the established pedagogical practice.

When comparing the above-mentioned 1948 preface by Thorleif Eken with the harmony textbook that would replace it, it becomes even clearer that change was indeed afoot. The 1975 harmony textbook by Anfinn Øien has a long introduction in two parts (a prologue and instructions), in which he argues for the value and purpose of mandatory music theory training in conservatoire education. He claims that the principal aim of the study of harmony is 'deeper insight into and better reproduction of one's musical repertoire' (Øien, 1975, p. 6).<sup>171</sup> He elaborates a few pages later:

The purpose of the study of harmony will often be more or less complex. First and foremost, one will seek a deeper understanding of, and thus better reproduction of, the music one plays; through the study of harmony, the performing musician will be able to better distinguish between essential and insignificant, between good and less good, and to interpret the music with deeper expressiveness and greater

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171 'dypere innsikt i, og bedre gjengivelse av sitt musikalske repertoar'.

faithfulness to the intentions behind the work. It is therefore very important that the study is based on living music through listening and analytical observations. (p. 13)<sup>172</sup>

Øien thus advocates for mandatory theory training, contending that it enhances the students' *understanding* of the music they play in addition to granting them insight into the intentions behind this music. This is in line with the contents of the contemporaneous theory curriculum of the Norwegian Academy of Music, which was discussed in the preceding chapter (see Section 5.1.3). Here, we see the contours of a central discursive statement in this period (cf. Foucault, 1969/2002): *Music theory is understanding music*. The main goal is not that the students learn to master a craft, but rather that performers should become better interpreters. This is what Øien explicitly stated was the value and purpose of compulsory theory training at conservatoires. However, the focus on compositional exercises in general and four-part chorale settings in particular was not diminished in Øien's textbook compared to the already existing works. He took four-part setting for choir to be the starting point of functional (major/minor) tonality claiming that what one learns by mastering the four-part chorale is transferrable to most other genres of tonal music, as they are derived from underlying four-part frameworks (Øien, 1975, pp. 6, 14). Øien puts forward the following argument for continuing with the emphasis on chorale harmonisation:

The book places great emphasis on harmonisation exercises. The purpose of this is the same as in a textbook in, for instance, a language or mathematics: To both practice the written skill and gain the deepest possible insight into the core problems of the subject. As with a number of other subjects, the secrets of music theory can be explored only by, for oneself, solving problems according to universal laws. Even simple analytical problems become clearer when one has single-handedly tried to solve similar compositional problems. Therefore, compositional exercises and analysis must go hand in hand, so that both compositional and analytical skills may be developed through the study of music theory. (p. 6)<sup>173</sup>

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172 'Hensikten med harmonilærestudiet vil gjerne være mer eller mindre sammensatt. Først og fremst vil en søke dypere forståelse av, og dermed bedre gjengivelse av den musikken man spiller; gjennom harmonilæren vil den utøvende musiker bli i stand til bedre å kunne skille mellom vesentlig og uvesentlig, mellom godt og mindre godt, og til å tolke musikken med dypere uttrykksfullhet og større troskap mot intensjonene bak verket. Det er derfor meget viktig at studiet baseres på den levende musikk ved lytting og analytiske iakttagelser.'

173 'Boken legger stor vekt på harmoniseringsøvelser. Hensikten med dette er den samme som i en lærebok i f.eks. et språk eller matematikk: å oppøve såvel den skriftlige ferdighet som den dypest mulige innsikt i fagets kjerneproblemer. I likhet med en rekke andre fag kan også satslærens hemmeligheter utforskes bare ved selv å løse oppgaver etter de allmenngyldige lover. Selv enkle analytiske problemer kommer i et klarere lys når man egenhendig har prøvd å løse tilsvarende kompositoriske problemer. Derfor må satsøvelser og analyse gå hånd i hånd, slik at at både de kompositoriske og de vurderende ferdigheter kan utvikles gjennom satslærestudier.'

Øien thus claimed that the value and purpose of music theory studies for students at the conservatoire lay in providing insight into ‘universal’ laws of tonal music, helping students to better understand and interpret the music they played. Although he argued for a music theory pedagogy in which compositional exercises and analysis informed one another – clearly a step towards a more analysis-oriented pedagogy – this was only to a limited extent followed up in the rest of the textbook, which focused on learning to harmonise and then analyse these harmonisations – rather than on analysing existing musical works. So although a lot remained as before, something important had nevertheless changed: In order to be able to defend the importance of music theory in conservatoire education in general, and harmony in particular, its activities (primarily writing exercises) were constructed as a means to new ends (better musical understanding and interpretation).

Put another way, what had been taken for granted in earlier texts (such as Eken’s textbook) now needed to be explicitly justified in one way or another. Consequently, it became common to preface textbooks with lengthy introductions (as in Øien’s) as well as defend their contents with arguments put forward in separate articles on music theory pedagogy. This may indicate what Foucault (1971/1981) calls a transformation in the discourse. That being said, Foucauldian theory stresses that discourse is discontinuous, and a transformation in the discourse does not mean that all aspects of discourse have changed into something new. Rather, this loss of self-evidence may be read as a rupture in the history of this music theory discourse that altered just some of its foundation, making it necessary for subjects in the discourse to regularly advocate for and defend the value and purpose of their discipline. The gradual and discontinuous nature of this change is underlined by the implicit contradiction between Øien’s justification and the actual contents of the textbook.

In the summer of 1981, the Norwegian Academy of Music – on behalf of the Association of Nordic Music Academies (*Nordisk konservatorieråd*) – arranged a two-week ‘Nordic researcher course’ (*nordisk forskerkurs*) at Hamar, Norway. The theme was music theory’s position in conservatoire education,<sup>174</sup> with a focus on questions of the discipline’s purpose, contents and pedagogy. The following year, the lectures and talks given were published as an anthology (Solbu, 1982b). Einar Solbu’s (1982a, p. 238) welcome speech makes it clear that the pretext for the researcher course was the various attempts being made in Scandinavian countries to make their music theory training more relevant for performance students – more specifically, there was a wish to evaluate and discuss these attempts. This underlines both that one felt a

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174 The term ‘music theory’ (*musikkteori*) was, in this context, defined very broadly as ‘the science and theory that seeks to describe, illuminate and investigate the phenomenon of music’ (*den vitenskap og teori som søker å beskrive, belyse og undersøke fenomenet musikk*; Solbu, 1982a, p. 245). It included acoustics, composition techniques, form, history, sociology, physiology, communication, psychology, etc. This definition is also used in the Norwegian Academy of Music’s 1982 study plans (cf. Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982g, p. 39).

need to develop, and more clearly define the function of, the so-called 'supporting subjects' in conservatoire education, and that these issues were not dealt with in isolation but rather addressed across borders in the Scandinavian context. The common denominator between these projects – conducted at the Royal Academy of Music in Aarhus (Vinther, 1982), the Norwegian Academy of Music in Oslo (Karevold, 1982) and at the State College of Music in Gothenburg (L. Hall, 1982; Schenck, 1982; Sjöström, 1982) – was the exploration of possibilities for interdisciplinarity and integration in conservatoire curricula. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Norwegian Academy of Music's 1982 study plans introduced the 'work studies' course, which was at heart a formalisation and institutionalisation of these developments (see Section 5.1.3). These processes are further proof of the loss of self-evidence as regards the position of music theory within conservatoire education.

Another interesting detail regarding the 1981 summer course is that it was explicitly for 'researchers'. On the one hand, this indicates that the music theory discourse was being academised. On the other hand, there are few other indications of the 'music theorist' subject position becoming that of a researcher or scholar. In his welcome speech, Solbu (1982a, p. 244) actually questioned whether the participants would indeed want to identify with the position of 'researcher' signposted in the title of the course. This indicates that a 'researcher'-oriented theorist subject position was rather foreign in the music theory discourse at that time.

In a 1986 article in *Musikk og skole*, Nils E. Bjerkestrand discusses the purpose of the mandatory music theory training in conservatoire education. He argues in favour of a very composition-oriented theory training in which the study of older music and the copying of styles are treated as means to trigger students' creativity: 'The study of older music in the music theory courses should aim at the acquisition of a vocabulary for later use in free creative activity' (Bjerkestrand, 1986, p. 40).<sup>175</sup> He also advocates for a broader scope of music theory training, which should include newer styles in its curriculum. Provided that the above quotation is accepted as the theory training's purpose, he argues, a theory training studying only archaic styles no longer used by composers will end up like Latin – it will become the study of a dead language. Bjerkestrand's proffered solution is not to replace the study of tonal harmony with, for example, twelve-tone technique (that would just be replacing one system of rules with another). Rather, he sees the study of style as not an end in itself but a means to other creative ends. It is not about learning to master a specific style but rather about developing fundamental musical abilities through the study of different older and newer styles. Students should acquire some kind of musical vocabulary for use in creative activity. Music theory education, Bjerkestrand insists, should not be about the particularities of a specific style but

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175 'Studiet av gammel musikk bør i satslæren ha som mål tilegnelsen av et ordforråd. Dette til senere fri bruk i skapende aktivitet.'

rather about the ‘universal’ principles that are similar in a range of different styles. He reduces this to a motto: ‘We study what has been created in order to be able to create’ (p. 40).<sup>176</sup> In essence, his text invokes a statement that emphasises *creative* aspects in music theory.

In a 1987 anthology celebrating the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the musicology department at the University of Trondheim (now NTNU), Bjørn Alterhaug argues for the value of mastering the four-part chorale, relating an anecdote of theory students protesting against the outmoded stylistic ideal and campaigning for it to be replaced with newer styles (again underlining the loss of self-evidence). Alterhaug (1987) did not give in to the demands, claiming that ‘the four-part choral setting so far seems to be the most fruitful encounter a student can have with harmony, if he or she wants to get to know the basic elements of Western music’ (p. 19).<sup>177</sup> He stresses in his essay that harmonising chorales is only one aspect of the study of theory, and that the principles learned from it are only applicable to music from a specific section of musical history. Thus, at his institution, students would later go on to study jazz arranging, twelve-tone technique, counterpoint in the style of Bach and modal and romantic harmony. Alterhaug argues that training in music theory (*satslære*) is a combination of learning a craft and nurturing creativity: It is in the tension between tradition and innovation that the discipline becomes useful.

In the same volume, Ståle Kleiberg advocates for the value of music analysis. In his essay, fittingly titled ‘Must One Master Grammar to Be a Good Speaker?’, Kleiberg (1987) summarises his argument as follows:

Knowledge of musical structure does not necessarily make us better listeners or musicians. Practicability, in other words, is *not* obvious, but: if our aim is to obtain insight into a culture through studies of the linguistic and artistic expressions this culture has developed, structural analysis may be *very* useful. If we acquire a thorough insight into linguistic and artistic structures, we will most likely also find further hidden layers of meaning. (p. 54)

Kleiberg believes it is futile to try to justify the study of structural music analysis purely based on arguments of usefulness – it is perfectly possible to be a good performer and/or listener without mastering music analysis. This does not, however, mean that the study of music analysis is without any value. Kleiberg argues that analysis – uncovering the underlying structural principles of musical material – opens up a world of understanding, thought and imagination

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176 ‘vi studerer det skapte for selv å kunne skape.’

177 ‘at den firestemmige koralsats foreløpig ser ut til å være det mest fruktbare møte en student kan ha med harmonikk, hvis vedkommende ønsker å lære den vestlige musikk grunnlementer å kjenne.’

for the users of the musical language in question. Note that Kleiberg's and Alterhaug's texts are written from the perspective of musicology education rather than conservatoire education. Still, they are both clearly contributions to the ongoing discussion of the value and purpose of music theory training in Norwegian higher music education.

Sigvald Tveit, also affiliated with a musicology department (at the University of Oslo), both defends and criticises traditional harmony training in an article published in *Musikk og skole* (S. Tveit, 1993). A lightly revised version of the article was published in *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* three years later (S. Tveit, 1996). The short article takes the following as its point of departure: 'The music theory training at the lower educational levels has been hotly debated in recent years. Is the teaching of traditional chorale harmonisation relevant? Is it useful? Does it transfer to other styles?' (S. Tveit, 1996, p. 111).<sup>178</sup> Tveit is grappling with the same problem as Alterhaug: The problem of justifying the traditional focus on chorale harmonisation (in this day and age). Like Alterhaug, Tveit defends the centrality of chorale harmonisation in the first year(s) of mandatory theory training – something he also did in the preface to his harmony textbook published over a decade earlier (S. Tveit, 1984). Among other things, Tveit argues that chorale training has the authority of tradition, an easily comprehensible score with only two staves (which is therefore easy for students to play or sing), an emphasis on voice leading (since it is vocal music) and a rapid harmonic pulse. Working with chorales therefore gives a simple and clear foundation for the study of tonal harmony, making it a good starting point for the mandatory training in music theory. That said, Tveit does not think that everything about the way theory is taught in Norway is perfect. In his opinion, it is not the chorales that are the problem, but the (then-)dominant version of the post-Riemannian framework.<sup>179</sup> In interviews, Tveit also stressed that music theory (*satslære*) was about learning compositional craft: He believed his role to be that of a craftsperson more than anything else (cf. Engebråten, 1983; Hammersmark, 1998; Iglund, 1984). This underlines the construction of music theory as a practical, craft-oriented discourse, with an accompanying 'teacher'-oriented subject position of music theorist which was primarily occupied by craftspeople.

In 1999, Nils E. Bjerkestrand published an article discussing the value of music analysis for performance students, drawing on his experience as a theory teacher at the Norwegian Academy of Music. In this article, like Peter Lindeman and Gustav Lange almost a century earlier, he pities that the average student, when entering the Academy, is usually very good at playing their instrument but struggles to answer basic theory questions. Teaching such students structural analysis is challenging: They have lots of musical knowledge, but not necessarily of

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178 'Satslæreundervisninga på elementærnivå har vært heftig debattert de siste åra. Er undervisningen i tradisjonell koralharmonisering relevant? Er den nyttig? Har den overføringsverdi i forhold til andre stilarter?'

179 I will return to Tveit's criticisms of function theory in the next section.



the theoretical kind. Bjerkestrand relates his experience that many students find analysis to be inhibitory rather than useful when approaching a work as a performer. To bridge the gap between the students' vast performance and listening-informed musical knowledge and the analytical activities of the theory classroom, he suggests that theory training should emphasise structural analysis as a means to an end – hermeneutic interpretation of a musical work. In that domain, music theory and student's prior knowledge could meet. Bjerkestrand (1999) stresses that 'the knowledge the student has acquired through interpreting music through performance should be the starting point, or at least an important part of teaching analysis' (p. 13).<sup>180</sup> Generally, Bjerkestrand was a strong advocate for a very practical and composition-oriented theory pedagogy heavily focused on style copying. In his article discussing analysis, he makes sure to emphasise that, in his experience, the knowledge attained from writing style copies provides 'invaluable help in an analytical context' (p. 9).<sup>181</sup>

By citing the first paragraph of Rameau's *Treatise on Harmony* (1722/1971), where it is stated that '[o]ne might say that reason has lost its rights, while experience has acquired a certain authority' (p. xxxiii), Nils E. Bjerkestrand (1999) demonstrates that the tension between practical experience and theoretical knowledge was not a new problem for the music theorist: 'This is a tension we must accept will always be there. The challenge must be to make this relationship an exciting field to work with' (p. 5).<sup>182</sup> Thus, the tension between musical theory and practice is inescapable, as well as at the root of continued need to interrogate and defend music theory's role in higher music education.<sup>183</sup> Of course, this can be done in different ways. In the case of Bjerkestrand's article, it is intriguing to note how it differs from the article by Ståle Kleiberg, who also argues for the value of teaching structural analysis. In contrast to Kleiberg, Bjerkestrand does not question the inherent potential of analysis to make students into better performers. Rather, he tries to strengthen the link between analysis and performance. These two theory teachers' different framings of the question of the role of music analysis in education reflect the contexts of their discussions. Bjerkestrand wrote in a conservatoire context, Kleiberg in the context of musicology education. Given the differing natures of these two educational environments, questioning the firmly held conviction

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180 'Den kunnskapen studenten har tilegnet seg gjennom å tolke musikk gjennom utøvelse, bør være utgangspunktet, eller i alle fall en viktig del av tilnæringsprosessen i analysearbeidet.'

181 'uvurderlig hjelp i en analytisk sammenheng.'

182 'Dette er et spenningsforhold vi må godta alltid vil være der. Utfordringen må være å gjøre dette forholdet til et spennende felt å arbeide med.'

183 Elsewhere, Bjerkestrand (2002, p. 113) claims that music theory is a 'stepchild' (*stebarn*) in music education. In an interview discussing the process of transition from the Oslo Conservatoire to the Norwegian Academy of Music, Einar Solbu averred that the balance between theory and performance was hotly debated, explicitly stating that there were agents who wished the institution to become an orchestra school and argued that theory should not steal valuable practice time from the students (I. Habbestad, 2022, p. 41). This claim is also supported by the above-discussed anthology Solbu edited forty years earlier (Solbu, 1982b).

that music analysis directly benefits students' activity as performers would have had greater consequences in the former context than in the latter.<sup>184</sup>

Five years later, in the preface of his comprehensive harmony textbook, Petter Stigar thoroughly laid out his view on the value and purpose of music theory education. According to Stigar (2004), its main purpose is to teach students 'to understand the great masters' (p. 6).<sup>185</sup> This idea echoes those of the German music theorist Johannes Schreyer, who a century earlier had proclaimed that understanding the masterworks was the main aim of harmony training (cf. Diergarten, 2005; Schreyer, 1911). Stigar argues that the means to this one end are manifold and that music theory as a subject must include practical activities such as writing style copies and analyses (*satslære som aktivitetsfag*), as well as reflections on one's own and others' practices through generalisations presented as stylistic 'rules' (*satslære som refleksjonsfag*). Although style copying thus remained an important tool, the primary purpose of studying music theory, according to Stigar, was to *understand* the master composers.

I have in this section argued that throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Norwegian theory teachers have articulated different purposes of music theory training in order to defend and/or justify its place in higher music education. An important transformation in the discourse is what I have called a loss of self-evidence: What was largely taken for granted in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> would need explicit justification in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup>. This is especially relevant when it comes to discussions of the value and purpose of traditional theory training (and harmony in particular, which remained the core of it). Two main strands emerge: one side focuses on music theory as a means of mastering compositional craft, the other on music theory as a means of understanding music through analysis. These ideas are not mutually exclusive, and they are usually invoked together but to different degrees (especially in the later sources). It is, however, striking how the theorists of the earlier sources primarily construct theory training's purpose as a way of learning composition (often taking the usefulness of learning this craft for granted), while the focus in the later sources turns to understanding and analysis. In Foucauldian terms (cf. Foucault, 1969/2002), we see the contours of two statements: *music theory is craft* and *music theory is understanding music*. Both are part of the discursive formation that constructs music theory. I will discuss these tendencies – and how they relate to similar observations made in the two preceding chapters – in Chapter 7.

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184 The complicated relationship between music analysis and interpretation is still a topic of discussion today. Recently, it has been addressed in an essay by Per Dahl published in both English (P. Dahl, 2017, 115–121) and Norwegian (P. Dahl, 2019, pp. 159–168). The artistic research project *The Reflective Musician*, conducted at the Norwegian Academy of Music from 2013 to 2016, also explored the connections between analysis and interpretation (Austbø, Crispin & Sjøvaag, 2016).

185 'å forstå de store mestre'.

## 6.2 Methods of musical analysis

A central component of most music theory training is the acquisition of some kind(s) of music-theoretical framework(s) to be used in some form of analysis – either of one’s own exercises in harmony and counterpoint or of existing musical works. These methods of musical analysis have been a topic of debate throughout the long 20<sup>th</sup> century in Norway. I will not go into detail regarding the differences between the most central music-theoretical frameworks here – that was covered in Chapter 4 – but instead focus on how they have been debated and what these debates reveal about music-theoretical discourse in Norway.

### 6.2.1 Roman numerals versus function symbols

As the textbooks discussed in Chapter 4 show, two music-theoretical frameworks have been especially prevalent in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. In the early history of the discourse we are discussing (at least until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), theory education was almost completely built on what I have called the Richterian framework. In the decades following WWII, this Richterian framework was gradually challenged by the post-Riemannian framework. This change of theoretical framework importantly entailed a change in the nomenclature used in harmonic analysis, which went from Roman numerals to function symbols. In the preface to the first Norwegian harmony textbook to use function symbols instead of Roman numerals, Anfinn Øien (1975) claimed that ‘experience shows that functional theory surpasses all other known methodological systems in helping those who want to learn the art of major/minor harmonisation’ (p. 5).<sup>186</sup> It is unclear whether Øien is here referring only to his own experience, or to a consensus among theory teachers based on shared experiences. Supported by the discursive position of what Foucault (1971/1981, 1969/1984) calls the author-function (in this case that of an authoritative theory teacher), the text constructs the claim that function theory is the best method of teaching major/minor harmony as an undeniable fact proven by experience. Not all theory teacher thought so, however. I will in the following address the different Norwegian harmony pedagogy debates and discussions of Roman numerals versus function symbols. This will both demonstrate how the introduction of function symbols in Norway was met with resistance and further underline how Norwegian theorists actively adapted the post-Riemannian framework in a way that stripped away as many traces of speculative theory as possible.

Using the same evidence as Øien (experience) but utilising it to argue the opposite, Bergen-based theory teacher Trygve Fischer – in the preface to his unpublished harmony textbook

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186 ‘Erfaring viser at funksjonslæren overgår alle andre kjente metodiske systemer i å yte hjelp til dem som ønsker å lære dur/moll-harmoniseringens kunst.’

(Fischer, n.d.) – argues that Roman numerals are just as effective as, and therefore preferable to, the more complicated and pedagogically impractical Riemannian terminology. In the year following the publication of Øien's textbook, Fischer published a critique in *Norsk musikktidsskrift* of the growing preference for using function symbols over the tried-and-tested Roman numerals. Building on arguments presented by international authorities such as Knud Jeppesen, Ernst Kurth and Arnold Schoenberg, he questions the tenability of some of the central premises of Riemannian function analysis. The aspect Fischer (1976b) focuses most on is the fundamental Riemannian notion that all chords are reducible to three primary chords – the chords of the tonal cadence (T, S and D) – and that secondary chords always must be interpreted as *substitutions* of these chords' respective functions:

A distinction between primary and secondary chords has been, and still is, widespread. But only in the system that goes back to Riemann is the secondary chords' independence discarded to the extent that they as a rule are regarded as substitutes for the primary chords a third below or above. [...] Without going into the diverse nomenclature that is linked to certain chords other than T, S and D [...], I dare say that the concept of *substitution chord* – musically, and thus pedagogically, appears to be justified in only some contexts. (p. 64)<sup>187</sup>

Fischer follows up by citing several examples of common harmonic progressions where he sees the Riemannian notion of reducing all secondary chords to substitutions of primary chords as obscuring rather than clarifying the matter. One of his examples, reproduced here as Figure 11, contains a melody descending stepwise from the mediant to the tonic, harmonised with I–ii–I<sup>6</sup>. As the second scale degree (marked with an asterisk) may in a melodic passage like this traditionally be harmonised either with ii, vii<sup>o</sup> or V, Fischer (1976b, p. 65) asserts that it makes little sense to speak of ii as a substitution for the subdominant. Based on this and similar examples, he argues that the more descriptive Roman numerals would be better fit for the job. Interestingly, he uses Swedish key-relational terminology (including the term *kontraparallell*) when discussing function-theoretical interpretations rather than the interval-relational terminology that was increasingly becoming the standard in Norway at the time.

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187 'En distinksjon mellom overordnede og underordnede akkorder har vært og er alminnelig over alt. Men bare i det systemet som går tilbake til Riemann framkjennes biakkordene selvstendighet i den grad at de generelt registreres som stedfortredere for hovedakkordene en ters under eller over. [...] Uten å gå inn på den mangfoldige nomenklatur som er knyttet til enkelte akkorder utenom T, S og D [...] tør jeg hevde den mening at begrepet *stedfortrederakkord* – musikalsk og dermed pedagogisk bare i visse sammenhenger virker berettiget.'

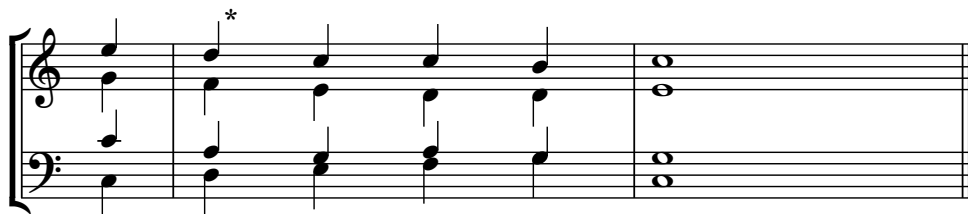


Figure 11. Example progression redrawn from Fischer (1976b, p. 65).

Another problem Fischer has with function theory is its frequent reference to omitted roots. For instance, he argues that diminished seventh chords are not always best understood as dominant ninth chords without roots. Among his examples is a Schubert passage with an accompanying function analysis, here reproduced as Figure 12.<sup>188</sup> The example not only demonstrates how function analysis frequently refers to rootless chords, but attests to its practice of treating the sixth scale degree in minor as altered when it is part of an augmented sixth chord, something Fischer (1976b) finds illogical: 'It means that one abstracts the harmony from its very basis in the scale' (p. 67).<sup>189</sup> This disagreement is a consequence of the fundamental difference between Roman numeral theory – which takes the scale and the triads built on each scale degree as its point of departure for understanding tonality – and function theory, which bases its understanding of tonality on three primary functions of which all chords are derivatives. Clearly, Fischer preferred the former.

Figure 12. Schubert passage with accompanying function analysis redrawn from Fischer (1976b, p. 68).

188 Fischer does not specify which piece the example passage is from, but it appears to be taken from a transposed version of 'Wohin?' from *Die schöne Müllerin* (D. 795, no. 2).

189 'Dette betyr at man abstraherer det harmoniske fra selve skalagrunnlaget!'

