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Songs Composed by Władysław Żeleński to the Lyrics of the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové*

Abstract | Władysław Żeleński wrote concerning his *Five Songs from the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* that they included a certain "Slavic element". Following therein, the author of this paper explores the relationship between the above-mentioned musical works and the Slavic idea. He explores Żeleński's songs in light of the Slavophile discussion about the *Manuscript* and analyses Żeleński's songs within the context of earlier musical settings of the celebrated hoax.

Keywords | Władysław Żeleński – the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* – Slavic idea – Slavophilism – Lucjan Siemieński

"As every German rejoices at his Heldenbuch or Nibelunglied or at his little love songs (minnelieder), as every Ers [Scot] is proud of Ossian, as every Spanish of his ancient romance on the great Ruyz Diaz et Cid Campeador, as every Pole and Russian boast of their Igor […] and every Serbian demonstrates with his older and newer songs that the masters of music are also among heroes and artists, Czechs should be equally proud as the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* is equal to the works created in the golden ages".[1]

These words by Lucjan Siemieński concern one of the most renowned literary hoaxes of the 19th century. Siemieński was the author of the first full translation of the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* into Polish (1836). This study concerns the wider cultural background and issues connected with the fact that the above-mentioned translation was used by Władysław Żeleński who took the lyrics and composed the music to them.

Václav Hanka "discovered" fourteen poems (eight of them epic and six lyrical), all supposedly from the turn of the 14th century in 1817. Although the poems were widely appreciated, the authenticity of the manuscript itself raised doubts from the very beginning. Apart from general suspicions of forgery, the issue was controversial because in the referred period the Czech nation was striving to break the long dominance of German culture over their own one. They were consequently primarily focused on the struggle to regain the equal position of the Czech and German languages regarding their official and cultural status; with the former, the Czech language, having a need to establish an ancient literary tradition.

The *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* influenced, however, far more European circles than merely the Czech cultural environment. In the first half of the 19th century it had become famous and had been subsequently translated into German, English and multiple Slavic languages, including Polish and Russian, among other languages. The Slavic thread within the reception of the referred manuscript is particularly interesting because in that period Pan-Slavism was thriving and consequently serious attempts were carried out in order to determine which Slavic language

[1] Lucjan Siemieński, "Przedsłowie," in *Królodworski Rekopis* (Kraków: w tłoczni D. E. Friedleina, 1836), 8–10.

was the oldest so as to distinguish between the "mother" and her "children". The results of this research soon moved, of course, far beyond the borders of pure linguistics and began to serve as an argument in the political discussions current in the 19th century. The Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, for example, deeply convinced that the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* was genuine, argued that the discovery of the *Manuscript* belied the Russian claims for cultural leadership among the Slavs in his lectures on Slavic literature given at the Collège de France in Paris. "The issue of superiority has been solved. The Czech language takes precedence [over other languages]," argued Mickiewicz.[2]

The *Manuscript* was a popular topic of literary dispute but was also frequently referred to in musical criticism, particularly in Bohemia. A number of the authors of the 19th century studies concerning Slavic music took a strictly historical approach and used the *Manuscript* as a source of argument for the practical principles of the reconstruction of the music of the ancient Slavs they were involved in. Many others, however, found there were useful clues for the creation of the modern national Slavic style. A perfect example of the latter tendency is the following fragment of *Rozmlouvání o slovanské hudbě* (1844) [A Discussion about Slavic music] by Vladislav Zap:

> *If we want to breathe in the spirit of the old national Czech music, we must first of all look for the remnants of the ancient works. As this is insufficient at times, we must ask our brothers for help. The Slovak sings his song* Hoja, dunda, hoja! *exactly as it was composed by him centuries ago. The same elegiac accords of the Cossacks' dumka resonate in the boundless steppe as they resonated in Konasewicz Sahajdaczny's time – or perhaps in St. Vladimir's time. Our songs, included in the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové, could not have been sung differently from those songs performed by contemporary Russians upon the banks of the Dniester River, so similar to our precious artefacts.*[3]

Multiple musical compositions stemmed from such views. In contrast to the opinion by Adam Mickiewicz that the lyrical poems included in the *Manuscript* are not worth a closer look,[4] certain music composers (for instance Václav Tomášek) found in them a great source of inspiration; and it was the epic poetry in the *Manuscript* which influenced musicians much less frequently. *Starožitné písně na slova Rukopisu královédvorského* [The Ancient Songs for the Text of the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové] by Václav Tomášek, composed in 1825, have long been considered an exemplary musical arrangement of this supposed literary masterpiece and a paragon of Czech national music.[5] Additional composers in the 1850s consequently made reference to

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[2] Adam Mickiewicz, "Literatura słowiańska. Kurs pierwszy, półrocze pierwsze," in Adam Mickiewicz, *Dzieła*, vol. 8 (Warszawa: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik, 1955), 133.

[3] "Chci li se nadchnauti duchem dávné narodni hudby české, prozpytowati především musím pozůstatky starobylých skládáni. To ale wždy nestači; musim se tedy uchýliti k pobratřencům. Slowák swau píseň: Hoja dunda hoja! zpívá zajisté tak, jak ji byl před nepamětnym wěkem složil; Kozákova dumka rozléhá se po neobmezené stepi těmi samými elegickými akordy, jak za časův Konasewiče Sahajdačného, ano snad i Wladimira swatého, a naše písně Kralodworského rukopisu zajiste mnohem jinak zpíwány býti nemohly, než jak nynější Rusín na břehách Dněstru některé swé, našim drahým památkám welice podobné, písně odzpěwuje". Vladislav Zap, "Cesty a procházky po Halické zemi," in *Zrcadlo žiwota na wýchodní Ewropě* (Prague: Jan Bohumír Calve, 1844), 10–11.

[4] See Adam Mickiewicz, "Literatura słowiańska," 138.

[5] None other than Václav Hanka praised Tomášek in the bilingual edition of the *Manuscript*; see Václav Hanka, "Předmluwa," in *Kralodworský rukopis* (Prague: J. G. Calve'sche Buchhandlung, 1829), 26. His style began to be viewed, however, as divergent from the ideal pattern of Czech national music in the second half of the 19th century. The Czech music critic Václav Juda Novotný in the periodical *Dalibor* analyzed various musical arrangements of the *Manuscript* in 1873 and claimed that "on komponoval v německém stylu nejen co do forem, nýbrž buhužel i co do obsahu" [Tomášek composed in the German style not only regarding the musical form but also

the lyrics of this infamous hoax. These included not only Bohemians (Dvořák, Fibich, František Zdeněk Skuherský, Karel Bendl)[6] but also a number of foreigners: Robert Franz, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Władysław Żeleński. Robert Franz based his song entitled *Die Verlassene*, op. 40 no. 5, this being a translation of the poem *Opuščena – The Forsaken (Woman)*, on the assumption that the original text was indeed a folk song (in the first edition of Franz's composition it was provided with the annotation *Volkslied. Böhmisch*). Other composers were aware of the fact that the *Manuscript* had certain Slavophilic overtones. *Mlada,* the opera-ballet by Rimsky-Korsakov, is a kind of Slavophilic synthesis and the threads taken from the *Manuscript* are closely intertwined with its plot.[7] Interestingly, *Mlada* was composed in the 1890s when the apocryphal status of the *Manuscript* had long been demonstrated.[8] One can find obvious Slavophilic overtones in *Pięć śpiewów z Rękopisu królodworskiego* [Five Songs from the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové / Pět zpěvů z královdvorského rukopisu], op. 10 by Władysław Żeleński as well. The composer stated: "I lived in Prague where the national spirit had begun to wake among Bohemians and hence some Slavic element passed into these songs."[9] Żeleński spent six years in Prague (from 1859) where he studied composition under Josef Krejčí. There he established excellent personal connections within Bohemian musical circles which resulted in the following editions and performances of his works in Prague. These bonds turned out to be extremely vital and long-lasting. This is indirectly confirmed by the fact that Żeleński was the only Polish musician who received a separate entry in *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí* (1965). According to this entry, his music was still being performed in Prague in the 1880s and 1890s. A monographic concert took place in the capital of Bohemia dedicated to the works by Żeleński for orchestra along with other Slavic concerts in 1880. It included the performance of his *Polonez*, op. 37, overture *W Tatrach* [In the Tatra Mountains] and a suite from the opera *Konrad Wallenrod*. Żeleński conducted a performance of his *Suita polska* [Polish Suite] in 1896.[10] One might add that in 1872 his *Symphony h-moll* was performed in a Prague conservatory.[11]

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in terms of the content]. Václav Juda Novotný, "Rukopis královédvorský a literatura hudební: kritický nástin," *Dalibor*, No. 32 (1873): 258.

[6] František Zdeněk Skuherský: *Tři písně z Rukopisu královédvorského* (1852), Antonín Dvořák: *Písně na slova z Rukopisu královédvorského*, op. 17 (1872), Zdeněk Fibich: *2 Písně z Rukopisu královédvorského*: *Skřivánek*, *Opuštěná* (1871), *Patero zpěvů* – no. 3: *Róže* (1871), *Žežulice*, (1875), *Jahody* (1877), Karel Bendl: *Šest písní z Rukopisu královédvorského* (1875).

[7] *Mlada* is a magical opera, a musical genre extremely popular in Russia. The background for its storyline (which is not particularly important and based on love and crime clichés) is a fictional episode from the heathen history of the Polabian Slavs. Viktor Krylov, the author of the libretto, used a large number of sources to put the plot together. He did not distinguish between historical and pseudo-historical works and the folklore, referring freely to medieval chronicles from Germany, Denmark, Poland and Old Russia (e. g., by Thietmar, Saxo Grammaticus, Nestor and Jan Długosz) as well as to Russian legends and the *Manuscripts* of Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora. The references to the above-mentioned Bohemian Manuscripts are visible in two fragments of *Mlada*. The song of Princess Vojslava in the first act uses the text of *The Forsaken* (*Woman*) poem from the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* to describe the feelings of a woman forsaken by her love. In the second act the words of the Bohemian soothsayer Lumir are a compilation of the poem *Záboj, Slavoj and Luděk* from the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* and *The Judgement of Libussa* from the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora*.

[8] The composer was in all probability unaware of that fact. The last Russian translation of the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové*, considered as authentic ancient poetry, was published in the 1930s. It was by Ivan Novikov.

[9] "Zaznaczył się w nich typ słowiański, który zawdzięczam pobytowi w Pradze, gdzie duch narodowy zaczął się budzić u Czechów". Władysław Żeleński, "Moje pamiętniki," *Wiadomości Literackie* 13/30 (1937): 3.

[10] Gracian Černušák, *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí*, vol. 2, ed. Gracian Černušák, Bohumír Štědroň, Zdenko Nováček (Prague: SHV, 1965), s. v. "Żeleński Władysław."

[11] Josef Krejči was responsible for the performance of the symphony by Żeleński which turned out to be the only one abroad. The composer was also a conductor. He had his symphony performed from the manuscript score.

The oeuvre of Żeleński contains quite a number of songs for the texts of Polish translations of Czech poems which bears testimony to his pro-Bohemian attitude. The *Five Songs from the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové*, op. 10 are the oldest and most important examples. Żeleński composed them between 1861 and 1862 when he was living in Prague. He used the Polish translation by Lucjan Siemieński (1836). Żeleński's arrangement was published in Czech and the Polish version in *Zlatý zpěvník*, a collective songbook issued by J. Hoffmann in Prague. Apart from Żeleński, all the other composers included in that publication were Bohemians.

Żeleński also published a song entitled *Hvězda naději* [Star of Hope] composed to the text of a poem by Franciszek Żygliński translated into Czech by an anonymous author in 1874 as a supplement to the periodical *Dalibor*. The above-mentioned song was dedicated to Ludevít Procházka ("na důkaz přízně přátelské"). Żeleński also composed a song entitled *Marzenia dziewczyny* [A Girl's Dreams] whose lyrics were a translation of the Czech folk song *Kdyby mně to Pán Bůh dal* included in the songbook *Nápěvy prostonárodních písní českých* by Karel Jaromír Erben.[12] The music is in the style of Polish mazurka. The adoption of the Polish style can be seen in the *Five Songs from the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové*. It was criticized by the Bohemian musical reviewer Václav Juda Novotný who accused Żeleński of adopting a misleading stylistic interpretation of the poems of the *Manuscript*.[13]

The circumstances accompanying the composition of the songs for the text of the *Manuscript* by Żeleński do little to disclose the connection between the work and the Slavic idea. The letters written by Żeleński during his studies in Prague contain two references to the songs to the text of the *Manuscript*. First of all, there is a humorous passage in the letter from the 19th of February 1862 to his acquaintance Julian Łukaszewski (who decided to publish them):

> *I recently gave birth to some children. None of the deliveries proved hard because the babies were pretty small. I restocked the collection of songs to the text of the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové and I composed a piece for the men's choir to the text of the* Sailors' Song *by Wasilewski – it is actually your favourite poetry. My "Konrad Wallenrod" lies dormant.*[14]

In the second letter, dated 22nd of September 1862, the composer described the finished musical piece. According to his words, he actually attached much importance to the "little babies", despite his former remarks:

> *We should meet in Kraków. Then, as compensation, I will give you a copy of my songs to the text of the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové – among others the famous "Cuckoo". These songs are always of hope, of some future happiness. From time to time a howl of doubt resonates in them, but they are cloudier for a short moment: the sky quickly clears. And in accordance with my method, they contain something undetermined, something symbolic.*[15]

The work is now lost (see *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, No. 2 (1883)). Only the second movement, entitled *The Sorrowful Songs*, survived and was published by Kistner in Leipzig).

[12] Karel Jaromír Erben, *Nápěvy prostonárodních písní českých*, (Prague: Alois Hynek, 1862), 65. I would like to thank Dr Jiří Kopecký for the information.

[13] See Václav Juda Novotný, "Rukopis královédvorský a literatura hudební: kritický nástin," 258.

[14] "Porodów miałem kilka niezbyt ciężkich, bo to dzieci na mniejszą skalę. Uzupełniam zbiór pieśni z Królodworskiego Rękopismu, układam chór męzki na słowa Wasilewskiego Pieśń żeglarzy, twoja to najulubieńsza poezja. Wallenrod śpi". Łukasz Wielkopolanin [Julian Łukaszewski], *Z pobytu Władysława Żeleńskiego w Pradze. Wspomnienia z roku 1860–1861* (Lwów: Druk K. Wiesnera, 1898), 22.

[15] "Za naszem widzeniem się w Krakowie będę się starał naprawić złe, wręczając Ci egzemplarz pieśni do słów z Królodworskiego rękopismu, w których pomiędzy innemi pamiętna <kukułka>. Są to jeszcze pieśni nadziei,

According to a diary by Julian Łukaszewski the above-mentioned songs, or at least *Zezhulice* [the Cuckoo], had already been performed during meetings of Polish students in Prague. Łukaszewski wrote that *The Cuckoo* and *The Sailors' Song* had always been admired.[16] During such meetings, political issues were fiercely discussed and Żeleński certainly took part in the debates concerning patriotism and the independence of Poland. There is no evidence, however, proving his positive attitude towards the Slavic idea or his participation in the Slavic student organization whose member and "chronicler" was Łukaszewski. Perhaps the lack of such biographical traces is due to the fact that the Slavic organization (Łukaszewski did not write its name) was delegalized by the Austrian authorities after students had openly sung together *Hej Slované* on Charles Square on New Year's Eve 1861/1862. Therefore, the only considerable links between the songs by Żeleński and the Slavophilism are his obvious interest in Czech literature and his above-quoted "Slavic" remarks.

This is not particularly helpful, however, for an analysis of the songs op. 10. First of all, these musical pieces are bereft of stylistic archaisms which is striking because Żeleński almost certainly viewed the *Manuscript* as genuine and should have rendered it more "old-Slavonic", in accordance with the prevailing tendency initiated by the highly melancholic interpretations by Václav Tomášek. Żeleński nevertheless knew how to archaize, using, for instance, the modal scale and pure diatonics in *Jaruha's song*. He was no doubt also interested in mythical Slavic history. Apart from the songs from the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové*, he wrote two operas (out of four) whose settings are legendary, pre-historical Poland: *Stara Baśń* [An Ancient Tale] based on a novel by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski regarding the legend of Piast the Cartwright and King Popiel and *Goplana* (based on the drama *Balladyna* by Juliusz Słowacki).

Żeleński did not compose the music to the text of all six poems included in the *Manuscript*. He omitted the poem *Jahody* [The Strawberries/Jagody]. He in all probability found that particular text too similar in relation to the other poems. *The Cuckoo* consequently opens the musical cycle. *Róže* [The Rose/Róża] is next, followed by *Opuščená* [The Forsaken/Opuszczona] and *Skřivánek* [The Lark/Skowronek]. In contrast to the original order of the poems in the *Manuscript* followed by Tomášek and Siemieński, Żeleński decided to make the poem *Kytice* [The Nosegay/Wianek] the end of his musical cycle. If we recall the quoted composer's remark, the order he adopted has a deeper sense. *The Cuckoo* is indeed "a song of hope, songs of some future happiness". The "howl of doubt" is present in *The Forsaken*, in certain fragments of *The Rose* and in the denser, cloudier beginning of *The Nosegay*. Nevertheless, the end of the last piece is optimistic and resembles the image of skies clearing up. *The Nosegay* is the only song in the op. 10 in which some symbolism of nature is discernible. This is despite the fact that the *Manuscrip*t itself clearly suggests it and that Tomášek and then Dvořák stressed it in their songs.[17] *The Nosegay* by Żeleński is a highly dramatized and opera-like song, contrary to its idyllic text. After the piano introduction illustrating the wind blowing or the murmuring of the stream[18], the vocal entry immediately

szczęścia przyszłego, czasem gdzieniegdzie zawyje akord zwątpienia, po małych chmurach jednak horyzont znów się rozjaśnia. Jest w nich coś nieoznaczonego, symbolicznie powiedzianego, zgodnie z mym dotychczasowym postępowaniem". Łukasz Wielkopolanin [Julian Łukaszewski], *Z pobytu Władysława Żeleńskiego w Pradze. Wspomnienia z roku 1860–1861*, 23.

[16] Ibid., 10.

[17] For instance in *Zezhulice* [The Cuckoo] by Tomášek all of the piano part is based on the motif of a descending third which is a typical onomatopoeic device to render the voice of a cuckoo. A very similar technique was used by Tomášek in the song *Skřivánek* [Lark].

[18] The first words of the song are "wieje wietrzyk, wieje" [the light wind doth blow] but then the characteristic piano figure accompanies the words "bieży dziewczę młode do zdroju po wodę" [The maiden beloved to the streamlet doth go].

begins. The recitative fluently turns into an arioso. The piano part provides the vocal part with an extremely interesting harmony with certain modulations. The second part of *The Nosegay* is conventional, however, and contrasts with the first one. It is in a major parallel key (A-dur) and is stylized to resemble a folk song of regular rhythm and fluent melody. All the other songs form op. 10 and are similar and in German terminology would be classified as *Lied* and not as *Gesang*. This is even true with *The Forsaken* with its mood of suffering and sadness consistent with the text of the *Manuscript*. The beginning and the end parts of that particular song are in a minor key (all the other songs from the referred opus are in a major key). Due to its slow pace and steady quavering motion, it is in fact a stylized *dumka*, a genre extremely popular in the 19th century among Polish composers.

The first official performance of songs from the *Manuscript from Dvůr Králové* took place in 1862 in Prague. They were sang by Helena Zawiszanka, a Polish soloist of the Provisional Theatre (a few years later she became the first Halka on the Czech national stage). The piano part was played by the composer himself.[19] Polish press materials have preserved proof that these works were also performed in Poland. They were in the repertoire of Maria Paulina Mecenzeffy (a Hungarian singer of Polish descent, known under the pseudonym Maria Rivoli Bolzano) in the 1870s.[20] One of the songs, *Wianek*[21], enjoyed special recognition. Later the songs faded into oblivion. Recently, however, they have been restored to the collective memory (along with the songs of Tomášek, Dvořák and Lisinski) thanks to a CD recording entitled *W kręgu muzyki słowiańskiej: Pieśni inspirowane "Rękopisem królodworskim"* [In the circle of Slavic music: Songs inspired by "Manuscript from Dvůr Králové].

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[19] Franciszek Stewich, [without a title], *Gazeta Polska*, No. 295 (1862): 4.

[20] She was confused at times with the more famous singer Paulina Rivoli, the first performer of the role of Halka.

[21] The well-known Polish music critic Jan Kleczyński wrote about Żeleński's songs: "Z nowszych kompozycyj, któreśmy poznali bądź z prywatnych bądź z publicznych wystąpień panny Maryi Mezenzeffy, kilka niezmiernie nam się podobało, np. *Wianek*, jedna z pięciu dorobionych do ustępów ze sławnego Królodworskiego Rękopismu" [Among the new compositions, which we know from private or public appearances of Miss Maria Mezenzeffy, some extremely pleased us, for example, *Wianek*, one of the five songs from the famous Manuscript from Dvůr Králové]. Jan Kleczyński, "Ruch muzyczny," *Bluszcz*, No. 13 (1871): 102.