In his conclusion, Fischer (1976b) explicitly states the purpose of his critique, referencing how the post-Riemannian framework was gradually becoming more dominant in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse, to the point of ending in 'uniformity' (*uniformitet*):

The purpose of these lines is not to blow up the fight over chords that will sound equally good and surely be treated similarly well or badly whether they are given one or the other name. The purpose is primarily to make it clear that (1) not all theory teachers vouch for all the postulates and formulations of the Riemann–Grabner school, (2) that there are those who are reluctant to use a larger part of the teaching time for futile pondering over alternative chord designations and (3) to warn against the fact that we currently are driven to a uniformity in the direction of the said school. (p. 69)<sup>190</sup>

In his very last paragraph, Fischer warns of theorists uncritically accepting Riemann's idea of substitutions as a universal explanation of secondary chords. Mentioning the discredited Riemannian theories of undertones and the pentatonic scale, he concludes his article by rhetorically asking if it might be time to reconsider the validity of any other of Riemann's maxims.

Fischer's critique received a response from Conrad Baden in an article titled 'Why Functions?' (*Hvorfor funksjoner?*). Baden (1976b) summarises Fischer's article as a 'frontal attack on the functional system in harmony, which he finds to have so many weaknesses and imperfections that he believes it to constitute a dubious basis for the theory training of our day' (p. 187).<sup>191</sup> While Baden agrees with Fischer that the original function system as put forward by Riemann is problematic, he comments that there have been many developments since Riemann, which have rendered the Riemannian system more effective: The term 'parallel' (i.e. relative) is now reserved for key-relations (and not the relationship between primary and secondary chords, à la Riemann and Grabner), while secondary chords are only in specific contexts termed 'substitutions' (*stedfortredere*). Indeed, secondary chords are more often known as 'mediants'. Baden thus presents the interval-relational theory associated with Hamburger and Øien as the current standard,<sup>192</sup> implying that Fischer's reference to key-relational theory was irrelevant. He goes on to claim that no one wishes to completely replace Roman numerals, as they are very useful in specific contexts (e.g. modal harmony and sequences), but that function symbols are superior in the analysis of major/minor harmony. Thus, he disagrees with Fischer's assertion

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190 'Hensikter med disse linjer er ikke å blåse til kamp omkring akkorder som er like velklingende og som sikkert vil behandles like godt eller dårlig om de får det ene eller andre navn. Hensikten er i første rekke å gjøre det klart at 1) ikke alle teoriepedagoger finner å kunne stå inne for alle Riemann–Grabner-skolens postulatene og formuleringer, 2) at det fins dem som gjerne vil nytte en større del av undervisningstiden til ørkeløs grubling over alternative akkordbetegnelser, og 3) å advare mot at det nå hos oss drives gjennom en uniformitet i retning av nevnte skole.'

191 'et frontalangrep på det funksjonelle system i harmonilæren, som han finner beheftet med så mange svakheter og ufullkommenheter at han mener det danner et tvilsomt grunnlag for våre dagers harmonilæreundervisning.'

192 However, Baden does not cite either of these authors.

that the use of function symbols leads to uniformity – rather, he argues that the opposite is true. Baden's (1976b) main argument for preferring the system of function symbols is that 'it establishes a holistic view of harmonic progressions that Roman numerals are not capable of' (p. 187).<sup>193</sup> Moreover, according to Baden, 'function theory has proven itself to be much superior to Roman numerals exactly because it proves the inner relationships between chords and does not restrict itself to just describing single structures' (pp. 187–188).<sup>194</sup> The structures he is referring to are simply chords (he argues that Roman numerals consider each chord separately rather than showing their function in the given tonal context). Much of Baden's answer is devoted to discussing technical details, such as the question of the best way of defining the fundamental of – and rules for doubling in – the chord that is labelled ii<sup>6</sup> or S6.

In his response to Baden, Fischer (1976a) questions if the implementing of function symbol at the expense of the simpler system of Roman numerals is even warranted when one dispenses with both the idea of parallel chords and the substitution of secondary chords for primary ones. In addition, he points out that widely used harmony textbooks using function symbols in Denmark (by Svend Westergaard) and Germany (by Diether de la Motte) were still relying on these notions. Baden's claim that function theory had dispensed with this part of Riemann's theory was therefore only true for the specific variant of function theory at use in Norway. Fischer further opines that even persons who use function symbols admit that one may discuss chordal functions even when using Roman numerals as an analytical tool. He ends by conceding that, given the situation of the day, music students should get to know both systems in order to read and understand the available harmony literature. In a last response, Baden (1976a) states that although he agrees with Fischer on much, he stills prefer function symbols – even if no theory is perfect, and function theory is no exception. He ends the debate by repeating that function symbols should not entirely replace Roman numerals, agreeing that students should get to know both systems – which he also claims to be the practice at the Norwegian Academy of Music at the time.

The Fischer-Baden debate demonstrates two important things. Firstly, it shows that the introduction of function symbols was met with resistance. Secondly, it underlines Norwegian theorists' efforts to adapt the post-Riemannian framework in a manner that stripped away as much of its speculative foundation as possible, making it almost as descriptive as the older Richterian framework. In Chapter 4, I argued that there were discursive procedures at play in making the adaption of the post-Riemannian framework in Norway more descriptive and less speculative than elsewhere. This debate explicitly demonstrates these mechanisms – the

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193 'det etablerer et helhetssyn på de harmoniske progresjoner som trinnsystemet ikke makter'.

194 'funksjonsteorien [har] vist seg trinnsystemet langt overlegen, nettopp fordi den påviser akkordenes innbyrdes relasjoner og ikke innskrenker seg til å beskrive enkeltstrukturer'.

workings of power-knowledge. The core of Baden's argument was that function theory as it was being adapted in Norway was not as speculative and complicated as Fischer claimed. In the end, what Fischer and Baden disagreed on was whether using function symbols or Roman numerals provided greater insight into the chord progressions analysed. Baden (like Øien in his textbook) stuck to his claim that function symbols do in fact say something more about how chords work than Roman numerals do.

Central to Foucault's (1969/2002, p. 41) concept of discourse is that discursive formations are *systems of dispersion*. Such systems are made up of regularities of the statements in a discourse, but regularity does not entail conformity: Discourse 'is rather a space of multiple dissensions' (p. 173). The Fischer-Baden debate shows how the system of dispersion in the music theory discourse at that time allowed for contradictory statements regarding the value and usefulness of the newer post-Riemannian framework compared to the older Richterian framework. At the same time, the debate reveals a regularity, indicating what was specifically not at stake at this time of rupture – namely, the position of harmony as the most important music-theoretical subject, the emphasis on theoretical simplicity (strictly avoiding what Dahlhaus called speculative theory) and the conceptualisation of harmony and tonality in a strictly vertical manner, emphasising chord-to-chord analysis. While the system of dispersion enabled dissension as regards Roman numerals and function symbols, it may also be read as excluding other ways of understanding tonality. One example of a possible alternative approach is the linear options which certainly were circulating internationally at the time. For instance, Schenkerian analysis had at this point gained a strong position in the Anglo-American context.<sup>195</sup> This linear – and more strongly hierarchical – conception of harmony and tonality was, however, foreign to the Norwegian context.

As part of his broader project of trying to initiate a phenomenological turn in music theory (the Aural Sonology Project), which I will return to in the next section, Lasse Thoresen too touched upon function analysis and Roman numeral analysis. In an article in *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*, Thoresen (1981) argues that it was unfortunate that the former had become so similar to the latter:

The theory of harmony has made a one-to-one equation between functions and the triads on each of the scale degrees in the major and minor scales. A functional analysis can thus be performed on the notated music in the same mechanical way as a Roman numeral analysis. (p. 132)<sup>196</sup>

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195 This was, among other things, due to the influence of Salzer (1952).

196 'harmonilæren har gjort en én-til-én-tilordning av funksjoner og treklangene på hvert av skalatrinnene i dur- og moll-skalaene. En funksjonsanalyse kan dermed utføres på notepapiret på samme mekaniske vis som en trinanalyse.'



Thoresen criticises both kinds of harmonic analysis for being too focused on what is written in the sheet music rather than what is experienced by the listener. According to him, it only makes sense to talk about functions when they are grounded in music as it is experienced.

In Chapter 4, I showed that the post-Riemannian framework in Norway was indeed gradually simplified to the point that function symbols and Roman numerals ended up operating very similarly. A main figure in this development was Sigvald Tveit, who also played an active part in the Norwegian debates over Roman numerals and function symbols. In the article mentioned in the previous section, Tveit (1993, 1996) argues that standard function theory obscures the simplicity of harmony. This criticism is rather similar to Fischer's of twenty years earlier. To add weight to his argument, Tveit invokes the authority of the Danish music theorist Povl Hamburger. The version of the post-Riemannian framework most widely used in Norway at the time – the interval-related type – was based on Hamburger's work (see Section 4.2.1). However, in a posthumously published transcription of one of his last lectures, Hamburger (1989) more or less completely renounced his faith in function symbols as an analytical and pedagogical tool. Tveit, meanwhile, was open to the continued use of function symbols – under certain conditions. As proposed in his textbook a decade earlier (S. Tveit, 1984), he posited that function symbols could be further modified by consistently using the *mediant* terminology, making the symbols directly translatable into Roman numerals.<sup>197</sup> Tveit (1996) argues that

whether one, in the analysis of traditional harmony, uses the Roman numeral system or the function analysis system does not really matter, as long as one uses the *mediant* terminology if using the latter. Then the two systems could become parallel to each other, in that the 'shortened dominant' (the chord on the seventh degree) then can be seen as the *mediant* of the dominant (Dm), and the 'subdominant with added sixth' be considered the *submediant* of the subdominant (Ss). (p. 114)<sup>198</sup>

As in the Roman numeral system, no chords without roots or chords with added sixths exist in Tveit's system. These aspects of function theory had also been addressed by Fischer when he argued that Roman numerals provided more intuitive labels than function symbols. In contrast to Fischer, Tveit does not vouch for the benefits of using Roman numerals instead of function symbols. Rather, he simply suggests altering the latter to make them as similar

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197 Tveit's adaption of the post-Riemannian framework in his textbook was discussed in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.1.2, Figure 1 in particular).

198 'Om en så i analyse av tradisjonell harmonikk vil benytte trinn- eller funksjonsanalyse-systemet, er forsåvidt likegyldig, bare en ved bruk av sistnevnte gjør bruk av *mediant* benevnelsene. Da vil det kunne bli en parallellitet mellom de to systemene, i og med at "den forkortede dominanten" (akkorder på 7. trinn) da kunne sees på som *dominantens mediant* (Dm), og "subdominant med tilføyd sekst" kunne betraktes som *subdominantens submediant* (Ss).'

to the former as possible, so that it does not matter whether Roman numerals or function symbols are used. The two different analytical nomenclatures would amount to just about the same thing.

To use Fischer's words, a kind of 'uniformity' in how the workings of tonal harmony were understood existed at this time. Since, by the time of Tveit's writing, the post-Riemannian framework (imported from Germany via Denmark) had clearly been established as the dominating framework for understanding and teaching tonal harmony in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse, one might say that removing function symbols from the theory classroom was simply not an option: The post-Riemannian framework had become too central in the construction of the music theory discourse. Put it differently, the statement *music theory is post-Riemannian* had gained a very strong position in the discourse. Accordingly, modifying the function nomenclature to turn it into Roman numerals by another name was the next best thing. In short, Tveit advocated for continuing with the established practice of using function symbols, but with as little speculative theory as possible.

In his 2004 textbook, Petter Stigar once again challenges the hegemonic position of the post-Riemannian framework and its function symbols by proposing to use Roman numerals for traditional harmonic analysis and reserve function symbols for describing tonal relations on a larger scale. Then, in 2005, Stigar's preference for Roman numerals (and reduction analysis) is criticised in a review of his book. In her review, Lene Grenager (2005) argues in favour of the established function symbols, asserting that they – to a greater extent than descriptive Roman numerals – invite analytical interpretation. In a reply, Stigar (2005a) rebuts Grenager's objections to his work, claiming that Roman numerals liberate one from the dogmas of function theory and thereby actually leave more room for interpretation, not less. Stigar's reply makes it clear that this is not the first time he has been met with this objection: This indicates that the idea that function symbols reveal something about tonal logic that Roman numerals do not was wide-spread in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. Perceived as foreign and contested at the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, function symbols became the dominant way of understanding and teaching harmony in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Although their approaches are very different, Stigar's and Tveit's criticisms of the post-Riemannian framework that by then had come to dominate Norwegian music-theoretical discourse are similar in that they propose to modify it rather than remove it. As the 1976 Fischer-Baden debate demonstrates, the growing use of function symbols rather than Roman numerals as a primary means of harmonic analysis in the theory education was initially met with resistance from certain theory teachers, who preferred the older system. Nevertheless, as shown in Chapter 4, the post-Riemannian framework (under which function nomenclature

falls) dominated Norwegian music-theoretical discourse in the last third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was taken for granted as the ‘normal’ way of understanding and teaching harmony and used in a range of textbooks, even in related disciplines (such as elementary music theory and aural training). The extent to which function symbols were used by this time made it difficult for later critics to appeal for a return to a sole reliance on Roman numerals. As a ‘modality of enunciation’ (Foucault, 1969/2002), function symbols had become an integral part of the discourse.

## 6.2.2 Alternatives to harmonic analysis

Harmony was the central component of compulsory music-theoretical training at undergraduate level in Norway throughout the long 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is not only underlined by the debates considered in the previous section, but also by harmony’s prominent position in the formal curricula (see Chapter 5) and many textbooks (see Chapter 4 and Appendix A). Harmonic analysis has therefore also been a key method of music analysis and conceptualising tonal music. Although the nomenclature of analysis changed when the post-Riemannian framework challenged the long-standing Richterian one, the position of harmonic analysis remained the same, and the focus on vertically oriented chord-to-chord analysis of tonal harmony was retained. The ‘mania for naming and labeling chords’ (Hyer, 2011, p. 111) has clearly held a strong position in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. There are cases, however, of theorists proposing other methods of music analysis to complement (or challenge) the established practices of harmonic analysis. Before turning to a specific debate on one such proposal (aural sonology), I will briefly glance to the other source material to give an impression of other methods of musical analysis that have circulated in Norway.

In Chapter 4, I mapped how theory textbooks published in Norway have built on various international models. This material also gives an indication of the different analytical techniques that have circulated in Norway. I mentioned that Stigar (2004) propagates a reductive analytical method, while Klempe (1999) provides an introduction to generative theories of music. In Chapter 5, it was indicated that analysis has historically often been integrated with the study of form. Indeed, books have been published on traditional musical form (*formlære*) – both aimed at conservatoires and at a broader audience – which outline common forms along with analytical examples (cf. Gjerstrøm, 1943; Lonnevig, 1945; Wade, 1981/1984). Jon Medbøe’s (1950) comprehensive textbook is one of the more theoretically and analytically thorough works on form, presenting an Ernst Kurth-inspired theory of dynamic form for the analysis of 19<sup>th</sup>-century music (as an alternative to more common architectonic ideas of form). Per Hjort Albertsen’s 1990 counterpoint textbook, which consists of a collection of lectures from a one-semester course at the University of Trondheim (now NTNU), is another

example of further integration of analysis into theory training. Its pedagogical philosophy is to analyse J. S. Bach's 15 inventions in detail and use these analyses as a foundation for practical exercises. In the preface, Albertsen (1990) avows that he has

made it a point that the students, based on their observations and analyses, should *themselves* be able to deduce the rules and laws of Bach's counterpoint. The joy of discovery is the best stimulus for study, along with the joy of putting the knowledge to use in one's own compositions. (p. 5)<sup>199</sup>

Albertsen's book can be seen as positioned between the regulative and analytic music-theoretical paradigms (cf. Dahlhaus 1984). Though it steers clear of speculative theory, it still attempts to teach the students the *why* in addition to the *how* (to paraphrase Richter's mantra). This also reflects the need to justify, in some sense, the contents of the theory training in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Grounding stylistic rules and principles in the analyses of works was one way of justifying them.

The first two Norwegian textbooks dedicated to musical analysis were published as late as 2011. As well as discussing what musical analysis is and what its limits are, Petter Stigar's (2011) analysis textbook provides introductions to different types of score-based analytical methods, including different forms of harmonic analysis, segmental analysis of musical form and Schenker-inspired linear analysis. Per Dahl's (2011) textbook, meanwhile, stands out in its ambition to bridge the gap between the analysis of (notated) musical works and that of musical performance.

Although harmonic analysis – whether with Roman numerals or function symbols – has held a very prominent place in Norwegian music theory education, the textbooks cited in the above paragraphs show that it has not been the *only* method of musical analysis. That there has historically been an overall lack of interest in, as well as lack of discussion of, music analysis in the Norwegian context is however indicated by Ståle Wikshåland (2011). He ends his rather negative review of Dahl's textbook by underlining that it still deserves credit for at least one thing: that someone has finally addressed 'the unreflected and naive way of dealing with work analysis that abounds in all lecture halls and seminar rooms of the music education' (p. 191).<sup>200</sup>

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199 'lagt vinn på at studentene ut fra sine observasjoner og analyser *selv* skal kunne utlede regler og lover for Bachs kontrapunkt. Oppdagergledden er studiets beste stimulans ved siden av gleden ved å praktisere kunnskapene i egne komposisjoner.'

200 'den ureflekterte og naive omgangen med verkanalyse som florerer i musikkutdanningens allehånde forelesningssaler og seminarrom.'

An especially interesting alternative to harmonic analysis in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse, which has circulated since the 1970s and also been subjected to public debate, is *aural sonology*. As discussed in Chapter 5 (see Section 5.2.2), this movement had its stronghold in the composition department of the Norwegian Academy of Music. Although composition education is not the focus of this dissertation, I will discuss some debates on aural sonology here because it has been an important part of Norwegian music-theoretical discourse as an alternative method of musical analysis. It has also clearly had ambitions of partaking in – and transforming – traditional theory training (cf. Thoresen, 1981).

Aural sonology is a method of aural analysis – analysing ‘music-as-heard’ – which takes the sounding music rather than its musical notation as its point of departure. Thus, it is a method of musical analysis that can be applied not only to notated music but also to, for instance, electroacoustic music or improvised music. This phenomenological approach to music analysis makes aural sonology especially well-suited to addressing musical parameters that are usually not addressed by more traditional (score-based) analytical methods, such as instrumentation and timbre. The Aural Sonology Project is one of few examples of music theory being developed primarily in Norway (though it is based on French and Dutch forerunners).<sup>201</sup> It is also one of few examples of Norwegian music-theoretical practice not positioned within what Dahlhaus (1984) calls the regulative music-theoretical paradigm. Rather, it is a clear example of analytic theory, though it also includes some speculative aspects.

The project garnered international attention as soon as the 1980s, when it was mentioned as one of few examples of developments of aural analysis in the widely-cited *Grove* entry on ‘Analysis’:

The analysis of music as sonorous material had remained comparatively undeveloped, apart from the work of Pierre Schaeffer [...], and from that of two Norwegians, Lasse Thoresen and Ulav [*sic*] Anton Thommessen, who in the 1980s were formulating a verbal and symbolic language for formal description of sound qualities. (Bent & Drabkin, 1987, p. 71)

More recently, the project has been the subject of several articles in internationally recognised scholarly journals such as *Organised Sound* (Thoresen & Hedman, 2007, 2009, 2010), as well as being comprehensively treated in a monograph (Thoresen, 2015). Aural sonology as an

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201 In the context of musicological research in Norway, a somewhat related project is found in the work of Rolf Inge Godøy. In his doctoral dissertation at the University of Oslo, he presented a general critique of music theory, particularly targeting contemporary Anglo-American theory and arguing in favour of a phenomenological turn (Godøy, 1997). Although similarly phenomenologically based, Godøy’s theoretical project has (e.g. through a focus on musical gestures) developed in a quite different direction to the Aural Sonology Project.

alternative method of musical analysis has, however, also been met with resistance in Norway. As discussed above, it has been a central part of formal curricula for undergraduate composers at the Norwegian Academy of Music, but not been part of mandatory theory training in the other study programmes, e.g. those for performers (see Section 5.2.2).

That sonology struggled to gain widespread acceptance in Norway is also clear from the way it was discussed in Norwegian music periodicals in the last third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, in 1980, Arnfinn Bø-Rygg (1980a) characterised sonology as 'extreme' and implied that it could not claim to be real research (cf. 'so-called'):

But is that which is heard everything? The so-called sonology research to an extreme extent assumes that musical meaning and the aurally perceptible are identical [...]. The basis for such a view is that one equates musical notation with written language. This is hardly a correct assumption. Despite the fact that spoken language and written language can be seen as two different systems, the notated and the heard in music do not overlap to the same degree as writing and speech do in verbal language. [...] The meaning of music lies neither in the notation nor in the audibly perceptual. (p. 33)<sup>202</sup>

This quotation is from a three-part article in *Ballade* in which Bø-Rygg critically scrutinises the question 'Is music language?' by going through the available literature pertaining to this question (Bø-Rygg, 1979, 1980a, 1980b). The article functions as a direct response to a series of articles in the same magazine presenting the Aural Sonology Project at the Norwegian Academy of Music in its early stages to the public (cf. Thommessen, 1977, 1978; Thoresen, 1978, 1979). Lasse Thoresen (1978) claimed that the point of departure for the project was that '*music may be regarded as a linguistic system with audible ordering principles as its syntax*' (p. 12).<sup>203</sup> In two later articles in *Ballade*, Thoresen (1980a, 1980b) responded to Bø-Rygg's criticisms by more elaborately discussing the fundamental concepts of aural sonology. In extension of this, he published the mentioned article in the musicological journal *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* (see Section 6.2.1), in which he argued for a turn towards a phenomenological approach in music theory (Thoresen, 1981). Bø-Rygg (1983, pp. 98–102), however, continued to dismiss the validity of sonology as research.

202 'Men er det hørte alt? I ekstrem grad går den såkalte sonologi-forskning ut fra identiteten mellom musikkens mening og det auditivt oppfattbare [...]. Grunnlaget for et slikt synspunkt er at man setter likhetstegn mellom notesystem i musikken og skriften i språket. Dette er neppe en riktig antagelse. Til tross for at det talte språk og skriftspråket kan ses som to forskjellige systemer, dekker det noterte og det hørte i musikken ikke hverandre i samme grad som skrift og tale gjør i det verbale språk. [...] Musikkensmening [*sic*] ligger hverken i notebildet eller i det klanglig persiperte.'

203 '*musikk kan betraktes som et språklig system med hørbare ordningsprinsipper som sin syntaks*'.

The continued scepticism towards aural sonology even in the 1990s is indicated by a 1999 article by Eystein Sandvik in the music magazine *Parergon* which cites and builds on a 1991 master's thesis by Preben von der Lippe.<sup>204</sup> Through a theoretical discussion of the status of the research object in sonological analysis, von der Lippe (1991) argued that 'sonology's explicit goal of finding an experienced, aural or abstract structure is fundamentally unsuccessful' (p. 122).<sup>205</sup> Sandvik (1999) is also critical of sonology's claim to the status of theory, arguing that the Aural Sonology Project, through its claim to objectivity and universality, is in fact ideology dressed as theory:

The question is not whether all music can be analysed sonologically, the question is the value of attributing to all music a number of pre-defined characteristics. Of course, there is nothing wrong with doing this, as long as you are aware of what you are doing. But to claim that sonology is a universal method of analysis would be naive ethnocentrism. (p. 69)<sup>206</sup>

As mentioned at the beginning of this discussion, aural sonology would eventually develop and gain more international attention in academic circles, especially in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century following the publications in *Organised Sound* and Thoresen's extensive monograph of 2015. The latter provides a much more thorough and in-depth discussion of the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the project than what was available previously.<sup>207</sup> A growing number of academic publications (from Norway as well as other countries), including several PhD dissertations, have in recent decades utilised aural sonology as a method for music-analytical research.<sup>208</sup> As argued in Chapter 5, however, the method's impact on mandatory theory curricula for undergraduate conservatoire students (except for those specialising in composition) has remained limited. There are probably several reasons for this, but one is certainly the near-consistent exclusion of more speculative and analytic perspectives from the primarily – almost exclusively – regulative music theory discourse.

In conclusion, alternatives have been proposed to complement the Richterian and (post-) Riemannian methods of musical analysis propagated within the mandatory music theory

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204 This 1999 issue of *Parergon* thematises 'music and meaning' and takes the then twenty-year-old debate in *Ballade* as its point of departure. In addition to Sandvik's critique of the sonology project, it includes interviews with Thoresen and Bø-Rygg.

205 'Sonologiens eksplisitte mål om å finne en opplevd, auditiv eller abstract struktur er grunnleggende sett mislykket.'

206 'Spørsmålet er [...] ikke hvorvidt all musikk går an å analysere sonologisk, spørsmålet er verdien av å tillegge all musikk en rekke på forhånd definerte egenskaper. Det er selvfølgelig ikke noe i veien med å gjøre dette, så lenge man er klar over hva man gjør. Men å hevde at sonologien er en universell analysemetode, vil være naiv etnosentrisme.'

207 It also underlines how the theory of aural sonology had developed over time. Indeed, the criticised idea of an 'aural structure' which is integral to musical experience had been discarded (cf. Thoresen, 2015, p. 200).

208 For a bibliography, see Holbæk-Hanssen (2019, pp. 215–220).

training at the conservatoires. Aural sonology, introduced in Norway in the 1970s, is a particularly apt example of a completely different way of conceptualising musical analysis, deviating strongly from the then-dominating post-Riemannian framework. It did, however, meet with resistance outside of its stronghold in the composition department at the Norwegian Academy of Music. This is underlined both by sonology's absence in the mandatory theory education for non-composers and the specific attacks aimed at it in the 1980s and 1990s. Evidently, aural sonology has had a hard time exerting significant influence on the music theory discourse, even though influencing training in theory disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint (*satslære*) has been one of its aims (Thoresen, 1981). To use Foucault's (1971/1981) terminology, we can see the discourse's exclusionary discursive procedures at work here. From the perspective of Dahlhaus' (1984) music-theoretical paradigms, aural sonology is a theoretical framework that to a much greater extent draws on the speculative and analytic paradigms – particularly the latter – than the predominantly regulative music theory discourse in Norway was disposed to do.

### 6.3 Other music theory debates

In the above sections, I have focused on debates over the value and purpose of music theory education as well as on methods of musical analysis used in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Norway. However, other music theory-related issues are also debated in my chosen source material. In the following, I will discuss some examples of such other debates, which shed light on music-theoretical discourse in Norway more broadly.

A range of music-theoretical topics has been raised regularly in the periodicals without extensive and heated debates ensuing. For example, several texts have defended the general relevance of music theory for musicians (e.g. T. Lindeman, 1928; 'Musiktheoretiske studiers betydning,' 1903; Selmer, 1964) or lamented the lack of music-theoretical knowledge among the general public (e.g. 'Harald Heide bryter staven,' 1931; 'Hvem kan lage en melodi?,' 1934; J. B., 1933; N. K., 1929). In the 1920s, the music teachers' association in Oslo argued that training in music theory should be a necessary criterion for calling oneself a music teacher (Due, 1923; 'Musikk og humor,' 1923); in 1924, the Norwegian Music Teacher Association introduced admissions tests in harmony and music history for prospective members in addition to the audition in one's main instrument ('Musiklærerne maa underkaste sig en optagelsesprøve,' 1924). There are also examples of articles providing introductions to lesser known music theories (e.g. A. Dahl, 1906; Knutsen, 1937). Aagot Dahl's 1906 article on Emil Ergo's harmony theory starts with a preliminary discussion of Riemann's function theory – the earliest discussion of Riemannian



function theory I have come across in the music-theoretical discourse in Norway. As discussed in Chapter 4, more than half a century would pass before (post-)Riemannian function theory caught on in Norway and became its dominating music-theoretical framework.

A music-theoretical topic that has been up for debate on several occasions in Norway is musical notation. A common premise in these debates is that learning traditional notation is too complicated and a simpler system would be beneficial for music education. In 1909 and 1910, many articles in *Musikbladet* addressed the idea of a new and simplified notation system (Jerichau, 1909; P. Lindeman, 1909a, 1909b, 1909c, 1909d, 1910). The main concern was how the same note must be notated differently in different octaves; the proposed solutions entailed replacing the five-lined staff with a three- or four-lined one – which would look the same in every octave. From the 1930s into the 1970s, Ola Linge argued in favour of a notation system without any sharps or flats (cf. Dillann, 1935; Espegren, 1951; Grønningsæter, 1970; Linge, 1932, 1935, 1949, 1963, n.d.). In Linge's 'direct' notation, all twelve chromatic tones are equal and have their own name and place in the notational system. Most recently, Christian Koksvik has proposed to remove both the bass clef and the C clefs so that one need only learn to read one clef (cf. Koksvik, 2010, 2012; Østrem, 2015). In his system, which is clearly based on notational practices associated with British brass bands, the treble clef is 'the universal clef' (*universalnøkkelen*) for all instruments. Although the complexity of the Western notational system has been a regular topic of discussion in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse, none of the proposed changes have had any great impact on the system's general development.

The difficulty of making drastic changes to the accepted notational system is not only of a pragmatic nature (the system is international and used by millions) but also regulated by discursive procedures (cf. Foucault, 1971/1981). Koksvik (2010) describes the difficulties of one's new idea being accepted in the discourse: 'When I talk to people about this, the reactions are very different. Many agree with me. Most say it is impossible, and a few get angry' (p. 20).<sup>209</sup> As an example of the latter, he mentions a conversation with an unnamed individual at the Norwegian Academy of Music (he specifies neither whether it was a student or a teacher nor what the person's field of expertise was). As I see it, discursive procedures are making it difficult for him to be taken seriously in proposing drastic changes to a notational system, a system that is a central 'modality of enunciation' in music-theoretical discourse (cf. Foucault, 1969/2002). The production, preservation and distribution of Western musical notation is itself – as a 'society of discourse' (cf. Foucault, 1971/1981) – a discursive procedure central to the music theory discourse. As Koksvik claims in the same article, most believe it would be impossible to implement the changes proposed, even if they agree that they would improve

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209 'Når jeg prater med folk om dette, er reaksjonene svært forskjellige. Mange er enige med meg. De fleste sier at det er umulig, og noen få blir sinte.'

musical notation. Those who disagree, on the other hand, simply do not take him seriously. It seems as if the statement which may be expressed as *musical notation needs one clef only* was difficult to accept within the formation of statements of the music theory discourse. That said, given how much this discourse was focused on practicality and theoretical simplicity, one would have expected these different suggestions for simplifying musical notation in one way or another to have gained greater acceptance. That this was not the case may indicate that even notions of practicality and theoretical simplicity, when taken too far, are subject to discursive limits.

In addition to these suggestions for improving (and simplifying) the notational system, doubts have recently been raised about the need to learn notation in the first place. In 2014, several musicology courses at the University of Oslo – including the introductory courses in music history – became ‘sheet music free’, focusing on listening rather than score-reading and welcoming students unable to read musical notation (Jensenius, 2014). Similarly, Julian Skar (2020) argues for making traditional notation optional in the composition classes in upper secondary schools – newer developments within music technology should be prioritised. All this strengthens the argument for a loss of self-evidence with regard to the position of Western music theory (at least in its traditional form) in music education.

As briefly mentioned above (see Section 4.3), an intense debate touching upon issues of aesthetics, nationalism and music theory followed the publication of Geirr Tveitt’s controversial 1937 *Tonalitätstheorie*. Its point of departure were the reviews of Tveitt’s book written by Klaus Egge (1937b) and, especially, Pauline Hall (1937b). The latter was extremely negative towards Tveitt’s project, claiming that following Tveitt’s theory would lead to a musical dictatorship and put music in a cage. The ensuing debate contained further arguments by the two aforementioned composer-critics as well as defences from Eivind Groven and Tveitt himself (Egge, 1937a; Groven, 1937a, 1937b; P. Hall, 1937a, 1937c; G. Tveit, 1937a; G. Tveit & Egge, 1937). In addition to this written debate, which took place within the pages of the nation-wide daily newspaper *Dagbladet* and the music magazine *Tonekunst*, Tveitt gave a popular lecture to defend his theory publicly. I know of no other music theory book published in Norway that has attracted similar attention from the public: Its release was thus a major event in the history of music theory in Norway. Although its critics – especially Hall – had issues with Tveitt’s project that went beyond his theoretical claims and were directed at Tveitt’s radically nationalistic ideology and aesthetic ideal, they also fundamentally disagreed with the notion that there could be alternative tonal systems. In his treatise, Tveitt challenges the hegemony of theories based on the major/minor system and proposes a separate tone system based on the modal scales. Both Hall and Egge question the rationale for doing this: They agree that many Norwegian composers have used modal scales, as well as certain intervals

and chords that are less common elsewhere, but they simply understand these as deviations of the overarching major/minor system. They therefore uphold the latter along with the universality of the theoretical concepts derived from this system. Given that his peers did not share his opinion that there was a need for an ontology of any other tone system, Tveitt had already lost the battle before it started. Not unlike the situation in which Koksvisk found himself almost a century later, Tveitt was simply not ‘in the true’ (Foucault, 1971/1981) of the music theory discourse in Norway.<sup>210</sup>

Somewhat more trivial music-theoretical questions have also been discussed in Norwegian newspapers. An interesting example is the 1948 debate in the local newspaper *Haugesunds Dagblad* between architect David Sandved and organist Mathias Folgerø (Folgerø, 1948a, 1948b, 1948c, 1948d; Sandved, 1948a, 1948b, 1948c, 1948d; Aamodt, 1948). This lengthy debate started as a discussion on tonality and atonality, but quickly segued into a quarrel over whether the octaves in Bach’s E minor fugue from Book I of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* (see Figure 13) were forbidden consecutives or merely a single-voice passage doubled at the octave. Sandved claimed the former, and Folgerø responded by claiming the latter. Both parties called upon music theory teachers at conservatoires to back up their arguments. While Thorleif Aamodt of the conservatoire in Bergen supported Folgerø’s argument, the support Sandved cited (somewhat suspiciously) remained anonymous. Both parties also cited Lange’s textbook in aid of their arguments, demonstrating this work’s long-standing status as the primary reference on harmony in Norway (Folgerø additionally cited the Danish textbook by Hamburger and Godske-Nielsen).

After it had taken up much space in a total of eight issues of the newspaper, its editor decided to end the discussion. The Sandved-Folgerø debate underlines the persistent focus on regulative theory (i.e. ‘Is this or that “allowed” in this particular style?’) in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse, the authority of the theory teachers at the conservatoires and the central position of Lange’s work as the main reference – manifested through the internal discursive procedure Foucault (1971/1981) calls commentary – in said discourse.

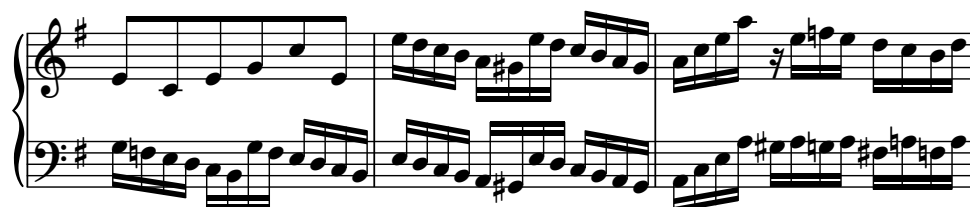


Figure 13. Fugue in E minor from BWV 855, bb. 18–20.

<sup>210</sup> This paragraph is a summary of the more detailed discussion of the reception of Tveitt’s treatise presented in Utne-Reitan (2022b).

Lastly, several debates that have taken place in Norwegian periodicals have clear ties to the music-theoretical discourse despite their main topics not being music-theoretical in themselves. I am thinking particularly of the long-lasting aesthetic disagreements in Norwegian church music over what is an appropriate style for chorale harmonisation. Given the central position of harmonising chorales in the theory education, such aesthetic debates have clear connections to the music theory discourse.

In 1936, there was a short debate on 'the chorale question' (*koralspørsmålet*) in the music magazine *Tonekunst* (Egge, 1936; Kjellsby, 1936a, 1936b; T. Lindeman, 1936). Several organists found Eyvind Alnæs' harmonisations in the chorale book of 1926 'too romantic.' Erling Kjellsby (1936a) asked, "Should one maintain a uniform harmonic style for all melodies, or should the old chorales rather be harmonised in a pure church style?" (p. 129).<sup>211</sup> Kjellsby argued in favour of the latter. A 'pure' style is here understood as a diatonic, primarily modal, setting of the chorales in line with the style of church music of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The question of style in chorale harmonisation returned regularly – indeed, it had already been raised a few years earlier (cf. Høyer-Finn, 1934).

The question of style in the harmonisation of older chorale melodies remained a hot potato in the church music discourse, as illustrated by the many articles related to the debate about 'church-musical stagnation and renewal' (*kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse*) which took place in the monthly music magazine *Norsk musikkliv* (cf. Egge, 1945; EGO, 1944; Holck, 1945; T. Lindeman, 1945; L. Nielsen, 1940; Nilsen, 1945; Nystedt, 1944, 1945a, 1945b, 1945c; Winding Sørensen, 1944, 1945; O. Tveit, 1945; V., 1944). At the height of this debate, in 1944–1945, Knut Nystedt and Dag Winding Sørensen were among the most outspoken on each side. The former argued for a turn towards a 'pure' Palestrina-inspired style, the latter defended Alnæs' 'romantic' style. Once more, this debate indicates that Lange's 1897 textbook remained the main reference work on harmony in Norway until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, Nystedt (1945c) states: 'We must move away from the old-fashioned idea that positions Gustav Lange as the only plausible basis for all harmony training. These common, boring chords that ruin any sense of melody!' (p. 3).<sup>212</sup> It seems that advocating a turn towards 'pure' and linearly oriented chorale harmonisations also entailed arguing for changes in music theory education and challenging the position of Lange's work.

The movement that championed a 'pure' style in chorale harmonisation – often called the Laub movement (*Laub-bevegelsen*), after the Danish organist Thomas Laub – had direct ties to the

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211 "Skal man holde fast ved ensartet harmonikk for alle melodier, eller skal de gamle koraler skilles ut og harmoniseres i ren kirkestil?"

212 "Vi må bort fra denne gammeldagse oppfatning som setter Gustav Lange som det eneste antagelige grunnlag for all harmonilære. Disse gemene, kjedelige akkorder som ødelegger all sans for melodi!"

Oslo Conservatoire. Theory teacher Per Steenberg was mentioned as one of the experts in this style (Høyer-Finn, 1934, p. 67; Kjellsby, 1936a, p. 129). Indeed, the long debate in 1944–1945 was a response to a 1944 interview with Steenberg (i.e. EGO, 1944). In 1947, Steenberg published his own chorale book with alternatives to the official ‘romantic’ harmonisations. Harald Herresthal (2019) claims that Steenberg, as a conservatoire teacher, had a ‘significant influence on the young generation of church musicians, who learned to harmonise chorales in 17<sup>th</sup>-century style and practised writing counterpoint based on Knud Jeppesen’s textbook in Palestrina’s vocal polyphony’ (p. 444).<sup>213</sup> Nils E. Bjerkestrand (2002, pp. 117–118) also points to the influence of the Laub movement when comparing the harmony textbooks by Lange (1897) and Eken (1948). While the former is clearly ‘romantic’ in its exemplification of highly chromatic progressions, the latter – which also includes arguably romantic examples – has an appendix dedicated to harmonising melodies in church modes in the ‘pure style’ (*ren stil*).<sup>214</sup>

The examples in this section demonstrate the diversity of music theory–related debates in Norway. They include everything from petty arguments over whether a passage includes consecutive octaves or not to discussions of aesthetic ideals in chorale harmonisation.

## 6.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has addressed how music theory (and particularly music theory education) has been publicly discussed in Norway throughout the long 20<sup>th</sup> century. More specifically, it has revolved around the following research question: *How has music theory in general, and music theory in conservatoire education in particular, been publicly debated in Norwegian periodicals (i.e. newspapers, magazines and journals), and what was at stake in these debates?* As specified in this question, the focus has been on material from periodicals. Where relevant, this material has also been read in connection with selected other relevant material, such as the prefaces of central textbooks in which the authors express their view on theory education. Two topics especially have emerged as central in the material and have therefore been thematised as key topics in the chapter: (1) the value and purpose of music theory education and (2) methods of musical analysis.

The debates discussed shed light on some crucial developments in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. Most importantly, they indicate how music theory (and harmony in particular)

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213 ‘betydelig innflytelse på den unge generasjonen av kirkemusikere, som fikk lære seg å harmonisere koraler i 1600-tallsstil og øve seg i å skrive kontrapunkt med utgangspunkt i Knud Jeppesens lærebok i Palestrinas vokalpolyfoni’.

214 Trygve Fischer (1949) and Trygve Lindeman (1949) criticised the turn towards preferring a ‘pure style’.

was broadly considered a principal part of any professional music education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, the position of the Richterian framework in the discourse was strong (cf. the Svensen-Lange debate). The position of this framework was sustained by what Foucault (1971/1981) calls discursive procedures, such as by regular commentary on Lange's harmony textbook. As described in Chapter 4, the Richterian framework would go on to be challenged by a post-Riemannian framework. In the 1970s, there were discussions over whether this turn from Roman numerals to function symbols was fruitful (cf. the Fischer-Baden debate). There was agreement regarding removing as much of the adapted post-Riemannian framework's speculative heritage as possible (rendering it almost as regulative as the preceding Richterian one). Nevertheless, theorists continued to argue that function symbols could reveal something more of the inner workings of tonal harmony than Roman numerals. This change in discourse has several layers, some indicating continuity and others rupture. Lastly, the discussions which took place at the turn of the millennium indicate that the central position of harmony in conservatoire education no longer was self-evident by this point (cf. the Haugland-Hjørungdal-Stigar debate).

To cut a long story short, music theory was regularly up for public debate in Norway during the long 20<sup>th</sup> century and significant changes in the construction of the music theory discourse took place during this period. Foucauldian categories such as discursive procedures, transformations and ruptures give some clues as to what these changes entail. The next part of this dissertation will investigate these clues, reading them in connection with the clues which came out of the two preceding chapters.



## **PART III**





## 7 The music theory discourse

What characterises the bigger picture of the music theory discourse in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Norway and its development, and what are the significant regularities, ruptures and transformations of this discourse? Some of this has been indicated in the close readings of source material in the three preceding chapters, but these fragments must be more closely brought into relation with each other and discussed in order to better grasp the workings of the Norwegian music theory discourse.

In this chapter I will, based on the explorations in Chapters 4–6, address the main research question of the dissertation: *In what ways has music theory in the context of conservatoire education (i.e. pedagogical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint) been discursively constructed in Norway in general, and Oslo in particular, during the long 20<sup>th</sup> century?* To do so, I draw on the theoretical and methodological framework presented in Part I. The emphasis will be on Foucauldian historical discourse analysis, based on the concept of discourse scrutinised in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/2002) and the categories of discursive procedures presented in ‘The Order of Discourse’ (1971/1981). I will supplement this with other parts of the theoretical framework, such as Bernstein’s (2000) concept of recontextualisation.

I stress that my focus is on the education of performing musicians within Western classical music. For the majority of the period I study, this is more or less a given, as conservatoire education was limited to Western classical music, but in more recent decades, this has no longer been the case. I have not explored the kinds of theory that have been part of the education of folk music or jazz musicians, for example. Similarly, the theory developed specifically for composition education has only to a limited extent been explored. Assessing to what extent my findings regarding the theory discourse in Norway also apply to the music theory education of other music professionals (composers, educators, etc.) and in other genres (jazz, folk music, etc.) would thus require further research.

When attempting to draw historical connections, there is always the danger of over-simplification. Attempting to avoid this, I will – in line with Foucauldian theory – repeatedly highlight not only the regularities of the discursive structures but also their many discontinuities and contradictions. Nonetheless, the material does indicate a rough periodisation. The material presented in Part II indicates that the discourse had some degree of structural stability from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup>. In the decades following WWII, this stability was, to a much greater extent than earlier, challenged by several ruptures and transformations. From the 1970s onwards, the discourse seems to have been reconfigured and returned to a more stable state.

As Foucault (1969/2002) is careful to stress in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, ‘[n]othing would be more false than to see in the analysis of discursive formations an attempt at totalitarian periodisation, whereby from a certain moment and for a certain time, everyone would think in the same way’ (p. 165). Alluding to the Deleuzian concept of the *rhizome* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987), one could argue that a discursive structure ‘is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, *intermezzo*’ (p. 25). But this does not preclude that these structures are more stable in some historical periods than others. This is also reflected in Foucault’s *The Order of Things* (1970/2002), which draws out periods of an apparent structural stability and how these structures are subjected to change historically. I will argue that the regularities presented below have manifested similar discursive stabilities in the discourse of music theory in Norway.

## 7.1 Theory as *harmonilære* and *kontrapunkt* (c. 1880–1970)

In the discourse of music theory in Norway c. 1880–1970, the most central music-theoretical subject in conservatoire education was harmony. Indeed, the training in music theory one received at the conservatoire was often just called *harmonilære*. The next level after harmony, counterpoint (*kontrapunkt*), was a necessary part of the education for advanced students. As I will argue, the necessity of the subjects of harmony and counterpoint was almost completely taken for granted. This is thus a period of music theory as necessary *harmonilære* and *kontrapunkt* (literally ‘harmony and counterpoint’) in the context of conservatoire education.

### 7.1.1 Constructing music theory

Foucault understands a discourse as the statements included in a discursive formation on a particular topic (see Section 1.2.2). Before going on to discuss the more complicated matters of discursive procedures and discontinuities, it is thus necessary to identify the statements that construct music theory in this period. Mapping all relevant statements will not be possible. Our insight into a discourse will always be fragmentary. Mapping, and elaborating on, some of the more dominant statements will thus be my aim. It is also important to stress that Foucault’s (1969/2002) concept of the statement is of a rather abstract kind – it does not denote one specific proposition or sentence. The specific realisation of a statement is rather an enunciation: That is what is available in the source material. It is from these enunciations that the underlying statements may be deduced. As Heidi Karlsen (2020) puts it, one must ‘identify something constant that runs through a certain multiplicity of enunciations’ (p. 31).

In the following, I will give a concise presentation of how I understand the construction of music theory in the period c. 1880–1970. The analysis indicates how music theory in conservatoire education has been constructed by a formation of discursive statements. I argue that the most dominant statements in the music theory discourse in this period could be labelled *music theory is craft*, *music theory is Richterian*, *music theory is organist practice*, *music theory is composition training* and *music theory is necessary*. These statements circulate widely and are repeated in multiple enunciations across different kinds of source material during this period. I have chosen to label the statements in this study as simple sentences, but these sentences are not the statements themselves, nor are they meant to explicitly reflect how the statements are realised as enunciations. They must only be read as heuristic labels enabling me to categorise, analyse and discuss the formation of statements that is the music theory discourse. I will discuss each of the discursive statements individually, showing how they are reproduced in enunciations found in the study’s material (as discussed in Chapters 4–6). Notice how several of the statements support one another: In this way, they sustain each other, feeding music theory with a rather specific meaning in this historical context. At the same time – by marking its borders – they delimit the discourse of music theory. Figure 14 provides a rough visual sketch of the music theory discourse in this period.

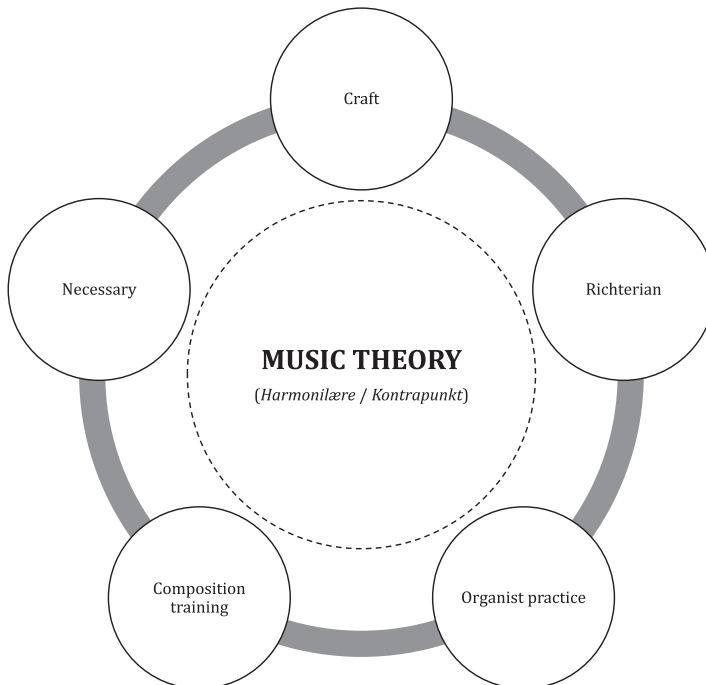


Figure 14. A sketch of the music theory discourse in Norway c. 1880–1970.

*Music theory is craft*

In this discursive formation, theory is not the opposite of practice. Rather, a core statement in the discourse is that of *music theory is craft*. Music theory is about learning practical skills, and more specifically, the compositional techniques of particular stylistic idioms. Thus, music theory in Norway has predominantly been regulative. Drawing on Dahlhaus' music-theoretical paradigms (see Section 2.3.1), this type of music theory – which is sometimes called 'practical music theory' – is about learning to master a specific stylistic idiom through codified principles (or 'rules', e.g. that parallel fifths and octaves are to be avoided). One could thus argue that, at the level of theory pedagogy, the construction of music theory as craft – as predominantly regulative – enables (and encourages) the generation and circulation of music-theoretical statements in the form of rules.<sup>215</sup> Learning to master a few specific musical styles is the goal of the formal theory curriculum of the Oslo Conservatoire, as put forward in its exam plans and regulations, and it is also the aim of related textbooks. An implication of this statement is further that music theory should be practical, simple and straightforward, not complicated and speculative.

As examples of enunciations, one may mention that this period's key reference textbook in harmony is explicitly titled 'Practical Harmony' (Lange, 1897). Its contents follow up by being concise and to the point, something that also applies to later textbooks in harmony and counterpoint published in Norway (cf. Andersen, n.d.; Eken, 1948; Grinde & Nielsen, 1966; Hindemith, 1953; Kindem, 1969; Thorkildsen, 1949). The theory parts of the official exam plans for becoming a professional organist also repeat this statement in their focus on testing students' practical skills in harmony and counterpoint (cf. T. Lindeman, 1956; Norges Organistforbund, 1963; Norges Organistforening, 1937). Furthermore, the statement is repeated in the debate on the relationship between practical modulation – which falls within the non-written regulative paradigm – and written harmony training (P. Lindeman, 1913; Aasland, 1907, 1908, 1912, 1913), both of which focus on music-theoretical craft through different means.

*Music theory is Richterian*

The specific realisation of regulative craft-oriented theory in this discursive formation is what I have called a Richterian framework. Ernst Friedrich Richter is constructed as the most important music-theoretical authority, and harmony pedagogy is almost exclusively oriented towards Richter's model example. This includes Roman numeral analysis and a pragmatic pedagogy: Learning harmony is about *how* to do something, and not to try to understand *why* it is done in this way. There are clear ties to the preceding statement here.

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215 An example of the consequences of this construction of the music theory discourse is the 1948 Folgerø-Sandved debate on whether a Bach passage includes 'forbidden' parallels or not (see Section 6.3).

Enunciations of this statement are not only found in the primary reference work on harmony in this period (Lange, 1897), but also in contemporaneous critiques of conservatoire music theory education that either found it not Richterian enough or too Richterian (D. M. Johansen, 1919; Svensen, 1898). That Lange's work remained the primary reference on harmony in Norway throughout this period certainly helped to maintain the strong position of this statement until at least WWII – probably even longer. The wide-spread use of Roman numeral analysis and figured-bass exercises in practically all harmony textbooks published in this period (Andersen, n.d.; Eken, 1948; Hindemith, 1944/1953; Kindem, 1969; Lange, 1897) – combined with the aforementioned regulative focus – may be read as repeated enunciations of the statement I have called *music theory is Richterian*. The statement reflects a process of recontextualisation from an internationally widespread (but typically 'German') theory discourse while also reflecting the international spread of pedagogies associated with the Leipzig Conservatoire (cf. Wasserloos, 2004).