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The Reception of Leoš Janáček's Output in Poland in the 19th and 20th Centuries (up until 1956)

Abstract | This article is devoted to the history of the presence of Leoš Janáček's output (and him personally) in Polish musical life. Certain newly discovered facts have helped to explain anew Janáček's interest in Poland and its culture. The presence of Janáček's compositions in the Polish opera and concert repertoire was interpreted as part of the broadly sketched social-political context in order to reveal its connections with the current state of Polish-Czech affairs (including the Polish reception of the Slavonic idea).The second aspect of the author's considerations was the influence of the artistic ideas prevailing in western Europe (particularly in Vienna and Berlin) on the Polish style of understanding Janáček's music.

Keywords | Leoš Janáček – Polish musical culture of the 19th and 20th centuries – Czech musical culture of the 19th and 20th centuries – Czechoslovak music – musical criticism

It has only been 60 years since Bohumír Štědroň's paper *Janáček a Polsko* was published in Brno.[1] Although this contains a great deal of valuable information concerning Janáček's interest in Poland and its musical culture, supported by carefully collected source documentation (both of Janáček's biographers: Jaroslav Vogel[2] and John Tyrell[3] have added nothing new to this subject; also none of the Polish musicologists have been interested in the development of Štědroň's research), it is high time to revise Štědroň's resolutions dealing with Janáček's political attitudes and Czech-Polish relations in the period indicated above. A contemporary observer immediately recognizes the influence of Marxist ideology on Štědroň's insights into the mythical brotherhood between two Slavic nations suffering the same historical fate, dreaming together about liberty and democracy, and supposedly sympathetic to the revolutionary movements. Also the general image of the Slavic world as a kind of "ghetto", closed to any inspirations from western Europe disseminated by Štědroň, is typical for the Communist era. In order to explain in depth the circumstances of the resonance of Janáček's output in Polish musical life in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, which was, as I hope to prove, fairly modest, one should indicate the presence of the well-known Polish-Czech controversy caused by friendly relationship between Czechs and Russians, and Ukrainians as well. One should start from the beginning, however.

This is justified in light of the specific peculiarity of Polish musical thought of the 19th century which involved an inclination to consider the individual properties of the creation of the particular composers within the overall context of the culture of the nation, which these creators

[1] Bohumír Štědroň, "Leoš Janáček a Polsko," in *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* (Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1954), 66–78.

[2] Jaroslav Vogel, *Leoš Janáček*, Prague: SHV, 1963.

[3] John Tyrrell, *Janáček, Years of a Life*, Vol. I, II, London: Faber and Faber, 2006–2007.

basically represent. The existence of this kind of assumption was substantiated by the adherence, on the part of creators and scholars expressing their opinions on music, to the inclusion of the discussion of music in political projects based on an incessant determining of the possibility of development of native culture referring to the assimilation of European achievements and examining the possibility of expanding it into world markets. This last-mentioned project, which began to be topical at the turn of the 20th century, in the epoch of the so-called Young Poland, has been often considered in view of a comparison of Polish artists' chances with the achievements of neighbouring countries. A new, broader perspective of development of cultural relations with Slavic countries was coming into view, raised in those days in connection with the so-called Slavic movement, which gained interest among certain Polish intelligentsia at that time (as a great novelty growing up independently of the well-known Polish Russophobia[4]). Karel Kramář visited Poland in 1892. A group of Poles from Warsaw and Galicia took part in the Neo-Slavic rally in Prague (1908). The Slavic Society [Klub Słowiański] was established in Krakow in 1901 and attracted a group of prominent scholars and politicians (including Marian Zdziechowski and Feliks Koneczny). They propagated the idea of Austro-Slavism. The wave of the Polish-Slavic movement bore fruit in various fields of art, being particularly strongly in literature. Translations began to flourish. Exclusive literary periodicals as well as newspapers printed Russian, Czech and Croatian dramas, novels and poetry. There was also a new wave of interest, although a modest one at the beginning, in contemporary Slav music. In relation to this only Russian music had already held a steady, high position. Apart from Tchaikovsky, the works of Rimsky-Korsakov and Modest Mussorgsky were also played. Czech music was only represented in the collective consciousness of the participants of music culture by the works of Smetana and Dvořák up until the beginning of the Great World War. However, the state of knowledge of Czech music in Poland grew systematically thanks to the works of Adolf Chybiński, Adolf Nowaczyński as well as certain Czech authors who published in Poland issues devoted to Czech music, both historical and contemporary. These issues introduced Polish readers to the names of younger Czech composers: Suk, Foerster and Novák (the last one as an analogue to Mieczysław Karłowicz, as both of them immortalized the Tatra Mountains in their music). It is characteristic, however, that in Polish music literature created before the Great War one could not find that of Janáček, the composer, who had appeared personally in Warsaw several times before.

His most well-known visit, described by Jaroslav Vogel as a "mystery in Janáček's biography",[5] took place in April 1904. It was his third stay in the Polish capital, the previous two having taken place as Bohumír Štědroň writes, in 1896 and 1902; they had only constituted, however, a step on the road to Russia. There are not any traces of these first of Janáček's visits to Warsaw in Polish sources. None of his works were performed in the Polish capital or any another Polish cities at that time. There are also no documents available which would explained Janáček's attitude towards Polish music at the time in spite of that towards Chopin, of course. The Czech composer's admiration to Chopin must be understand, as Jiří Fukač suggested, not only as a consequence

[4] If one wishes to speak of the attitudes of 19th century Poles, one must take into consideration the fact that each part of the country was ruled by one of the three empires: Russia, Austria and Prussia. One could observe the characteristic co-existence of the aspirations for independence and assimilationist trends. The predominance of the second type of attitude was typical for the epoch of Young Poland which coincided with the time of political thawing under the rule of Tsar Alexander III (in the Russian part) and Franz Joseph II (in the Austrian part). The dissemination of an assimilationist attitude makes ground for the growth of popularity of Slavophilism.

[5] Jaroslav Vogel, *Leoš Janáček,* English translation Geraldine Thomsen-Muchová (London: Orbis, 1981), 150.

of Janáček's slavophilism or his special interest in Polish music, but also as his appreciation of Chopin as a great European master[6].

There is, of course, a series of "Polish" issues in Janáček's *Hudební listy*, first of all the brave review of Karel Konrád's comparative study about Polish sacred music entitled *Posvátná píseň polská s obzvláštním zřetelem k posvátné písni české* (1885), which indicates his authentic engagement in the Slavic-movement. Štědroň relates that Janáček was also the author of several letters about Warsaw musical life published in *Hudební listy* (signed -aa-) (neither Vogel, nor Tyrrell confirms this suggestion). The content and the tone of these letters, quite malicious and often ironic, suggests that they must have been written by a bystander, perhaps by one of the numerous Czech musicians working at that time in the Polish city. They are certainly not the statements of a slavophile, although certain anti-Semitic and anti-German accents which appear in them suggest the engagement of the unknown author in the "East-West" problem, very characteristic for Czech writers (and in the same time not so important for "cosmopolitan" Varsovians).

A description of Janáček's adventure connected with the invitation of the post of director of the Warsaw Musical Institute, which he received in the spring of 1904, should begin with the remark that he was invited by the supervisory board of the school which represented Russian authorities (Warsaw Institute of Music was a half-governmental school supported by Russians) and not by the Polish professors working there. They actually battled with the supervisory board in order to employ a Pole for the director's post. The most powerful professors, Zygmunt Noskowski the composer, Aleksander Michałowski the pianist and Stanisław Barcewicz the violinist, were engaged in this battle personally since each of them hoped to became the director (this is evident from the surviving correspondence between Zygmunt Noskowski and Emil Młynarski the conductor who finally became the new director[7]). It should be recalled here that the resistance on the part of Polish musicians against the Russian headship of the Warsaw conservatory was so effective that the supervisory board did not manage to impose a Russian director. The school consequently functioned over the years 1888–1903 without an official head, under the administration of a Teaching Council (1888–1896) and Nikolai Kapher a Russian as deputy director only (1896–1903).

In 1904 the Russian authorities were determined to give the school a non-Polish head and, since the Polish party insisted on not employing a Russian one (Aleksander Michałowski even threatened his resignation), they decided to make a kind of compromise. They sent out a proposal to Janáček who was not a Russian but who declared openly his pro-Russian sympathies. Why did Janáček resign, however? There are several possible explanations for his decision, perhaps he was personally discouraged by the Polish professors. Perhaps, as Štědroň suggests, quoting Janáček's letter to František Bartoš, the composer was offered an extremely low fee.[8] It is also possible that Janáček was scared off by the current events in Warsaw. The city was then on the eve of revolution. The workers had gone on strike and a state of emergency was introduced (on 28th April local time). Thus, it was definitely better for Janáček to return home.

Another version exists of the described episode published in 1926 in the Warsaw monthly *Muzyka* in the article *Moje wspomnienia o Polsce – dwa dni w Warszawie* [My reminiscences of

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[6] Jiří Fukač, "Wpływ Chopina na Janáčka [Chopin's influence on Janáček]," Polish translation Maria Erhardt-Gronowska, *Muzyka* 16/1 (1966): 74.

[7] See Magdalena Dziadek, *Od Szkoły Dramatycznej do Uniwersytetu. Dzieje wyższej szkoły muzycznej w Warszawie 1810–2010* [From Drama School to University. A history of the high Music School in Warsaw 1810–2010]. Vol I, 1810–1944 (Warsaw: UMFC, 2011), 262–264.

[8] See Bohumír Štědroň, "Leoš Janáček a Polsko," 75.

Poland – two days in Warsaw] signed by Janáček.[9] The composer writes there about the gaffe which he committed, having mixed up the date of his meeting with the Warsaw general-governor. He submitted, however, the wrong name of the general, having written [Josef] Skałon. The post of Warsaw general-governor was actually held then by Michaił Czertkow. It is difficult to understand such a mistake, conceivably the name of the Russian official was added by the editor whose memory was not so accurate.

Certain facts concerning the Polish threads in Janáček's biography have been discussed thus far. Attention will now be paid to the presence of such threads in his works. It returns here primarily to the question of Janáček's fascination with Chopin, resulting both in his compositional and theoretical studies. As written earlier Chopin was both the national composer and representative of universal European heritage for Central European observers. It is always difficult to separate these aspects, they also being connected in Janáček's output.

There exist a single work of Janáček which used to serve as an example of the composer's "Polish" inspiration, this being *Otčenáš* for mixed choir and organ written in 1901 for Brnenska Vesna. This composition was the musical illustration for *tableaux vivant* directed by Josef Villart. The inspiration for that *tableaux* was a series of paintings by the Polish artist Józef Krzesz Męcina from Kraków (a pupil of Jan Matejko) entitled *Ojcze nasz* [the Lord's Prayer], currently missing). The basis of the work for Villart and Janáček were black and white reproductions of Krzesz' paintings published in the popular Warsaw weekly *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (1899, no. 44). The copy of *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* was provided by someone from Brno, this serving as proof for Štědroň for the popularity of the Polish painter (or Polish cultural press?) in Czech and consequently additional support for the idea of Polish-Czech friendship during Austrian times. In fact the reception of the Krzesz Męcina cycle in Czech was slightly different. The series of his eight realistic oil paintings, depicting scenes inspired by the Lord's Prayer, were created over the years 1885–1889 as a commission of the Habsburg Court. The Austrian Minister of Education Prince Baillet de Latour awarded the author a scholarship of 20,000 Krons for completion of the work. The completed paintings were premièred on 21st July 1899 in Kunsthistorisches Hofmuseum in Vienna. The court reserved for itself the rights to the paintings. They were photographed in order to make reproductions which were to hang in classrooms all over the monarchy. Such decision was commented on by the Austrian press as a great success on the part of the Polish artist.[10] The echoes of this success soon arrived in the Czech Lands. The most important Czech newspapers, such as *Politik*[11], *Plzeňské listy*[12], *Moravská Orlice,*[13] discussed thoroughly the entire event and described the paintings. The victory of the "Slavic battle" were the background for these comments. The choice of Krzesz' paintings by Villart and Janáček can be understand in exactly the same way. It is worth saying that the Polish press also used the terms of Slavic ideology to propagate the Viennese success of Krzesz Męcina. The well known writer from Kraków, Zygmunt Sarnecki, referred to the event as "overcoming the well-known German unfriendliness towards everything that grows out of the Slavic ground and breaths Slavic air".[14] The context of Slavic ideology, much broader than the context of Polish matters, introduces the well known problem

[9] Leoš Janáček, "Moje wspomnienia o Polsce – dwa dni w Warszawie [My reminiscences of Poland – two days in Warsaw," *Muzyka*, No. 5 (1926): 201.

[10] See "Theater- und Kunstnachrichten," *Neue Freie Presse*, 22 July 1899, 7; 25 July 1899, 7.

[11] *Politik*, 23 July 1899, 6.

[12] *Plzeňské listy*, 26 July 1899 (Felieton z Vidne), 1.

[13] *Moravská Orlice*, 30 July 1899, 9.

[14] "[przezwyciężenie] znanej germańskiej nieżyczliwości wobec wszystkiego, co ze słowiańskiego gruntu wyrasta i tchnieniem słowiańskiem dysze". Zygmunt Sarnecki, "'Ojcze nasz' Krzesza [the Lord's Prayer by Krzesz]," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, No. 44 (1899): 868.

of the East-West rivalry into our discussion. It should be recalled, at the same time, that such a rivalry, arising from the nationalist atmosphere of the time, did not necessarily affect all the Slavic artist and critics since they tended to rely on western opinions in matters of art. Zygmunt Latoszewski wrote after the première of Wagner's *Lohengrin* in Poznań in 1937 (realized under the direction of Heinrich Strohm from Hamburg) about Germans as "strangers as a nation but artistically related to us".[15] This sentence can serve as a model of the Polish reception of music, in which Janáček's output is also obviously involved since he was the greatest representative of those Slav composers who met with success in the Vienna and German centres.

The opinion created there determined Janáček's reception in Poland in the 1920s. This time was extremely difficult for the development of Polish-Czech cultural relations since the postwar political conflict concerning the so-called Zaolzie (Ostrava region) froze mutual contacts in many fields, particularly in the field of cultural exchange. In spite of this fact there were still a number of Polish people interested in improving those contacts. Mention should be made here of two musicologists from Poznań: Łucjan Kamieński and Henryk Opieński. Both of them travelled soon after the war to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, looking for possibilities to establish cooperation with the local musical environments. They expressed their admiration for Czechoslovak musical culture in the papers published after their excursions in the Poznań press. Extremely important is a series of studies by Łucjan Kamieński *O muzyce czeskiej* [About Czech Music] published in *Kurier Poznański* in 1924–1925. Here it should be emphasized that Poznań, the capital of so-called Great Poland (belonging before 1914 to Prussia) was the only centre where Slavophilism (with a clear Czech accent) flourished in the Polish lands as far back as the 19th century. The source of the great popularity of Slavophilism in the 19th century in Poznań was the close relations of its intelligentsia with Wrocław (then Breslau) and its university where a Faculty of Slavic Literature existed run by František Čelakovský. Čelakovský was extremely popular among Poles as one of the few supporters of the Polish anti-Russian uprising from 1830. The second reason for this was the involvement on the part of Poznań citizens in the resistance against the Germans, quite similar as that manifested by the Czechs. The common interests between Poles from Poznań and Czechs in political and economic matters, observed from the perspective of the anti-German trend, were often recalled by the Poznań inter-war authors. They also spoke about the spiritual kinship between Poznań citizens and their Czech neighbours. The term "realism" was used as a symbol of such kinship as it also expressed the deep difference between the inhabitants of Great Poland and Poles from the Russian part (showed there as injudicious idealists, "romantics").

In spite of their sympathies towards the Slavic world, Poznań intelligentsia always remained open to cultural influences from the West, especially from Germany which seems rather obvious when we notice that they were bilingual (German-speaking). This allowed them to follow German's attitudes toward culture and take many new ideas from them. A good illustration for this is the Poznań operatic life of the Inter-war period.

The operatic repertoire created by the first post-war directors of the Poznań Polish opera stage after 1918 (Adam Dołżycki, 1919–1922 and Piotr Stermich-Valcrocciata, 1922–1929) was simply a copy of the repertoire of Berlin stages (in spite of the fact that some Polish national works had their première). A modern German style of staging was also followed; Dołżycki (who studied in Berlin and was active there as a conductor as of 1910) was inspired by Max Reinhardt ideas, among others.[16] His successor Piotr Stermich-Valcrocciata (a conductor of Croatian origin hav-

[15] "obcy narodowo, artystycznie nam pokrewni". Zygmunt Latoszewski, "'Holender tułacz' Ryszarda Wagnera [Wagner's "Fliegende Holländer"]," *Biuletyn Teatru Wielkiego W Poznaniu*, No. 4 (1937–1938): 16.

[16] His brother Leon the painter, who also was employed in the Poznań opera house, was one of the first Polish representatives of Cubism.

ing earlier worked in Lvov, Galicia) also often visited Max Reinhard's Grosses Theater and other Berlin theatres. He introduced several modern German operas to the Poznań stage over the years 1922–1926: *Die toten Augen* by d'Albert, *Der Kuhreigen* and *Evangelimann* by Kienzl and even Strauss' *Ariadne auf Naxos* (in order to produce a modern staging of the last mentioned piece he personally went to Berlin to view the presentation of Strauss' masterpiece in Staatsoper).[17] He was also responsible for the premières of Wagner's *Walküre*, *Tannhäuser* and *Siegfried*. The Poznań audience was unfortunately not prepared to participate in such difficult spectacles, thus all of them closed down after only a few performances. Stermich Valcrocciata's initiative was appreciated, however, by the most powerful Poznań critics (ŁucjanKamieński, Zygmunt Latoszewski) as "a manifestation of our belonging in Europe"). The same fate befell Janáček's *Jenůfa* which was premièred in Poznań under Stermich Valcrocciata on 17 March 1926. Stanisław Tarnawski was the producer, Stanisław Jarocki created the decorations and the main roles were sung by Zofia Fedyczkowska, Wanda Jakubowska and Mieczysław Perkowicz. Although we can find some premises to interpret this entertainment within the context of traditional Poznań Slavic sympathies (a manifestation of them was the earlier première of *Legenda Bałtyku* [Baltic Legend] by the Poznań composer Feliks Nowowiejski, 1924, a number of people from Czechoslovakia, amongst others Karel Boleslav Jirák, and Yugoslavia were invited to take part in the première, announcing it in the Poznań press as "a Panslavic feast". The content of Nowowiejski's work is concerned Slavic myths and we should first of all associate the fact of staging *Jenůfa* with the Poznań admiration for German or, broadly speaking, European culture. This was just two years after the first postwar première of Janáček's masterpiece which took place in Prague. It was soon after performed on the greatest German stages (Frankfurt, Cologne, Vienna, Berlin). They brought the composer great success. *Musikblätter des Anbruch* announced in the spring of 1924 the imminent engagement of *Jenůfa* at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. The most important German-speaking critics, eg. Max Brod from Prague and Oscar Bie from Berlin published reviews which spoke of Janáček as the happy successor to Mussorgsky. The great invention of the composer, the novelty of his rhythms and motifs, the psychological truth of his characters and generally, the "health", "liveliness" and "joy" were the main categories appearing in these reviews.[18] As early as 1925 the piano version of *Jenůfa* was published in Vienna by Universal-Edition as well as the libretto of the opera and the piano arrangement. It is apparent that the Poznań première of Janáček's work is an echo of its great success in the German circles. Proof of this is the content of the reviews written by the above-mentioned Poznań critics who were familiar with the German opinion. Zygmunt Latoszewski, the conductor (and future director of the Poznań opera stage), wrote for Warsaw *Muzyka* a comprehensive text which states his exact knowledge of Janáček's concept of *nápěvky mluvy* and generally about the composer's artistic views[19]. Henryk Opieński, the musicologist and organizer of musical life, showed a similar competence ending his review published in *Dziennik Poznański* with the characteristic sentence: "Poznań has again the great merit to introduce to the Polish stage the unknown for us and extremely valuable operatic work".[20] The Poznań initiative was noticed by Warsaw musicians. Important guests from Warsaw including

[17] See Magdalena Dziadek, *The Poznan Opera House 1919–2005. History of Stage and Thought* (Poznań: PTPN, 2007), 26–54.

[18] See Max Brod, "Stücke," *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 1926 H. 1, 17; H. Koll, "Neue Musik in Frankfurt," *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 1926 H. 1, 30; Oskar Bie, "Janáček's Jenufa' in Staatsoper in Berlin," *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 1926 H. 2, 73; Karl Holl, "Das Musikleben der Gegenwart. Oper. Frankfurt a. M.," *Die Musik*, No. 2 (1924): 361–362.