#### *Music theory is organist practice*

The practice taught was that of the organist. The strong focus on the chorale, the fugue and the ability to swiftly modulate from one key to another, which are found in numerous textbooks and formal curricula, may all be read as enunciations of this statement. Thus, to a great extent, music theory as a pedagogic discourse in this period recontextualised from organist practice. This is not surprising in the context of the Oslo Conservatoire's curricula, wherein the education of professional organists was one of the main aims, but music theory recontextualised from organist practice in other educational contexts, too. The focus on harmonising melodies in four parts and being able to improvise modulations which is found in the theory section of the official exam plan for music teachers (cf. Dirdal, 1964, 1965; Nesheim, 2002, pp. 75–76) shows that this document also repeats this statement.

A key part of organist practice that was frequently recontextualised was that of writing chorales. As Thorleif Eken (1948) claimed, 'the harmonisation of chorales provides the best foundation for all healthy and good music for multiple voices' (p. 3).<sup>216</sup> Other related genres were also relevant (such as the chorale prelude and the fugue), but they could not match the centrality of four-part settings, which made up the core of harmony curricula and conservatoire textbooks (e.g. Eken, 1948; Lange, 1897). This part-writing technique was at the heart of what was understood as the craft of music theory, and it formed an important part of the Richterian framework (to which the aforementioned textbooks adhered). Clearly, this statement is intimately related to the preceding ones.

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216 'Koralharmoniseringen er det beste grunnlag for all sunn og flerstemmig musikk.'

*Music theory is composition training*

Prior to the advent of a separate composition programme at the Oslo Conservatoire in 1970, studying music theory was the closest one could get to an education in composition in Norway. The majority of theory teachers at the Oslo Conservatoire in its early years were also composition teachers, and studies in free composition were then seen as a natural continuation of theory studies in harmony and counterpoint (see Section 5.2.2). A specific example of an enunciation of the statement *music theory is composition training* is found in the Conservatoire's regulations, where it is clearly stated that studies in harmony and counterpoint are necessary preparation for studies in free composition at a later stage (T. Lindeman, 1952). Another example is David Monrad Johansen (1919) criticising the harmony training for becoming too conservative, arguing that it needed a renewal to continue to be relevant as compositional training. This statement – backed up by the construction of theory as compositional craft – reflects a process of recontextualisation from the workshop of the composer, i.e. from compositional practice, to the theory classroom.

*Music theory is necessary*

The value and usefulness of studying music theory, and especially harmony (*harmonilære*), was to a great extent self-evident in the discourse. In the period with which we are concerned, few questioned the relevance of studying theory for students wanting to become music professionals (e.g. organists, teachers or performers). Traditional music theory education was in itself – as an autonomous subject and not (primarily) a means to other ends – considered an indispensable part of conservatoire education. An enunciation of this statement is found in the very first advertisement for the opening of the organist school in 1883, where harmony is presented as one of the two teaching subjects (the other being organ performance), rather than being among the elective courses (T. Lindeman & Solbu, 1976, p. 8). In the institution's plan for expanding to become a conservatoire in 1885, the statement is again repeated. In this plan, harmony is the only subject that is mandatory for all students enrolling for more than single instrumental or singing class (L. M. Lindeman & P. Lindeman, n.d.). Even earlier, Otto Winter-Hjelm and Edvard Grieg (1866/1957) had emphasised the importance of harmony in music education when opening their short-lived music academy. In the exam plans used at the Oslo Conservatoire in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, harmony was considered a 'main subject' (*hovedfag*) rather than a 'secondary subject' (*bifag*). As shown in Chapter 6, although music theory education was indeed debated in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, its *raison d'être* was never at stake. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the central position of training in traditional harmony at conservatoires – the statement *music theory is necessary* – was fundamentally taken for granted in the music theory discourse. I have found few indications of this changing until the middle of the century.

## 7.1.2 Discursive procedures

According to Foucault (1971/1981), discourses are regulated by procedures of exclusion, internal procedures and a rarefaction of speaking subjects. All three of these are part of maintaining and regulating the music theory discourse. In this section, I will discuss the central procedures that have regulated this discourse.

### *Procedures of exclusion*

Procedures of exclusion explicitly or implicitly prohibit certain notions and/or subjects from taking part in the discourse. The most prevalent manifestation of the exclusionary procedures in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse in this period is what I dub an *aversion to complexity*. As I have mentioned repeatedly throughout this dissertation, in Norway, music theory has been primarily constructed as something practical and, by extension, theoretically simple and straightforward. Theories of music which go in a too speculative direction or are too complicated have not been accepted in the music theory discourse in Norway. This is not surprising, given the strong position of the statement *music theory is craft* (further supported by the position of the Richterian framework) in this discourse. The almost complete lack of theory books presenting speculative (and analytic) theory in this period is itself a clear indication of exclusionary forces at play. The reception of Geirr Tveitt's controversial *Tonalitätstheorie* (i.e. G. Tveit, 1937b), a work firmly positioned within the speculative paradigm, also reveals these tendencies (Utne-Reitan, 2022b). Some of the commentators aimed their critique not only at Tveitt's (ideologically problematic) theory, but also at the fact that it was unnecessarily complicated. It seems, therefore, that its complexity – and, implicitly, its speculative project – was a problem in itself.<sup>217</sup> As I will argue later in this chapter, this aversion to complexity in theory remained strong later in the century and becomes key when attempting to grasp how the post-Riemannian framework was adapted in Norwegian post-WWII conservatoire music theory and why music theory as a field was not more strongly academised in Norway.

### *Internal procedures*

A particularly strong internal procedure in the music theory discourse during this period is that of commentary. It is through commentary that the work of Richter is granted a particularly central position in the discourse – commentary warrants calling the framework 'Richterian'. The position of this framework in Norway is further strengthened by the many commentaries on Lange's thoroughly Richterian textbook (see Chapter 6).

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217 This is not to say that Tveitt's work is not unnecessarily complicated and problematic (which I believe it is), but to underline that, as one of the very few existing attempts (I emphasise the attempted nature of the endeavour) at doing speculative theory in Norway, it was met with great resistance and never accepted as serious theory.



Another central internal procedure that is identified in the material is that of the discipline. The discipline allows for innovative thinking, as long as it is not too radical: One has to be ‘in the true’. Thus, this internal procedure complements and supports the exclusionary procedures discussed above by maintaining discursive limits. Underlining the craft-oriented identity of the discipline, pretty much all the published theory books are clearly within the regulative music-theoretical paradigm. As demonstrated by the relevant debates (think, for example, of the 1898 Svensen-Lange and 1913 Aasland-Lindeman debates), there was considerable room for disagreement within the discipline as long as the arguments did not stray too far from the taken-for-granted notions of the discourse – its regime of truth. This, again, underlines how power and knowledge are fundamentally interrelated and how knowledge underlies power structures that again produce and limit knowledge.

#### *Rarefaction of speaking subjects*

What is required to enter the music theory discourse? Which qualifications are required to be a valid speaking subject? The procedure that Foucault (1971/1981) calls social appropriation is directly connected to the system of education. Music education is thus a gatekeeper of the music theory discourse. More specifically, one needs to have acquired some fundamental knowledge and skills before being able to take part. The best example is that of being able to read Western musical notation (musical rudiments). As a society of discourse (cf. Foucault, 1971/1981), the production, preservation and dissemination of sheet music using Western musical notation also functions as a discursive procedure that limits speaking subjects. The many textbooks in elementary theory (see Appendix A) from this period function as an entry into this society of discourse and prepare students for advanced theory studies (i.e. harmony).

There are (at least) two subject positions in this discourse, that of the music theorist (or, simply, music theory teacher) and that of the student. As noted repeatedly in the preceding chapters, there are many indications of the position of the theorist being that of a craftsperson and pedagogue, and not that of a researcher or academic. Historically, most theory teachers in Norway have also been organists and/or composers – as well as men (c.f. e.g. Bjerkestrand, 1992). The identity of the subject position of the theory teacher in this discourse is thus tightly connected to two of its central statements (and processes of recontextualisation), *music theory is organist practice* and *music theory is composition training*.

### 7.1.3 Regularities and discontinuities

As noted repeatedly throughout this dissertation, a regularity in the theory discourse in Norway has been to stay within the regulative paradigm and to publish theory books that are concise, to the point and straightforward. In the previous section, I analysed this phenomenon as a

discursive procedure of exclusion which I called an *aversion to complexity*. But there are also examples of discontinuities here, demonstrating the complexity of these discursive structures. Otto Winter-Hjelm's (1888) textbook in elementary theory (*musikklaere*) is one such example. In contrast to the many other books in the same genre that confirm the regularity of the aforementioned procedure (i.e. Barkved, 1926; Bøhn, 1907; Hanssen, n.d.; Kobberstad, 1879, 1881; Lange, 1904; Roques 1889/1892; T. Lindeman, 1943), Winter-Hjelm's book goes rather deeply into speculative theory – specifically, that of harmonic dualism.

As illustrated above, a regularity in the music theory discourse in Norway in this period were the close ties to organist practice. A rare example within the discourse of a challenge to this close connection is found in Trygve Fischer's (1949) review of Eken's harmony textbook, in which Fischer argues that the book is too closely tied to church music practice to be a harmony textbook for all music students regardless of their specialisation. Furthermore, Geirr Tveitt can be used as an example again. As a theorist, he explicitly challenged the predominance of church music (Utne-Reitan, 2022b, p. 62). By reframing the church modes as Norse modes in his *Tonalitätstheorie* (G. Tveit, 1937b), he attempted to cut these (and several other) ties. In an article in the radical national socialist journal *Ragnarok* – here we see the problematic ideological entanglements of his unsuccessful attempt at music-theoretical reformation – Tveitt explicitly argued for the nationalisation of music education in Norway, ending by proclaiming: 'No international tone-feeling in our country!' (G. Tveit, 1938, p. 67).<sup>218</sup> Theory in Norway was predominantly built on continental European, especially German, models. As these also had clear ties to church music, cutting ties with church music discourse and nationalising the music theory discourse were, for Tveitt, two sides of the same coin (G. Tveit, 1938). His theory was both speculative and complicated and was never accepted in Norwegian musicological or music-theoretical circles. The release of his book was, nonetheless, a major event in the history of music theory in Norway. Although its ideas were ultimately excluded from the discourse, the release of the book and the following debates reveal the complexity and discontinuity of the discourse.

Another regularity in the discourse, which is reflected in most of the central statements discussed above, is that music theory is a *pedagogical* field. Aversion to theoretical complexity again excluded the possibility of the music theory discourse in Norway becoming a field of research and development. Rather, this discourse was one of simplification and adaptation, and where the music theorist subject position was characterised as a teacher, not a researcher. In short, the music theory discourse in Norway has predominantly been a pedagogic discourse.

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218 'Burt med internasjonal tonekjensla frå landet vårt!'

## 7.2 Ruptures at mid-century (c. 1945–1975)

As indicated by the discussions in Part II, several large ruptures in the music theory discourse in Norway occurred in the decades following WWII. Although much did stay the same, the relative stability described in the preceding section was challenged on several levels. In this section, I will highlight three important changes: the emergence of a new name for theory training, the transition from one theoretical framework to another and a loss of self-evidence. Lastly, I will argue that it is not coincidental that these ruptures appear in the same period that larger changes in the institutional structure, with accompanying notions of academisation in Norwegian higher music education, took place.

### 7.2.1 The term *satslære* emerges

One thing that surprised me when investigating the material for this project was the late emergence of the term *satslære* in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse. This term (originally German and probably imported via Danish and Swedish) is well-established today and somewhat loosely defined as a collection of music-theoretical subjects including harmony and counterpoint.<sup>219</sup> I have found no instances of this word being used to describe music theory in Norwegian higher music education prior to the late 1960s. In the National Library of Norway's vast digital collection, the earliest use of the word in connection with this field is a 1968 job advertisement for a teaching position at the musicology department in Trondheim ('Instruktørstilling i musikk,' 1968), which states that a teacher in *harmonilære og kontrapunkt (satslære)* is sought. This digital collection is expanding, and earlier appearances of the term may be uncovered when other books, newspapers and journals are added to the digitally searchable collection. Nevertheless, the lack of hits prior to the late 1960s indicates that the term was new at this time. There is also a marked increase in hits in the 1970s, indicating that the word became more commonly used around then. It is also in the early 1970s that the word is introduced into the formal curricula of the Oslo Conservatoire and the Norwegian Academy of music (see Section 5.1). In my manual searches, including the archival sources from the Oslo Conservatoire, I have not come across it used earlier. Rather, the names of the individual disciplines, *harmonilære* and *kontrapunkt*, as well as more general terms, such as *musikkteori*, are used.

As the advertisement cited above indicates, the term *satslære* was used as an umbrella for the already-existing subjects that made up the music theory discourse. These disciplines, understood as the main components of *satslære*, continued to be central. The emergence

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219 The German *Satzlehre* also has a linguistic meaning ('sentence theory' or 'syntax'), but in Norwegian it is only used as a music-theoretical term.

of this new term (new in the Norwegian context, at least) is significant. That a ‘rebranding’ is taking place (for whatever reason) indicates that something is changing in the discourse. Although the change of name may seem trivial at first sight, it is an important part of several significant ruptures in the music theory discourse which emerged at mid-century. From the perspective of Goodson (1995), these ruptures may be understood together as part of the systematic invention of tradition within conservatoire theory curricula. Following Bernstein (2000, pp. 32–33), the specific ‘rebranding’ is a sign of new recontextualisations taking place in the construction of the music theory discourse: The discourse – and the processes of recontextualisation that underpin it – is ‘moving’, which always has some ideological implications.

One important change which appeared in tandem with the rebranding was the inclusion of different styles: To paraphrase Bjerkestrand (2002, pp. 125–126), the education went from teaching a lot about one specific style to teaching a little about many different styles. It is possible that the term *satslære* emerged into the spotlight because it could mean something broader than *harmonilære* and *kontrapunkt*. Although these terms simply mean harmony and counterpoint, they were in fact tightly connected to specific stylistic idioms – that of Bach and Palestrina respectively – which made up the foundation of the ‘craft’. In other words, the term *satslære* was probably introduced in Norway as a way of broadening the conception of what theory training could be. This broadening was itself an important rupture, at least locally at the Norwegian Academy of Music, where wider formal curricula appeared simultaneously with the term *satslære*.

That said, however, this complicated transition really resists simplified explanations. As the ruptures in this section and the (re)construction of the discourse in the next section attest, some of the foundations of the lasting structural stability of the discourse certainly shifted in this period. The question remains how these shifts altered the discourse: Which new recontextualisations were introduced into the mix during the move from one discursive construction to another, and did the ones that were dominant before change in any way?

### 7.2.2 From one framework to another

The most significant structural change in the music theory discourse at mid-century was the transition from one theoretical framework to another. The Richterian framework had held a very strong position in the music theory discourse prior to WWII and continued to do so in the first decades following the war. Its position was, however, gradually challenged. By the 1970s, the post-Riemannian framework had replaced it as the primary theoretical framework in Norwegian music theory.

The first indication of this rupture is Jon Medbøe's (1950) book integrating music history and music theory. In this work, the well-worn Roman numerals are replaced by function symbols. Function symbols are also presented as an alternative to Roman numerals in Finn Benestad's (1963) textbook in elementary theory. We are, however, not dealing with a definite rupture; unsurprisingly, the process was discontinuous and complex. The key-relational Høffding-inspired adaptation of the post-Riemannian framework used in these sources differs from the interval-related version that would later become the norm in Norway (cf. Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2018, 2020). Also, the textbooks in harmony published in this period retain the use of Roman numerals (cf. Andersen, n.d.; Eken, 1948; Hindemith, 1944/1953; Kindem, 1969). Some of them do include certain post-Riemannian notions (see Section 4.1), but the first full-fledged post-Riemannian framework with lasting influence on the music theory discourse in Norway is the Hamburger-inspired adaptation presented by Øien (1971, 1975).

A shift in what was the most common way of teaching and understanding harmony is noticeable in the source material. Earlier critiques of theory education are directly aimed at the Richterian framework (e.g. D. M. Johansen, 1919); in the later sources, the post-Riemannian framework is targeted (e.g. Fischer, 1976b). How theory education was constructed – how it recontextualised (Bernstein, 2000) and invented tradition (Goodson, 1995) – had changed.

As already indicated, this central change in the theory discourse is a complex matter. I have argued that this move represents both rupture and regularity. The former is indicated by the actual change of framework, which reflects a newfound emphasis on questions of 'understanding music' in addition to the aim of learning a craft. The latter, on the other hand, is indicated by the fact that the post-Riemannian framework adapted in Norway was stripped of as much speculative theory as possible and thereby rendered very similar to the older Richterian framework.

### 7.2.3 A loss of self-evidence

The third rupture is perhaps more abstract in character, but it is nevertheless intriguing and significant. Rather than being one clear rupture, it is a transformation that starts in this period and intensifies throughout the century. As argued in the previous section, the statement *music theory is necessary* was central in the earlier music theory discourse – it existed at the level of the taken-for-granted. In Chapter 6, I argued that this would not remain so later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup>. An early indication of this change taking place is found in the 1956 exam plan for the Oslo Conservatoire, where the exam for orchestral musicians contains markedly less theory than the higher exams for organists, music teachers or even piano soloists (cf. T. Lindeman, 1956). Increasingly from the mid-century on, music theory

had to be differently constructed and its value and usefulness had to be actively defended in a way that would have been completely foreign to the older discursive formation.

One important aspect of this complicated transformation is that of the theory training's relationship to composition. The latter would become a separate educational programme in 1970, focussing on contemporaneous styles. Music theory training had, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, propagated a Romantic aesthetic that – at least to some extent – was still used by contemporaneous composers, warranting the statement *music theory is composition training*. This would not be the case later in the century, when theory – somewhat simplified – came to focus on historical styles, while composition focused on contemporaneous styles. We could see this new division as a sign of growing specialisation. Why would it be necessary for 'ordinary' music performance students in this context to learn composition techniques and harmonise chorales? After all, if they wanted to become composers, they could study composition, and if they wanted to become organists, they could study church music. In general, the separation of educational programmes in the conservatoire context increased in the later 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Only in the 1970s did theorists start to actively argue for *why* students needed to study harmony and counterpoint. This was often done through statements other than 'theory is simply necessary for anyone wanting to become a musician,' as this was no longer self-evident in any way. Rather, it became common to argue that the aim of the theory training was something more than learning a craft – for example, that it was about understanding how music worked or about developing one's creativity. This new approach is clear both from the long prefaces in Øien (1975) and from the curriculum of the Norwegian Academy of Music of the same year (Musikkhøgskolen, 1975), as well as several later sources. Music theory is now more strongly and explicitly justified as a means to other ends and thereby loses autonomy in the context of conservatoire education.<sup>220</sup>

What had belonged to the category of 'main subjects' (*hovedfag*)<sup>221</sup> in the higher education programmes of the Oslo Conservatoire was put into the category 'supporting subjects' (*støttefag*) at the Norwegian Academy of Music (see Section 5.1). This change is connected to a reorganisation of conservatoire education which rendered it more specialised. Earlier, the higher-level students – those who aimed at becoming professional musicians – would have studied several main subjects including their instrument(s) and central theory disciplines,

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220 Moreover, the need for (re)defining music theory's role was addressed in a two-week 'Nordic researcher course' in 1981 (cf. Solbu, 1982b).

221 This also underlines the centrality among the music theory subjects of harmony and counterpoint, which were part of this category and tested with extensive exams. Other theory subjects offered, such as elementary theory and form, were part of the 'secondary subjects' (*bifag*).

along with some smaller secondary subjects. From the 1970s, there was only one main subject for conservatoire students in music performance – their main instrument. All other subjects were now supporting subjects, and it therefore became more pressing to construct theory subjects not as good in themselves but rather as useful for instrumental specialisation in some way or another. Ideas of what professional music education is and should be are thus a key part of the changes we are talking about. This clearly demonstrates Bernstein's (2000) point that change in a discursive formation is never neutral, but rather is a space where ideologies are at play. I will now turn to the more general ideological forces entangled in these ruptures.

#### 7.2.4 Notions of academisation

This period was a time of several processes of institutionalisation – understood most literally as the founding of institutions – with accompanying notions of academisation in higher music education in Norway.<sup>222</sup> Olav Gurvin, Norway's first music professor, started working at the University of Oslo in 1947. In 1958, he became head of Norway's first musicology department founded at the same university. The second musicology department in Norway, located in Trondheim, opened its doors in 1962. Musical research was thus first properly institutionalised in the Norwegian universities in these years. As Stefan Gies (2019) has shown, there was a general process of academisation taking place in European music performance education from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century onwards. For example, Gies points to how in the 1970s, several conservatoires across northern Europe 'were dissolved and converted into music colleges or incorporated as music faculties into the nearby university' (p. 44).

The Oslo Conservatoire is a case in point.<sup>223</sup> When, in 1973, the upper levels of the privately-owned Oslo Conservatoire were turned into the state-owned Norwegian Academy of Music, the latter institution was not only supposed to become Norway's leading institution in the education of musicians but also an institution of research. From its founding, the Academy was classified as a 'specialised university institution' (*vitenskapelig høyskole*). The original Norwegian term explicitly contains the word 'scientific'.<sup>224</sup> This is in stark contrast to the traditional conservatoires, which did not conduct research as a primary activity (cf. Nerland, 2003, p. 86). The planning of the Norwegian Academy of Music had been going on for a long

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222 Following Angelo, Varkøy and Georgii-Hemming (2019), I take academisation to be 'a process where theoretical and verbal aspects of the education are stressed at the expense of practical and bodily aspects, and [...] a process that changes the required teacher competence in more theoretical, analytical and academic directions' (p. 80).

223 The conservatoires in Bergen, Trondheim, Stavanger, Tromsø and Kristiansand would also, somewhat later (in the 1980s and 1990s), gradually be incorporated into nearby universities.

224 In the Norwegian higher education system, there are three categories of educational institution: the university (*universitet*), the specialised university institution (*vitenskapelig høyskole*) and the university college (*høyskole*). The institutions in the second category have mandates for research and education like a university, but in contrast to the universities, they specialise in a specific field (in this case, music).

time, but the most concrete steps taken to prepare the Oslo Conservatoire for the takeover were initiated in 1969, when Anfinn Øien took over as principal from Trygve Lindeman, as well as in 1970, when the institution developed its first comprehensive study plan. In short, the developments described in these paragraphs, with several key institutions of higher music education emerging in Norway, clearly constitute not only institutionalisation but also a process (or several processes) of academisation.<sup>225</sup>

These decades were thus coloured by growing academisation in higher music education in Norway. As discussed in Chapter 5, this is also visible in the positivity of the discourse. A marked change can be seen taking place at this time in the nature of the author-function of the Oslo Conservatoire's institutional documents. Up until 1969, almost all the documents (including regulations and exam plans) name an explicit author, namely one or other of the Lindeman directors. By contrast, the institution's first comprehensive study plan of 1970 sports an anonymous – or, more precisely, institutional – author-function (see Section 5.1.3). Even if there is not a causal relationship between the growing academisation and this change in author-function, there are certainly strong ties between these ideological developments in higher music education and the ruptures in the music theory discourse. In various ways, this discourse adapted to changing conditions by a change of framework, introducing a new name (*satslære*) and more explicitly justifying its *raison d'être*. Notions of academisation may be understood as a condition of possibility for these changes. Nonetheless, this academisation only had limited influence on the inner workings of the music theory discourse, as will become clear when we investigate the emerging stability of the continuous discursive construction addressed in the next section. In short, there are clear indications of academisation taking place at surface level, but there were also strong forces preventing full-blown academisation of the music theory discourse in Norway.

### 7.3 Theory as *satslære* (c. 1970–)

The several ruptures and transformations in the decades following WWII, as described in the previous section, brought about rather large-scale changes in the structure of the music theory discourse in Norway. At surface level, an important change was that the regular theory training in the conservatoire was now known as *satslære*. This is not to say that harmony (*harmonilære*) was no longer the most important subject – it still was – but rather indicates

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225 As Dyndahl et al. (2017) have shown, it is also from the 1970s onwards that popular music was gradually academised in Norwegian higher music education.



that harmony was subsumed into the newer concept of *satslære*.<sup>226</sup> At a more fundamental level, the status of traditional theory training as something taken-for-granted was starting to fade. It remained mandatory for conservatoire students, but its *raison d'être* was much less self-evident than before. I therefore argue that the period from the early 1970s onwards was a period of conservatoire music theory as mandatory *satslære*. To some extent, this is still the case.

### 7.3.1 (Re)constructing music theory

Following the aforementioned rather fundamental ruptures, a new structural stability has appeared in the music theory discourse. It certainly has ties to the former stability, and is therefore not a completely new construction. Rather, it is closer to a reconstruction, or reconfiguration, of the discursive structures. As I will argue, some statements remain as strong as before, some have been transformed and others – previously completely foreign to the discourse – have gained strength in the discursive construction of music theory in Norway.

The most dominant statements in the music theory discourse may now be labelled *music theory is craft*, *music theory is four-part chorales*, *music theory is understanding music*, *music theory is post-Riemannian*, *music theory is analysis* and *music theory is creativity*. An important observation is that the music theory discourse is now a more complicated structure. When compared to the situation in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is seemingly less coherent (which is not to say that it had been completely coherent before). This is probably a result of the complicated discursive transformations that have taken place, where some ruptures have led to changes at various levels of discourse while other levels have remained more or less the same. Theoretically, this is not a problem. Foucault's (1969/2002) understanding of discourses as *systems of dispersion* also underlines that there is room for tension, and even contradictory statements, within a discourse. See Figure 15 for a rough visual sketch of the music theory discourse in this period.

#### *Music theory is craft*

The central tenet that music theory is about learning composition techniques, and therefore a craft-oriented subject, remains strong, and the discourse remains primarily within the (written) regulative paradigm. The kinds of techniques taught, however, have been diversified. Selected newer styles of Western classical music are included in the curricula and some textbooks include chapters on popular music and jazz. The many textbooks published on harmony and counterpoint continue to have a predominantly practical focus: One is expected to learn theory through writing exercises in specific stylistic idioms (cf. Albertsen, 1990; Bekkevold,

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<sup>226</sup> While the term *satslære* is generally treated as broader than that of *harmonilære*, for example in including counterpoint as well, these terms are sometimes used as synonyms due to the centrality of harmony.

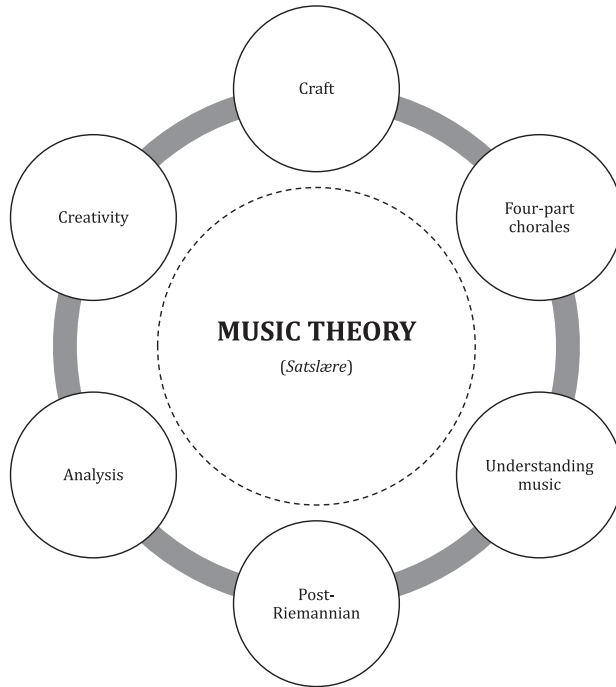


Figure 15. A sketch of the music theory discourse in Norway after c. 1970.

1976, 1988; Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1995; Grinde, 1989, 1990; Stigar, 2004; S. Tveit, 1984; Øien, 1975). An example of a specific enunciation of the statement *music theory is craft* is the conception of ‘music theory as an activity subject’ (*satslære som aktivitetsfag*) in Stigar (2004, p. 5).

#### *Music theory is four-part chorales*

Although the stylistic scope of curricula was significantly broadened in the 1970s, and less time was therefore (at least at the Norwegian Academy of Music) devoted to it, the position of the four-part chorale generally remained very strong. This may be read as a continuation of the recontextualisation from organist practice, albeit in a more limited way than what was the case earlier in the century. The older statement *music theory is organist practice* is thus transformed into something narrower and more specific. It is now argued, however, that chorale harmonisation may be a means towards other ends than only that of being able to harmonise chorales. This is again linked to the loss of self-evidence; explicit justification for music theory is needed. It may also be read as an indication of the growing distance between organist practice and music theory discourse. The position of the chorale in the theory

curricula is defended in a range of different sources, both textbooks and standalone articles (cf. Alterhaug, 1987; Stigar, 2004; S. Tveit, 1984, 1996; Øien, 1975).

#### *Music theory is understanding music*

While the idea that theory training is about craftsmanship is still strongly held, its position is challenged by the idea that the aim of the training is to understand how music works. Training in compositional craft, which earlier on was constructed as the sole aim of learning music theory, is now – at best – one of several aims, if not altogether reduced to a means. When theory became a supporting subject, and not a main subject of its own, arguing that music theory training was about understanding music was a convenient way of justifying its continued presence in students' timetables. Examples of enunciations of the statement *music theory is understanding music* include the stated aim of the 1975 mandatory theory curriculum (then for the first time called *satslære*): 'to give students a background for understanding what music is and why it sounds the way it does' (Musikkhøgskolen, 1975, p. 182).<sup>227</sup> This exact formulation was also repeated in later theory curricula for church music studies (Norges musikkhøgskole, 1982c, p. 44; 1995b, p. 25). A more recent example is Petter Stigar's (2004, p. 5) claim that music theory is not only an 'activity subject' (*satslære som aktivitetsfag*) but also a 'subject of reflection' (*satslære som refleksjonsfag*), the aim of which is 'to understand the great masters'.<sup>228</sup> Following the change of theoretical framework, the regular use of function symbols also emphasises the statement. One could argue that, due to the widely held belief that function symbols provide insight into the inner workings of harmonic tonality, the function symbols are themselves enunciations of the statement.

#### *Music theory is post-Riemannian*

As hinted at the end of the last paragraph, the central position of the statement *music theory is understanding music* supported the turn to the post-Riemannian framework (and vice versa). Compared to the Roman numerals of the previously hegemonic Riemannian framework, the function symbols of the post-Riemannian framework claimed to express something fundamental regarding the inner workings of tonal music. In this period, the post-Riemannian framework is a central part of constructing the music theory discourse and the statement *music theory is post-Riemannian* is repeated in a range of different sources, including several textbooks that construct the concepts of harmony and tonality in post-Riemannian terms (e.g. Bekkevold, 1976, 1988; Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1995; S. Tveit, 1984; Øien, 1975). Fischer (1976b, p. 69) experienced – and warned about – a movement towards uniformity created by the growing preference for the post-Riemannian framework in Norwegian music-theoretical

227 'å gi studentene bakgrunn for forståelse av hva musikk er, og hvorfor den klinger som den gjør'.

228 'å forstå de store mestre'. The concept of 'great masters' also demonstrates the central – and hegemonic – idea of a canon of masterpieces that one should study and strive to understand. I will return to questions of hegemony in the next chapter.

discourse. As was the case with the earlier Richterian framework, the statement *music theory is post-Riemannian* reflects a process of recontextualisation from a typically 'German' theory discourse.

#### *Music theory is analysis*

This statement is again closely related to the two preceding ones. To understand music, analysis is now considered necessary, and the post-Riemannian framework provides the analytical tools. Although they vary, comparing the many curriculum revisions shows that there is now a stronger focus on analysis than before. Theory teachers also refer to the value of learning analysis for becoming a better interpreter – another way of justifying music theory's role in education (e.g. Bjerkestrand, 1999). There is a stronger focus on analysis in several textbooks: Albertsen's (1990) counterpoint book is a prime example, instructing students to analytically deduce stylistic principles from Bach's inventions to use when writing their own counterpoint exercises. This example also underlines how the statements *music theory is craft* and *music theory is analysis* may reinforce rather than exclude each other. Despite the stronger position of the latter statement, however, textbooks dedicated to analysis in Norway did not appear until 2011 (i.e. P. Dahl, 2011; Stigar, 2011) and the interest in analytic theory remained limited.

#### *Music theory is creativity*

Compared to the earlier discursive formation, substantial change has taken place in the context of Norwegian music education. A separate composition education is now offered at the Norwegian Academy of Music in Oslo, which distances itself quite strongly from the traditional theory training. Repeating the statement *music theory is composition training* is therefore not as straightforward as before. Nonetheless, the theory discourse (through its strong focus on craft, as outlined above) remains highly composition-oriented. One finds an increasing emphasis on the role of *creativity* within theory training, in addition to the orientation towards composition. The statement *music theory is creativity* may thus be read as a transformation of the earlier construction of music theory as composition training. An example of an enunciation of this statement is Nils E. Bjerkestrand's (1986, p. 40) motto that theory education is about studying what has been created in order to be able to create oneself. This specific enunciation also links this statement to the preceding one about analysis. In the curricula of the 1990s, developing students' creative skills was a primary aim and writing original compositions was the final part of the mandatory theory training (cf. Norges musikkhøgskole, 1993, 1995a, 1998). This underlines how the music theory discourse has remained very composition-oriented, though focusing specifically on creative aspects and no longer functioning as the primary (or only) way of acquiring professional training in composition.

Together with the construction around *understanding music*, recontextualisation is now taking place from the more general practice of the versatile musical performer – rather than primarily from organist practice (though this has not been abandoned either). Through emphasising the need to understand musical structures and exploit them creatively, either as interpreters or as arrangers/composers, music theory is constructed as an aid to developing versatile and creative musicians.

### 7.3.2 Old and new discursive procedures

In the same way that some statements have retained a central position in the music theory discourse while others have been replaced, some procedures have continued to function more or less as ever while others have changed.

#### *Procedures of exclusion*

The above-mentioned *aversion to complexity* remains strong in the music theory discourse, excluding as it does ideas and concepts that are too speculative or technical. This is noticeable in how the heightened focus on *understanding music* is accompanied neither by more speculative theory being drawn upon nor by new theories being developed. Rather, the framework adapted to support this new idea of music theory as a way of understanding how music works, the post-Riemannian, is adapted in a way that strips it of as much of its speculative foundation as possible (see Sections 4.2.1 and 6.2.1).

The aversion to music-theoretical complexity may be the best explanation for the complicated rupture I have above called ‘from one framework to another’. As mentioned, the Richterian framework held a hegemonic position in Norway’s music-theoretical discourse even after WWII. Only when the speculative aspects of the post-Riemannian framework had been removed did it manage to gain a central position in the discourse and, by the 1970s, replace the Richterian framework. The aversion to complexity thus explains why it was the pragmatically simplified Hamburger-inspired adaptation of the post-Riemannian framework that became the standard way of understanding, analysing and teaching harmony in Norway. This simplification in the name of pragmatism, first seen in the work of Anfinn Øien and later intensified in the work of Sigvald Tveit, made the post-Riemannian framework almost as descriptive as the Richterian. I argued that the transition from one framework to another was multifaceted – both a rupture and a continuation of former practices.

#### *Internal procedures*

As the procedure of commentary had positioned the Richterian framework as the dominant way of approaching and understanding harmony, and Lange’s work as the main reference

text on harmony in Norway, the same procedure would in this later period position the post-Riemannian framework and Øien's textbook centre-stage.

We can also here see the contours of the internal procedure called the discipline. In the discipline of music theory, there is at this point room for a certain amount of diversity when it comes to musical styles, compositional techniques and analytical tools. Although the post-Riemannian framework clearly replaced the Richterian as the most common way of teaching and understanding tonal harmony, it did not entirely eradicate the use of its hallmark, Roman numerals. As demonstrated by various textbooks (e.g. Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1995; Jeffs, 1995; S. Tveit, 1984), it has not been uncommon to teach both systems. Indeed, they have much in common. All the alternatives being reduced to these two systems, both with a vertically oriented chord-to-chord focus, tells us something about what it takes to be 'in the true' when talking about tonal music in Norway. Many other approaches, like Schenkerian theory, are too far removed from the discipline thus construed. Indeed, the ideas of what analysis is – and the tools available to perform it – remained very narrow in Norwegian conservatoire music theory training up until the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### *Rarefaction of speaking subjects*

The procedure regulating the entrance to the theory discourse (revolving around Western musical notation) remained largely intact throughout the long 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite processes of academisation, the subject position of the music theorist does not seem to have been altered much either. The position is still that of a craftsman and a pedagogue, not an academic. This is, for example, reflected in publications penned by theory teachers, the great majority of which are textbooks (cf. Appendix A). A large amount of their published theory-related articles also focus more on pedagogical aspects than on presenting original music-theoretical or music-analytical research (cf. Alterhaug, 1987; Bjerkestrand, 1986, 1999; S. Tveit, 1993, 1996).<sup>229</sup> Furthermore, in the 1970s, the social appropriation necessary for taking on the very teacher-oriented subject position of music theorist in the music theory discourse was represented by specialist education in theory (cf. Musikkhøgskolen, 1975; Musikkonservatoriet i Oslo, 1970). As argued in Chapter 4, the formal curriculum of this specialist education constructed the subject position as, again, that of a teacher and a craftsman, and not of an academic researcher. The construction of the music theory discourse around the statement *music theory is craft* supported this construction of the subject position of music theorist within this discourse (and vice versa). Moreover, prominent theory teachers such as Sigvald

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229 That said, there are also examples of more research-oriented articles written by theory teachers (e.g. Bjerkestrand, 1998a; S. Tveit, 1987, 1994, 2000; Øien, 1984). Regardless, several of these stress that they have some form of practical and/or pedagogical aim. In recent years, it has become increasingly common in Norway for music theory teachers to hold PhDs.

Tveit have, in published interviews, made sure to underline that their professional identity is primarily that of a craftsperson (cf. Engebråten, 1983; Hammersmark, 1998; Igland, 1984).

### 7.3.3 Regularities and discontinuities

The music theory discourse in this period appears particularly discontinuous. This is probably because it is now easy to point to new currents gaining ground in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – and much harder to point to statements disappearing completely. As argued, the statement *music theory is craft* has remained very influential, and recontextualisations from the discourses of the organist and the composer continue to play an important role (albeit a somewhat different one than earlier on).

An especially interesting discursive tension, perhaps even contradiction, is that while the discursive ruptures and transformations at mid-century were connected to processes of academisation, including the change of dominating theoretical framework and the strong emphasis on ‘understanding music,’ conservatoire music theory did not truly become a field of academic research. The texts produced in the discourse in this period are still predominantly textbooks in the *modus operandi* of simplifying and adapting theory for the classroom. The subject position of the music theorist, it seems, is still that of a teacher and the discourse remains pedagogical. A possible explanation for this complexity – of concurrent processes of academisation and of processes contradicting it – is that it is a result of the continued *aversion to complexity* in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This may again be connected to the institutional context of the modern conservatoire, where the only main subject studied is one’s main instrument and all other subjects are supporting subjects. In this context, theory cannot take up too much time and needs to be relevant and useful for the performing musician (or at least, it needs to claim to be so).

In addition to this mid-century academisation, a new ‘wave’ of academisation came at the turn of the millennium. The Bologna declaration having been signed in 1999, the Bologna Process streamlined higher education throughout Europe (cf. Gies, 2019). Meanwhile, the Norwegian Academy of Music established its PhD programme in 1998 and reintroduced its master’s programme in music theory in 2005. It is, however, worth noting that music theory did not become (and still is not) its own option for PhD studies at the Academy, where academic PhD students must position themselves within one of three fields: music education, music therapy or performance practice (historical or contemporary). The relationship between notions of academisation in higher education and the inner workings of the music theory discourse remains complex and multi-faceted. When or if the music theory discourse in Norway will be academised to a greater extent remains an open question.

The role of analysis in the theory discourse is also ambiguous. I would argue that the turn towards function symbols signals a strengthened focus on analysis and understanding – they do, after all, claim to be more interpretative than the descriptive Roman numerals. But then again, there is the paradox that the function symbols used in Norway are as descriptive as they get. The symbols give an appearance of a more analytical focus, of theory training focusing more on understanding how music works, but this is not backed up by any production of analytical literature or speculative theory investigating the ontology of the tone system. Although the statements *music theory is understanding music* and *music theory is analysis* are afforded prominent positions in the discursive construction of conservatoire music theory, this appears to be mostly on a surface level. This paradox demonstrates the very intricate and discontinuous structure of the discourse. It does not entail that the turns were not real, only that they were discontinuous.

It may seem as if the strong focus on craft and avoiding complexity for a long time restricted the possibility of going far into the realm of analysis and more advanced – or speculative – theory. The first Norwegian textbooks dedicated to musical analysis, both published in 2011 (i.e. P. Dahl, 2011; Stigar, 2011), indicate that interest in broader explorations of music analysis has been growing in more recent years. The Aural Sonology Project – the culmination of which was published in 2015 (i.e. Thoresen, 2015) – is another example of this (see Sections 5.2.2 and 6.2.2). It presents a clear attempt to heighten the focus on analysis and – through framing itself as research – more strongly academise music theory in Norway.<sup>230</sup> Moreover, the new master's programme in music theory at the Norwegian Academy of Music – now called just 'music theory', rather than 'applied music theory' as before (cf. Norges musikkhøgskole, 2005b) – strongly emphasises training in different methods of musical analysis (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020c). Only time will tell if this apparently increasing interest in music analysis marks the beginning of a stronger academisation which will transform the construction of the theory discourse in Norway.

Lastly, the relationship between music theory and composition training became rather complex after the establishing of a separate educational strand for professional composers. Although composition students in some periods have followed the same theory training as music performance students, this has not been the norm most of the time. Composition education at the Norwegian Academy of Music has since its inception primarily included theory training clearly separated from the mandatory training for performance students. A possible explanation for this separation is that the composition training has focused on developing original and personal creative identities, thematising more recent and contemporaneous music, while

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230 As discussed, it met resistance when introduced in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century in Norway. This might be due to the workings of the described discursive procedures.



the theory training for performers has been constructed as a study of historical styles – much more so than was the case in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the styles of music taught in the theory classroom were closer to the styles practised by many contemporaneous composers. Using Bernstein's (2000) terminology, one can argue that the theory training for performers of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century mainly had a retrospective pedagogic identity, in contrast to the composition education, which was prospective. Nonetheless, the theory training was also constructed as composition-oriented through a clear focus on mastering compositional craft and developing creativity. But while this training has not been entirely stuck in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in terms of style, post-WWII styles seldom (if ever) take part in the mandatory theory training for performance students. Thus, although the inclusion of some newer styles can be read as a move towards a more prospective theory training during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it has nevertheless remained markedly less prospective than the training given to those studying to be professional composers (see Section 5.2.2).<sup>231</sup>

## 7.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has addressed the main research question of the study: *In what ways has music theory in the context of conservatoire education (i.e. pedagogical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint) been discursively constructed in Norway in general, and Oslo in particular, during the long 20<sup>th</sup> century?* Following Foucault (1971/1981, 1969/2002), I conceptualise a discourse as the formation of statements constructing a specific field which is itself structurally regulated by a set of discursive procedures. What I call 'the music theory discourse' is the formation of statements constructing music theory, including conservatoire subjects such as harmony and counterpoint. I have identified a range of statements that circulate in the material of this study (textbooks, formal curricula and periodicals), and, in this chapter, I have analysed several regularities and discontinuities in the construction of music theory in the context of conservatoire education, focusing on the education of performing musicians within Western classical music in Norway.

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231 Note that the construction of the relationship between theory and composition training has changed over time not only as a whole but also differently in different types of institutions – complicating matters further. As far as I can see, the theory training in higher music education has been practical and composition-oriented – including statements underlining craft and creativity – in most institutional contexts in Norway, while it has not claimed to fulfil the same purpose as composition education. There are some cases, however, where music theory (*satslære*) has continued to be constructed as being about the same as composition training. I am thinking, for instance, of the musicology departments at the universities. This is therefore not a clear rupture but rather a very complex and discontinuous transformation.

Based on the findings in Part II, I have defined a range of central statements in this discourse. The statement *music theory is craft* (entailing that the type of theory is regulative) is particularly prominent, and it was central in the construction of music theory throughout the long 20<sup>th</sup> century. Other statements were more important earlier on in the history, for example *music theory is Richterian*, *music theory is organist practice*, *music theory is composition training* and *music theory is necessary*. Although some of these statements continued to circulate later too, they were clearly challenged by new statements that would gain stronger positions within the discourse in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as *music theory is post-Riemannian*, *music theory is understanding music* and *music theory is analysis*. Two statements that continued to circulate in a somewhat transformed figuration are *music theory is four-part chorales* (a transformation of the broader *music theory is organist practice* that had been key earlier on) and *music theory is creativity* (a transformation of the more specific *music theory is composition training*). These changes reflect new recontextualisations: What had been a discourse dominated by recontextualisation from organist practice combined with recontextualisation from compositional practice is challenged by, and supplemented with, recontextualisation from the discourse of the versatile musical performer more generally.

I have argued that several of the largest ruptures in the discourse, which led from the structural stability of the early years to more recent developments, took place in the three decades following WWII. These ruptures include the emergence of the term *satslære*, the transition from one primary theoretical framework to another (Richterian to post-Riemannian) and a growing loss of self-evidence as regards the usefulness and value of conservatoire music theory training. In the same period, large structural changes took place in Norwegian institutions of higher music education, including the establishment of university departments of musicology (in 1958 and 1962) and the Norwegian Academy of Music (in 1973), and accompanying notions of academisation arose. It is highly likely that these currents of academisation are interconnected with the ruptures and transformations in the music theory discourse.

Among my most intriguing finds, however, is that some statements and procedures in the music theory discourse seem not to have been affected by these ruptures. This demonstrates the discontinuous nature of discursive structures, which allows for somewhat paradoxical and contradictory developments. Although I have indicated that general notions of academisation in higher music education affected the music theory discourse at the middle of the century, the discourse itself was not strongly academised at that time. The best example of such paradoxical and contradictory developments is probably the emergence of the post-Riemannian framework. Its motivation and justification lay in the (re)construction of music theory as a way of understanding music; a more comprehensive framework for analysing tonal music was needed. At the same time, the statement *music theory is craft*, supported by

the exclusionary procedure I have dubbed an *aversion to complexity*, 'tamed' this development somewhat. The adaptation of the post-Riemannian framework was thus effected in a manner that stripped away its speculative foundation, rendering it as similar to the formerly hegemonic Richterian framework as possible. Rupture/discontinuity and regularity/continuity were happening simultaneously.

## 8 Learning from history

A notion that is deeply ingrained in music theory education is the value of learning from practices of the past. As such, learning from history is a fundamental premise for music theory education as it has been practised in modern conservatoires. It figures, for instance, in the idea that music theory is about acquiring the craft of past masters and understanding how music works through studying their masterworks. Thus, looking to history for answers has for a long time been an essential part of what music theory is. Studying history in order to understand the present – in other words, writing a ‘history of the present’ – is a key aspect of the work of Foucault that has inspired the present dissertation. With this in mind, I will in this chapter discuss how the historical study presented in this dissertation may be of help in addressing current challenges in music theory education.

In my introduction, I signposted that the aim of this study was *to develop a broad historical understanding of how music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint have been constructed and justified as part of higher music education – an understanding to challenge and inform current practices, as well as future developments, in conservatoire music theory*. Through the foregone discussions and analyses, I have attempted to determine the discursive constructions within the history of music theory education in Norway. While critical, the research project presented in this dissertation is primarily of a descriptive rather than prescriptive nature; I will not attempt to define a set of specific guidelines for future developments here. What I will try to do, in line with the above-mentioned aim, is to discuss how the findings from my study may inform our understanding of current practices and discussions on future developments in conservatoire music theory – in other words, I will discuss some possible implications of the study’s findings. In the following, I will therefore sketch some lines of thought that indicate (1) how the study may also be of relevance for similar areas of research elsewhere and (2) how it, in extension, may help us understand current challenges in the field of music theory education in the Western world.

### 8.1 Beyond the case of Norway

Although it is evident that the specific discourse analysis presented above is situated in a Norwegian context, I believe there are some tendencies that are relevant elsewhere too. As such, the discussions regarding Norway need not only be fruitful for understanding the Norwegian context; they may also be relevant for discussions beyond this case. I will therefore point to some similarities between the study presented here and the situation elsewhere (as

portrayed in the research literature). This does not entail that there is one uniform solution to the challenges faced in various places, however. As Harald Jørgensen (2014) warns us, ‘we must be careful when we generalise research results and discuss results’ (p. 4) when addressing Western classical music studies in universities and conservatoires. Although there are many similarities between such institutions internationally, there are also many differences that require discussions specific to the institutional context. Nonetheless, I hope that this study of the Norwegian context will be of value beyond Norway. Apart from the findings themselves, I believe that the analytical perspective used – and the specific categories developed in the preceding chapters – may be useful for conducting similar studies elsewhere.

It seems likely that one would find the most similar music theory discourses to that studied here in European – and particularly Scandinavian – contexts. Music theory education across the Scandinavian countries has much in common, both because of the closeness of their languages and the regular exchange of ideas across the Scandinavian area. Of course, this is not to say that findings from the study in Norway are directly transferrable to cases in Sweden and Denmark. Although the position of the post-Riemannian framework is similar in all three countries, they differ in what type of post-Riemannian theory is the dominant one (see Section 4.2.1). Moreover, the framework was introduced much earlier in the two other Scandinavian countries than in Norway. Nonetheless, the dominance of the post-Riemannian framework (in one adaptation or another) is a fundamental similarity uniting the various Scandinavian music theory discourses. The sources studied above have shown how the theory discourse in Norway has to a great extent built on connections with the broader Scandinavian context (which again has close ties to German music theory). The links between the Scandinavian countries suggest that some of the findings and discussions from this study may also be relevant in the (albeit not identical) Swedish and Danish contexts.

The German-language sphere presents another context with rather clear similarities to the Norwegian one. As has repeatedly been stressed in this study, music theorists in Norway have often looked to Germany. Thus, recontextualisations from German music theory have been central to the construction of the music theory discourse in Norway.

‘Music theory is the name of our subject, but nothing is practiced so little in it as theoretical reflection’ (Holtmeier, 1999, p. 226). This quotation is taken from a 1999 article in which Ludwig Holtmeier paints a discomfiting image of the state of contemporaneous music theory in Germany – which shares several similarities with the Norwegian case presented in this dissertation. Holtmeier discusses the divide between musicological training at the universities and conservatoire training at the *Musikhochschulen*, where music theory primarily belongs to the latter domain. Holtmeier (1999) claims that, on the one hand, ‘music theory was robbed

of a university environment that it needs if it is to consider itself a science' (p. 223). On the other hand, it was closer to musical practice and mainly taught by composers. Although this closeness to musical practice has clear advantages, Holtmeier sees a danger in theory being reduced to practical training in *Tonsatz*. He claims polemically that theory has fallen between two stools: 'here [at *Musikhochschulen*] is music theory without theory, and there [at the universities] is musicology without music' (p. 223). Surveying music theory teachers, Holtmeier experienced numerous times that they refused to identify as theorists, instead calling themselves composers, conductors, organists and so on. He concludes by arguing that the key to 'a new, professional self-awareness' (p. 226) in music theory is an oscillation between practice, art and science which would break down the mentioned institutional borders. There are clear parallels to the situation Norway here – music theory at the conservatoires is regarded purely as a pedagogical field, not a field of academic research.