[19] Zygmunt Latoszewski, "Korespondencje. Poznań [Correspondences. Poznań]," *Muzyka*, No. 4 (1926): 169.

[20] Henryk Opieński, "Jenufa," *Dziennik Poznański*, No. 66 (1926): p. 6.

Emil Młynarski the conductor of the Great Theatre and Artur Śliwiński the director of Warsaw city theatres came to Poznań to hear *Jenůfa*.

That same year (1926) *Jenůfa* was premièred in Lvow under Milan Zuna a conductor of Czech origin, who was an avid propagator of Czech music (including Dvořák's *Rusalka*, with the text translated by him into Polish, which was staged several times in Lvov and Katowice). Similarly as in Poznań, *Jenůfa* quickly descended from the Lvov repertoire due to a lack of a properly prepared audience. The audience in Kraków also heard *Jenůfa* in 1927. Janáček's work was presented here together with three other Czech operas by the opera troupe from Olomouc. Oskar Nedbal was the conductor.[21]

When speaking of the reception of Janáček in former Galicia, one should also mention Zdzisław Jachimecki's study about the first version of *Jenůfa*, entitled *Její pastorkyňa*, published in 1918 in the Lvov weekly *Gazeta Muzyczna* edited by Stanisław Niewiadomski the outstanding composer and critic (Niewiadomski planned to run a regular column devoted to Slavic music in his magazine but stopped publishing it because he left for Warsaw). Jachimecki discussed in his study the première of *Její pastorkyňa* which he witnessed in Prague in 1916. He described the style of Janáček's opera as a "symbiosis of original invention and Moravian-Slovak music".[22]

All of the Polish musical environment responded to Janáček's death. The obituaries were published in the main Warsaw periodicals (*Muzyka*, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, *Świat*, *Bluszcz*) and also in the Poznań press (*Tęcza*, *Kurier Poznański*). It is worth knowing the way the composer's achievements provided in these texts were characterized as they were written by the greatest Polish supporters of Janáček: Łucjan Kamieński (who took part personally in Jánaček's funeral in Brno) and Mateusz Gliński. Gliński described Janáček as "not only one of the greatest personalities of the Czechoslovak artistic life but also one of the most outstanding individuals on the contemporary music scene".[23] Referring to the European image of Janáček, he recalled the role of Max Brod as a great supporter of him in the circle of German-speaking Czechs. As far as Janáček's emploi is concerned, he used an extremely characteristic formula "the ideological patron of the young" which indicated the composer's relationship with the newest currents in musical creation. The same formula: "the leader of the youngest" is listed in Kamieński's obituary published in *Kurier Poznański*. Kamieński tries to define more precisely Janáček's affiliation with the new music with a proposal that he be regarded as a precursor of Expressionism.[24]

In spite of the reactions to Janáček's death, there are also "lively" traces of the reception of his music in Warsaw in the second half of the 1920s. They correspond with the first signs of interest in Czech culture there, which had a rather pioneering character since the consequences of the political conflict between Prague and Warsaw were still noticeable. The first opportunity for creating friendly relations between the all-Polish and Czech music milieu occurred in 1924 when a group of Polish musicians (Łucjan Kamieński and Karol Szymanowski, among others) took part in the Prague Festival of IGNM. Thanks to new contacts established by them, a special issue of the Warsaw monthly *Muzyka* devoted to Czech music was published in 1924 (No. 2, with the participation of Jan Branberger, Karel Boleslav Jirák, Boleslav Vomáčka, Jan Loevenach and Zdeněk Nejedlý). In response a special Polish issue of *Listy Hudebni Matice* was published in 1927. Smetana's *Bartered Bride* was premièred in the Warsaw Great Theatre under Adam Dołżycki

[21] See Wiesław Gorecki, "Występy opery ołomunieckiej [Performances by the Olomouc opera]," *Gazeta Literacka*, No. 11 (1927): 4.

[22] "Z dziedziny twórczości słowiańskiej [From the field of Slavic music]," *Gazeta Muzyczna*, No. 5–6 (1918): 38.

[23] „Nie tylko jedna z czołowych postaci świata artystycznego Czechosłowacji, ale i jenda z największych indywidualności w współczesnym życiu muzycznym". Mateusz Gliński, "Śp. Leoš Janáček," *Muzyka*, No. 10 (1928): 455–456.

[24] Łucjan Kamieński, "Śp. Leoš Janáček," *Kurier Poznański*, No. 371 (1928): 6.

in the meantime (who just had left Poznań for the Polish capital) with a guest role by Josef Munclinger the singer and opera director from Prague, who acted over the following decades as one of the main propagators of Czechoslovak-Polish initiatives in the field of operatic life. In the autumn of 1927 an exhibition of Czechoslovak art was organized in Warsaw. The 10th anniversary of Czechoslovakia was celebrated in the Warsaw Philharmonic in 1928 with an entire festival of Czechoslovak music being organized. A chamber concert of the Prague string quartet took place during the festival with the musicians presenting, amongst other things, Janáček's quartet for the first time in Poland. Over the following years a great amount of Czech music was performed at the Warsaw Philharmonic (mostly by Czechoslovak musicians). Finally, the time for Janáček's *Jenůfa* came to Warsaw with the première at the Great Theatre in 1930. Several articles about Janáček were published in the Warsaw press before the event.[25] The première was prepared by Piotr Stermich-Valcrocciata as the conductor and Zygmunt Zaleski as the director. The main roles were sung by Wanda Wermińska, Adam Dobosz and Wiktor Brégy. Critics' opinions were deeply divided. Conservative authors such as Piotr Rytel complained about Janáček's breaking away from traditional operatic convention,[26] while authors sympathetic to new music declared an understanding of the composer's modernistic assumptions. One representative of the second group was the outstanding Warsaw critic Karol Stromenger. His two reviews of *Jenůfa*, published in *Wiadomości Literackie* and *Gazeta Polska*, revealed his familiarity with German literature since he uses in order to describe Janáček's style similar terms such as Max Brod and Oscar Bie ("liveliness", "energy", "instinct", modernism, "primitiveness", etc.). Stromenger emphasized his natural talent, having had no analogues and asserted that Janáček's music cannot be assigned to any of the existing currents in modern music. A "young old man", "precursor", "modernist" were the formulas used by the critic to make the Czech composer familiar to the readers.[27]

As far as instrumental music of Janáček is concerned, his *Sinfonietta* was finally performed at the Warsaw Philharmonic in October 1928 at a concert of contemporary music. Jerzy Bojanowski was the conductor. The presence of German inspirations is of interest in the search for the right place for Janáček on the map of contemporary music by Polish musicians with Janáček's *Sinfonietta* being presented in the company of works by Franz Schrecker and Karol Rathaus (the Polish composer living in Vienna). For Felicjan Szopski, a powerful critic of "Kurier Warszawski", *Sinfonietta* was too modern, full of dissonances and with "brutal" instrumental effects.[28]

Other, not so numerous performances of Janáček's music in Poland in the 1930s, were those carried out by Czechoslovak amateur choirs which visited Poland. I give here as an example two concerts of Prague and Moravian women teachers' choirs under Ferdinand Vach and Jaromír Herle given in Warsaw and other Polish cities in 1928 and 1931.[29] I am convinced that one could find more such examples up until 1935 when the next political conflict froze mutual Polish-Czechoslovak contacts.

There were several persons who were deeply interested in developing all-Slavic cultural relations over the next five years (up until 1939). Among them was Zygmunt Latoszewski, the last pre-war director of the Poznań opera, who announced as early as 1934 a project of premièring several operas by Slav (Russian and Czech) composers. He justified his plan referring to the

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[25] *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, No. 7 (1930): 127; *Wiadomości Literackie*, No. 6 (1930): 6.

[26] Piotr Rytel, "Jenufa, opera Leosza Janaczka [Jenufa, the opera of Leoš Janáček]," *Gazeta Warszawska*, No. 25 (1930): 4.

[27] Karol Stromenger, "'Jenufa' Janaczka [Janáček's 'Jenufa']," *Wiadomości Literackie*, No. 6 (1930): p. 6; "Jenufa – opera Leosza Janaczka [Jenufa, the opera of Leoš Janáček]," *Gazeta Polska*, No. 23 (1930): 6.

[28] Felicjan Szopski, "Z Filharmonii [From the Philharmonic]," *Kurier Warszawski*, No. 305 (1928): 8 (evening issue).

[29] See *Kurier Warszawski*, No. 296 (1928): pp. 3–4 (evening issue); No. 130 (1931): 9 (evening issue).

success of these operas in Europe.[30] The outbreak of the Second World War prevented the implementation of Latoszewski's "Slavic" project. After the war, Latoszewski returned to Poznań and tried to continue it, which was not all that simple due to the prevailing problematic social atmosphere around any forms of Slavophilism, now conceived by the authorities as the programme of brotherhood within the entire Socialist camp. Latoszewski only managed to stage Smetana's *Bartered Bride* as early as 1946. Janáček's *Jenůfa* was premièred at the Wrocław State Opera House under Izydor Szabsaj on 31 December 1953. The role of Kostelnička was sung by Alicja Dankowska, Weronika Pelczar was Jenůfa and Stanisław Romański, Laca. The performance shared the fate of the pre-war Polish stagings as it quickly disappeared from the repertoire. The reason for this was not only the difficulty of Janáček's music for Polish ears, but also the fact that the première was realized under extremely unpopular ideological considerations which involved the Socialist version of the above-mentioned "Slavic brotherhood".

Moving toward a conclusion, I would like to attempt to provide a general answer to the question as to why Janáček's music was so rarely presented in Poland up until 1956 and why it was so often misunderstand by the broader audience? A provisional answer to the first question is the influence of political controversies which had a general inhibitory effect on the Polish reception of Czech and Czechoslovak culture. If looking for the answer to the second question, one should take into consideration lack of interest in modern Czech musical culture, rooted in the Viennese and German tradition, among the majority of Polish musicians of the Inter-war period, particularly among the conservative circle in Warsaw as a well as among the group of young musicians gathered around Karol Szymanowski who became in the 1930s the great enemy of German tradition. The "Romanesque" and at the same time anti-German direction in Polish music of the day gave rise to the Polish variant of Neo-classicism which was focused on Paris. It is characteristic that Bohuslav Martinů, who studied in Paris and shared with them a "universal" Neo-classical current, was the most familiar out of the modern Czech composers for the "Szymanowski group". The last but not least reason for Janáček's practical demise into oblivion after 1945 was the quite prosaic fact that all the three pre-war Polish supporters of the Czech composer: Mateusz Gliński, Karol Stromenger and Łucjan Kamieński retreated from Polish musical life. Gliński left for USA, Kamieński was strongly persecuted by the Communists for his German origin and Stromenger had to step aside as the public enemy of Szymanowski, whose pupils and friends assumed the leading role in post-war musical life in Poland. The situation only changed after 1956, in the epoch of the first "Warsaw Autumns" festivals wherein Janáček found there quite a solid position. This is another story, however.

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[30] "Nasz repertuar polski i słowiański [Our Polish and Slavic repertoire]," *Teatr Wielki. Opera w Poznaniu*, No. 2 (1934–1935): 4.

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Ottavio Tronsarelli e la *Catena d'Adone* fra morte di Marino e messa all'indice del poema

Abstract | This essay concerns the opera *La catena d'Adone* written by Ottavio Tronsarelli and set to music by Domenico Mazzocchi (1626, Rome). The analysis is focused on the librettist, his life and his work; then on the performance and the printing of the text and score. The main interest is furthermore focused on the peculiar historical and cultural situation of the opera in the coeval Roman milieu, between the death of Marino and the ecclesiastical condemnation of his poem Adone. A number of pages are also dedicated to an in-depth analysis of a comparison between the Adone and the libretto by Tronsarelli, underlining the differences and stressing the purposes of the artistic operation by Tronsarelli and Mazzocchi.

Keywords | Melodrama – Baroque – Librettology – Music and Poetry – Tronsarelli – Marino – Rome 1626

La fonte più accessibile di dati sulla vita di Ottavio Tronsarelli è data dal medaglione che l'Eritreo gli dedica nelle *Pinacotheca tertia*.[1] Vi si dice che la famiglia del nostro era oriunda francese; il nonno di Ottavio si trasferì a Roma nel 1528 portando con sé infante il figlio Antonio. Questi sarà padre di Giovan Francesco, Orazio e quindi Ottavio. Egli studiò presso i gesuiti a Roma, ed ebbe come maestri figure del calibro di Famiano Strada e Bernardino Stefonio. Eritreo tramanda poi che Tronsarelli, desideroso di darsi interamente alle lettere, passò dal Collegio all'Accademia, precisamente quella degli Umoristi. Ne uscì quindi per un diverbio con Agostino Mascardi, che in quel tempo era principe; si trasferì all'Accademia degli Ordinati, fondata da Giulio Strozzi, che si riuniva presso il cardinal Deti; comunque già prima del '26 Tronsarelli aveva scritto un sonetto in lode di Filippo Masio allora principe degli Ordinati: *Rime* (Roma: Corbelletti, 1626), 85. Qui ebbe un diverbio con la Margherita Sarrocchi in merito all'impresa e al motto accademico. Tronsarelli fu anche *magna pars* dell'Accademia degli Sterili.[2] Sempre dedito alla caccia, ci racconta Eritreo, era anche attivissimo nei lavori georgici, sicché per l'affaticamento e il vitto troppo austero arrivò a morire "tertiana febri" e quindi "lethali bile oppressus", nel settembre 1641.

Un elenco delle opere di Tronsarelli è offerto da Mandosio,[3] Amati (*loc. cit.*) e recentemente da Giambonini[4] a commento dell'affettuosa lettera che Marino scrisse al nostro probabilmente quando era appena venuto a Napoli da Roma, suo ultimo viaggio. Marino cita i due poemi di Tronsarelli, *Il Costantino* (Roma: Corbelletti, 1629) e *La vittoria navale* (Roma: Corbelletti,

[1] Iani Nicii Erythraei, *Pinacotheca tertia* (Coloniae Ubiorum: apud I. Kalcovium, 1647), 147–152.

[2] Girolamo Amati, *Bibliografia romana* (Roma: Eredi Botta, 1880), 235. Cfr. Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, Vol. V (Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1930), 262.

[3] Prospero Mandosio, *Bibliotheca romana*, Vol. II, centuria IX (Roma: De Lazaris, 1692), 245–247.

[4] Francesco Giambonini, "Cinque lettere ignote del Marino," in *Forme e vicende. Per Giovanni Pozzi*, a cura di Ottavio Besomi, Giulia Gianella, Alessandro Martini, Guido Pedrojetta (Padova: Antenore, 1988), 325n15.

1633). Ottavio fu autore prolifico, e scrisse molto per musica; in particolare si segnala la silloge di *Drammi musicali* (Roma: Corbelletti, 1632), in cui egli raccoglie un folto gruppo di suoi brevi libretti e inaugura un nuovo "genere" librario, cioè l'auto-raccolta di testi per il teatro musicale (ne allestiranno Prospero Bonarelli, Benedetto Ferrari, Girolamo Bartolommei, e soprattutto Busenello), a testimoniare già dagli anni '30 la volontà dei poeti di consacrare il "libretto" come forma dotata di autonomo valore letterario.[5] Nel '26, anno della *Catena d'Adone*, Tronsarelli pubblica sempre presso il Corbelletti anche una raccolta di *Favole* (dedicate al card. di Savoia) e di *Rime*. Nelle *Rime* si ritrovano i luoghi già stereotipati della lirica che chiamiamo "marinista"; la bella nuotatrice (p. 18), la vecchia amabile e bella (pp. 22, 56), la ricamatrice (pp. 31, 64), la donna bruna (p. 38), la donna Mora (p. 40), la rossa (p. 45), la vaiolosa (p. 68) e poi i tanti infiniti soggetti di canto occasionali, con elaborazioni acute spesso pregevoli. A p. 104 biasima curiosamente Colombo per aver scoperto le Indie occidentali.

La *Catena d'Adone* fu rappresentata a Roma nel palazzo del marchese Evandro Conti nel febbraio 1626, con allestimento del Cavalier d'Arpino, ed ebbe ben sette repliche; un grandissimo successo, testimoniato anche dalle stampe: un *Argomento* (Roma: Giacomo Mascardi, 1626) ovviamente da datare in occasione dello spettacolo; il libretto (Roma: Corbelletti, 1626), dedicato al principe Gio. Giorgio Aldobrandini, datato 30 marzo 1626. È segnalata un'altra edizione romana dello stesso anno (Roma: Lodovico Grignani, 1626), mentre sempre nel 1626 il testo esce anche con l'editore Discepolo (Roma e Viterbo), nel maggio. Nel '27 abbiamo una ulteriore edizione questa volta veneziana (presso Giacomo Sarzina), mentre ugualmente a Venezia si era stampata la partitura nell'autunno del '26 (presso Alessandro Vincenti). Ancora una stampa del libretto, questa volta in occasione di una ripresa bolognese, nel 1648 (Bologna, per gli eredi del Dozza).

Il compositore dell'opera è Domenico Mazzocchi (fratello maggiore di Virgilio, anch'egli musicista di rilievo), attivo alla corte degli Aldobrandini. Su di lui c'è ampia bibliografia; per una sintesi molto densa e ricca rimando alla voce del *DBI* curata da Saverio Franchi.[6] Tronsarelli scriverà altri testi per l'intonazione del musicista di Civita Castellana: il *Martirio de' santi Abundio prete, Abundantio diacono, Marciano e Giovanni suo figliuolo cavalieri romani* (Roma: L. Grignani, 1641), di cui però la partitura non ci è giunta[7] e altre liriche fra cui la splendida *Folle cor ah non t'alletti* (ovvero *Breve è la vita nostra*), intonata a tre soprani, nelle *Musiche sacre e morali* di Mazzocchi (Roma: L. Grignani, 1640, 104–105).[8]

La *Catena d'Adone* viene scritta in un momento cruciale, riguardo al suo argomento. L'anno precedente Marino era morto e la Congregazione dell'Indice doveva ancora pronunciarsi sull'*Adone*. Nel novembre del '25 l'Accademia degli Umoristi fa istanza per potersi occupare della correzione del poema, nell'ambito di una difesa e celebrazione del Marino culminante nella *Vita* del Baiacca e nella pompa funerale offerta in memoria del poeta dagli accademici. L'istanza viene accolta

[5] Altri libretti insieme con poesie varie nell'*Apollo* (Roma: Corbelletti, 1634).

[6] *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2009), 614–619. Come è noto, il profilo biografico è anche disponibile online: "Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani", consultato il 5 giugno 2015, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-mazzocchi_(Dizionario-Biografico).

[7] Vd. Teresa Chirico, "*Il martirio de' Santi Abundio prete, Abundantio Diacono, Marciano e Giovanni*: una sconosciuta fonte librettistica," in "*Vanitatis fuga, aeternitatis amor*", a cura di Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort e Markus Engelhardt (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2005), 289–306. La studiosa confronta l'edizione a stampa del libretto di Tronsarelli per il Mazzocchi con un altro testimone manoscritto conservato all'Archivio di Stato di Spoleto, che ritiene dovuto alla mano di Pietro Ottoboni, con significative modifiche e indicazioni scenico-musicali: forse in questa versione fu rappresentato proprio per cura dell'Ottoboni al Palazzo della Cancelleria di Roma intorno al 1696 (ibid., 291–294).

[8] Cfr. Saverio Franchi, *Annali della stampa musicale romana*, Vol. I/1 (Roma: IBIMUS, 2006), 797–781.

e nel 17 giugno 1626 il testo purgato dagli Umoristi viene consegnato al Padre Mostro (Niccolò Riccardi) perché dica l'ultima parola. Questi nel novembre del '26 si pronuncia per una completa insufficienza della censura Umorista e proibisce assolutamente l'*Adone* che andrà ufficialmente all'Indice nel febbraio 1627. Tutto questo è stato nitidamente ricostruito con dovizia di documentazione da Clizia Carminati, come è noto.[9]

Si può inserire la *Catena d'Adone* in questa breve stagione di tentativo di riabilitazione del Marino agli occhi della Curia romana? Mascardi fu principe degli Umoristi fra il '30 e il '32,[10] quando Tronsarelli lasciò l'accademia; quindi nel'26, ai tempi della *Catena*, Tronsarelli era verosimilmente ancora Umorista. In ogni caso l'opera ribadisce la lettura allegorica del poema, in particolare degli episodi prescelti relativi alla vicenda della maga Falsirena che si innamora di Adone e lo imprigiona. Un *Adone* possibile, dunque: morale e non moralizzato, ma morale in sé. Anche se ovviamente le ragioni dello spettacolo sono aliene dalla sovrapposizione allegorica. E comunque la splendente lascivia mariniana è, altrettanto ovviamente, eradicata dall'opera teatrale.