The situation in North America is, in some respects, drastically different from the situation in Europe in general and particularly from that in Norway. The position of the post-Riemannian framework is one such difference. Although it is deeply ingrained in the music theory discourse in Norway, it is rather foreign in the Anglo-American context. Conversely, the position of Schenkerian theory (along with Fortean set theory) has historically been very strong in North America. As indicated by the analysis above, Schenkerian theory was for a long time (and, to a certain extent, it still is) completely foreign in Scandinavia in general, and Norway in particular. Indeed, Schenker 'takes no central role in Scandinavian music theory or music theory historiography' (Kirkegaard, 2022, p. 24). In the Scandinavian context, the lack of interest in Schenker seems to have been particularly strong in Norway.<sup>232</sup> As Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen (2017, p. 85) notes, this difference between the Anglo-American and Scandinavian contexts is clearly discernible in the standard English-language reference work on the history of Western music theory (i.e. T. Christensen, 2002b), in which a whole chapter is dedicated to discussing Schenker's theories. Schenker is the only theorist to have a chapter dedicated to him; not even Rameau receives a similar treatment. Meanwhile, Riemann's harmonic theory is presented in just a few pages in the chapters on 19<sup>th</sup>-century harmonic theories.

Additionally, music theory has for over a half century been a separate academic field at North American universities.<sup>233</sup> In Norway, on the other hand – as in most other places in Europe – it

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232 Kirkegaard (2022) notes that his study of Schenker-reception in Scandinavia has 'an overweight of Danish and Swedish sources' (p. 19), claiming that the lack of focus on Norwegian sources is simply a result of the relevant material he was able to find; the only Norwegian sources mentioned are Stigar (2004) and Geuens (2007).

233 In North America, music theory parted ways with musicology in the 1960s and 70s and has since been considered its own academic field. The sometimes complicated relationship between music theory and musicology in Anglo-American musical academia following this disciplinary division is a much-discussed topic in the literature (cf. e.g. Agawu, 1993, 1996, 2004; Korsyn, 2003, pp. 79–90; McCreless, 1996).

has primarily been a pedagogical field with limited interest in conducting original research.<sup>234</sup> Again, this is connected to who is regarded as a professional music theorist in a given context (and how this subject position is constructed). In Norway, the music theory discourse clearly provides a ‘teacher’ position, which has been occupied by musicians and artists (primarily organists and composers). The written output of these teachers has largely been made up of textbooks aimed at their students (another position in the discourse). This is clearly different from the idea of a professional music theorist (with a ‘researcher’ position) in a more academically oriented discourse, as generally encountered in the North American context.

Although these marked differences certainly complicate matters, theorists in North America and in Europe do face some of the same challenges. Surveys of music theory teachers in higher education in North America (Marvin, 2012) and Germany (Kühn, 2010) reveal that several central topics are common to both these contexts, including experimentation with different kinds of integration in the curriculum and discussion of the function of mandatory theory training in the context of modern institutions of higher music education. The pressing question of the role of music theory in this education serves as the point of departure for the North-American survey, and its German counterpart ends by underlining that ‘the compulsory subject of music theory, despite all the modernisations of the last decades, is still a largely unloved child’ (Kühn, 2010, p. 58).<sup>235</sup>

In short, some of the biggest challenges in music theory education today – some of which I will address below – are shared across international borders. Although the different contexts, with their different histories and traditions, will probably require somewhat different ways forward, I hope that the following can inform these discussions beyond Norway in some way.

## 8.2 Current challenges in music theory education

When I was a master’s student in theory, I published a think piece in the Norwegian online music magazine *Ballade*, asking if music theory had outplayed its role in higher classical music education (Utne-Reitan, 2017). I argued for the strengthening of the focus on analysis as a possible solution to what I perceived to be the challenge of justifying music theory’s

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234 For a discussion of the challenges faced by academic music theory research in Germany, see Holtmeier (1997, 1999) and Sprick (2013). As discussed above, there have been clear parallels between music theory in the German and Norwegian contexts. Music theory has, however, grown as an academic field in Germany in the last twenty years or so. See, for instance, the journal *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie*.

235 ‘Das Pflichtfach Musiktheorie ist, ungeachtet aller Modernisierungen der letzten Jahrzehnte, immer noch ein weitgehend ungeliebtes Kind.’

continued role in conservatoire education. Thus, I was addressing what I now have termed music theory's grand 'why'. Now, writing this dissertation has given me a broader perspective on the challenges faced by current and future conservatoire music theory in the Western world in general, and in Norway in particular. The situation is, not surprisingly, complicated, and one may argue that it has become even more complicated since 2017. I will in the following discuss a few of the current challenges, and I will draw on the historical study presented above to inform how we may understand and face them. The last challenge I will turn to is the one that started it all – namely, the grand 'why'.

### 8.2.1 Challenge hegemonies?

A central topic in today's discussions of higher music education more generally is that of hegemony, understood as a 'social consensus, which masks people's real interests' (M. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 32). Most recently, there have been calls to 'decolonise' music education: Decolonising here denotes challenging the hegemony of Western classical music and its canon of masterworks almost exclusively produced by white European men.

In Norway, debates over hegemony in music education have recently taken place in the columns of the online culture magazine *Subjekt* (cf. Furedi, 2021; Krogh, 2021; A. O. N. Kruse, 2021a, 2021b; Pedersen, 2021; Røttingen, 2021; Sells, 2021; Vanebo, 2021a, 2021b; E. Aasen, 2021) as well as in formally arranged debates at the Norwegian Academy of Music<sup>236</sup> – among other arenas. These discussions are related to similar recent debates regarding decolonisation in other parts of the world. Although these Norwegian debates are of a more general musical kind, they clearly have implications for music theory education. Music theory – which provides tools for understanding, analysing and, by extension, imposing value judgements on music (cf. Dahlhaus, 1970/1983) – plays a key part in maintaining the hegemonies criticised. As these debates are broad and warrant further research, I will limit my scope to that of the hegemony as maintained by the music theory discourse.

A heated discussion was initiated in the international music theory community by Phillip Ewell's (2020) critique of Schenker's strong position in Anglo-American music theory. In short, Ewell argued that the whole field of music theory was situated within a 'white racial frame'. Then, a controversial 2020 issue of the *Journal of Schenkerian Studies*, in which several scholars responded to Ewell in defence of Schenker, sparked wider international discussions both in and outside the field of academic music theory. As Schenker plays no significant role in the music theory discourse in Norway (or most other European countries) – and because

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236 For example, the public panel discussions 'CEMPE Talks #4: "Casual" Racism and White, Western Music?' (April 21, 2021) and 'CEMPE Talks #6: Genre, Diversity and Musical Hierarchies' (November 16, 2021).



the context of the Black Lives Matter movement refers to a national history and has a different impact in Europe compared to USA – a direct translation of Ewell's attack to the Norwegian context is arguably not particularly fruitful.<sup>237</sup> That does not mean, however, that questions of hegemony (including those of racism and sexism) are in any way irrelevant in the Norwegian discourse. The forms that these structures take simply vary across different countries.

There is no question of whether there have been, or still are, hegemonic structures at play in Norwegian music education. However, these structures have changed over time – for instance, through the gradual inclusion of popular music genres in Norwegian music academia (Dyndahl et al., 2017); as pointed out above, a broadening of stylistic scope has also taken place in the theory discourse.<sup>238</sup> Nevertheless, this discourse's history is permeated by what today are considered deeply problematic value judgements. Jon Medbøe's integrative textbook in music history and music theory – used as a music history textbook at the Oslo Conservatoire in the 1950s and early 1960s – is the most extreme example of this legacy. Medbøe (1950) considers 'primitive music' (*primitiv musikk*) to be the music of lower and less developed cultures – especially those of indigenous peoples like the Sámi (p. 317). He asserts that such people 'howl and scream' (*hyler og skriker*) for their own pleasure rather than organising concerts in which an audience critically listens to others performing (p. 15). Jazz is further presented as a case of 'pseudo-primitivity' (*pseudoprimitivitet*) in light of this (p. 51). The following paragraph is put forward by Medbøe as a value judgement underlining the superiority of organic and coherent – i.e. Western classical – form over the more popular 'potpourri':

What exactly is a potpourri? – a relentless and organised form of musical child murder. If something could be set as a criterion for unmusicality, it is hardly not being able to sing in tune, but the revealing characteristic of being able to listen to a potpourri without really suffering. (p. 280)<sup>239</sup>

Although they have not always been as explicitly stated as here, the hegemonic ideas of Western classical music's superiority have surely had a strong hold on Norwegian music-theoretical discourse throughout its history. The examples I have provided give a strong impression of it having been part of the operationalised curriculum (cf. Goodlad et al., 1979), but it was (and

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237 For a discussion of this in the Scandinavian context, see the reception of Ewell's text in the Danish online music magazine *Seismograf* (Kirkegaard-Larsen, 2020b; Liljedahl, 2020; Liljedahl & Vad, 2020; Norstrøm, 2020; Vad, 2020). See further the introduction to the recent special issue of *Danish Musicology Online* titled 'European Music Analysis and the Politics of Identity' (Kirkegaard & Vad, 2022).

238 My focus throughout this dissertation has been on the education of musicians in the Western classical tradition, so a concentration on the styles and genres of this tradition in my case is not surprising.

239 'Hva er egentlig et potpourri? – en ubarmhertig og organisert form for musikalsk barnedrap. Hvis noe skulle kunne stilles opp som kriterium på umusikalitet så er det neppe det ikke å kunne synge rent, men det avslørende kjennetegn å kunne høre på et potpourri uten virkelig å lide.'

is) probably an even bigger part of the so-called hidden curriculum.<sup>240</sup> Cases as extreme as that of Medbøe are, fortunately, seldom found in newer literature, but ideas of hegemony are still alive and kicking. The idea of a canon of masterworks is, for example, heavily ingrained in the discourse. This point is made explicit in Petter Stigar' (2011) analysis textbook, where he claims that the status of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps* has been affirmed so many times by so many different people that one were to argue as an analyst that it was bad music, one would 'risk being considered retarded' (p. 17).<sup>241</sup> Put in less problematic terms, challenging the status of masterpieces would lead to you not being taken seriously. This could be considered a result of Foucauldian discursive procedures (cf. Foucault, 1971/1981). All these procedures exclude statements or speaking subjects that are unwanted, either by exclusion or internal control (or a combination thereof). Thus, the statement *Le Sacre du printemps* is a bad piece of music is simply unthinkable.

Hierarchies and hegemonies also exist within Western classical music and its theory discourse. This study has indicated that ties to church music have been, and still are, particularly strong in the music theory discourse in Norway. The chorale is at the heart of teaching how tonality 'works'. Early on, writing chorales was seen an end in itself – as it still is for organists. Later, it was defended as a means to other ends. In counterpoint teaching, the ties to church music – modelled on the styles of Palestrina and/or Bach – are similarly strong. When learning both how to 'understand' music and how to assess what is 'good' and 'correct', specific church-musical genres are taken as premises. In North America as in Norway, the writing of four-part chorale settings is emphasised. However, it has in recent years become increasingly common in North America to question if this indeed is the most effective way of teaching tonal harmony in higher education (cf. e.g. Campbell, Myers, & Sarath, 2016, p. 12; Harrison, 2020, p. 303). Meanwhile, some have defended the practice by arguing that exercises in chorale-style part-writing are well-suited to teaching the fundamental principles of voice leading (e.g. Burstein, 2020; Huron, 2016, pp. 179–182).<sup>242</sup>

More generally, such ties to organist practice have been part of linking music-theoretical knowledge to the keyboard. Naturally, knowing how to play a keyboard instrument is an advantage when learning the kind of music theory conceptualised from the perspective of keyboardists. This adds another layer to the hegemonic structures we have been discussing – namely, that of class. Who is encouraged to learn to play the piano as a child? Who

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240 Assessing to what extent such notions remain part of the hidden curriculum of today's conservatoire education is beyond the scope of this study and would require more in-depth qualitative interview and/or observation studies. For a recent study of Western classical music and the hidden curriculum in undergraduate music theory education in North America, see Palfy & Gilson (2018).

241 'risikerer å bli stemplet som tilbakestående'.

242 For a recent and extensive discussion of the chorale issue, see Burns et al. (2021).

has a piano at home for practice? I will not delve into these questions here, but I stress that intricate power mechanisms connected to societal structures are part of constructing music-theoretical knowledge.

Foucault believes there is no escape from power. Accordingly, challenging a hegemonic structure in the discourse cannot remove it, but it may reconfigure it. The question is which power structures – and which types of knowledge – are preferable. This question can only be asked when taken-for-granted notions, cemented historically (or sometimes much more recently than one would think), are scrutinised and challenged. In the case of music theory, I believe the most important step forward is to acknowledge the fragility of theories of music. Sweeping claims of music-theoretical universality have too often led to hegemonic ideas of the superiority of Western music and a bias towards the ‘common practice’ music of (primarily) white European men. A relativist and pluralist stance, which continually stresses the limits of the validity and applicability of the theories being taught, reconfigures these power structures in a way that opens them up to several understandings of, for example, what tonality is and how it works. If the learning outcomes of music-theoretical training are more often than not stylistically restricted, should one not include perspectives from a range of different styles in the curriculum in order to enable a more diverse and inclusive theory education?

### 8.2.2 Depth or breadth?

Broadening the scope of the theory curriculum by including a wider range of styles and techniques is admittedly a complicated task. It is not a new ambition, but due to the current focus on the above-discussed hegemonies, it is highly relevant in today’s music theory discourse internationally. Recent debates in North American higher music education, for example, reflect a wish to fundamentally alter the so-called ‘core’ of music theory training and diversify the contents of curricula (e.g. Campbell et al., 2016; Harrison, 2020).<sup>243</sup> In the case of Norway, the wish for broader stylistic diversity emerged gradually from the 1970s onwards. This led, at first, to theory curricula welcoming in a broader range of styles from the Western classical tradition (e.g. twelve-tone technique); later, it became common for theory books to include popular music and jazz – while still focusing primarily on Western tonal harmony (e.g. Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1995; S. Tveit, 1984).

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<sup>243</sup> The so-called *Manifesto* (Campbell et al., 2016), with its plea for more integration, diversity and creativity in higher music education, is much discussed in the Anglo-American context. Several theorists have asserted that it presents a straw man argument by claiming that statements made about current theory pedagogy do not match the actual situation in the majority of theory classrooms (cf. e.g. Hoag, 2016; Sayrs, 2016).

Teaching a broader stylistic scope should not be problematic. Rather, it should make theory education richer. However, as the amount of lessons dedicated to mandatory music theory at conservatoires must be restricted somehow, for practical reasons, the result is often that depth is sacrificed in favour of a breadth. Broadening the stylistic scope of music theory lessons without increasing the time taken to teach them necessarily leads to a transformation from students thoroughly learning one style (or a few styles) to being superficially introduced to several different styles. Solving this conundrum is a challenge to conservatoire music theory education, especially if these institutions claim to teach musical craft. To master a craft – to become a craftsman – one needs practical training; one must practice ritual-like repetition over extended time periods (Sennett, 2008, pp. 177–178). As demonstrated above, the notion of music theory as training in a craft has a long history as a key justification for conservatoire music theory. Thus, an increase in stylistic diversity – leading to curricular compression – necessarily challenges the legitimacy of the discursive construction of music theory in conservatoires.

As an aside, it should be noted that processes of curricular compression are not unique to music theory education. Jon Helge Sætre (2014) noticed a similar trend through his study of music teacher education, arguing that ‘an accumulative logic of recontextualizing rather than one of transformation’ was dominant and that one thus risked ‘transmitting “surface knowledge” at the expense of the opportunity to delve deeply into curricular content’ (p. 214). My study of the music theory discourse in Norway could make a similar argument, as it shows how new statements – and new processes of recontextualisation – tend to complement rather than replace old ones. There is an accumulation taking place not just in the contents of the curriculum (with newer styles being included) but also in the fundamental structure of the discourse as such: The idea of what music theory is, and what role it plays in conservatoire education, has expanded (and is still expanding). As I have argued, the most significant changes in this regard, those which fundamentally altered the construction of music theory, occurred in the decades following WWII. In a similar and undoubtedly related way, we now face the challenge of deciding how broad or narrow theory education should stylistically be.

The fundamental problem, as Felix Diergarten (2016) notes in a keynote address on music theory in higher education and as I have already alluded to, is that of breadth versus depth. Even as a strong push for stylistic diversity is taking place, there are other currents – the *partimento* community being a prime example (cf. e.g. Byros, 2015; Gjerdingen, 2019, 2020; Ijzerman, 2018) – pushing for a (re)turn to historically informed in-depth practical teaching (at the keyboard), the kind which demands a large portion of time being devoted to a specific

stylistic idiom, most often (but not always) that of late 18<sup>th</sup>-century European art music.<sup>244</sup> Depth is here equated with craft and tacit knowledge: It is about teaching 'know-how' instead of 'know-what'. To paraphrase Robert Gjerdingen (2019, p. 246), we should revert to learning how to 'do' or 'make' harmony (as in the old conservatoires) rather than 'about' harmony (as in today's higher music education). To invoke a theoretical distinction which I introduced in the start of this dissertation, he wants us to move away from written regulative theory and instead favour non-written regulative theory and to rely on tacit knowledge learned through practice (mainly keyboard improvisation) rather than writing exercises following rules codified in textbooks. While it would certainly be possible to adapt *partimento* pedagogy to make it less style-specific and time-consuming than it was in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is undeniable that a turn towards *partimento* pedagogy emphasises depth over breadth.

The *partimento* community has grown explosively around the world over the last 15 years, and Norway is no exception. In the last five years or so, there has been a marked and increasing interest in *partimento* in Norway. Experiments of taking *partimento* pedagogy as a point of departure for integrating aural training, harmony, counterpoint and keyboard improvisation have even been carried out at the Norwegian Academy of Music (van Tour, 2020). A course in *partimento* is also mandatory for the Academy's master's students in music theory (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2020c). Given my foregone analysis of the Norwegian music theory discourse, which revealed how strongly it has emphasised the construction of music theory as craft, favouring regulative (and definitely not speculative) theory, it should come as no surprise that the mindset of *partimento* pedagogy could garner interest in the Norwegian conservatoire context. While *partimento* marks a turn away from written exercises and towards non-written regulative theory, and thus represent a rupture, the central statements of the discursive construction of music theory in Norway have in many ways invited this kind of approach. There are certainly many advantages to moving towards a *partimento*-esque pedagogy, but in light of the topics of this and the preceding sections – stylistic hegemony and the problem of depth versus breadth – there are also challenges.

In addition to the pressing question of how much time would be needed for a full-blown *partimento* renaissance, it is worth asking to what extent the aim of theory education today overlaps with its aim 250 years ago. And if one is to revert to dedicatedly studying one specific stylistic idiom for a long time in order to master it fully – as encouraged by the conservatoires

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244 The pedagogy of the Italian conservatoires of the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been proven to have been largely orally transmitted and practical in its nature, revolving around so-called *partimenti*. A *partimento* is 'a sketch, written on a single staff, whose main purpose is to be a guide for improvisation of a composition at the keyboard' (Sanguinetti, 2012, p. 14). The term has several definitions, but it is primarily associated with the theory training of the early Italian conservatoires (cf. Diergarten & Holtmeier, 2016). *Partimenti* (as well as the singing exercises called *solfeggi*) are directly connected to 18<sup>th</sup>-century compositional practice through a shared reliance on a limited number of voice-leading schemata (cf. Gjerdingen, 2007a, 2007b).

of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century – why this particular style and not another one? The students at the old conservatoires did, after all, tacitly acquire the rules and principles of the dominant style of the period. While there are many good reasons for an education in Western classical music to focus intensively on the grammar of, for instance, 18<sup>th</sup>-century music, it is nonetheless harder to justify focusing intensively on one musical style over several years in this day and age. This is not only because contemporary music is stylistically diverse and it is difficult to point to one dominant style, but also because a historically-oriented music theory education should shed light on a variety of different historical styles. This is not to say that there are no ways to incorporate aspects of historical theory pedagogy into the modern classroom (including aspects of *partimento*, which I believe is an immensely valuable approach), but simply reverting to older practices will not solve the problems facing theory education today – at least not those related to stylistic diversity.

I do not presume to provide a perfect solution to the multi-faceted challenge which I have only roughly sketched here. What I will point out, however, is that this challenge of depth versus breadth becomes more pressing when music theory is primarily constructed as craft and, by extension, when regulative theory (be that written or non-written) is the dominant paradigm. I believe that the inclusion of broader stylistic diversity, losing some depth in favour of breadth (or alternatively providing some other kind of depth), becomes less problematic in a more analytically oriented theory education. As the present study has shown, the idea of music theory as craft (albeit mainly written) has exerted a strong pull in Norway in general, and in Oslo in particular, although music theory training has also included some analysis (aiming at ‘understanding music’ since the 1970s). It is probable that continued adherence to the construction of music theory as a practical training in craftsmanship – in tandem with an aversion to complexity excluding speculative and analytic theory – has prevented a full realisation of an analytically-oriented pedagogy in Norway.

The current state of affairs – both in Norway and elsewhere – seems to be that conservatoire music theory neither manages to be a proper training in craftsmanship nor a broader training in analysis. On the one hand, there are clear advantages to emphasising craft over analysis, as a practical and craft-oriented education certainly leads to intimate knowledge of a particular style. On the other hand, the current plea for greater diversity – for a ‘flatter’ ontology of music theory, with a less pronounced hegemony – might more easily be answered if analysis were emphasised above craft. This is not to say that practical exercises (be they written or non-written) should be abandoned in the latter scenario. Getting to know a style through both creative experimentation and work analysis should, I think, be part of all forms of music theory pedagogy. That said, if our focus were on critical and analytical reflection, and on enabling

stylistic diversity, our primary aim would not be to become 'fluent' in one particular style. Rather, it would be a study of different musical grammars.

While studies of grammar are not the same as learning to speak languages fluently, they are still valuable and useful for understanding the inner workings of various languages. In the same way, studying the grammars of different musical styles could be a goal for conservatoire theory – at least, as long as the amount of time allotted to theory is limited and the wish for a stylistically diverse curriculum persists. Of course, interested students could still learn to fluently 'speak' a particular musical style by immersing themselves in it through practical training over a longer period of time, in cooperation with specialised teachers, outside of the mandatory theory 'core'.

### 8.2.3 Who gets to be a theorist?

Another challenge to theory education is the question of who gets to be a theory teacher – or, put in Foucauldian terms, who gets access to the subject position of 'music theorist' in the music theory discourse. The material discussed in my study indicates that there have been specific kinds of subjects who have had access to this position historically. Thus, a glimpse at Appendix A gives a strong indication of the theory discourse being male-dominated. The contributions of female writers are, generally, either contributions to music theory at lower educational levels (e.g. Bekkevold, 1988; Kindem, 1968; Kindem, 1969) or books on aural training – a discourse which conversely has been dominated by women (e.g. J. Christensen, 2017; G. S. Kruse, 2000a, 2000b; Lavik, 1986; Lavik & Krognnes, 1998; Ophus, 2011; Reitan, 2010; Shetelig, 2006; Øye, 2009, 2017a, 2017b). Additionally, most of the subjects taking part in the theory discourse have been composers and/or church musicians. This is not surprising, given the central position of the statements *music theory is composition training/creativity* and *music theory is organist practice/four-part chorales* in the music theory discourse.

The discourse forms subject positions and the subjects form discourse. The above glimpse indicates that the subject position 'music theorist' is typically filled by male composers and/or church musicians. This is also sustained by the formation of statements constructing what music theory is, which is what the present study has focused on. Redefining what music theory is – and should be – within conservatoire education could be a way of changing the ideas of what a music theorist is. For example, minimising the focus on *craft* in favour of more focus on *analysis* and *understanding music* could open up the position of music theorist to not only craftspeople but also researchers. The historically pragmatic focus and complexity-eschewing nature of Norwegian music theory, which has been noted several times throughout this study, is tightly intertwined with the accompanying idea of the subject position of music theorist as a

practitioner and pedagogue rather than an academic. This has clearly made the music theory discourse a pedagogic discourse which primarily recontextualises from fields of practice rather than academic research. On the one hand, this is very different from the great majority of subjects in higher education, where the teacher is a researcher and the pedagogic discourse recontextualises from its academic sibling. On the other hand, it makes sense within the conservatoire context, where the *modus operandi* of the main activity – instrumental training – is a pedagogic discourse recontextualising from musical practice and taught by teachers who identify more as musicians than academics. If the main goal of conservatoire education is to master a craft, the time-tested model of master and apprentice certainly makes sense within conservatoire music theory pedagogy, too. However, as this study has shown, conservatoire music theory is increasingly constructed as being about something more; there are aims beyond mastering a craft. We are therefore right to question how this change affects the idea of the theory teacher as a subject position in this discourse.<sup>245</sup>

Philip Ewell's (2020) argument is a response to a similar problem related to the subject position of the music theorist in the Anglo-American music-theoretical discourse. In contrast to Norway, this context possesses an actually academic music theory discourse in addition to a pedagogic one. The subject position of 'music theorist' is therefore rather differently constructed in North America. But who gets to be one is restricted nonetheless. Invoking the concept of a 'white racial frame', Ewell (2020) sees a connection between the low number of POC ('persons of colour') in the field – despite specific measures having been taken to increase ethnic diversity – and how music theory has been built on racialised structures favouring whiteness. Indeed, as Ewell points out in his introduction, by focusing specifically on the lack of POC in the field, he is treating just one aspect – not the only aspect – of the problem. He mentions other marginalised groups that would also benefit from a restructuring of the music theory discourse, touching on issues of gender, LGBTQ+ people, ethnicity, religion, culture and disability. As mentioned, it seems as if the question of, for example, gender is particularly pressing in the Norwegian case, but further research is needed to address this.

#### 8.2.4 Music theory's grand 'why'

Why do music performance students need to study music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint? Is it to master the craft of composing and arranging? To understand how different musical aspects 'work'? To develop creativity? To prepare for a career as a composer? To be able to analyse the music they play? To gain music-historical insight into

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<sup>245</sup> There are signs of change already. In contrast to the historical figures mentioned in this dissertation (with only very few exceptions), the theory teachers employed at the Norwegian Academy of Music in permanent full-time positions in the last decade have all held academic PhDs. However, this itself is no concrete proof of a change in the subject position. More qualitative research on theory teachers' construction of their own professional identity is needed.



different styles? To achieve a combination of some of these listed aims or for other reasons altogether? And what role should music theory play in the compulsory aspects of conservatoire education? Should it be an autonomous subject in which, for example, craft, analysis and/or a broadened understanding of music are ends in themselves? Or should it be a supporting subject functioning as means to other ends, such as becoming a better interpreter or a composer-musician?

As the discussions and analyses of this dissertation indicate, answers offered in Norway to music theory's grand 'why' have varied historically and often been far from unambiguous. The questions above go to the heart of what music theory in the context of conservatoire education is and what role it should play. The possible answers enable different constellations of integration and/or separation with and from performance, composition, aural training, music history and so on, as well as different constructions of what music theory is and should be.

The question of what theory education is good for – or, more generally, of music theory's *raison d'être* – is not a new one. In the 1930s, Paul Hindemith (1937/1942) claimed that many students considered theory 'a boring, incomprehensible, and useless burden' (p. 4). He blamed the theory specialists. Theory should, in Hindemith's view, be taught by composers. Two decades earlier, Heinrich Schenker (1906/1954) criticised the normative tendencies of theory pedagogy which historically had been dominated by

doctrines which are alive in the gray minds of the theoretician but not in art itself. So much talent is wasted, immolated on the altar of theory, even of the most perverse theory. Thus it was, thus it is today, and thus, probably, is it bound to be forever. (p. 59)

In the 1960s and 1970s, Carl Dahlhaus (1969, 1976) argued that theory training should emphasise historically oriented style studies rather than attempting to remain relevant as training in compositional craft (cf. Schröder, 2017). Others, such as Lasse Thoresen (1981) and Hans-Ulrich Kretschmer (2006a, 2006b), have turned to phenomenological philosophy when arguing for different conceptions of a fruitful theory pedagogy. In the Norwegian context, the question of theory education's 'why' has definitely become much more urgent in the wake of the gradual loss of self-evidence described in this dissertation.

The construction of music theory as a collection of practical subjects aiming to teach compositional craft has been particularly strong historically. Although the conception of music theory's role in conservatoire education was broadened in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the statement *music theory is craft* is still probably the most defining trait of conservatoire

music theory. There are many good reasons for treating music theory as a collection of ‘craft subjects’, especially as these equip students with techniques to employ when arranging or composing music. For instance, it is undeniable that part-writing exercises teach one to write idiomatically for mixed choir (in a specific conglomeration of related musical styles). That said, of course, a craft-oriented theory pedagogy need not take the chorale, or the mixed choir, as its starting point.

If theory education is to be more than this, craft training cannot be the sole answer to its ‘why’. And even if it is to be a purely craft-oriented subject, it should – in light of the above-discussed challenges – be scrutinised in order to question which hegemonic values it disseminates. Just because it is about craft does not make it ideologically neutral – rather, the opposite. Tacit knowledge is not in any way ‘cleaner’ than explicit knowledge, it is just harder to address (which is another challenge). In other words, a purely practical approach risks problematic ideological structures being obscured. Why this musical style? Why this compositional technique? Why is this ‘good’ and this ‘bad’? To which ‘musics’ do our principles apply? These are some of the questions that must be regularly revisited, and the answers must be made explicit rather than being unconsciously transmitted as tacit knowledge.

The importance of (continually) discussing music theory’s grand ‘why’ cannot be understated: Not just to be able to convincingly justify music theory’s role in conservatoire education, but also because theories of music are not neutral entities. What are the implications of the choices made in music theory education? Crucially, the type of theory taught in conservatoires is a fundamental part of the construction of students’ – and later music professional musicians’ – understanding of key musical concepts. As my discourse analysis has shown, the statement that music theory is about ‘understanding music’ has been a central part of the music theory discourse in Norway since the 1970s (without this being followed up by a strengthening of speculative theory in said discourse). How this understanding is constructed matters. This idea is foundational to Ewell’s (2020) much-cited critique: Schenker’s central position in American music-theoretical discourse leads to the ingraining of problematic value judgements present in his theory (which was biased in favour of whiteness); they come to be considered neutral and universally applicable. I see such a danger in all cases where a single theory becomes hegemonic and dominates the understanding of what music – or a specific element of music, e.g. harmonic tonality – is and how it functions.<sup>246</sup> In the case of Norway, the Richterian and post-Riemannian frameworks have held such positions and only to a very limited extent been challenged and/or accompanied by other understandings of tonality.

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246 Hvidtfelt Nielsen (2022) also sees this danger and argues, drawing on sociological narrative theory, that function theory in Denmark has become a ‘master narrative’ that excludes possible other perspectives on major/minor harmony.

With this in mind, a possible way forward is a ‘critical turn’ in music theory pedagogy. This is not a completely novel idea: Nicholas Cook (1989) once proposed a turn towards ‘critical music theory’, which he conceptualised as ‘critical in the sense of being aware of its own ideological status, of positing its own role in the cultural process’ (p. 71). I believe a critical theory pedagogy should be determined to question accepted music-theoretical truths instead of taking them for granted. As mentioned above, this would enable a relativist and pluralist stance for music theory in undergraduate music education, enabling it to include several different approaches and perspectives. Exploring the affordances and limits of the different theories when attempting to understand musical structures through analysis and practical exercises would be the centrepiece of this kind of theory education. Moreover, discussions of the ontological status of tone systems (i.e. speculative theory) would become imperative.

If all this is to become a reality in the Norwegian context, it will be necessary to drastically reconfigure the music theory discourse. The aversion to complexity in music theory will need to be transformed into an embrace of it, and the dominating regulative approaches will need to be complemented by speculative and analytic ones. Practical exercises introducing different techniques for arranging and composing would still be a natural part of the actual training, with the purpose of getting to know some fundamentals of a range of different styles (and as preparation for possible later specialisation in specific styles). As I see it, this would strengthen the construction of music theory as being about understanding music, and the focus on analysis could in turn help bridge the gap between theory and other subjects, such as performance, music history and aural training.

There are nonetheless dangers attendant on toning down the practical aspects of music theory education. Arguably, its practical focus and non-academic profile are strengths, at least within a conservatoire context valuing practice and creativity. One can also argue that the practical skillset – the different techniques of composition and arranging – learned in the theory classroom are necessary tools for any versatile musician and should thus be part of preparing conservatoire students for their professional lives. Overly drastic changes may result in a weakening of music theory’s position in conservatoire education, further complicating its justification. We are presented with a complicated picture: A turn towards a critical theory pedagogy with a stronger emphasis on analysis does not preclude the possibility of working practically and creatively in the classroom, but a proper balance must be found. I do not have the answer to this challenge. Figuring out how to best transform music theory pedagogy to fit the educational needs of the future will need many further discussions of the discipline’s grand ‘why’, as well as processes of trial and error in theory classrooms.

### 8.3 Chapter summary

The study into the history of the music theory discourse in Norway that make up the bulk of the present dissertation do not give clear indication of how music theory should be changed to fit the conservatoire contexts of the future. This is a descriptive study rather than a prescriptive one. Nonetheless, there are valuable things to be learned from history and to take into consideration when facing current and future challenges in music theory education in Norway and beyond. This position is in line with this study's aim of developing a broad, historical understanding of music theory education to challenge and inform current practices and future developments in conservatoire music theory.

In this chapter, I have discussed possible implications of the findings of this dissertation. First, I indicated how similarities between the case of Norway and those of other Western countries make it likely that some of this study's findings will be relevant elsewhere too. Then, I discussed a handful of large and central challenges that music theory pedagogues in the international theory community are presently grappling with. Without reaching a normative conclusion to these very complicated matters, I have indicated that some of many possible ways forward are a heightening of the focus on analysis, a widening of the arsenal of theoretical approaches and analytical techniques and a striving towards a critical attitude emphasising music-theoretical relativism and pluralism.



## 9 Concluding remarks

This dissertation has, as promised by its title, addressed the topic of harmony in conservatoire education. Most literally, it has done this through focusing on subjects such as harmony and counterpoint in the conservatoire context in Norway. But this dissertation is also about harmony in conservatoire education in a broader sense. It is about how the music theory included in the compulsory lessons at conservatoires must be *in harmony with* conservatoire education as a whole.

My initial motivation for conducting this study was a curiosity regarding the justification of music-theoretical subjects such as harmony and counterpoint being included in the professional education of performing musicians – in short, the question of what I have called music theory's grand 'why'. My personal experience was that not all conservatoire students understood why they should need to study harmony and counterpoint. I therefore wished to address the historical processes that led to music theory training ending up in the modern conservatoire context in its current form focusing on the Norwegian context. As I see it, understanding its historical background is a prerequisite for constructive discussions of whether, and if so in what ways, the role of the theory training should change in the future.

The discursive construction of music theory matters. Questioning the taken-for-granted tenets of this discourse is a fruitful way of looking for opportunities to renew music theory training in current and future educational contexts. For instance, this study has shown that the construction of music theory as training in craft has been very persistent, and that several ideas central to the 'invented tradition' of today's theory education in Norway – such as the term *satslære* and the position of the post-Riemannian framework – only became an integral part of the discourse as late as the 1970s. They were once foreign to the discourse, and other notions had a much stronger position, such as the Richterian framework and recontextualisation from organist practice. The biggest ruptures and transformations in the discourse happened in a period – the decades following WWII – when changes were also taking place in the educational context, including alterations of institutional structures with accompanying notions of academisation.

This dissertation has elucidated how the status of disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint has been justified and how the discursive conditions for these justifications have changed over time. An almost purely craft-oriented focus, for example, dominated in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – without the need for further justification. This would change in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as what I have termed a loss of self-evidence occurred. In this period, music theory was constructed not as an autonomous subject, but

rather as means to other ends (e.g. understanding music and interpreting it better). The answer to the question ‘Why teach harmony and counterpoint in conservatoires?’ is thus highly context-dependent. In some contexts – if the position and necessity of music theory in conservatoires is utterly taken for granted, for instance – the question is not even up for discussion. As such, this dissertation does not presume to give a definitive answer to how to move forward when developing and justifying conservatoire music theory.

The discussions in Chapter 8 do, however, give some indication of which challenges are faced and how my findings may contribute to approaching these. I have indicated that a possible path forward is a turn towards critical music theory pedagogy, teaching students to critically employ different music-theoretical tools in both analytical and creative ways. A critical music theory would entail revealing and discussing the limits of the applicability and validity of the theories taught, thereby uncovering the ingrained biases of the theoretical tools we use to conceptualise how music ‘works’. Moreover, a turn towards a critical music theory pedagogy would demand a more eclectic toolbox of theories with greater representation of speculative and analytic theory. This would require a restructuring of the music theory discourse in Norway, as the analyses in this dissertation suggest that a very strong crafts focus (i.e. an almost exclusive focus on regulative theory, including an aversion to theoretical complexity) has historically dominated it. A key finding of this study is that two rather similar theoretical frameworks – first the Richterian, later the post-Riemannian – have successively held very strong (hegemonic) positions in the discourse. Both of these frameworks focus on harmony in a primarily vertical, chord-to-chord manner, thereby dictating one’s understanding of how tonal music ‘works’. The neglect of discussions of the ontology of tone systems (i.e. speculative theory) in this discourse is one explanation of why the two aforementioned frameworks’ position has been challenged to such a limited extent. A critical turn is one path forward to opening things up.

As the first large-scale study in the history of music theory in Norway, this dissertation has indicated how music theory has been discursively constructed (focusing on the conservatoire context). Taking a Foucauldian perspective, it has highlighted discursive formations, regularities, ruptures and discontinuities in the history of music theory in Norway. It does not present the one and only history of music theory in Norway; rather, it provides just one narration of this history. Future research could challenge, enrich, nuance or even disprove my findings: I present this dissertation as a starting point for further explorations of Norwegian music theory.

## 9.1 Limitations and future research

There is still much to be explored and discussed in the pursuit of grasping the inner working of the music theory discourse in Norway, uncovering why the conservatoire theory training has been shaped in the way it has and assessing what changes should be made to this training for it to remain a natural part of conservatoire education in the future. As this is the first large-scale study in the history of music theory in Norway, much ground has been covered in the search for relevant sources and possible ways of analysing these (in this case, analyses inspired by Foucault). There is, however, more relevant source material to be uncovered, and the material collected for this study may also be a fruitful point of departure for studies using different theoretical approaches. This study's remit has been rather general, incorporating a large amount of (archival) material from across a substantial time period. Future research could complement this study by focusing on more narrowly delimited periods, contexts and topics and going more into the details of the material, thereby adding to our understanding of the complexity of the discursive structures sketched out in this study.

For a study in the history of music theory in Norway, my focus on conservatoire education in Western classical music is a limitation. Although I have glanced at music theory in other contexts, I do not presume to have provided a complete picture of these. Thus, further research is necessary to get a broader historical overview of music theory in Norway. Future studies could, for example, explore music theory education in primary schools, music specialisation in upper secondary school, music teacher education, university musicology departments, education in other musical genres and so on. The same goes for the question of to what extent music theory – and what type(s) of it – has been part of musicological research in Norway.

There is also more to be done within the conservatoire context. A further limitation of this study is its focus on formal curricula, textbooks and periodicals: The perspective of actual classroom activities is beyond its scope. Future research could, for instance through the discovery and study of primary sources such as exercise books, discuss the situation in lower curricular domains throughout the history of music theory education in Norway – I have only briefly touched on these domains. Another possibility for future research, which could also give greater access to these lower curricular domains, is that of interviewing current and former theory students and teachers. In order to investigate the current situation, observation studies could prove useful. In sum, there is much to be done for anyone interested in studying (conservatoire) music theory's *raison d'être*. My hope is that this dissertation will be a fruitful point of departure for such future studies.





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## **Appendices**

Appendix A: Music theory books

Appendix B: Music periodicals





## **Appendix A:**

### **Music theory books**



## Music theory books

The following chronologically details the corpus of theory books consulted in the preparations for the present dissertation, giving short descriptive comments on each. My focus has been textbooks treating music-theoretical subjects such as harmony, counterpoint and form (what in Norway today is often called *satslære*), and particularly textbooks written for conservatoire education in the Western classical tradition, that have been published in Norway. I have, however, also consulted a range of other books that are part of the music-theoretical discourse in Norway in a broader sense. These include books on elementary music theory (*musikklære*) as well as books on aural training (*hørelære* or *gehørtrening*). In line with the research question of the present study, the list is limited to the long 20<sup>th</sup> century. That said, apart from a few concise introductions to elementary theory (Berg, 1782; Berlin, 1744; Weber, 1828/1845), few music theory books were published in Norway prior to the 1880s.

**Jakob N. Kobberstad:** *Elementær musikklære: Nærmest til brug for seminarier og lærerskoler, samt ved selvundervisning* (1881)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at teacher students and written by a teacher at the teacher-training colleges in Asker and Christiania. The book focuses on rudiments but devotes its last chapters to an introduction to harmony. The book appeared in several editions, of which the sixth and presumably final one was published in 1908. The author had previously published a short textbook where he demonstrated the most basic music-theoretical principles using the psalmodicon, which was aimed at teachers in primary schools (Kobberstad, 1879).

**Otto Winter-Hjelm:** *Elementær musikklære grundet paa tonesystemets væsen, takt og klang: En lærebog ved undervisning i seminarier og lærerindekurser, for enhver musiklærer og til selvstudium* (1888)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at teacher students and written by a composer and music teacher who founded a short-lived conservatoire in Oslo together with Edvard Grieg in the 1860s. The book takes a very technical approach to the rudiments and propagates a dualistic interpretation of minor chords clearly inspired by the speculative theories of Moritz Hauptmann (1853) and Arthur von Oettingen (1866), which singles it out in the Norwegian context. It also includes a brief introduction to harmony and recommends Richter's textbook (in the Danish translation by J. D. Bondesen) for further studies in harmony. Winter-Hjelm additionally published a textbook in organ performance that appeared in several editions (Winter-Hjelm, n.d.), some of which contain an appendix with a short introduction to harmony and modulation with reference to the theoretical framework presented in his 1888 elementary theory book.

**Leon Roques:** *Kortfattet Musiklære: Med en kort Fremstilling af Akkordlæren ved Oversætteren* (1892)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at (among others) participants in teaching seminars. The short book was originally written in French. It was translated by Johan Unger Wolff, who also added a brief introduction to harmony.

**Peter Lindeman:** *Praktisk Modulationslære for Orgel- og Pianospillere* (1893)

Textbook in modulation aimed at organists and pianists and written by one of the founders of the Oslo Conservatoire. It takes a practical point of departure focused on keyboard improvisation and does not require that the readers have studied harmony previously. The book also appeared in a second (1912), a third (1921), a fourth (1941) and a fifth (1944) edition. The fourth edition was revised and extended by Trygve Lindeman, the author's son and successor as director of the Conservatoire (cf. P. Lindeman, 1941).

**Olaf Ziener:** *Elementær Musiktheori (Tonelæren)* (1893)

A collection of lectures on elementary music theory given at the Oslo Conservatoire (then known as The Music and Organist School). The author published the lectures in the same year as they were given, and the book was chosen as set text at said institution (cf. 'Musik-Literatur', 1893). In the preface, Ziener cites works by J. A. Josephson, J. C. Lobe and J. D. Bondesen as well as his own personal notes from studies with L. M. Lindeman as source material.

**Gustav Fr. Lange:** *Praktisk Harmonilære* (1897)

The first Norwegian harmony textbook. This was written by a teacher at the Oslo Conservatoire and aimed at conservatoire students. Similar to Lindeman's (1893) book on modulation, this title promises a 'practical' approach. But while Lindeman's work is focused on improvisational practice at the keyboard, Lange's work focuses on compositional practice with pen and paper and is explicitly based on Richter (1853). The book also appeared in a second (1905) and a third (undated) edition. The third edition – which seems to have been reprinted several times – includes an appendix on accompaniment that also appeared as a separate publication in 1912.

**Gustav Fr. Lange:** *Musiklære* (1904)

Textbook in elementary music theory written by a teacher at the Oslo Conservatoire. The book covers what Lange thinks any institution of higher music education (*musikinstitut*) should demand of its applicants as well as what he deems to be the preliminary knowledge (i.e. rudiments) necessary for studying harmony. The book was reprinted at least two times (in 1925 and 1927).

**Gustav Bøhn:** *Elementær musikkære for lærerskolerne* (1907)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at teacher students and written by a teacher at the teacher-training college in Levanger (later also in Hamar and Elverum). It focuses on rudiments but also includes introductory chapters on harmony. The book was reissued numerous times with only minor changes and was the standard textbook on music theory in Norwegian teacher education for more than fifty years (cf. Årva, 1987, p. 76). A tenth reprint of Bøhn's book appeared as late as 1959. It was translated into *nynorsk* by Sturla Brørs in 1935.

**Johannes Hanssen:** *Musikkteori* (1923?)

Textbook in elementary music theory for use in a correspondence course developed by the author. Hanssen, famous as a conductor of military bands and composer of marches, taught the course for *Norsk Korrespondanseskole* from 1923 to 1963 (Gundersen, 2009). It focused on rudiments but also provided an introduction to harmony. The latter part of the course was based on Lange (1897). This long-lived correspondence course made it possible to get a proper Norwegian-language training in elementary music theory (including basic harmony) regardless of where one lived. The music section of the correspondence school was expanded in 1944 with Hanssen at its head (Boyesen, 1964, p. 109). At this point, a course in harmony was introduced as well (Andersen, n.d.).

**Holger Barkved:** *Musikkære for lærarskolen* (1926)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at teacher students. It constitutes the earliest published music theory textbook written in *landsmål* (now called *nynorsk*). It covers roughly the same material as Bøhn (1907); its two first sentences even echo Bøhn's nearly word for word.

**Geirr Tveit:** *Tonalitätstheorie des parallelen Leittonsystems* (1937)

Treatise written by a well-known Norwegian composer in German but published in Norway and outlining an alternative 'Norwegian' (or even 'Norse') theory of tonality. In this treatise, Tveit (who later changed his name to 'Tveitt') theorises tonality in modal music from a specifically 'Norwegian' perspective. The publication received some positive reviews on the continent but was rejected by a musicological committee at the University of Oslo when Tveit delivered it as a doctoral dissertation (cf. Storaas, 2008, pp. 114–118). His controversial harmonic theory has never been, and is still not, acknowledged as serious theory in musicological circles (cf. Aksnes, 2002, pp. 231–232; Bjerkestrand, 2009, p. 114). The book is thus an intriguing example of a publication excluded from the music theory discourse in Norway. It is discussed more thoroughly in Utne-Reitan (2022b).

**Trygve Lindeman:** *Elementær musikk lære: For musikkstuderende og amatører* (1943)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at conservatoire students and written by the director of the Oslo Conservatoire. The book covers what was expected in the Conservatoire exams in elementary music theory (*elementær musikk lære*). It also covers basic harmony. The book appeared in several reprints with minor additions and alterations.

**Gunnar Gjerstrøm:** *Musikk: Formlære* (1943)

The first Norwegian textbook on musical form, aimed at conservatoire students and written by a teacher at the Oslo Conservatoire. It provides a concise overview of different musical forms and takes for granted the reader's knowledge of elementary music theory and harmony. The book appeared in several reprints with minor alterations and was even translated into Swedish (Gjerström, 1945).

**Karl Andersen:** *Harmonilære* (1944?)

Textbook in harmony for use in a correspondence course developed by the author. The course is a continuation of Hanssen's (n.d.) theory course and explicitly states that the student should have passed the exam in elementary theory before embarking on the course in harmony. Andersen's textbook is (similar to Hanssen's) undated, but it is natural to assume that it first appeared in 1944, as it was at this time that the correspondence course in harmony was introduced (Boyesen, 1964, p. 109).

**Ellen Sciøtt Lonnevig:** *Musikkens former* (1945)

Textbook on musical form for self-study as well as for use by pedagogues (educational level not specified), written by a representative of the Oslo Music Teachers' Association (*Oslo musikk lærerforening*). It provides an overview of the traditional classical formal designs. The last chapter covers some modern dance forms (i.e. jazz).

**Thorleif Eken:** *Harmonilære* (1948)

Textbook in harmony written by a teacher at the Oslo Conservatoire. It focuses on four-part harmony and chorale harmonisation of tonal (major/minor) melodies but also includes an appendix treating the harmonisation of modal melodies.

**John Thorkildsen:** *Kontrapunkt: Kanon og fuge* (1949)

The first Norwegian textbook in counterpoint. The author, an organist and composer, was a sought-after private teacher who also taught at the conservatoire in Bergen (Johnsen, 1962, p. 86). This posthumously published book discusses species counterpoint and different kinds of double counterpoint in vocal polyphony (*vokalsats*), and it ends with chapters on canon and fugue. A favourable review published in *Adresseavisa* highlights the value (especially for

music students) of having a Norwegian textbook on this subject: One had previously been confined to mostly German – and some Danish – textbooks (Wisth, 1949).

**Jon Medbøe:** *Om formen i musikken: Et bidrag til å bevisstgjøre våre opplevelser og vurderinger av musikk – på psykologisk, historisk og formanalytisk basis* (1950)

Textbook in music history and theory written by a teacher at the Oslo Conservatoire. This ambitious work – heavily inspired by Ernst Kurth, among others – was promoted as a combined textbook on music history, form, harmony and counterpoint. It received mixed reviews. On one side, leading Norwegian musicologist Olav Gurvin called it very uneven (Gurvin, 1950). On the other, Norwegian-American musicologist Sigvart A. Hofland praised it unconditionally in several interviews, claiming that he intended to have it translated for use at American universities and colleges (Knief, 1950; ‘Norsk-amerikansk hyllest,’ 1950). However, it does not seem like the planned English translation ever appeared in print. In an interview with Medbøe, it was claimed that the book was in use as a textbook at the conservatoires in Oslo and Bergen (‘Prat med lærd komponist,’ 1951).

**Paul Hindemith:** *Et konsentrert kurs i harmonilære (Traditional harmony): Med hovedvekt på øvinger og med minst mulig regler* (1953)

Olav Gurvin’s translation of Hindemith’s *Traditional Harmony*, intended for use at the University of Oslo, where Gurvin served as professor. Gurvin’s translation is based on the revised second edition of the English original (i.e. Hindemith, 1944).

**Finn Benestad:** *Musikklære: En grunnbok for undervisningen i musikk ved konservatorium, høyskole, lærerskole og universitet* (1963)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at higher music education and written by a professor at the University of Trondheim (later at the University of Oslo). The textbook’s subtitle explicitly states that the book is meant for conservatoires, university colleges, teacher-training colleges and universities. It focuses on rudiments but also includes chapters providing brief introductions to harmony, form and – to a lesser extent – counterpoint. The book appeared in a second (1985), a third (2004) and a fourth (2009) edition – and most of these editions appeared in several reprints. It is still regarded as the standard reference work on elementary music theory in Norway.

**Nils Grinde & Ludvig Nielsen:** *Lærebok i kontrapunkt etter Bach-stilen: Tostemmig invensjon* (1966)

Textbook in two-part counterpoint in the style of J. S. Bach focusing on inventions and aimed at higher music education. Grinde taught at the University of Oslo (where he later became professor) and Nielsen was an organist and teacher at various institutions in Trondheim. The



book appeared in several reprints and was reissued in 2002 as the second volume of the series *Klassisk kontrapunkt* (i.e. Grinde & Nielsen, 2002).

**Ingeborg Kindem:** *Musikkteori* (1968–1969)

Two-volume textbook in elementary music theory, melody and basic two-part writing (vol. 1, 1968) and harmony (vol. 2, 1969) intended for music specialisation departments in upper secondary schools (*musikklinja*). The work simultaneously appeared in a *nynorsk* edition translated by Olav Stormark.

**Øystein Årva:** *Kortfattet musikk lære* (1971)

Textbook in elementary music theory (rudiments) aimed at teacher students and written by an associate professor at the teacher-training college in Elverum. Although its title claims that this textbook is ‘concise’ (and it definitely is), the book is actually somewhat longer than some of the existing textbooks for teacher students (e.g. Barkved, 1926; Bøhn, 1907). All the existing books aimed at trainee teachers mentioned thus far cover somewhat more material than rudiments, mainly by including brief introductions to harmony. This is not the case with Årva’s book, which stays firmly within the domain of elementary theory.