Vediamo ora aspetti più intrinseci al testo del Tronsarelli. Indubbiamente la conoscenza dell'intero *Adone* da parte del Tronsarelli permette anche l'inserto di tessere prelevate da luoghi del poema distanti dai canti XII–XIII; citiamo un esempio solo. Idonia descrive a Falsirena la bellezza di Adone (I, i): "e rassomiglia Amor, se non che solo / gli è tolto il velo e gli è negato il volo";[11] cfr. *Adone* I, 44, 7–8: "somiglia in tutto Amor, se non che solo / mancano a farlo tale 'l velo e 'l volo".[12] Sostanziosa la coincidenza proprio in una delle figure principe dell'armamentario retorico mariniano, la paronomasia (che quando è anche metafora trova l'eccellenza assoluta). Diversamente suona la lezione del libretto a stampa: "e sembra Amor, poi che qual aura o lampo / instabil gira, o corre a volo il campo".[13] Come leggere questa variante significativa? Forse il testo della partitura, pur uscito cronologicamente dopo il libretto, rappresenta la prima redazione, quella appunto che fu cantata nel '26, mentre Tronsarelli, tornando sui suoi versi in occasione della stampa del libretto, preferì escludere il riecheggiamento mariniano, ancor più per il fatto che il luogo prelevato dal poema era distante dai canti in questione. Certo è che la rima *campo:lampo* è diffusissima in Tasso e in Marino stesso; basti citare dall'*Adone*: "come più snella alfin che strale o lampo / discorra a salti e cavriole il campo" (XX, 104, 7–8).

Le differenze della *Catena* rispetto a Marino[14] sono più delle consonanze. Ad esempio la scena dell'evocazione infernale in cui Falsirena vuole conoscere il nome dell'amata di Adone: in Marino abbiamo la famosa evocazione macabra e di sapore lucaneo, in Tronsarelli la scena squisitamente melodrammatica di Plutone stesso che emerge dall'apertura della "prospettiva" infernale. Squisitamente melodrammatica perché, inutile dirlo, lo scenario infernale con Plutone e Proserpina era un portato originario dell'opera, dall'*Euridice* all'*Orfeo*, e quindi apparteneva già all'immaginario teatro-musicale fin dalla culla.

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[9] Clizia Carminati, *Giovan Battista Marino tra Inquisizione e censura* (Roma-Padova: Antenore, 2008), 242 sgg.

[10] Cfr. Piera Russo, "L'Accademia degli Umoristi. Fondazione, strutture e leggi: il primo decennio di attività," *Esperienze letterarie* 4, No. 4 (1979): 60; Eraldo Bellini, *Agostino Mascardi tra "ars poetica" e "ars historica"* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2002), 35; Giambonini, "Cinque lettere", 326.

[11] Citiamo da Domenico Mazzocchi, *La catena d'Adone posta in musica da Domenico Mazzocchi* (Venezia: A. Vincenti, 1626), confrontando il testo con le edizioni del libretto su citate del '26 e del '27.

[12] L'*Adone* si cita d'ora in poi dall'edizione: Giovan Battista Marino, *Adone*, a cura di Emilio Russo (Milano: Rizzoli, 2013).

[13] Ottavio Tronsarelli, *La Catena d'Adone: favola boschereccia d'Ottavio Tronsarelli* (Venezia: G. Sarzina, 1627), 16 (concorda con la *princeps* romana del libretto).

[14] Vd. l'importante saggio di Simona Santacroce, "*La ragion perde dove il senso abonda*: *La catena di Adone* di Ottavio Tronsarelli," *Studi secenteschi* 55 (2014): 135–153.

L'ottava di Plutone è totalmente diversa dalle ottave in cui parla l'anima evocata da Falsirena in *Adone* XIII, 76 sgg.: qui l'anima evocata era indispettita e rabida, feroce nel preconizzare la sventura della maga, mentre Plutone parla da divinità, quieto e grave, un basso ieratico. Vi leggo il testo dell'opera:

Da Re ch'ebbe di Cipro il nobil freno
nacque il vago Garzon che t'arse il core,
né fia che l'amor tuo gli accenda il seno
ché son gli amori suoi la Dea d'Amore.
Da lei lontano in questo campo ameno
il sospinse di Marte aspro terrore
ma tornando per lui la Diva a volo
te priverà d'amore e lui di duolo.

Le ragioni sceniche di spettacolarità e anche la genealogia illustre del personaggio di Plutone (*Euridice*, *Orfeo* ecc.) sono tutti elementi melodrammatici che allontanano la *Catena* dalla sua fonte poematica. Forse bisognerebbe dimenticare le fonti letterarie quando si studiano e si ascoltano i melodrammi (dalla *Euridice* a *Billy Budd*), salvo averne consapevolezza storico-filologica accurata, ovviamente. Al di là cioè di una *Quellenforschung* che nell'attuale neo-positivismo arricchito risulta essere imprescindibile, va sempre tenuto presente però che una traslazione, come si diceva un tempo, intersemiotica produce un qualcosa di totalmente altro rispetto al modello. Anche ove la fedeltà sembra accurata, un melodramma non è una commedia o un romanzo, così come non lo è un film. Certi casi in cui anche la riproposizione *ad litteram* di momenti della fonte è patente (si pensi a Boito nell'*Otello* o a Kubrick in *Barry Lyndon*) non modificano il fatto che la sostanza è sempre necessariamente tutta un'altra. Forse è una banalità, forse no.

Dopo la notizia che le ha dato Plutone, Falsirena decide di tramutarsi nelle sembianze di Venere. Fin qui siamo ancora nei pressi di Marino: come è noto, nel canto XIII ott. 144 sgg., Falsirena appare in forma di Venere al prigioniero Adone, il quale però è stato messo in guardia da Mercurio e con abilità rifiuta le avances della fittizia amante e nello stesso tempo ribadisce il proprio amore per Venere, "compiacendo la Venere finta che ha di fronte, e dunque reggendone il gioco, e nel contempo distruggendo ogni speranza per la stessa Falsirena", come chiosa bene il Russo.[15] Infatti dopo inutili tentativi di seduzione, anche violenta, la maga se ne va sempre più indignata.

Nel melodramma di Tronsarelli e Mazzocchi, invece, Adone, pur cogliendo subito qualcosa di repugnante nella falsa Venere, tuttavia all'inizio viene ingannato. Inoltre la finta Venere (come Mercurio nel poema di Marino) lo diffida dal credere a eventuale altra Venere che gli apparisse. E infatti ecco che la vera Venere appare,[16] in compagnia di Amore, e Adone "scorge doppia Venere, & è incerto di se stesso. Amore riconosce due madri, e resta confuso" (V, iii, arg.).[17] Adone si trova in condizioni quasi di ubriachezza (come le menadi o i satiri del dramma satiresco, o Penteo nelle *Baccanti*):

[15] Giovan Battista Marino, *Adone*, 1369n.

[16] Curioso che Padre Pozzi, nella guida al canto, forse inconsapevole della *Catena* o forse no, scrivesse: "Falsirena è l'antivenere: vecchia e brutta in apparenza di giovane e bella; questa premessa potrebbe dar luogo almeno alla scena dello smascheramento della menzognera con altre facili complicazioni, *come l'intervento di Venere stessa a confondere la rivale* ecc.; ed invece non capita nulla", Giovan Battista Marino, *Adone*, Vol. II (Milano: Adelphi, 1988), 485, c.vo mio.

[17] Domenico Mazzocchi, *La catena d'Adone posta in musica*, 99.

E dove sono (ahi lasso):
doppia Venere miro
né so dov'io rivolga il guardo o 'l passo;
forse furori spiro
e qual priva di senno anima suole
miro gemino il raggio e doppio il Sole.[18]

Adone, nonostante che la vera Venere lo esorti ad aprire bene gli occhi, non *scerne* il falso dal vero; anzi concettizza ulteriormente: prima viveva meschino privo di Venere, ora ne ha addirittura due "e ne la copia lor misero io vivo".[19] Siamo al cospetto di uno sconcerto tipicamente teatrale derivante dal doppio, dalla messinscena dell'ambiguità e dello specchio. Serve dire quanto sia incardinata in un immaginario scenico barocco questa invenzione del Tronsarelli? E ancor più quanta fortuna avrà nell'universo melodrammatico? Si pensi solo alla sfrenata *Calisto* di Faustini e Cavalli (1651).

Infine Venere, col suo potere divino, scioglie la catena che imprigionava Adone e con essa incatena la maga che si lagna delle sue sventure. Adone e Venere godono dei loro amori, si uniscono ad Amore in un canto finale dove dominano i quadrisillabi e con i cori conclusivi si chiude l'opera.

Un altro personaggio del melodramma che non è presente in Marino è il saggio Arsete, consigliere (non ascoltato) della maga. Dall'*Allegoria della favola* apprendiamo che "Falsirena da Arsete consigliata al bene, ma da Idonia persuasa al male, è l'anima consigliata dalla ragione ma persuasa dalla concupiscenza".[20] E quindi risulta evidente che Arsete non è altri che una rielaborazione al maschile della consigliera Sofrosina del poema mariniano: "in grave aspetto / ritien costei maturità senile / carca d'anni e di senno" ecc. (XII, 209, 1–3). Infatti l'allegoria del dodicesimo canto dell'*Adone* è modello diretto per l'allegoria del libretto: "Falsirena travagliata da due contrari pensieri vuol dinotarci l'anima umana, agitata quindi dalla tentazione dell'oggetto piacevole e quinci dal rispetto dell'onesto. Le due donzelle [*Sofrosina e Idonia*] che la consigliano ci figurano la ragionevole e la concupiscibile, che ci persuadono quella il bene e questa il male".

Arsete ha però un ruolo più importante nell'economia del melodramma, con significativi a solo. Una *mezz'aria* (o piuttosto intenso recitativo) è quella alla fine della scena prima dell'atto II, che sviluppa il tema misogino pur con una qual certa delicatezza:

Ah che lieve la Donna
in vece de gli amori
con incauti consigli[21]
a sé fabrica errori.
A pena scorge il guardo
ch'innamorata al petto
si sente acuto dardo;
pon se stessa in oblio

[18] Ibid., 102.
[19] Ibid., 103.
[20] Ibid., 126.
[21] "incauto consiglio" nella partitura.

e per l'amato oggetto
cangia il cor in pensier, l'alma in desio.[22]

Dunque la donna è debole, non mobile, per ora. Ma il "numero" per cui il personaggio di Arsete è noto è senz'altro il monologo che apre l'atto terzo, questo sì definibile *mezz'aria* secondo la vaga e celebre indicazione di Mazzocchi: "Vi sono molt'altre mezz'Arie sparse per l'Opera, che rompono il tedio del recitativo, ma non son qui [*nell'indice finale delle arie*] notate per non tediar chi legge, bastando haver notate le più conte".[23] Leggiamola ed ascoltiamola:

Qual indurato scoglio
contro 'l suon de' miei detti
mostra la Maga pertinace orgoglio.
Mossa da strani affetti
mira i suoi propri danni
e pur cerca i tormenti, ama gli affanni.
Fuggitiva dal bene
va rapida a le pene
e'l suo cieco desio folle seconda:
la Ragion perde dov'il Senso abonda.
Più de l'empia Catena
ch'al bel Garzon prepara
prova in sé Falsirena
l'aspra de' suoi martir Catena amara.
Già del vicino errore
è fatto il volto suo Scena spirante
ov'appresenta Amore
la miseria fatal de l'alma amante.
Langue vinta dal male
né risanar la può cura mortale.
Fanno i dardi d'amor piaga profonda:
la ragion perde dove il senso abonda.
Amor tra noi fallace
non per mostrare il vero
ma per incenerir tratta la face.
È la sua speme un volo,
cangia il dolce in amaro,
s'ha lampo di piacere ombre ha di duolo.
Chiusi tiene i suoi giri
perch'il giusto non miri
e di benda d'error gli occhi circonda:
la ragion perde dov'il senso abonda.
O vaga ombrosa Scena
già gli honor tuoi vegg'io

[22] Domenico Mazzocchi, *La catena d'Adone posta in musica*, 33–34.

[23] Cfr. almeno Stuart Reiner, "Vi sono molt'altre mezz'arie," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, a cura di Harold S. Powers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 241–258; Carolyn Gianturco, "Nuove considerazioni su *il tedio del recitativo* delle prime opere romane," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 17, No. 2 (1982), 212–239.

per la folle dispersi in vano oblio,
e nocente a se stessa
con meritata pena
l'empia languir da l'arti proprie oppressa.
Non più fia ch'io qui giri,
non più fia ch'io qui spiri:
bramo a dolente core aura gioconda.
La Ragion perde dove il Senso abonda.[24]

Questo lungo monologo con refrain ha meritato in primis l'attenzione di Nino Pirrotta che in un ben noto saggio[25] lo definì *la più antica delle cavatine*. In questa sede tralascio la discussione del problema, e del resto la bibliografia sulle innovazioni musicali di Mazzocchi nella *Catena* è molto ricca. Il saggio di Pirrotta è però come sempre pieno anche di suggerimenti per i non specialisti. Da notare il commento sul ritornello *La Ragion perde dove il Senso abonda*. "Non è molto, né è particolarmente ben detto; ma pure è abbastanza se si pensa che anche nell'*Adone* tutto il significato morale del poema è similmente racchiuso in un solo endecasillabo (canto I, verso 80): "Smoderato piacer termina in doglia"".[26] Pirrotta coglie in Arsete il ruolo di corifeo della morale del testo: la mezz'aria diventa così un lamento anticipato sulla fine tragico-allegorica di Falsirena. Tutto questo rientra ovviamente anche nella proposizione "moralizzata" dell'*Adone*, che pure Pirrotta stesso definiva "un colmo poche volte raggiunto di marinismo e di ipocrisia".[27] Ma c'erano probabilmente ragioni storiche e culturali ben vive in quel momento, come abbiamo suggerito sopra. Pirrotta si spinge oltre, nel definire l'importanza del personaggio di Arsete, e scrive così: "Il tipo del saggio, del filosofo è qui delineato musicalmente per la prima volta, prima che diventi un tipo tradizionale, e magari stereotipatamente caricaturale, dell'opera secentesca. Monteverdi avrà certamente presente questo monologo nel tracciare, con maggiore ampiezza ma non con maggior nobiltà, la figura di Seneca nell'*Incoronazione di Poppea*".[28] Forse non con maggior nobiltà, ma certamente con maggiore complessità e ambiguità: la penna di Busenello è sempre amaramente bifida e ferocemente tragicomica, e la musica di Monteverdi era anni luce più avanti di quella del pur grande Mazzocchi già vent'anni prima con l'*Orfeo* mantovano.

Il testo tronsarelliano non è poi così sprovveduto: si vedano ad esempio i tre versi ossimorici sugli "strani affetti" amorosi di Falsirena, che sintetizzano in un super-concentrato la sterminata manieristica sequenza di paradossi delle ottave 198–207 del canto XII dell'*Adone*, già peraltro messe in musica a due voci da Sigismondo d'India e da lui pubblicate nel 1615.[29] O si consideri il teatralissimo volto della maga che è visto come una scena spirante, rimandando così all'ottava 213 del XII del poema dove Idonia dice a Falsirena: "Già de l'istoria de l'interno ardore / fatta è la fronte tua publica scena" e conclude: "Son spettatrice" (vv. 3–4, 8). Si tratta di un *topos*, che ritroviamo ad esempio in un sonetto di Tiberio Ceuli,[30] personaggio che a Roma fu accademico Fantastico (accademia nata da una costola degli Umoristi) e non si dimentichi che le *Poesie* dei

[24] Domenico Mazzocchi, *La catena d'Adone posta in musica*, 52–55.
[25] Nino Pirrotta, *Scelte poetiche di musicisti* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1987).
[26] Ibid., 258.
[27] Ibid., 257.
[28] Ibid., 259.
[29] Vd. Antonio Vassalli, "Falsirena in musica: un'altra redazione del soliloquio d'amore," in *Lectura Marini*, a cura di Francesco Guardiani (Toronto: Dovehouse, 1989), 201–211; Andrea Garavaglia, *Sigismondo D'India "drammaturgo"* (Torino: De Sono, 2005), 10–17.
[30] Tiberio Ceuli, *Poesie* (Roma: G. B. Robletti, 1651), 9.

Fantastici del '37[31] hanno una lettera prefatoria che accompagna l'imprimatur a firma proprio di Tronsarelli. Inoltre ad Ottavio Tronsarelli è dedicato un madrigale in lode del suo testo operistico più noto a p. 144 della stessa silloge Fantastica.

Concludiamo questa molto provvisoria ricognizione ricordando che forse la *Catena d'Adone*, oltre all'*Adone* senz'altro, fu la fonte del *Comus* di Milton.[32] Così avremmo un esempio di scrittori in musica e scrittori che si ispirano al teatro musicale, in una bella catena barocca.

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[31] *Poesie de' Signori Accademici Fantastici di Roma* (Roma: L. Grignano, 1637).

[32] Vd. Gretchen Ludke Finney, "Comus, Dramma per Musica," *Studies in Philology* 37, No. 3 (1940): 482–500.

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Elgar and Mahler: Ships that Passed in the Night

Abstract | In this article, the author attempts to highlight the similarities that exist between the music of Sir Edward Elgar and Gustav Mahler. Both came from humble backgrounds, and rose to prominence in higher social spheres within their respective countries. Their characters and personalities meant that their music was often misunderstood, which produced endless frustrations and struggles in their lives. Moods swinging between utter joy and profoundest sadness pervade their music to the extent that their music shares many characteristic traits, and certainly more than with any of their close contemporaries (Puccini, Debussy, Sibelius, Nielsen). This article therefore aims at showing common meanings behind their music, and how they portrayed these meanings in musical ideas.

Keywords | Music as autobiography – *Parsifal* – self-portraits – self-quotation – musical contrasts – spirituality – the devil in music – Judaism – Marches – dreams

It is an absorbing thought that Mahler should well have met Elgar in New York at the end of March 1911. Mahler was due to be there until early May and Elgar[1] crossed the Atlantic in late March; he arrived in New York on the Cunard Line's *RMS Mauretania* (built 1907). At this time, Mahler's health was rapidly deteriorating and so the advice was to return to Europe immediately to seek further medical treatment. He had conducted his last concert five weeks earlier, on February 21st; after that, he spent the time in bed in his hotel room, too ill to move about much. While their ships did not actually pass in mid-Atlantic, the lives of these two composers intersected in New York overnight of March 31st/April 1st 1911; and so, metaphorically speaking, as composer-conductors, their 'ships did pass' briefly during that one night.

Mahler[2] fled New York on April 8th, aboard the *SS Amerika* (from1905)[3], while Elgar was already underway conducting his works on a North American tour.

[1] Elgar was on a tour of North America, mainly conducting *The Dream of Gerontius*. He left New York almost immediately for Toronto, and was to experience wretched weather during most of his three-week tour. He happily returned to England on the *SS Mauretania*, following Mahler on that same trip across the Atlantic some three weeks later.

[2] Mahler traveled along with his wife Alma, daughter Anna, mother-in-law Anna, plus nanny. The last photos of Mahler were taken on that Atlantic crossing. Also on board was Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924), who was returning to Berlin after a stint in America.

[3] Both ships had top billing in the respective companies of their home countries; interestingly, both composers traveled in stately comfort, which is in great contrast to their humble beginnings. For both composers, traveling on the 'best' possible ships can be seen symbolically as them both having arrived as international musicians. In this, they were following the lead of composers from the previous generation whose visits to America were still very fresh in the memory – P. I. Tschaikovski (1843–1893) and Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904), as well as his contemporary, Richard Strauss (1864–1949).

In this article, I hope to illustrate that, of all their composer contemporaries[4], Elgar and Mahler are remarkably close together in arguably similar ways. Michael Kennedy and other musicologists, tend to see Mahler and Richard Strauss (1864–1949) as being closer together:

> […] *the chief difference between them (Mahler and Strauss) is the absence from Strauss of any curiosity about the religious ethic in human life* […] *Perhaps he* [Strauss] *had most in common with Edward Elgar* […] *both were masters of colour and of binding their own experiences into their music, as in the life-style* […] *like Elgar, he never attended a music college or conservatory*.[5]

Elgar had met Strauss during the latter's visits to London; but they were never as personally intimate as were Mahler and Strauss. These two knew each other well, conducted each other's works over a period of 15 or so years while Mahler was alive; confirmation comes from the oft-quoted words from Mahler that he felt that he and Strauss were like miners 'digging shafts from opposite directions' and finally meeting underground.

What did Elgar and Mahler actually know of each other? Mahler had certainly conducted Elgar's 'Enigma' ***Variations*** (Opus 35) in New York in 1910, (a performance that many Mahlerians/Elgarians would have loved to have heard). Mahler probably knew of Elgar's visit to America, and so may well have been looking forward to meeting the Englishman in New York, having already become acquainted with some of his music.

Elgar will surely have heard of Mahler; but, there is not any suggestion that Elgar heard much of Mahler's music, except possibly through performances by his friend, Sir Henry Wood from as early as 1903; the conductor was something of an early pioneer and champion of Mahler performances in England.