**Anfinn Øien:** *Harmonilære: Funksjonell harmonikk i homofon sats* (1975)

Textbook in harmony aimed at higher music education and written by a professor at the newly established Norwegian Academy of Music (who was formerly a teacher at the University of Oslo and the Oslo Conservatoire). The book is the first Norwegian harmony textbook to promote function symbols instead of Roman numerals and/or figured bass notation. The vocabulary of function symbols here is essentially the same as in Hamburger (1951). Drafts of the book were in circulation for several years and an unedited version was published earlier (Øien, 1971). Øien’s textbook is to this day regarded as a standard text on harmony in Norway, and function analysis following his model is widespread. An (unpublished) abridged and edited version of Øien’s book is, as of writing, used as textbook at the Norwegian Academy of Music (K. Habbestad, n.d.-a).

**Lisa Bekkevold:** *Innføring i harmonilære* (1976)

Textbook in harmony aimed at music schools (*musikkfagskole*), conservatoires and other similar music-educational institutions and written in *nynorsk*. A heavily revised and extended second edition in *bokmål* appeared in 1988 under the title *Harmonilære og harmonisk analyse* (i.e. Bekkevold, 1988). The latter edition was specifically aimed at music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*). This edition was reprinted several times, and a fifth reprint appeared as late as 2007. The book has a rather close affinity with the more comprehensive work by Øien (1971, 1975), especially with regard to nomenclature for harmonic analysis.

Due to the broad dissemination of Bekkevold's book, it is safe to say that it has played a significant role in spreading and normalising the use of post-Riemannian function analysis in Norwegian music-theoretical discourse.

**Bjørn Kruse:** *Bruksmusikkarrangering* (1978)

Textbook in arranging techniques aimed at conservatoire students and written by a teacher (later professor) at the Norwegian Academy of Music. The book is a published version of his 1977 master's thesis. Kruse had previously studied in the US (at UCLA), and the book's bibliography cites mostly American works. It is the first published music theory book in Norwegian to take popular music and jazz as its point of departure.

**Erling Bisgaard:** *Bidrag til pedagogisk sats i forbindelse med besifring: Del 1* (1980)

Textbook in 'pedagogical arranging' (*pedagogisk sats*) aimed at music teacher students and written by an associate professor at the conservatoire in Tromsø. The compendium, written in Danish, aims to contribute to the development of more relevant music-theoretical education for teacher students. It is argued that an approach based on modern chord symbols (*besifring*) is more appropriate for this goal than either traditional music theory (*traditionel satslære*) or Orff pedagogy (*Orff-sats*).

**Bjørn Kruse:** *Jazzteori: Grunnleggende prinsipper* (1980)

Textbook in jazz theory aimed at conservatoire students and written by a teacher (later professor) at the Norwegian Academy of Music. The textbook is a summary of jazz-theoretical principles based on a collection of available English-language resources. It is the first Norwegian music theory book dedicated to jazz theory and appeared in several reprints.

**John Lammetun:** *Studiebok i koralimprovisasjon* (1983)

Textbook in chorale improvisation aimed at organists and written by an associate professor at the Norwegian Academy of Music. While primarily a book on organ improvisation, it is included here both because it was written by a theory teacher and because it incorporates large amounts of harmony and counterpoint.

**Sigvald Tveit:** *Harmonilære fra en ny innfallsvinkel* (1984)

Textbook in harmony aimed at higher music education and written by an associate professor at the University of Oslo. The title promises a new perspective – the old, it is implied, is the one represented in Øien (1975). Two things are 'new' about this book's approach: (1) the inclusion of arranging techniques associated with popular music in addition to traditional four-part harmony and (2) an alternative function analysis system merging elements from both practices using Roman numerals and practices using function symbols. The book appeared

in a second edition (2008) and several reprints. For harmony training in Norway, it remains a popular alternative to Øien's approach.

**Graham Wade:** *Fra skala til symfoni: Om former i klassisk musikk* (1984)

Book on musical form aimed at a broad readership interested in music. The book, originally written in English, was translated into Norwegian by Poul Henrik Poulsson and adjusted for a Norwegian audience with added exercises for study by Elef Nesheim.

**Nils E. Bjerkestrand & Elef Nesheim:** *Grunnbok i musikk lære* (1986)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at students undertaking music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*) and others wishing to prepare for higher music education, written by two associate professors (later professors) at the Norwegian Academy of Music. It includes a brief introduction to harmony (both classical and jazz) and discusses harmony based on seconds and fourths in addition to traditional third-based harmony. The book came with a cassette, and an accompanying workbook was also published (Bjerkestrand & Nesheim, 1987). The textbook appeared in a revised edition in 1991.

**Babben Lavik:** *Lytt og lær: Øvelser i akkordlytting* (1986)

Textbook in harmonic listening aimed at aural training in higher music education and written by a teacher (later associate professor) at the University of Oslo. The examples provided (recorded on an attached cassette) are four-part settings as well as melodies with accompaniment. These examples are analysed using both Roman numerals and function symbols following Tveit (1984). The book appeared in a second edition under the title *Lytt til akkorder* (Lavik, 1991).

**Nils Grinde:** *Lærebok i kontrapunkt etter Bach-stilen: Trestemmig fuge* (1989)

Textbook in counterpoint aimed at higher music education and written by a professor at the University of Oslo. The book focuses on three-part fugue in the style of J. S. Bach and builds on a previously published textbook in two-part counterpoint (Grinde & Nielsen, 1966). It was reissued in 2002 as the third volume in the series *Klassisk kontrapunkt* (Grinde, 2002).

**Per Hjort Albertsen:** *Tostemmig kontrapunkt etter Bachs invensjoner* (1990)

Textbook in counterpoint aimed at higher music education and written by a composer and teacher at the University of Trondheim. It focuses on J. S. Bach's inventions and presents an approach to counterpoint pedagogy centred around students (or other readers) doing analyses of these works.

**Nils Grinde:** *Kontrapunkt etter Palestrinastilen: Konsentrat fra regler i Knud Jeppesen: Kontrapunkt* (1990)

Textbook in counterpoint aimed at higher music education and written by a professor at the University of Oslo. The book summarises the rules presented in Danish musicologist Knud Jeppesen's textbook in vocal polyphony in the style of Palestrina, which was much used even outside Scandinavia (cf. Jeppesen, 1930/1992). Grinde's book was reissued in 2003 as the first volume in the series *Klassisk kontrapunkt* (Grinde, 2003).

**Petter Dyndahl:** *MIDI-sats 1, eller Den illustrerte veg til det nye Atlantis: Innføring i satslære med mikroteknologiske hjelpemidler* (1991)

Textbook in harmony aimed at music teacher students and written by a teacher (later professor) at Hamar's teacher-training college (now Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences). This compendium – the result of a research project – presents an early attempt at using digital tools in music theory pedagogy. Instead of the traditional pen-and-paper approach, it uses computers and a synthesiser communicating through MIDI. In terms of theory, it builds on Tveit (1984).

**Finn Mortensen:** *Kortfattet innføring i tolvtoneteknikk og serialisme* (1991)

Introduction to twelve-tone technique and serialism aimed at conservatoire students. The first part (on twelve-tone technique) was written in 1970, when Mortensen was teaching composition at the Oslo Conservatoire. The second part (on serialism) was written in 1975. By that time, Mortensen had become Norway's first professor of composition at the newly established Norwegian Academy of Music. The manuscripts of these two parts were used in his composition lessons at these institutions but were only published posthumously in 1991. The published edition is edited by Nils E. Bjerkestrand.

**Knut Djupdal:** *Musikkteori* (1993)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at teacher students and written by a teacher at the teacher-training college in Kristiansand. It appeared in a second (1995) and a third (1999) edition as well as in several reprints.

**Arne Ingar Petersen:** *Arbeidsbok i pedagogisk sats* (1994)

Concise textbook in pedagogical arranging aimed at music students at teacher-training colleges, conservatoires and universities. The compendium focuses on arranging for the primary school classroom.

**Nils E. Bjerkestrand & Elef Nesheim:** *Kreativ sats og analyse: Harmonilære, jazzakkordikk, arrangering* (1995)

Textbook in music theory (primarily harmony) and analysis aimed at students undertaking music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*) and others wishing to prepare for higher music education and written by two associate professors (later professors) at the Norwegian Academy of Music. The textbook includes perspectives both from classical music and jazz.

**Roger Jeffs:** *Satslære* (1995)

Textbook in melody and harmony aimed at music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*). It appeared in a *nynorsk* edition in the same year. The book is part of a series of theory textbooks published by Gyldendal that also includes volumes on aural training (Sørvik, 1995), arranging and composition (Jeffs, 1996) and elementary music theory (Jeffs, 1997).

**Øyvind Risa:** *Musikkteori og arrangering: Innføring for lærerstudenter* (1995)

Textbook in elementary music theory and arranging aimed at teacher students and written by a teacher at the teacher-training college in Telemark. It is not genre-specific, but it clearly prioritises popular music arranging, as well as arranging for Orff instruments. The book appeared in a second edition (2001).

**Konrad Mikal Øhrn:** *Arrangering og komponering i klasserommet: En bok om pedagogisk satsskriving for musikk lærere* (1996)

Textbook in arranging and composing aimed at music teacher students and written by a composer and associate professor (later professor) at Agder University College. It opens by stating that it is not a textbook in traditional theory (*ordinær satslære*) but rather in arranging for pedagogical purposes (*pedagogisk satsskriving*). Thus, it focuses on instruments typically found in classrooms (e.g. Orff instruments, guitar, piano). The book is based on the then-new curriculum for Norwegian general education (L-97) that emphasised that pupils should compose, arrange and play together when learning music.

**Nils E. Bjerkestrand:** *Om satsteknikken i...* (1998)

Series on the compositional technique of various early 20<sup>th</sup>-century composers written by an associate professor (later professor) at the Norwegian Academy of Music. The six volumes are aimed at courses in music theory (*satslære*) and analysis in higher music education. Each volume covers compositional technique in the music of one composer:

1. Claude Debussy (Bjerkestrand, 1998d)
2. Igor Stravinsky (Bjerkestrand, 1998e)
3. Béla Bartók (Bjerkestrand, 1998c)
4. Paul Hindemith (Bjerkestrand, 1998g)
5. Arnold Schoenberg (Bjerkestrand, 1998b)
6. Olivier Messiaen (Bjerkestrand, 1998f)

**Babben Lavik & Astrid Krognæs:** *La det klinge!* (1998)

Textbook in aural training aimed at music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*) and music teacher students. Lavik taught at the University of Oslo, Krognæs at the Norwegian Academy of Music. The book is divided into three parts: (1) melody and rhythm, (2) exercises in melody and rhythm and (3) harmony. The last presents both Roman numeral analysis and function analysis.

**Hroar Klempe:** *Generative teorier i musikalsk analyse* (1999)

An introduction to generative music theories written in conjunction with a musicology course for master's students at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). It compares music and language and discusses Schenkerian analysis, the Generative Theory of Tonal Music (GTTM) and Fortean pitch-class set theory. In the context of music theory books published in Norway, this book is notable for presenting and discussing Anglo-American academic music theory in general and generative theory in particular.

**Gro Shetelig Kruse:** *Hører du?* (2000)

Methodical textbook in aural training aimed at music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*) and written by a professor at the Norwegian Academy of Music. Together with the accompanying workbook (G. S. Kruse, 2000a), it covers the curriculum for aural training in upper secondary school but could also be used at other educational institutions (e.g. conservatoires). Both the textbook and the workbook also appeared in *nynorsk* editions.

**Tellef Kvifte:** *Musikkteori for folkemusikk: En innføring* (2000)

Introduction to folk music theory written by a professor at the University of Oslo. The author argues that theory is valuable for enhancing musical experience but acknowledges that all music theory is written with specific genres in mind. Uncritically transferring Western classical

theory to other genres, he argues, may mislead rather than enhance education – and in some cases lead to severe fallacies. Thus, there was a need for a textbook in music theory aimed specifically at Norwegian folk music.

**Lorents Aage Nagelhus:** *Pedagogisk sats til studier og fordypelse: For lærere, lærerstudenter og andre* (2004)

Textbook in ‘pedagogical composition’ (*pedagogisk satslære/komposisjon*) aimed at teachers and teacher students and written by an associate professor at the music-specialised teacher-training department of Sør-Trøndelag University College (now NTNU). The book focuses on how teachers can use music theory and composition creatively in primary school music classes.

**Petter Stigar:** *Elementær harmonilære: Korallharmonisering, kontrapunkt, generalbass og variasjonssatser* (2004)

Textbook in harmony and counterpoint aimed at conservatoire students and written by an associate professor (later professor) at the Grieg Academy, University of Bergen. The book presents four-part harmony (chorale harmonisation), counterpoint, figured bass and variation techniques. It builds quite heavily on Robert Gauldin’s *Harmonic Practice in Tonal Music* (1997) – a textbook previously used by Stigar at the Grieg Academy – and is rather unique in the context of Norwegian harmony textbooks in its promotion of Schenker-inspired reduction analysis. In the foreword, Stigar explicitly states that he wishes to convey a pedagogical tradition that is strong in the USA.

**Gro Shetelig:** *Hører du?–1: Grunnbok i anvendt musikk-lære/hørelære* (2006)

Textbook in aural training and elementary music theory aimed at music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*) and written by a professor at the Norwegian Academy of Music. It complements the existing books in the *Hører du* series (G. S. Kruse, 2000a, 2000b). The book covers the first-year course in elementary music theory and aural training (*anvendt musikk-lære*) in the 2006 curriculum. The book also appeared in a nynorsk edition.

**Petter Stigar:** *Lær å lytte* (2007)

Textbook in aural training aimed at conservatoire students and written by an associate professor (later professor) at the Grieg Academy, University of Bergen. It focuses on tonal music – harmonic listening in particular. It uses the same terminology and system of analysis as presented in Stigar’s (2004) textbook in music theory. These books complement each other in an attempt to bridge the gap between aural training (*hørelære*) and music theory (*satslære*). As in his music theory book, Stigar is explicitly inspired by North American models.

**Jens Graasvoll:** *Musikklære: Om notesystemets hemmelighet!* (2008)

Textbook in elementary music theory aimed at kindergarten and primary school teachers and written by a teacher at the University of Agder. The book also includes an introduction to harmony that emphasises accompaniment (on piano or guitar) rather than traditional part-writing.

**Roger Jeffs & Jon Øystein Rosland:** *Tonika: En innføring i klangstabling, stemmeføring og rytmisering* (2009)

Textbook in arranging. It includes chapters on harmony, voice leading and instrumentation.

**Ingunn Fanavoll Øye:** *Harmonisk lytting; Egentrening av gehøret* (2009)

Textbook in aural training aimed at conservatoire students and written by a teacher (later professor) at the Norwegian Academy of Music. It is divided into two parts. The first is a textbook in harmonic listening which also provides a thorough introduction to functional harmony using post-Riemannian function symbols. The second part is an introduction to different methods of self-training in aural skills. The book also appeared in a second, digital edition in 2019. This second edition is openly accessible through the Norwegian Academy of Music's website.

**Inger Elise Reitan:** *Akkordrekker på gehør* (2010)

Textbook in aural training aimed at conservatoire students and written by a professor at the Norwegian Academy of Music. It provides exercises in harmonic listening and uses post-Riemannian function symbols.

**Randi Dugstad, Geir Brede Hagerup & Martin Smidt:** *På kryss og ters* (2010–2011)

Two textbooks in composition (including music theory), aural training and musical performance (*formidling*) aimed at music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*). The books, covering an elective course in the music specialisation programme which appeared in the 2006 curriculum (*musikk fordypning*), was intended for year 2 and 3 of Norway's three-year upper secondary education. Volume one covers the second-year course (Dugstad et al., 2010), while volume two covers the third-year course (Dugstad et al., 2011). Both volumes appeared in *nynorsk* editions as well.

**Per Dahl:** *Verkanalysen som fortolkningsarena* (2011)

Textbook in music analysis aimed at music students in higher music education (those studying performance and musicology in particular) and written by a professor at the University of Stavanger. The book attempts to bridge the gap between the score-based interpretation done by music analysts and the sound-based interpretation done by the listener and the



performer. It challenges the notion that a score is a complete representation of a work, creating the need for a renewed theoretical foundation for music analysis incorporating both the perspective of the performer/listener and that of the analyst. Implications of this project are further explored in Dahl's later books (cf. P. Dahl, 2017, 2019).

**Tone Ophus:** *Nyt notene! Musikkteori og hørelære gjennom sang, spill og bevegelse* (2011)

Textbook in music theory and aural training aimed at higher music education, teacher education and music specialisation in upper secondary school (*musikklinja*). It champions a practical approach to music theory pedagogy through musicking (*musisering*), emphasising sensory experience and the use of the body through movement (citing Gardner's 'multiple intelligences' theory in the preface). The textbook includes chapters on rhythm, melody and harmony and comes with a DVD-ROM with digital teaching resources.

**Petter Stigar:** *Musikalsk analyse: En innføring* (2011)

Textbook in music analysis aimed at musicology students and written by a professor at the Grieg Academy, University of Bergen. The book provides an introduction to different kinds of score-based musical analysis (focusing on classical music) and addresses theoretical questions regarding the basis for doing musical analysis.

**Pål Runsjø:** *Toneteori: Arrangering og komponering for alle* (2012)

Textbook in arranging and composition aimed at undergraduate students. It focuses on pedagogical situations and has a chapter dedicated to arranging for the classroom. It also gives a (very) brief introduction to harmony.

**Audun Molde:** *Akkordboka: Akkordprogresjoner for musikere og låtskrivere* (2013)

Textbook in harmony focusing on popular music but also presenting music theory related to both jazz and Western classical music. The author teaches popular music studies at Kristiania University College (formerly NISS). The final chapter of the book presents fundamental principles of classical harmony (four-part chorale settings with function analysis).

**Lasse Thoresen:** *Emergent Musical Forms: Aural Explorations* (2015)

Theory treatise written by a composer and professor at the Norwegian Academy of Music. The book was neither written in Norwegian nor published in Norway (although it is distributed in Europe and Asia by Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo), but it presents music-theoretical developments from the Aural Sonology Project conducted at the Norwegian Academy of Music and is therefore included. This project was initiated in the 1970s by Olav Anton Thommessen and Lasse Thoresen and aimed at developing methods for aural analysis as an alternative to score-based analysis. In this book, Thoresen presents the fruits of 40 years of work on this

project in terms of specific music-analytical methods, as well as giving a thorough presentation of the project's theoretical (i.e. phenomenological) foundation.

**Jorun Christensen:** *Gehör og instrument: Instrumentrelatert gehørtrening i ulike sjangre* (2017)  
Textbook in aural training aimed at teachers and students in higher music education and written by a teacher at the University of Agder. It aims at integrating aural training and instrumental teaching by providing example exercises. The sixth chapter is dedicated to harmony.

**Ingunn Fanavoll Øye:** *Lutter øre: Lærebok i gehørtrening* (2017)  
Textbook in aural training aimed at conservatoire students and written by a professor at the Norwegian Academy of Music. The book covers rhythm, melody and harmony and contains exercises based on 300 musical examples from the Baroque to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The book focuses on the connections between aural training and the students' repertoire work as performing musicians. An accompanying book with solutions to the exercises also appeared (Øye, 2017b).



## **Appendix B:**

### **Music periodicals**



## Music periodicals

The following is a chronological overview of periodicals – magazines as well as academic journals and yearbooks – dedicated to music in general, and Western classical music in particular, published in Norway. The list was put together when investigating debates in the music-theoretical discourse in Norway using the databases of the National Library of Norway and the Norwegian Academy of Music's library. It is not exhaustive but includes all major – and several minor – music periodicals, both popular and academic, that focus on Western classical music (many have a broader stylistic scope as well).

**1880–1892:** *Nordisk Musik-Tidende*

Music magazine aimed at musicians and friends of music published monthly by Carl Warmuth.

**1884–1916:** *Sangertidende*

Music magazine published by A. M. Hanche.

**1892–1894:** *Orkestertidende*

Music magazine aimed at musicians and friends of music.

**1900–1906:** *Nordisk Musik-Revue*

Music magazine aimed at musicians and friends of music published monthly. Edited by Iver Holter.

**1907:** *Norsk Tonekunst*

Short-lived magazine for singing societies, music students and musical homes.

**1908–1921:** *Musikbladet* (alternative spelling: *Musik-Bladet*)

Magazine for Norwegian friends of music. Edited by Peter Lindeman.

**1910–1921:** *Sangerposten*

Magazine for singers and singing societies. Edited and published by Oscar D. Danielsen.

**1914–2000:** *Norsk Musikerblad*

Music magazine published by the Norwegian Musicians' Union (*Norske Musikeres Landsforbund*, later *Norsk musikerforbund*).

**1917–1918:** *Nordisk sangertidende*

Continuation of *Sangertidende*.

**1922–1926:** *Musikbladet og Sangerposten*

Fusion of *Musikbladet* and *Sangerposten*.

**1924–1925:** *Musik*

Short-lived music magazine.

**1927–1937:** *Tonekunst*

Continuation of *Musikbladet og Sangerposten*.

**1934–1939:** *Sangen*

Music magazine published by the Norwegian organisation for singers (*Norges Sangerlag*). Gradually broadened its scope, from 1938 also becoming a magazine for the Norwegian Organists' Union (*Norges Organistforening*).

**1937–1972:** *Norsk musikkgranskning*

Alternative English title: *Norwegian Musical Research*. Yearbook with reports from the Norwegian Society for Music Research (*Norsk Samfund for Musikkgranskning*).

**1940–1952:** *Norsk musikkliv*

Continuation of *Sangen*. An unnumbered special issue additionally published in 1954.

**1956–1980:** *Musikk i skolen*

Magazine on music and education published by the Norwegian Organisation for Music in Schools (*Landslaget Musikk i Skolen*).

**1959–:** *Norsk kirkemusikk*

Magazine on church music published by the Norwegian Organists' Union (*Norges Organistforbund*).

**1964–1994:** *Norsk musikktidsskrift*

Music magazine published by the Norwegian Music Teachers' Association (*Norske Musikk læreres Landsforbund*).

**1968–:** *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*

Alternative English title: *Norwegian Journal of Musicology*. Journal published annually by the Norwegian Musicological Society (*Norsk musikkforskerlag*) in collaboration with Scandinavian University Press (*Universitetsforlaget*).

**1977–1994:** *Ballade*

Magazine on new music published by Norway's centre for contemporary music (*nyMusikk*).

**1981–1996:** *Musikk og skole*

Continuation of *Musikk i skolen*.

**1990–1996:** *Musikk-fokus*

Music magazine published by the Norwegian Society of Music Teachers (*Norsk musikkpedagogisk forening*).

**1992–1995:** *Musikken*

Music magazine published by the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK).

**1995:** *Musikkmagasinet Ballade*

Continuation of *Ballade*.

**1996–1998:** *Nye musikken*

Continuation of *Musikken*.

**1997–2007:** *Arabesk*

Continuation of *Musikk og skole*.

**1997–2021:** *Musikkultur* (alternative spelling: *Musikk-Kultur*)

Music magazine (in print, later also online), from 2001 published by the Musicians' Joint Organisation (*Musikernes fellesorganisasjon*, later *Creo*).

**1997–2019:** *Nordisk musikkpedagogisk forskning – Årbok*

Alternative English title: *Nordic Research in Music Education – Yearbook*. Yearbook published by the Norwegian Academy of Music in collaboration with the Nordic Network for Music Education Research.

**1997–2010:** *Parergon*

Independent, non-profit magazine on contemporary art music.

**1998–2006:** *Flerstemmige innspill*

Series of anthologies with articles authored by staff at the Norwegian Academy of Music and published by the same institution. The first volume was a special issue celebrating the Academy's 25-year anniversary.



**1998–2000:** *NRK musikken*

Continuation of *Nye musikken*.

**1999–2016:** *Klassisk musikkmagasin*

Magazine on classical music.

**2000–:** *Ballade*

Editorially independent online magazine on Norwegian music published by *Foreningen Ballade*, which is owned by the Norwegian Society of Composers (*Norsk komponistforening*), the Norwegian Society of Composers and Lyricists (NOPA) and the Norwegian Music Publishers Association (*Musikkforleggerne*).

**2008–2010:** *Musikk i skolen*

Continuation of *Arabesk*.

**2012–2016:** *Norwegian eJournal of Music Research*

Short-lived online academic journal published by the University of Agder.

**2014–:** *Musikk & Historie*

Magazine on early music published by the Centre for Early Music in Trondheim (*Senter for tidligmusikk*). It was initially a web magazine but changed to printed volumes in 2017.

**2016–:** *Pling*

Magazine disseminating research activities of the Norwegian Academy of Music and published by the same institution.

**2017–:** *KlassiskMusikk*

Online continuation of *Klassisk musikkmagasin*.

**2017–:** *Plong*

Magazine with stories from the Norwegian Academy of Music published by said institution.

**2020–:** *Nordic Research in Music Education*

Continuation of *Nordisk musikkpedagogisk forskning – Årbok*.

**2021–:** *Kontekst*

Continuation of *Musikkultur*.

Why do music performance students need to study music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint? Bjørnar Utne-Reitan's dissertation aims to develop a wide-ranging historical understanding of how music-theoretical disciplines such as harmony and counterpoint have been constructed and justified as part of higher music education. It does this through a study of the situation in Norway in general, and Oslo in particular, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The dissertation is the first extensive study in the history of music theory in Norway. The source material comprises music theory books, formal curricula from the Oslo Conservatoire and Norwegian Academy of Music and music theory debates in periodicals. Through Foucault-inspired discourse-oriented analyses of these historical documents, Utne-Reitan explores complex developments in the music theory discourse in Norway.

A central finding is that several important ruptures and transformations occurred in the period c. 1945-1975: Function symbols gradually replaced Roman numerals as the dominant system in harmonic analysis, a new name for the mandatory theory training was introduced (*satslære*) and what until then had almost exclusively been a craft-oriented discourse was transformed into a broader discourse where music theory is constructed as, among other things, 'understanding music'. The idea of theory as craft - coupled with an aversion to theoretical complexity - would nonetheless remain strong.

Bjørnar Utne-Reitan (b. 1994) studied musicology at the University of Oslo and music theory at the Norwegian Academy of Music. He has made important contributions to research on Grieg and has published in the *Journal of Music Theory*, *Music Analysis*, *Danish Musicology Online*, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie* and *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*.