Actually, Elgar had previously missed out on hearing Mahler, during June-July, 1892, when he conducted two complete cycles of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, and *Tristan und Isolde* at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. By then, Elgar, his wife and daughter, had already moved back to Worcestershire to live in Malvern, after trying to make a go of it in London during the late 1880s. While Mahler was already an international conductor by this time in his late 20s, Elgar's first big works were yet to come, while performances of much of his first 30 Opus numbers were still rare. Unlike another English composer, Vaughan Williams (1872–1959), who came from a wealthier background, the Elgars were comparatively poor and struggling, and so there was little available money for this country music teacher in his early 30s to go up to London to hear Wagner operas.

The impetus for this essay actually comes from two main sources: as a lecturer in musicology on the composer, Sir Edward Elgar (1859–1934) and his music, I have often spoken of his contemporary, Gustav Mahler (1860–1911); and conversely, Elgar's name crops up when discussing Mahler's songs and symphonies. As a result, this essay has become like an explanatory note to self, articulated from my own observations and reflections about the music of these two giants over many years. Besides, if the purpose of musicology is to help us understand music better, then this essay hopefully fulfils this expectation in terms of two hugely important composers who were also contemporaries.

A second, related impetus for this essay, however, issues from a desire to flesh out a statement made by the English conductor, Sir Mark Elder, in a recent documentary on Elgar's life, entitled *Elgar: The Man Behind the Mask* (2010). Elder says (at 10 minutes 36 seconds into the film) that

[4] Along with Busoni, other contemporary composers included: Puccini (1858–1924); Debussy (1862–1918); Delius (1862–1934); Sibelius (1865–1957); and Nielsen (1865–1931). This generation continues to prompt much musicological interest. Another rich crop of composers came in the 1870s including Schoenberg (1874–1951); Vaughan-Williams (1872–1959); and Holst (1874–1934).

[5] Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5.

he tends to think of Elgar as the 'English Mahler', further explaining that in Elgar's music, 'there could be the outside world, and then the deep inside world […]'. (2010).[6] I understood instinctively what he meant by this almost throw-away but intriguing remark, as it actually underpins my own thoughts of these two composers. An English composer, Anthony Payne, also speaking in the documentary, further mentions an idea that immediately links Elgar and Mahler: irony. He said (starting at 10 minutes 40 seconds): 'People are always talking about irony in Mahler. But they don't seem to see it in Elgar; but his music is full of irony […]' (2010). It would therefore be possible to follow this by writing something solely about irony and its expression in the music of both these composers.

Instead, this essay attempts to show how the characters, and so the music, resulting from these two remarkable composers, run parallel and, at times, intersect with each other in ways that are more than just superficial and, which can be largely overlooked.

As a consequence of the above, this essay does not set out to compare the two composers. Rather, the hope is to draw together similarities between them as very close contemporaries. It will present material in two inter-related ways: on the one hand, I will consider the semantic content that is common to both of them (ie: what Mahler and Elgar are 'saying' in their music). On the other hand, I wish to highlight semiotic signposts that link their music (and that is, how they say, musically, what they are actually saying). These signposts cover the musical constructs of melodic contour, harmonic structure, rhythm, form (architecture) and orchestration (texture and timbre).

Can anything fruitful come from observations such as these? Perhaps only in the telling of this story can that question be answered. One can argue that it is their very backgrounds – one so very English, and the other Central European – that separates them and would make void any of my arguments. Rather, I would argue in the opposite way – that Elgar's supposed 'Englishness' and Mahler's Central European/Austrian Jewish origins, are only one way of viewing their respective music. It is the nobility, accessibility and honesty of their music that makes them relevant to listeners around the world – an international audience, which far outshines any possible parochial and localised social elements in their music issuing from the geographical environments of their upbringing. They were both born to be international poets and communicators in sound of very personal, yet fundamental characteristics about what it is to be human.

As a result, their music travels way beyond their background, to a greater world at large. Indeed, their music attempts to describe what lies beyond our world, in works of great yearnings towards the next, to Heaven and into eternity (the realm of eschatology). One essential German word Mahler sets in a number of works, highlights this; it is 'ewig', meaning 'forever, for eternity, eternally', and so on; and Elgar, himself, wrote three central works, mentioned below, which deal with Christian eschatology and 'eternity'. In *The Kingdom*, for example, he sets the words, 'forever and ever', and in *The Apostles,* Elgar has Jesus say that He will be with us always, until the end of time. Fundamental to the Christian church service is the idea of ***in saecula saeculorum*** – 'in a century of centuries', but usually translated as 'forever and ever' – 'world without end', thus summing up the above point. Mahler sets these very word in the concluding bars of Part 1, in Symphony no. 8, and, for Elgar, they inform much of his thinking when compiling the texts for his Oratorios.

Both composers felt they were 'channels' of music. Inside Mahler's second composing hut by the lake in Carinthia (Maiernigg), are written his words: *Ich komponierte nicht; ich bin kom-*

[6] In this documentary film, the great English musicologist, Michael Kennedy, CBE, also appears; he has written biographies of all three composers – Elgar, Mahler and Strauss. This fact would indicate a preference for and probable link in his own mind between the music of these contemporaries. Richard Strauss may well be a(nother) link between Elgar and Mahler; but, this article is not concerned with the relationships between Mahler and Strauss nor Elgar and Strauss, which are reasonably documented elsewhere.

poniert – 'I don't compose. I am composed'. In other words, the music came through him from somewhere outside of him. Elgar also felt that, while in nature, all he had to do was to snatch the music out of the air and write it down; 'the birds composed his music' – or did he 'compose theirs', as he questioned? Being immersed in nature, walking or cycling outdoors, was common to both of them for their inspiration. Each carried a notebook, in much the same way as did Beethoven, to jot down musical ideas, or to work out compositional solutions as they occurred to them. For both, the desk was literally their working space – but the inspiration came from moving and being outdoors – Mahler, the energetic tri-athlete, as swimmer/oarsman, mountain-walker and bicyclist; Elgar, the restless sportsman, cyclist, horse-rider and golfer. Always moving, never still: movement as the physical source of their inspiration and creativity.

Part 1: Music as Autobiography

One striking similarity between the composers is that, like Beethoven, they put themselves at the centre of their music. The result is that every note they composed is an expression of self, of identity, an honest reflection on the world as they perceived it. In a word: autobiographical. In one sense, all music is autobiographical in the fact that a composer can only write music that is true to him- or herself. If this were not the case, then there would be little or no difference between the musical content of one composer and any other; the character of Mozart is inseparable from his music; the music of J. S. Bach only deals with aspects of life that were important to him, and so on. It is often asserted that the music of Beethoven is only 'about' Beethoven, and not the world at large; his musical messages came from his heart to the hearts of us, the listeners. As composers are in the business of making choices in musical sound, those choices can only come straight from what each experiences in their hearts, souls and minds.

So, why would it be any different for Elgar and Mahler? Two of the key links between the composers is the fact that their lives often followed parallel paths and even more so that their individual make-ups were remarkably akin. They were both nervous, fidgety men, who cherished strenuous outdoor exercise, as the source of their inspiration. Mahler had a noticeably strange, affected way of walking, while Elgar's eyes were ever restless, darting around. Both these physical attributes display a nervous energy, which was as much part of their creativity as everything else that issued from within. They both wrestled with inner demons, as well as the conflicts and contradictions they found within themselves; Mahler would often change his opinion on a matter as often as he changed his clothes. Elgar constructed a whole persona from nobility, which became an integral part of his music, but which conflicted with his humble, country beginnings.

After their lives, the music of both composers underwent a period of rejection. Mahler knew during his lifetime that his music was largely misunderstood; later, there came the spectre of Nazism, which pushed his music out of European concert halls. Elgar's music, on the other hand, was hailed from 1899 onwards as being something new and exciting; but then, after World War One, his music was being viewed as something anachronistic, narrowly British and from a past era. There is no stronger contrast in Western music than between the music of the 1920's Jazz-dance age, and Elgar's *Concerto for Cello*, written at the same time, yet alone the contemporary concert-hall music of Stravinsky and Schoenberg. Significantly, for both Elgar and Mahler, it was the 1950s and 60s that this latest acceptance of their music began,[7] following a time of great

[7] It was through the untiring championship of certain conductors, that this breakthrough for both composers came. For Elgar, it was the work of the English conductors, Sir John Barbirolli, Sir Malcolm Sargent and Sir Adrian Boult (who personally knew Elgar in his old age); and for Mahler, it was the American conductors, ultimately spearheaded by Leonard Bernstein, in the run up to the Mahler Centenary in 1960. Recorded sets of their entire

disruption in Europe and of social change. The time for hearing and understanding their music had begun. Even so, there are some Elgar works, which still deserve more performance exposure and better understanding, particularly outside England.

It is therefore true to say that their music is deeply personal, which links their works indelibly with their own lives, in much the way that Beethoven said repeatedly of his own music. As their music was about themselves, both composers were writing their autobiographies in musical sound, which included self-confessional 'diary' entries, detailed self-portraits, and significant, often retrospective self-quotations. They spoke about their own music in ways, which seem to complement each other. Elgar wrote about his compositions in language such as: 'This is the best of me', and that he had 'poured out his soul' in others. Mahler talked about audiences that needed to 'understand and digest' his works as products of himself, before moving on to the next. He therefore indicated that there was a logical order in the unravelling of his musical soul that mirrored the actions of his own life. The same can be said of Elgar.

Part 2: Musical similarities

This part of the essay looks at the ways in which both composers built their music; there follows some of these ideas. They both use a predominantly 2-part counterpoint over a supportive bass line, which provides a harmonic foundation to the melodies. Such a texture links them both back to the Baroque, to the music of J. S. Bach's Trio Sonatas, Arias in Cantatas and Oratorios, among others. The English composer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, in his 'analysis' of Elgar's Symphony no. 1, highlighted this texture, which he called a 'mystery and a miracle' in the way that it carries the musical message.

Wagnerian influence

It is without doubt that Wagner was a common musical influence for both composers. Wagner's chromatic musical language was adopted, adapted and used by both composers as a significant part of their own way of saying. Furthermore, the specific link between them was the affect of attending performances of ***Parsifal*** at Bayreuth.[8] The music, atmosphere and sound-world of Wagner's ***Parsifal*** permeate their own works.

With Elgar, the most notable examples occur in his Oratorios and his Symphony no. 1 which premièred in 1908; it was dedicated to the Wagnerian conductor, Hans Richter. This Symphony, which is in the key of A flat major, opens with a Chief theme, or motto theme; this theme, shown in line two of musical example (i) below contains a phrase with the same melodic shape and atmosphere as the opening melody to the whole opera, in the same key, heard in the Prelude to ***Parsifal***.[9]

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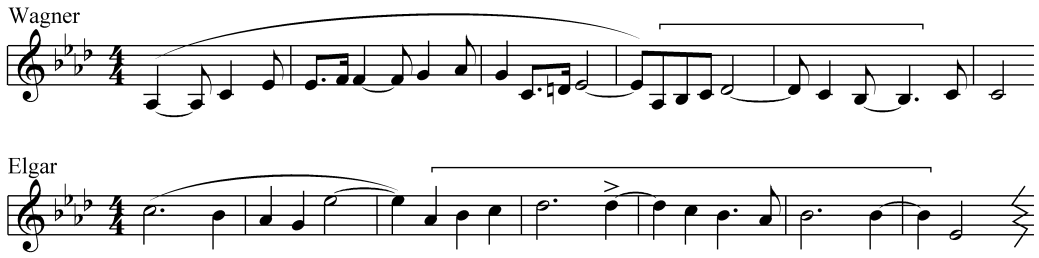
output exists for both composers and, with Mahler, complete performances of his symphonic repertoire by more than 15 different conductors exist.

[8] Elgar heard ***Parsifal*** three times at Bayreuth before 1900. Mahler attended the Bayreuth Festival in the year of Wagner's death, 1883, in which ***Parsifal*** was presented for the second year running. Attending ***Parsifal*** in the only place where it was possible to hear it, is another example of their ships passing in the night … however, it appears that they may not have actually been present at the same performances, only at the same productions.

[9] The specific phrase, as in musical example (i), is associated with the sacred 'spear' and occurs in the Prelude to Act III, when Parsifal carries it.

Musical example (i): line 1 – Wagner, opening to Prelude, ***Parsifal***;
line 2 – Elgar, Motto theme, movement i, Symphony no. 1

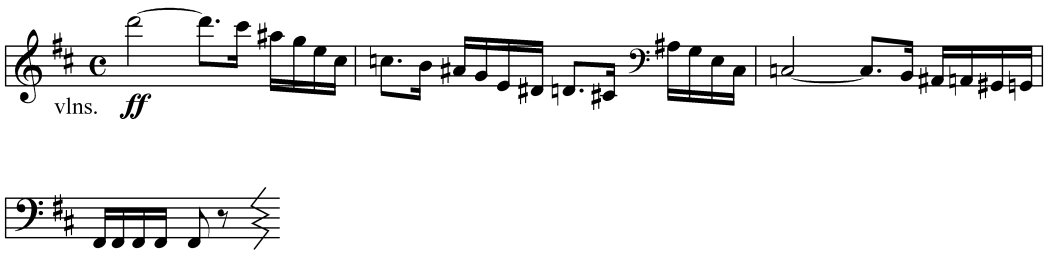


It is not enough to say simply that because Wagner's ***Parsifal*** opens in A flat major, and that Elgar chose this somewhat unusual key for his Symphony no. 1 as well as his oratorio, *The Apostles*, Op. 49, that there is a link. But, the atmosphere generated by the Wagner seems matched not only in the motto theme of the Elgar symphony but also in the Introduction of *The Apostles*. These are instances of Elgar's music generally understood to be of his 'Nobilmente' type, and also matched by the spiritual feeling of Wagner's Introduction.

Furthermore, Elgar's idiosyncratic use of leitmotivs in his Oratorios as a unifying idea for larger-scale structures, owes a debt to Wagner.

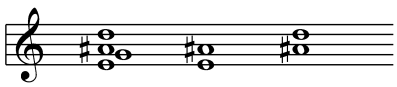
For Mahler, there is an early example of Wagnerian influence, and specifically from ***Parsifal***. At two points in *Das Klagende Lied*, Mahler uses a descending motive, ***fortissimo***, heard in the violins and violas. It takes the form of something like a shriek or scream, a convulsive shudder, coupled with an exhalation. This strongly echoes Kundry's main motive/leitmotif, from ***Parsifal***, which is given as musical example (ii).

Musical example (ii): Wagner, Kundry's motive, ***Parsifal***



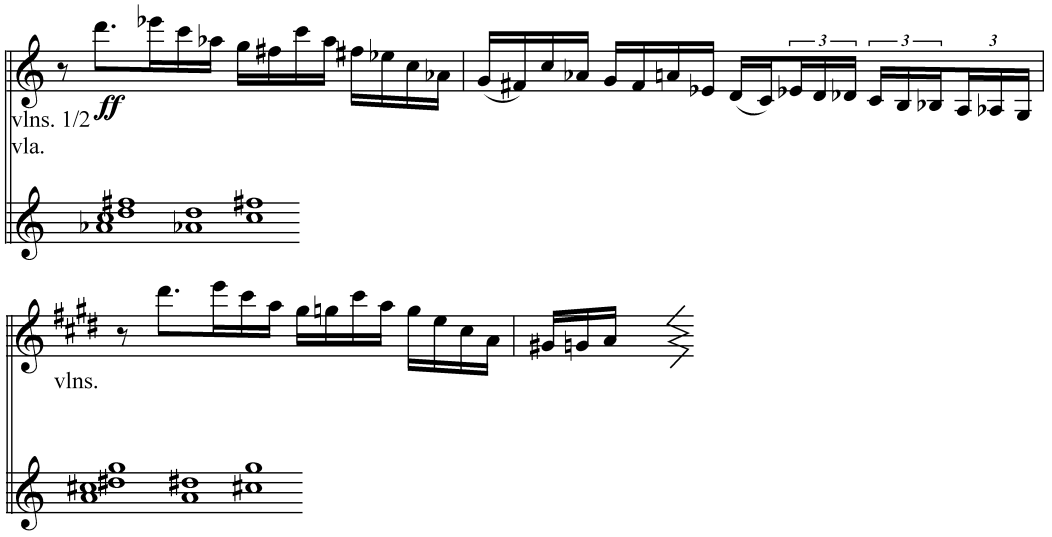
It is noticeable that this motive is accompanied by a chord, which includes the interval of a diminished 5th/augmented 4th, otherwise known as *diabolus in musica* [see musical example (iii), and its use later in this article.]

Musical example (iii): Wagner, chord accompanying Kundry's motive, ***Parsifal***



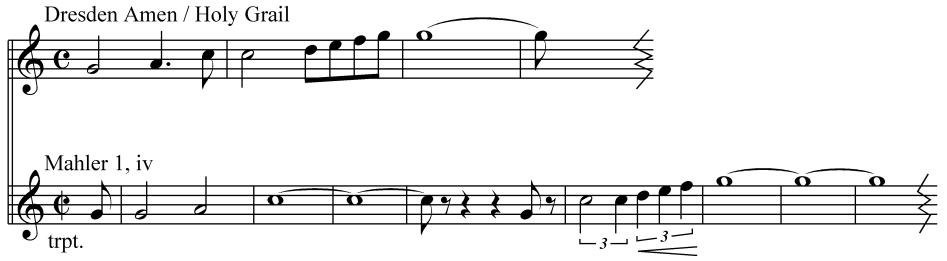
A comparison of the two 'screams' heard in the Mahler work, reveals that they are also accompanied by a very similar chord to that of the Kundry motive, and also comprising two juxtaposed augmented 4ths [shown in musical example (iv)].

Musical example (iv): two versions of the 'shriek' with accompanying chords,
Mahler, ***Das Klagende Lied***



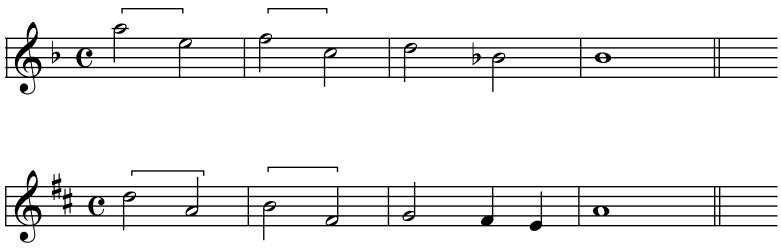
Wagner's influence continued over into Mahler's own Symphony no. 1 (1884–1888), written after attending the first performances of ***Parsifal*** and after Wagner's death (1883). The affect of the 'Dresden Amen', which Wagner uses throughout ***Parsifal*** as a leitmotiv, is evident as melodic material particularly in the finale of Mahler's Symphony. In ***Parsifal***, the enlarged 'Dresden Amen' is the motive of the Holy Grail, which also first heard in the Prelude to the opera. The Mahler is presented along with the Wagner, both in C Major for comparative purposes, in musical example (v).

Musical example (v): Wagner, Holy Grail Motive, ***Parsifal***, and line 2:
the mutation of this as presented in Mahler, movement 4, Symphony no. 1.



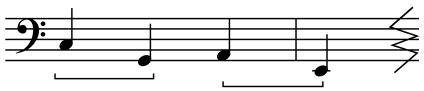
Finally, Mahler's symphony also opens with a 'motto' theme comprising falling 4ths. This theme has been called 'Nature' theme, due to its atmosphere at the opening. However, in the finale it returns triumphantly, more as a Chorale theme, as shown in musical example (vi).

Musical examples (vi): Mahler, movement 1, Symphony no. 1, motto theme;
and triumphant return in movement 4.



The possible influence for this motive of falling fourths is variously assigned to different pieces; these include Beethoven's Symphony no. 9,[10] and even 'The Hallelujah Chorus' from ***Messiah*** by Handel. However, following the argument presented here, there is also a motive in ***Parsifal*** called the 'Bell' motive, which also follows the same melodic outline, as presented in musical example (vii).

Musical example (vii): Wagner, The 'Bell Motive', ***Parsifal***.



This author suggests that this might be another influence from the Wagner opera that found its way into the Mahler symphony.

Self Portraits

The fact has often been commented on that Mahler, who worked in Opera houses throughout his working life, did not complete an opera among his main oeuvre. To a similar extent, Elgar is the same. Sketches and completions of operatic projects exist, but nothing completely original or final for the opera repertoire came from either of their pens.

It needs pointing out that both composers did, in fact, produce highly dramatic works, which, in many respects, function 'operatically'. Furthermore they, among the many characters that we find scattered throughout their works, have the tendency to be none other than 'self-portraits' – a description of their own contradictory, multi-faceted characters, but with different names, guises and contexts.

For Elgar, there are the characters found in *The Enigma Variations*, in *Cockaigne*, 1905, (various London types) and in *Falstaff*. But, the main examples of this idea are in his oratorios; for example, *The Apostles*, opus 49 (1902–1903), contains definite scenes, as well as places and sites where the narrative takes place. There are arias, duets, and superb characterisations, especially of Mary Magdalene and Judas, all of which could contribute to outstanding operatic staging.

[10] The main melody in the slow movement of this work comprises a similar melodic outline of falling fourths. However, so does the opening melody of Beethoven's Overture, *King Stephen*, Op. 117, which is also developed as a counter-melody within this short work. In addition, the development section of movement 1 from Mozart's Symphony, no. 33 in B flat, K 319, also utilizes sequentially the same melodic outline. It also occurs again in the bass at cadences during the finale.

Within ***The Apostles***, the character of Judas, as presented by Elgar, is a clear example of Elgar describing himself. Judas is an example of the ultimate outsider in society – the social outcast, who eventually kills himself, as he was unable to continue living with the burden of his recent actions. Elgar often had thoughts of suicide due to feeling a musical 'outcast', a misfit in a higher social milieu that he craved. This author believes that the characterisation of Mary Magdalene, in the same work, forms a portrayal of his own doubts in Christian belief, with a resulting lack of self-worth and acceptance, but worked out through Mary. These result in direct examples of Elgar describing himself, musically and dramatically.

With Mahler, we have to look no further than his songs. Each of these can be understood as miniature scenes, which could easily belong to bigger, staged works. Again, it is the characterisation that makes the songs so vivid. The song cycles, including the symphonic *Das Lied von der Erde*, have similar credentials to those mentioned about Elgar's *Apostles*.

If characterisation in music of particular people is among the criteria for good opera, then both composers have written much in this way. Elgar's 'Enigma' ***Variations***, op. 35, is a prime example. It is an orchestral work, without words; but, the musical descriptions of particular 'friends' and his wife show that Elgar was able to think dramaturgically about how he perceived people. In fact, each of the different characters portrayed in the variations, are also identifiably facets of his own character, in the same way that Mahler's songs include characterisations of aspects of *his* own personality. This is not only an example of self-portraiture, but also helps underline the autobiographical nature of their music.[11]

In his essay, 'The Little Drummer Boy'[12], Leonard Bernstein also highlights this autobiographical aspect of Mahler. His thesis in this essay is that the little drummer boy of the song, who is condemned to hang on the gallows, plus the little boy asking for bread in the song called *Das irdische Leben*, as well as the little boy, who describes Heaven in terms of an abundance of food, and all things good in *Das himmlische Leben*, are all aspects of the person called Gustav Mahler. Again, each of these songs, or enigmatic variations, are aspects of character that could easily be staged as dramatic scenes.

Perhaps the closest that the two composers in question come is with two of Mahler's symphonies, numbers 2 and 8. Symphony number 8 utilises the text of the closing scene of the play, *Faust*, *Part II*, that Goethe himself indicated should be set to music operatically. I personally hear and see similarities between this work and Elgar's three greatest oratorios[13]. The immediate and outstanding aspect of this is the fact that the key of E flat major is common to and important in all these works by both composers. It is a rich, symbolically-laden key (for Bach, the three flats of E flat major, indicated the Christian Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost) – and that Elgar and Mahler both take us on a journey towards Heaven in their chosen texts. This will be discussed further, below.

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[11] In addition, Mahler's 6th Symphony, movement 1, also contains a musical description of the character of his wife, Alma. In fact, it is hard to make a claim that this has anything to do with the character of Mahler himself, in contrast to what is said here about Elgar writing about his wife; but, it is possible to argue a case that, since it is how Mahler views his wife, with its romantic and opposing practical sides and other contradictions, he is actually identifying aspects of his own character, and ideally, how he would have liked his wife to have been – an extension of himself.

[12] See Greg Hurworth, "Bernstein's Little Drummer Boy," in *After Mahler's Death*, eds. Gerold Gruber, Morten Slovik and Jan Vičar (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2014), for a discussion on the take of Leonard Bernstein and others on what is Jewish in Mahler's music.

[13] *The Dream of Gerontius*, Op. 35; *The Apostles*, Op. 49, and *The Kingdom*, Op. 51.

Self-quotation

If Elgar and Mahler are writing about themselves, then the use of 'self-quotation' in music, continues to reinforce the autobiographical nature of their music, plus highlights specific points about their character; the listener hears a version of the same music in a different dramatic context. These repetitions are a quintessential element in how they constructed the narrative of their music.

Mahler's Songs and Symphonies are interconnected. Even when he no longer uses specific songs as the basis of melodic material within a movement, we can also recognise in his entire output the presence of this linking across works; as an example for this particular essay, there are the links between Symphony no. 3 and Symphony no. 4. The finale of Symphony no. 4, existed first as a song, dating from 1892. In the fifth movement of Symphony no. 3, Mahler also uses melodic quotations and motives from this song (written between 1893 and 1896).

As a further example, the first movement of Symphony no. 4 contains a prophetic use of a melodic motive played by the trumpet, which then becomes the opening motive of movement 1 of Symphony no. 5, thus forming a link between two movements in two very different symphonies.

Elgar uses self-quotation in a slightly different way. For a start, Elgar did not complete a body of symphonies in the way that Mahler did. Instead, he wrote oratorios, symphonies and concerti, thus covering more genres than Mahler ever used, or only hinted at. However, there are links, and there are self-quotations in Elgar that help link him with Mahler in this approach to composition.

The Apostles, and its successor, *The Kingdom* (1906), are inextricably linked by the use of common leitmotivs, indicating a common conception for both works. Elgar uses some other links, which may or may not be deliberate. For example, there is a clear relationship between the theme of the *Enigma Variations*, and melodic motivic material found in *The Kingdom*.

Perhaps Elgar's most obvious and extensive examples of self-quotation are to be heard in *The Music Makers*. This has melodic examples from various Elgar works including *The Apostles*, *The Enigma Variations*, and both Symphonies. Elgar used a poem by O'Shaunessy in which he 'wrote out his soul', and whose words are a description of Elgar's conflicting moods in 1912, when he composed the music.

Another use of linking material between works or movements of works is best identified within Elgar's symphonic output. Already, it has been noted that Elgar uses a Motto theme in Symphony no. 1; as such, it occurs in various movements of the symphony, sometimes as itself, and sometimes in some sort of 'disguise' (varied repetition). However, it returns in blazing glory at the end of the whole symphony, and again, this time, in A flat major. It gives the ending of the symphony a glorious climax, and a noble almost heroic ending, that never fails to inspire. The same occurs in Symphony no. 2, but with remarkably different feeling and narrative. The opening tune of Joy, which begins movement one, is transformed into something seraphic and quietly ecstatic to complete and round off the symphony.

Elgar uses the same idea elsewhere, and none better shown than in his *Concerto for Cello* (1922). In this case, Elgar brings back music from the slow movement right at the end of the Concerto, in a nostalgic, retrospective glance over the shoulder at some statements made earlier. All these musical characteristics help highlight and delineate different sides of Elgar's own character.

Mahler uses similar ideas of architecture, of rounding off a work, of giving a long work its ultimate conclusive understanding, by introducing previously heard material right at the end of the work. As an example, Symphony no. 7 ends with a triumphant, 'C major' performance of the main theme from movement no. 1, where it had first appeared in 'e minor'. The move from

minor to Major, the feeling of triumph over something, and the noble statement of the original theme right at the end of the symphony, helps bind this work together into a meaningful whole.[14]

Within Symphonies numbers 3, 8, and 10, Mahler brings back music from previous movements as a way of forming bridges within huge works, which already demand a great amount of intense concentration from the listener.[15] It is worthwhile to note at this point, too, that both composers used the idea of 5 sections or movements as part of the architecture of a work. As an example by Elgar, the first movement of the ***Concerto for Cello***, op. 85, uses a 5-part structure. The contrasting middle sections oscillate between 'e minor' and 'E Major', and the fifth part forms a reiteration of the opening section.

For an instance by Mahler, we would need to look at the architecture of his symphonies for such examples. Symphonies numbers 2, 5, 7 and 10, all contain five movements. In Symphony no. 5, for example, movements 1 and 2 are linked, thematically, as well as emotionally, dramatically and spiritually; movements 4 and 5 are similarly linked together. Movement 3, the *Scherzo*, is the longest movement of the symphony, and stands sandwiched between the other pairs of movements; it has its own dramatic impulses, and emotional content, but looks back to what has just happened, and forwards to what is about to happen. In Symphony no. 7, movements 2 and 4 out of the five, are linked by names – 'Nachtmusik I' and 'Nachtmusik 2', while movements 1 and 5 are linked by thematic material (as mentioned earlier). Again, the middle movement of the 5, is a *Scherzo*, and is an example of the demonic to be heard in Mahler (which also crops up in Elgar's music).

In any case, symphonic structure is notable for the inclusion of recapping musical ideas. This is to be found in the movements using 'sonata form', and the section called 'Recapitulation'. It is notable in both composers that, when there is any repetition of music from before, it is always heard with some sort of significant changes (variation), while keeping the generally recognisable characteristics of the repeated music (repetition). Again, this structural idea goes back to the Baroque and early Classical times of music composition, but assumes enormous importance within the large-scale constructions of Elgar and Mahler.

The 'Englishness' of Elgar

At times, I feel it does a disservice to Elgar and his music, to say that it is quintessentially English. For a start, Elgar's heart is too much on his sleeves for his music to be considered as just English since the English character by definition, is generally reserved by nature and perhaps unemotional. If Elgar's music is only English, then the use of his own term, ***nobilmente***, also raises a question – are only English people 'noble' in thought, word and deed? Rather, are not dignity and nobility examples of being human to be found throughout the world, and not just restricted to England? I would say that it is the nobility of his music which goes far beyond England, so that we can consider his music as truly universal, and speaking to all peoples, who understand such human truths.

The equally noble-sounding music of Mahler, such as the finale of Symphony no. 3, or the slow movement of Symphony no. 6, as two immediate examples, also link these two composers.

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[14] Indeed, this theme, which occurs in a minor and then Major version, begins with a falling 4th ('e' down to 'b' – minor version; 'c' down to 'g' – Major version). This links it melodically with the opening falling 4ths of Symphony no. 1 as well as the opening melody of Part 1, Symphony no. 8, which figures prominently throughout the work.

[15] Of course, the supreme example of this compositional technique is, again, Beethoven; the finale of Symphony no. 9 contains brief quotations from all three preceding movements, as part of the narrative (and so, architecture) of the whole symphony.

These moments speak to all humanity, not just Austrians or Central Europeans, or somewhere equally 'narrow' and restricting in a world-sense.

'Salon' and Folk-style Music

Mahler's walk with Sigmund Freud in 1910 revealed an understanding about his own music: juxtaposed against music of high elevation and great worth, there occurs that which is more commonplace. The musical idea that surfaced as part of this thought for Mahler was the notion that, following a painful scene between his parents, which the young Mahler witnessed, he ran out of their house only to be confronted with a barrel organist playing 'O, du lieber Augustin […]', a well-known Austrian folk song.

There are critics of Mahler who do not like this aspect of his music. Perhaps this juxtaposition comes across quite strongly in Symphony no. 7; movement four, the so-named ***Nachtmusik II***, has sometimes been referred to disparagingly as 'low' music, more appropriate to anywhere other than within a grand-scale symphony – out of place, and not worthy of inclusion. Movement two of Symphony no. 6 also has a dance section in triple metre, which sounds decidedly folksy in great contrast to the music around it.

Elgar's earlier compositions are of the short, salon style, and include: *Salut d'Amour*, Op. 12 (1888) and *Chanson de Matin* and *Chanson de Nuit*, Op. 15, nos. 1 and 2 (1889). When these are juxtaposed against the symphonies, the oratorios and concert overtures, they may certainly be described as light-weight miniatures. However, like Mahler, even within larger works, there can be an ironic juxtaposition of lighter-weight music against the downright serious.

While folk-style music is not necessarily 'light-weight', it's inclusion in full-blown symphonic style, produces a contrast that is startlingly noticeable. For example, in the concert overture, *Alassio*, the weighty music, in every respect of the term describing the heavy-footed and armoured soldiers of the Roman Empire trudging along cobbled roads, suddenly dissolves, and we hear a tune in the Italian folk variety played as though from a distance by a solo viola in the key of C major.[16]

These clashes of musical styles within and across works, brings us to a feature of the salient compositional style of both Elgar and Mahler. For a final point of overlap between these composers, I therefore wish to elaborate an idea that has already been emerging above – that of musical contrasts.

Part 3: Musical Contrasts

In addition to and in support of what has already written above, I have isolated what I believe to be three major musical contrasts to be found in their compositional working style to discuss in this article; I will consider each in turn. I believe these are quintessential elements for both composers, which form sets of opposites. In turn, highlighting these opposites can only serve to help us understand the narrative that unfolds in the music of these composers. They include: (i) music of despair and sorrow in opposition to utter joy; (ii) religiosity and demons; and (iii) restless, relentless energy contrasted with serene and peaceful stillness.

[16] The inclusion of 'folk-style' music, heard in both Elgar and Mahler, has a precedence in the music of various composers, but particularly Felix Schumann (1810–1856) (such as ***5 Stucke im Volkston,*** op. 102 among others …), which was both particularly loved and well-known to them both.

Sorrow, Despair, Happiness and Joy

It is hard to find other composers outside the operatic realm, who wrote music that expressed the deepest sorrow, tragedy and sadness on the one hand juxtaposed with the highest joy and happiness on the other. Much of this music is on a grand, symphonic scale – but also, like opera, with the addition of the dramatic and colourful capabilities of the sounds of voices.

Perhaps the most significant contrast therefore is formed by these extremes of emotions; the important point here is that these extremes are used, and often juxtaposed, within one work and one movement of a work.

What caused these great swings of feelings to occur in their music? One can look at the natures of both composers, and see that their personalities were much of the same – inward-looking, questioning, given to philosophising, spontaneous in their fun moments as opposed to given to depression at so many things that life presented to them; they were also highly nervous types, who maintained deeply personal spiritual sides to their personalities that spanned Judaism and Christianity – both of them wrote works which included aspects of these two fundamental faiths.

As a result, both composers were essentially struggling loners, who felt and knew they were not fully understood. They were born into one particular 'world', with desires to be at home in another. Mahler talked about being 'thrice homeless', never at home, never really welcome anywhere; likewise, Elgar's humble origins meant that he fought from his early life onwards, to be something more than the son of an English, lower middle class, country shopkeeper. Religion was part of this homelessness, for both of them; for Mahler, it was being a Jew within Catholic Austrian society. For Elgar, it was initially being a Roman Catholic within a country, whose cultural identity and social system were bounded by the Anglican Establishment. Both composers, in a sense, had to jettison their religious 'backgrounds' and, to a certain extent, re-formulate the expression of their beliefs, in order to 'get on'.

Did any of this affect their music? It must have done. This is matter for a paper in its own right. Here, it needs only be pointed out that they both had similar very humble backgrounds that had to be overcome to succeed. For Mahler, he finally arrived at the Vienna Opera after fighting anti-Semitic criticism, to take up what was arguably the top musical job in Europe at that time. Elgar, on the other hand, in his 40s, was awarded the OM, became Sir Edward Elgar, friend of King Edward VII and finally Master of the King's Musick – positions far removed from his humble origins. These ideas most likely affected how they wrote their music; their aspirations and choices of compositional content are surely present in their spirituality, emotions and their resulting intellectual view of the world – and, as a consequence of all this, their music was affected. Both were given to moments of reflection, of nostalgia, even sentimentality, while striving and looking forward in the next moment with the brightest of optimism. This essayist believes that this led their music to sound forever restless, forever questioning, always searching.

A good starting point as an example to be found of this opposition of emotions is Mahler's Symphony no. 3, movement iv. His choice of text, by Nietzsche, refers to deep sorrow juxtaposed with highest joy in a volcanic, hyperbolic way; Mahler needed to write music that indicated the difference between these two as an expression of his own experience of joy and sorrow. Simple analysis shows that he achieved this opposition through the use of keys and chords in a sequence of minor and Major, a solo violin in a Major key that soars upwards while expressing the soul's joy, and then deep notes from bass instruments, to indicate profound sorrow and being churned to the depths of utter despair.

As an example of juxtaposing sorrow and joy in Elgar, we need look no further than his Symphony no. 2. The very structure of the symphony is based around these opposing emotions.

Elgar wrote at the head of the score – 'Rarely, rarely, comest thou, spirit of delight' … The musical expression of this 'delight' is shown by the way the Symphony breaks out with an exuberant expression of joy; but such emotion can only be short-lived, or recurrent, and so within minutes, it fragments into quietly introspective, dark moments. The whole slow movement is a sorrowing and sorrowful funeral march, set in the minor key, with just a few moments when a bright major sound emerges through the gloomy haze of sadness. The second movement also displays ebullient, effervescent badinage abounding in restless energy: true extremes that never really reconcile until the final moments of the symphony into something quietly ecstatic and joyous, exist throughout the whole work.

That Elgar was able to identify with the emotion of sorrowing and sadness, as caused by solitude and ostracism, can be seen in his own very personal portrayal of Jesus in ***The Apostles***. One of the five leitmotivs that Elgar employs to 'describe' and 'represent' Jesus, is one often presented as 'Jesus, the Man of Sorrows'. In this leitmotive, which is ever-present throughout this work, and its successor, ***The Kingdom***, Elgar has deliberately chosen to show Jesus as a lonely man with a burdensome destiny – 'a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief'.

This is something that could easily be said of Mahler's character and his music, too. He was an artistic loner, who felt the burden of being a composer as his destiny, and that his music would be understood one day. He was convinced of it. His first notable large-scale work, completed when he was 20, is a symphony of Sorrowing, ***Das Klagende Lied***; the sorrowing passages of much of his output, as, for example in Symphony no. 6, often referred to as 'The Tragic', shows that Mahler considered himself to be a man of sorrows, too. His life also reflects this, especially in his early and then last years. It can be noted that during the darkest of those days, he read the Bible, and notably the New Testament; it is here that the sorrows of Jesus and his overcoming of them are to be found.

As composers of symphonic works, it is not unusual for a symphony, post-Beethoven, to move in its general and spiritual atmosphere from something of a problematical, foreboding, dark, difficult, distracting and distressing nature, to something more full of light, more open, positive, triumphant and happy. The very nature of Beethoven's Symphony no. 5 is an example. In that symphony, the contrast is formed majestically, even nobly, by moving from the struggles of the minor key of 'c', to the victorious key of C major.

It is therefore time to turn the microscope on some of the resources that Elgar and Mahler use to show sorrow and joy, starting with the idea of contrasts through key relationships; and this is followed by an examination of the religious and spiritual aspect, in their compositional process.

Major/minor

One of the main ways in which both Elgar and Mahler use musical contrasts to say what they want to say, is through using the major and minor versions of the same tonic. In this way, they are heirs to Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Dvořák and other composers of the Austro-German symphony. Contemporary new music for both Elgar and Mahler was that of Antonín Dvořák; his symphonies abound with a Slavic tonal colour of major and minor juxtapositions. One only has to think of the opening of his Symphony no. 8 in G Major to experience a taste of this remarkably rich and meaning-laden trait. The impetus, surely, comes from Schubert, whose own Slavic mother, and time spent teaching in Hungarian-Slovak territory, might have introduced this dramatic musical characteristic to the composer.[17]

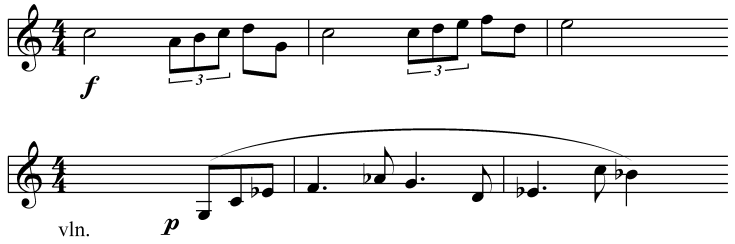
[17] Beethoven had also introduced a Hungarian/Slovakian element into the finale variations of Symphony no. 3, ***Eroica***. The melody, which served for a set of variations, is in 'E Flat Major'; but, the Hungarian/Slovakian variation is in 'g minor', with appropriate local rhythmic stylistic features.

It is such a common trademark of Mahler's writing, that it only needs a brief but highlighted mention here. It should be remembered, too, that Mahler grew up in a Slavic environment, where the ambiguities highlighted by this tonal shift, were all about him.

Maybe, with Elgar, the examples are not so commonly heard, but they are definitely present. Throughout his three main oratorios, there is constant shifting between Major and minor keys, as the narrative and characterisation demands; there are times when both composers also use modes, which, in turn, form a strong contrast with the usual major-minor system they used.

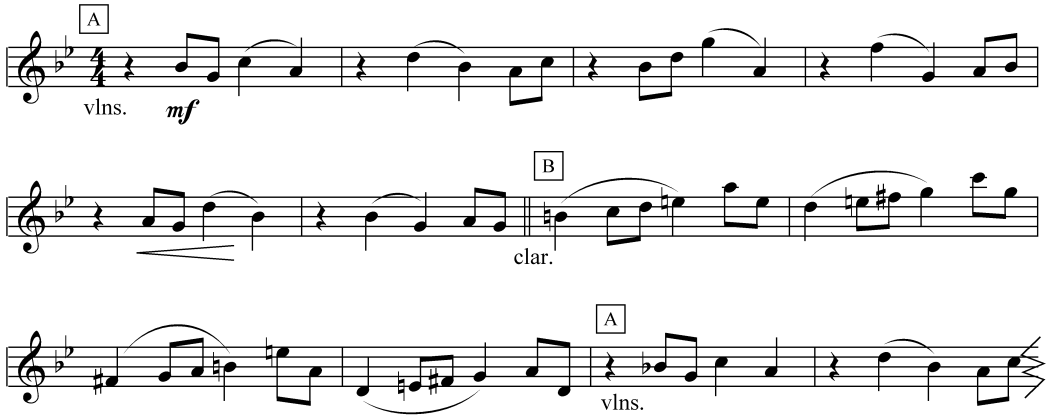
For other Elgar examples, it is not necessary to look further than an early work – *Caractacus*, 1897. In this, the quintessentially Elgarian march, 'The Triumphal Entry into Rome', is set in a bright-sounding, ebullient 'C Major'. About half-way through, the mood quietens, and the contrasting music poignantly describes how the British feel about being paraded through Rome as 'a vanquished people'. With this change of mood, the strings quietly play another typically Elgarian tune, full of yearning and nostalgia, which, in a rehearsal, he once requested to be played as though each note is a 'mile long'. It is in 'c minor'. Musical example (viii) displays this contrast. The juxtaposition of keys here is as dramatic and volcanic as anything in Mahler and he is able to express a great deal in this movement by shifting between Major and minor versions of the same tonic.

Musical example (viii): Elgar, Triumphal March, ***Caractacus***,
showing the two main contrasting melodies



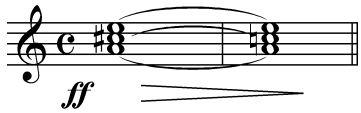
A further outstanding example is the melody on which Elgar based the 'Enigma' *Variations*. The melody follows an A B A structure, where the A sections are in 'g minor' and the B section is in 'G major' [see musical example (ix)].

Musical example (ix): main melody, Elgar, *Enigma Variations*, Op. 35



For Mahler, an obvious example is Symphony no. 6, which begins and ends, unusually for him, in the same key – 'a minor'; but, the work also has a 'motto theme', which returns at various times elsewhere in the symphony, which is the chord of A major immediately negated and followed by 'a minor' [musical example (x)].

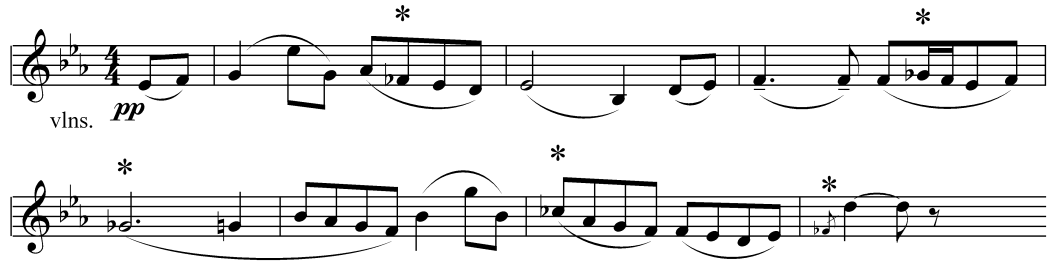
Musical example (x): Mahler, motto motive, movement 1, Symphony no. 6



The whole symphony oscillates between major and minor keys, and is the main way in which the narrative unfolds, by means of contrasts. In addition to the opposition of major and minor, the certain all-pervasive sadness in their music is often achieved by use of modal forms of the scale, including the natural minor, or Aeolian mode, and the Phrygian.

Mahler often negates the feeling of a melody in a major key by introducing a contrasting moment, which hints at the minor key. This is often done through the flattened supertonic, or Neapolitan relationship. For example, the melody of the slow movement of Symphony no. 6 is in E flat major, as in musical example (xi); in the meandering violin melody, Mahler introduces an 'F flat', the Neapolitan, 'G flat' to make the minor mode, and then towards the end, a 'C flat'. This makes the sound flirt briefly with the so-called Neapolitan major scale; this, results in a rather more ambivalent and unsettling experience poised somewhere between the major and minor versions of the scale based on 'E flat'.

Musical example (xi): Mahler, opening melody, movement iii, Symphony no. 6



Mahler had already used this in previous melodies, among which is the orchestral interlude in the middle of the fifth movement of Symphony no. 3. In this case, an E flat is introduced into the scale of d minor, with the result that the flattened supertonic is introduced (Neapolitan note), and the Phrygian scale is hinted at.

The second movement of his Symphony no. 7, ***Nachtmusik I***, provides a further example of major and minor versions of the same tonic. Almost every bar contains an unstable shift of modality, and sometimes both versions are heard simultaneously when an 'e flat' is pitted against an 'e natural'.

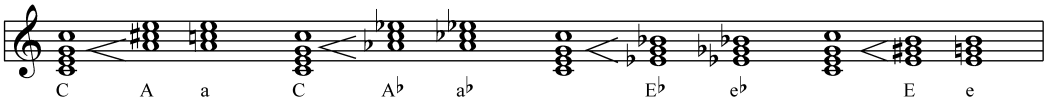
The result on all occasions is a momentary, sudden darkening of mood. An expression in English that supports this feeling is the darkly shuddering expression: 'I suddenly felt someone walk over my grave […]' Another common visual idea to support this musical sound could be

like when the warm summer sun briefly goes behind a cloud, causing a momentary cooling and darkening of the light before emerging again from behind the cloud.

Mediant/sub-mediant key relationships

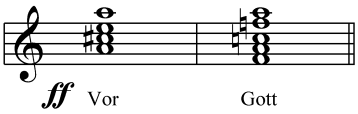
Tonal relationships comprising mediant and sub-mediant juxtapositions and unprepared by intermediary chords, abound in Elgar and Mahler as a distinct harmonic trademark. These occur when the interval between tonics is either a minor or a major third higher or lower. For example, from tonic 'C', it would be possible to move down to 'A' major (or minor), or 'A flat' major (or minor); or by moving upwards to 'E flat' major (or minor), or 'E' major (or minor). These tonal relationships between chords involve the use, therefore, of the 'false relation' or 'chromatic contradiction' [as seen in musical example (xii)]. Both Elgar and Mahler highly effectively exploit this idea at great dramatic moments within their individual narratives.

Musical example (xii): mediant and sub-mediant key relationships based on C Major.



Both are heirs to the Baroque, in which this tonal relationship was exploited in opera and recitatives. But nearer in time to Elgar and Mahler was Beethoven, who, for one, made a spectacular use of this highly effective musical juxtaposition within the finale of his celebrated Symphony no. 9. In this case, the two chords that follow one after the other are 'A' major, and then 'F major', on the two words *vor Gott* – 'before God'[18] [see musical example (xiii)].

Musical example (xiii): Beethoven, from the finale, Symphony no. 9



An example of many in Elgar, is heard in ***Pomp and Circumstance March no. 5 in C major***. The march tune of the contrasting middle section, is in A flat Major. In keeping with this same example of tonality, in his Symphony no. 2, Mahler finishes the c minor movement 1 on a unison 'C'. The second, Andante, movement, is cast in 'A flat Major', and starts with that chord. Many other examples abound in the music of both composers; each time, the relationship is used for maximum dramatic effect. Mahler again uses this in Symphony no. 7, movement 2, when the contrasting middle section is set in 'A flat Major' within a 'c minor/Major' context.

In addition, this effect might be indicative of a further example of Wagnerian influence. One Wagnerian source of such a contrast can be heard at the very beginning of ***Gotterdaemmerung***: this opera begins with a long held 'e flat minor' chord heard strongly from the brass and wind;

[18] Of course, Beethoven was not the first to use this tonal relationship, and for Elgar, he will have heard it many times in music as part of the great Choral Tradition of England. Thomas Tallis (1505–1585) used these key relationships to great effect in his music written for the church and it became part of the 'language' of this tradition through to at least Purcell (1659–1695), (and then again with the modal music of 20th century English composers, such as Holst and Vaughan-Williams).

this is followed immediately by a more restrained 'C flat Major' chord, mainly from stringed instruments. Not only is this a sub-mediant tonal relationship, but a dramatic example of a minor chord followed by a Major, and wind and brass followed by a contrasting string sound.[19]

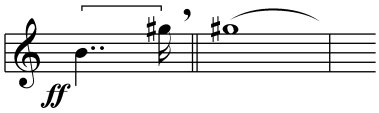
In addition to tonality, Elgar and Mahler use similar approaches to melodic writing, with resulting contours.

Affirmation and the Melodic Rising Sixth

Another aspect of both Mahler and Elgar is an interval found in their melodies, which is enormously affirmative, most joyous, and almost ecstatic. It is the interval of a rising 6th, starting on note 5 (soh) of a scale/key, and rising up to the next octave, and note 3 of the scale (mi). Melodically, this has the effect of sending the heart soaring upwards, and, in certain contexts, of making us look heavenwards.

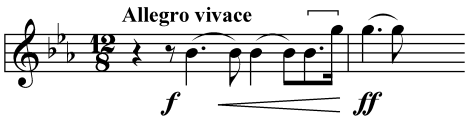
First, an example by Mahler: this is from the third movement of Symphony no. 4, and it is the strings, in octaves, that rise up in this majestic and marvellous striving for Heaven. The key is Mahler's 'heavenly' key of E major, and the dynamic level is very loud [see musical example (xiii)].

Musical example (xiv): Mahler, movement three, Symphony no. 4



The opening of Elgar's 2nd Symphony has the same melodic leap, and is known to be associated with delight, happiness, openness [musical example (xv)].

Musical example (xv): Elgar, Symphony no. 2, opening of movement 1

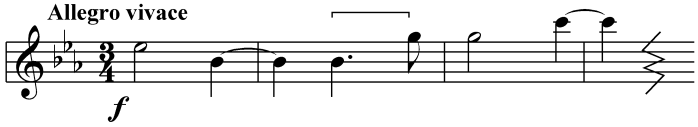


Elgar writes in the orchestration the effect of a crescendo, as instruments join in the initial note – 'B flat' – before the big melodic leap of a major 6th to the 'G' above. It is possible that the impetus for this and for the Mahler example, came from their joint enthusiasm for the symphonies of Robert Schumann (1810–1856). In particular, Symphony no. 3, *The Rhenish*, Op. 97 (1850), also in E flat, bursts forth joyously using syncopated rhythms and a rising melody, which is not unlike Elgar's *Alassio* in the same key.[20] Notably, Schumann melodically uses the interval of a major 6th, in E flat major, at the beginning of his Symphony. After an initial plunging 4th, from 'e flat' down to 'b flat', the melody leaps up to 'g' in the next octave in the same way as mentioned above [see musical examples (xiv) and (xv) above].

[19] As a side issue, it is interesting to note that Mahler uses this tragic-sounding chord of 'e flat minor' on a number of occasions beginning with ***Das Klagende Lied***; Elgar uses this same tonal relationship in the finale of his Symphony no. 1. These can easily be considered as unconscious echoes of that original Wagnerian sound, and as evidence of their thorough soaking in Wagner's music.

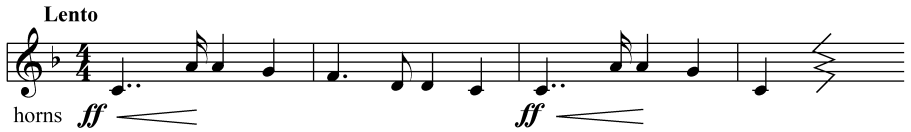
[20] See musical example (xxv) below.

Musical example (xvi): Schumann, opening of movement i, Symphony no. 3



Furthermore, this interval is present in the contrasting melody in movement 2, ***Larghetto***, of Elgar's Symphony no. 2. The notes of the melody striving upwards, 'c' to 'a' in 'F Major', at figure 76, and heard in the horns, violas and celli, add a degree of hope and brightness in what can be considered a very gloom-laden piece of music [musical example (xvii)]. This is a complete contrast indicating sadness and hope and joy. Importantly, Elgar also said of this that he had 'written out his soul' in this music; his highs and his lows.

Musical example (xvii): Elgar, movement iii, Symphony no. 2



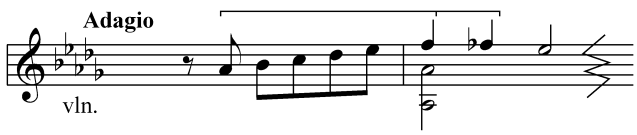
With Mahler, another example occurs in Symphony no. 8; the so-called 'Love Theme', appearing first in 'E Major', begins with what feels like a soaring 6th as its first interval – 'b' up to 'g sharp' over an 'E major' chord, as in musical example (xviii).

Musical example (xviii): Mahler, the 'Love' Theme, Pt. 2, Symphony no. 8

Once heard, this then becomes part of the melodic fabric of the rest of the work, which takes place on the threshold of Heaven. In a slightly different form, it is heard by a double chorus in unison-octaves, *fortissimo*, on the word *ewig* – 'forever'; this is just one shattering experience among many in these last moments of that symphony. At this point, Mahler has written a moment of overwhelming love, happiness and hope in the future, as every bit as relevant for the Elgar examples of a major 6th melodic leap as for Mahler.

This interval also occurs melodically at the end of the finale of Symphony no. 9, where Mahler gives the violins alone the melody 'A flat', rising through the degrees of the scale to 'F' – the key is D flat major, and therefore, this is a 'filled-in' version of the rising 6th. In this instance, the melody rises hopefully, expectantly through a Major 6th; but Mahler negates this immediately by flattening the 'f', to 'f flat', and therefore making the interval a minor 6th instead. The ambivalence that this causes is very much part of Mahler's questioning musical style, and here it is in the final moments of his last fully completed symphony dating from 1909 [see musical example (xix)].

Musical example (xix): Mahler, movement iv, Symphony no. 9

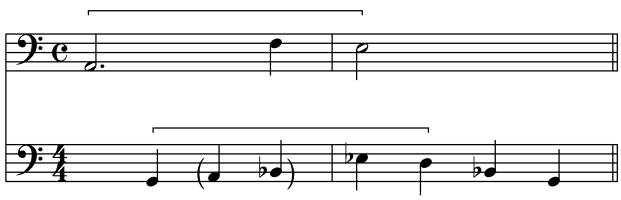


In addition to affirmation, the rising melodic sixth, as described here, can also suggest and symbolise ecstatic calm and peace. For example, Elgar uses the notes 'b flat' rising to 'g' above, over an 'E flat Major' chord, played by horns, as the final notes of *The Kingdom*.[21] This is a real moment of the peace of God, that the world cannot fully grasp, and totally fits the ending of this oratorio.[22]

The *appoggiatura*

Melodically, there is an additional element, which inextricably links these two composers. It is the melodic fall of a minor, or sometimes, a major second. This falling motive is usually anticipated by a leap upwards in the melody, thus making this melodic figure, an *appoggiatura*. There are countless examples in the works of both composers, and its presence can generate feelings anywhere from yearning to screaming anxiety. An astoundingly similar one occurs in early works of both composers: for Mahler, aged 15, there came the ***Piano Quartet in a minor.*** The opening melody begins with a rising minor sixth, falling by a semitone to the fifth of the scale – [do-la-so, 'a', 'f', 'e', where the 'f' is the appoggiatura] as in musical example (xx). Elgar uses the same melodic contour in the cellos, but in g minor, for the first theme in his earliest large-scale oratorio, ***The Light of Life [Lux Christi]***, Op. 29, his earliest oratorio from 1896. The melody fills out by the addition of two notes in between the leap as shown in musical example (xx).

Musical example (xx): comparison of opening melodies:
line 1, Mahler, Piano Quartet; line 2: Elgar, ***Lux Christi***

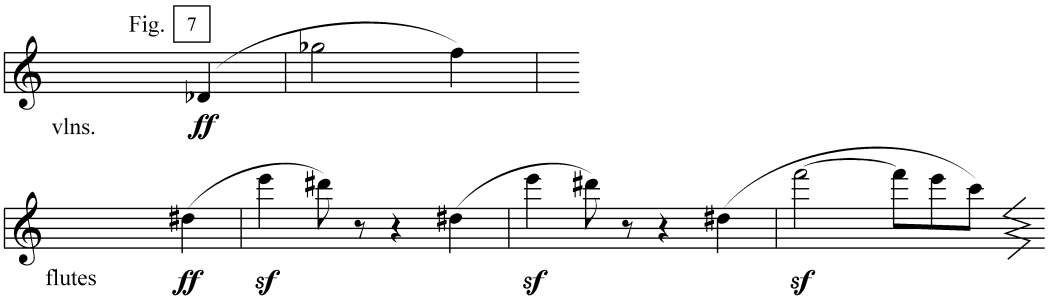


Examples in the works of Mahler abound, but can be illustrated here by reference to the straining, desperate *appoggiaturas* in melodies found in movements (i) [figure 7] and bars 6 onwards of movement two of Symphony number 5 [see musical example (xxi)]; as can be seen, this melodic motive often carries across a highly expressive octave leap in its desperate strive for resolution.

[21] Elgar also uses this interval melodically in ***The Apostles***, but in E major and given to the Tenor Chorus to sing; the notes are therefore, 'b' rising to 'g sharp'. It then becomes obvious, that the notes of the *shofar* near the beginning of that work, are also the notes 'soh' rising to 'mi' – in this case, 'e flat' rising to 'c' over an 'A flat Major' chord – and are linked to all occurrences in both oratorios. On all occasions, the ideas and emotions associated with this rising sixth, is one of affirmation and praise to God. This melody is used again, (see under self-quotation above), in ***The Music Makers***, where it occurs as a complete contrast to the seemingly turbulent doom heard in the introduction to that work.

[22] This also links with the music of Chopin, who peacefully and gently opens his E flat major ***Nocturne***, Opus 9, number 2, with that same ecstatic melodic leap.

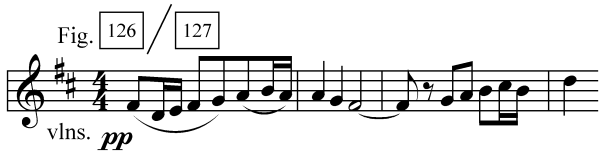
Musical example (xxi): Mahler, movement ii, Symphony no. 5. Two examples of appoggiaturas.



For Elgar, *appoggiaturas* are used as part of his battery of emotional nuances, from his earliest works onwards, including ***Chanson d'Amour*** and ***Salut d'Amour***. Often, the effect of the *appoggiatura* in Elgar's melodies produces an atmosphere of yearning, nostalgia, restlessness, sometimes desperation and, ultimately twinges of sadness.

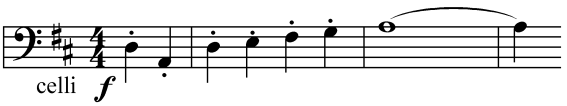
These falling motives are also part of a larger picture within their music, in which we hear melodies that generally descend. Firstly, it is notable for both composers that when melodies do have an ascending contour, they are cast in a Major key; an Elgarian example is the so-called 'Angel's Farewell' [at figures 126, 127 etc] at the end of *The Dream of Gerontius*, as shown in musical example (xxii).

Musical example (xxii): Elgar, Pt. 2, Th***e Dream of Gerontius***, melody of the 'Angel's Farewell'.



The opening melody in the ***Allegro*** of Symphony no. 1 serves as an example for Mahler, and is shown in musical example (xxiii).

Musical example (xxiii): Mahler, main melody, movement i, Symphony no. 1



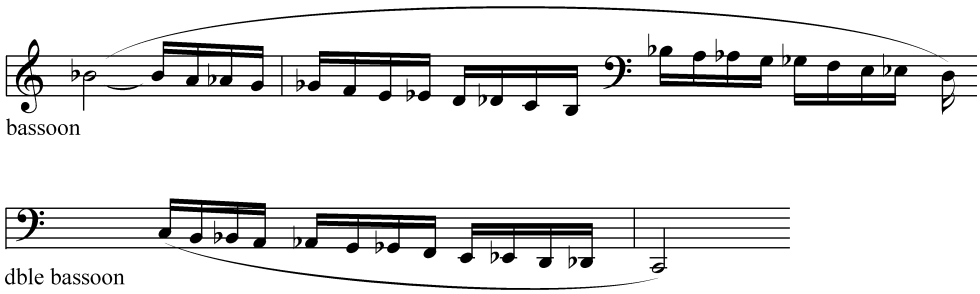
Even so, their ascending melodic contours are often immediately counterbalanced or contrasted with a descending one, as both examples just given carry on [(xxii) and (xxiii)].

In Elgar, the very melody of the *Enigma Variations*, Op. 36, is written in this way – the minor scale melody, part 'A', tries to rise, but ultimately collapses by the use of falling 7ths, while the major scale melody, 'B', is characterised by a continually rising outline, before returning to the minor tune, 'A[1]' [see musical example (viii above)]. Melodies that rise in this way, appear to strive brightly upwards towards something positive and optimistic; on the other hand, the more

frequent melodies that descend, seem to portray the weight of pessimism, of something heavy, sad and ultimately desperate.

Mahler's melodies are also full of such outlines – they begin by moving upwards, and then fall back on themselves, almost like a question and answer. Sometimes, the answer dissolves into a faster moving downward chromatic scale, which is a very common melodic line in Mahler, often found in the wind instrumental parts. Musical example (xxiv) shows two of countless Mahler examples – one from the opening movement of Symphony no. 3 and the other from the final song of ***Das Lied von der Erde***.

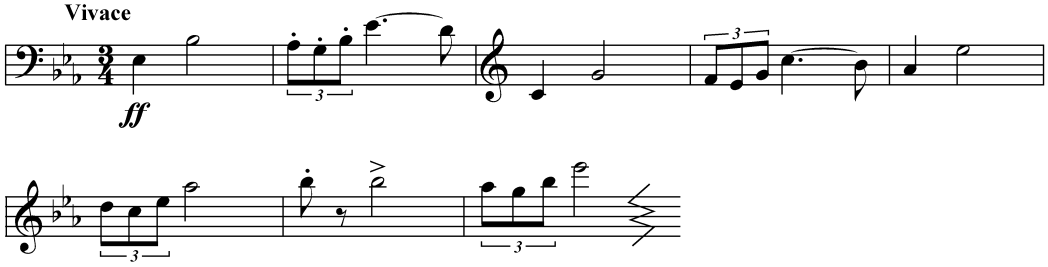
Musical example (xxiv): Mahler, movement i, Symphony no. 3,
and from 'Der Abschied', ***Das Lied von der Erde*** – examples of descending chromatic scales



'Delight' and peaceful well-being in the key of E Flat

The 'spirit of delight […]' mentioned by Elgar at the top of his score of Symphony no. 2 in E flat (1908) is mirrored by other, similarly exuberant music. For example, the opening of his concert overture, *Alassio: In the South*, also written in the key of E flat major, bursts forth in a joyous, totally carefree way, almost like an 18th century 'Mannheim Sky-rocket' [musical example (xxv)]. In eight bars, it hurtles upwards across three octaves.

Musical example (xxv): Elgar, opening melody, ***Alassio: In the South***



Mahler's Symphony no. 2 ends in a resounding, jubilant, ecstatic and affirmative 'E flat Major' having started in 'c minor'; likewise, his Symphony no. 8, also in E flat major opens exuberantly and ends powerfully in that same key. In fact, for both composers, 'E flat Major' might well be considered the key of 'happiness and joy'. Such exuberant openings are undoubtedly an expression of supreme happiness; but, in terms of a symphonic composer, this immediately poses a difficult task. Where can the music go now? Can it continue in such an exuberant mood? As has been noted, contrasts are the basis of the music of these composers. From exuberance, the

music will need to contrast by descending even as far as the depths of despair or similarly dark moods and atmospheres.

As a final point, both Elgar's oratorios, ***The Apostles*** and ***The Kingdom***, end quietly, calmly and peacefully serene on a warm and richly scored tonic chord in the key of E flat Major. Mention is made below of other links between Elgar's oratorios and Mahler's two symphonies. However, links between these works need further exploration than the short descriptions in this essay.

Agony and the Chord of Despair

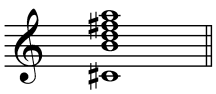
In vast contrast to E flat major's serenity and joy, and the yearning nature of the *appoggiatura* described above, comes the agony of life. Throughout Mahler's work, there are chords, which represent utter despair and hopelessness. The first occurs in ***Das Klagende Lied***, and is a sorrowing 'e flat minor' chord, played ***fortissimo*** by the whole orchestra, with 2 harps playing the chord *arpeggiando* across several octaves; it is heard at figure 25.

In his Symphony no. 3, at the very end of movement three, at figure 31, Mahler gives another overpowering 'e flat minor' chord, which appears out of nowhere, like a bolt of lightning and then similar to the example from ***Das Klagende Lied***, it grows quieter across four bars to almost nothing. This forms a huge contrast to the rest of the movement in which it occurs. But above all, it is to be noted that both these examples, spanning 15 years between composition, are minor versions of the 'E flat Major' chords of serenity and happiness, mentioned above, and so have the effect of complete contrast by describing something overwhelmingly desperate.

The last, terrifying chords of a similar nature in Mahler occur in movement 1 of Symphony no. 10; they are then re-capped, like a sudden reminiscence of something horrific from before, within the last movement (composition dating from 1910, in the months before he died). Here, they are both examples of minor chords ('a flat minor') and a highly chromatic screeching chord, which jarringly uses 9 of the 12 different notes of the octave. Both chords are heard ***fortissimo*** by the full orchestra, and are nothing less than screamingly, soulful chords of unutterable tragedy and desperation, which form extreme examples in Mahler works.[23]

Elgar uses similarly dramatic chords in ***The Dream of Gerontius***; for example, in part 2 of the work, at figure 105 + 6, and at figure 106. Finally, when Gerontius sees God momentarily, the 5 note chromatic chord, *fortissimo*, and full orchestra, includes 'c sharp', 'b', 'd', 'f sharp' and 'a', which reveals the truths of agony, grief and even despair. Lined up, this chord comprises the contiguous notes 'a', 'b', 'c sharp', 'd', and then 'f sharp' [see musical example (xxvi)].

Musical example (xxvi): Elgar, Pt. 2, ***The Dream of Gerontius***: chromatic chord.



In ***The Apostles***, when Judas finally understands and talks to himself about the full reality of his part leading to the Crucifixion of Jesus, he contemplates his own end. The black thoughts in his mind are represented at one point by a single, deep trombone note, 'e', followed by a chord of 'e minor', which is chillingly unnerving, disquieting, full of anguish, downright terror and

[23] A notable contemporary work of art is the painting, ***Skrik***, known in English as ***The Scream***, by Edvard Munch; 'Skrik' can also be translated as 'cry, screech and shriek'. It dates initially from 1893, but he produced further versions up until 1910 – absolutely contemporary with the musical examples mentioned. The topic or subject matter of the painting is an excellent visualization of Mahler's own 'shrieks' of emotional pain, agony or deep sadness.

without hope. The chords in the context of these oratorios are as equally dramatic as anything Mahler composed.

Spirituality

There is enough description of scriptural thinking and the use of sacred texts by both composers at different times in their life, for anyone, not just musicologists, familiar with the music of both composers to construct the beliefs (and doubts) of both composers.

One contrast to highlight here is between profound belief as opposed to doubts and fears, depression and the diabolical, which can shake that belief to the core. However, it is through doubts that one's faith becomes more defined and an affirmation, or, alternatively, may disappear altogether. For Elgar, his clear beliefs began to dim and dissipate in later life, especially following World War One and then the death of his wife, with only a hope in an uncertain future left to him. Mahler, on the other hand, was at his spiritual height in the last five years of his life; had he lived to witness the horrors of World War 1, he might have questioned any faith he had, and been deeply churned by the inhumanity of man to man.

In fact, the spiritual aspect of their music is all to do with the descriptions of the states of their soul. Mahler was once asked why he did not write a Mass, indicating that the questioner had already identified that belief in God was an important element of Mahler's works. Mahler's answer was that, as someone of Jewish birth, he would not be able to write an effective ***Credo*** section – convincingly portraying in music the words that he believed in Jesus Christ, the Son of God. In fact, he did come very close to the words of the Mass, when writing Part One of Symphony no. 8. The final 'verse' of Part One is: ***Glory to God, the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Ghost*** […]' which acknowledges the Trinity. The music Mahler wrote for this is some of the most uplifting that he ever wrote, and a glorious affirmation of a belief in the Trinitarian nature of God.

What is even more noticeable is Mahler's use of the "Amen" Cadence long associated with Church music, with which he concludes a number of works, or movements of works, including Part 1 of Symphony number 8. Simply said, this cadence is chord IV followed by chord I. 'Amen' is the deeply affirming way to say: 'what I have just said is certain, and it is what I feel, what I think, what I believe to be true'. etc. This is the ultimate affirmation and certainty of a belief. Part 1 of Symphony no. 8 ends massively with such a cadence; figure 91 is 8 bars of 'A flat Major', followed at figure 92 by 8 bars and a quaver of the tonic chord, 'E flat Major'.

It is also significant to point out that the final cadence Mahler ever used, at the very end of Symphony no. 10, is also a prolonged Amen Cadence – the chord of B Major followed by the chord of F sharp Major. This helps give the music many profound feelings: these range from a spirit of farewell, of now putting a final full-stop at the end of his life's work, and a feeling, at last, of utmost serenity coming from the life just endured and enjoyed, as well as of the certain life of the world to come. All his worldly anxieties, doubts, sadnesses, dissipate with that 'other-worldly' last of his 'Amens'.

Mahler again takes us heavenwards in Symphony no. 2, *The Resurrection*. After the description of the end of the world, there is only one place for us to be, and that is in Heaven, where our souls will live forever. We get taken to God, in the same way as Elgar leads us there when Gerontius meets God and His judgement for one blinding moment.

In the Mahler example, all suffering, carefully explained in Mahler's own composed text for this part of the work, leads us upward and onwards towards God – and we hear those final words of the symphony, **zu Gott**, 'to God', not once, but three times, each increasing in intensity and ever higher in pitch – a most emphatic way to show that we have arrived at the threshold of meeting God. Similarly, in ***The Apostles***, Elgar shows us the result of a soul's arrival in Heaven.

Both lead through a huge, overpowering crescendo in which choir and orchestra shatteringly perform together.

Elgar wrote ***The Dream of Gerontius*** in two halves; these actually indicate the separation between dying on earth (part 1), followed by being in Heaven, as the soul journeys there after death (part 2). To emphasise this, Elgar later uses a brief moment, *pianissimo* in the music, where Gerontius grows suddenly aware of his body back on earth, with his friends still around his bed, mourning his death; in other words, from Heaven, he can look down to see and hear the place on earth of his death, which is a sure way of indicating dramatically the distance, space travelled by the soul from earth to Heaven, and the brief amount of time that has passed since his final breath. In addition, there is a stabbing chord of anguish, occurring even in Heaven, with the notes 'g', 'c flat', 'd', 'c double flat', as in musical example (xxvii).

Musical example (xxvii): Elgar, ***The Dream of Gerontius***, 'Agony' chord.

This same chord then appears in *The Apostles* (1904), the next of Elgar's oratorios. It is used there in a different context, of course, as with the examples in Mahler's works, but the feeling generated of a soul in anguish, of sadness and a multitude of other simultaneous states and conditions, is the connection between all these works.

The Apostles ends with 'The Ascension of Jesus', and is portrayed through a great arch of a crescendo-decrescendo, in which there is music from angels in Heaven and people on earth simultaneously singing *Alleluia* in praise. The actual event of the Ascension ends the work, with the strings describing this by moving the pitch and instrumentation higher and higher; they are performing the leading motive of the sorrowing Christ repeated higher and higher until the feeling is that the body of Jesus is very high and has eventually disappeared to take His place in Heaven.

Heaven and the presence of God

There can be few composers who have tried what Elgar and Mahler attempted – to describe Heaven and the journey towards there. Mahler's Symphony number 2 begins with music accompanying someone's funeral procession and rites, and then the journey towards the soul's future Resurrection. It is a complex journey – but it presents Mahler's eschatological thinking at the time. Essentially, Mahler's stated position is that it is through our suffering on our earth that we get to Heaven; and the ultimate aim of the symphony, as mentioned above, is towards the words /***zu Gott***/ 'to God' – our final arrival point[24]. The goal in Symphony number 8 is for the soul of Faust to reach Heaven, through the redemptive power of love; we get to the threshold of Heaven, yet again, by Faust and Gretchen's interaction with Mater Gloriosa, who is a 'version' of the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus.

Part 2 of this symphony had already begun on high mountain-tops on earth, and it was Mahler's task to move the music higher and higher through different regions of space until reaching Heaven. We know the exact point when we are at the threshold of Heaven, because Mahler's music has taken us higher and higher; at figure 199, the texture changes to something very

[24] As mentioned earlier, Mahler emphasises this point with three settings of the words, ***zu Gott***, each melodically higher and louder in volume, and thus shows us this is the goal of the whole symphony.

light, in every sense of the word; an extraordinarily high piccolo tune, ***pianissimo***, accompanied by celesta, piano and high notes from the harp, produce a most amazing aural description of Heavenly height. As with many Mahler (and Elgar) tunes, the melody finished by descending, in this case through a number of octaves, while still maintaining high notes as a contrast, and this only serves to emphasise the fact that we are in the heavenly space and a rarefied stratosphere in comparison with people left on earth. He similarly describes the ascent to Heaven at the end of movement iii of Symphony no. 4, whose finale actually takes place there.

With Elgar, we arrive in Heaven in part 2 of *The Dream of Gerontius*. In fact, the soul of Gerontius meets God, through the introduction by his guardian Angel. There is no description of God, but only a momentary sight of God, and His judgement of Gerontius. Elgar gives us a single shattering chord for this brief vision [seen above in musical example (xxvi)].

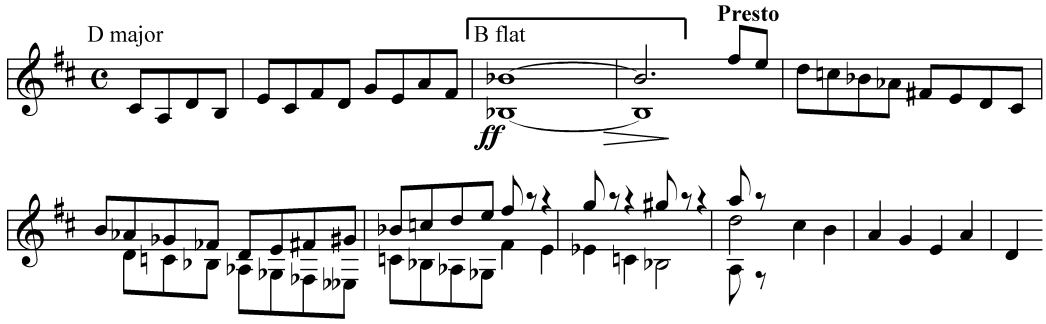
On the other hand, in *The Apostles*, we are very much on earth until the end, when we hear angels from Heaven recounting Christ's Crucifixion. Finally, we experience musically, Christ's Ascension. However, Elgar provides an overpowering conclusion to the work, in much the way that Mahler does to both his Symphonies with texts: the music moves higher and higher, as though through a series of steps towards the limits of Heaven, and the highest note, as in Mahler's '***zu*** *Gott*' in Symphony no. 2, is also a soaring high 'b flat' from the sopranos.

In *The Kingdom*, there are references to Heaven, but the narrative takes place mainly on earth, until the end. Here, Elgar gives us a momentary vision of Heaven on earth, which extends out into eternity, through the use of the gentle, affirming motive called 'The Church'.

Are there moments of doubt in either composers' works? The answer is a resounding 'yes'. Mahler, even in the mood of great joy, can suddenly stop, momentarily, and question his deep-seated and exuberant joy, the reason for that joy and for his own existence – all within a brief moment of shocking musical contrast.

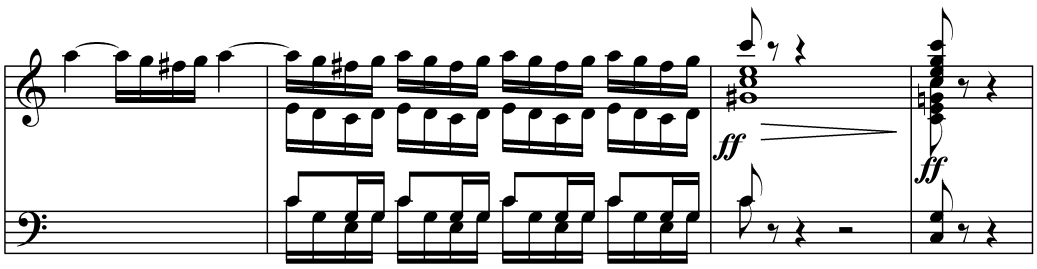
An example of this occurs in the final bars of Symphony number 5, with a halt on a 'b flat', within D major, nine bars after figure 35 [musical example (xxviii)]. The exuberance stops abruptly, and the 'b flat' disappears from very loud to nothing, and is followed by a resumption of the fast quaver movement, but still through a doubting descending whole tone scale, before an unfettered short but joyous rush to the work's conclusion.

Musical example (xxviii): Mahler, Symphony no. 5, the final 10 bars.



In Symphony no. 7, a similar idea occurs, in C major, when a doubt-laden, non-diatonic chord built on 'g sharp', quickly dies away in the penultimate bar of the symphony before a final assertive and thundering chord of C major [see musical example (xxix)].

Musical example (xxix): Final 4 bars of Mahler, Symphony no. 7



In The 'Resurrection' Symphony no. 2, the same has already occurred: after arriving with God, the music dies away, and almost disappears into nothing, before returning with the full orchestra, *fortissimo*, on an 'E flat major' chord. It is as if a cloud momentarily blocks the sun or the bright light of Heaven, and all is cast in an atmosphere of suspension of belief; and then again, the light emerges, more brilliant and affirmative than ever. This is further exemplified in the final moments of the finale of Symphony no 3, before the overwhelmingly positive D major chords, played loudly. It is through doubt and questioning that faith becomes stronger and the ends of Mahler's works much more affirmative.

All of these Mahler examples are as equally as relevant to the Motto theme in Symphony no. 6, shown in musical example (ix) above; here, the volume decreases through the Major chord, to the minor – light towards shade, brightness towards something more sinister.

Elgar's Symphony no. 2 begins so optimistically, striving for happiness and joy, that there was only one way that the music could possibly continue; in order to affect some dramatic progression, there follow some very dark passages in movements (i) and (iv). In the symphonic introduction to *The Music Makers*, it is easy to hear Elgar's suicidal turbulence at whether he should carry on living or not. Letters confirm that he was in very dark and desperate mood when starting this work, returning him almost to the point of suicide yet again.

Judaism

Mahler, the Jew, never wrote music that set out to be 'Jewish'. This is a whole question about Mahler, and several Jewish musicologists, and others, have tried to determine what, if anything, is specifically Jewish about Mahler's music.[25] However, there are some undeniably Jewish elements that crop up in Mahler. His use of the Phrygian mode,[26] so common in Central and Eastern European Jewish music, is one such example. It is most probable that Mahler heard the sound of this mode as a child.

It is certainly inescapable that Judaism, Jewish music and *Yiddishkeit*, is used in their music as a complement to, and a way of highlighting the Christian aspects of both their musics. Mahler's Symphony no. 8 refers specifically to the ***Mater Gloriosa***, who is identifiable with the Catholic

[25] See Greg Hurworth, "Bernstein's Little Drummer Boy," in *After Mahler's Death*, eds. Gerold Gruber, Morten Slovik and Jan Vičar (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2014). Here, there is a discussion on ideas by Leonard Bernstein and others about what is Jewish in Mahler's music.

[26] The Phrygian mode is best represented by the notes 'e', 'f', 'g', 'a', 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e' (semitones between notes 1 and 2, and 5 and 6 of the mode). Another version to occur in Mahler's homeland area, and in Jewish music is the altered Phrygian, where the seventh note, 'd', is changed to 'd sharp', thus providing the interval of three semitones between notes 6 and 7, and a semitone between notes 7 and 8. The mode therefore now begins and ends with a semitone interval. The Phrygian mode is found throughout the Middle East and in Pakistan and Northern India. For European composers, this mode has provided an 'exotic', non-European sound to their music.

Marian worship of the Virgin Mary. Elgar's use of references to the Virgin Mary in ***The Dream of Gerontius***, were sanctioned and even literally left out of performance, because they were considered too 'Catholic' to appear in performance of a work by English composers in Protestant England. His answer to that most probably adds further reason for including Jews within the telling of the story of *The Apostles*. This appearance acts as a complete contrast to the emergence of Christianity and the followers of Jesus, which is the subject matter of these works.

The Funeral March, movement three, in Mahler's Symphony no. 1, comprises a violent clash and contrast between two cultures: on the one hand, the March itself to the graveyard, is typical music to describe a contemporary burial practice in Mahler's time (Austrian, Catholic, represented by the tune, ***Bruder Martin***); on the other hand, this is contrasted and juxtaposed with a passing clash as a Jewish Wedding Band approaches (playing associated Central and Eastern European Klezmer music).

But, the two composers come together with the use of the sound of the ***shofar*** – that quintessentially Jewish instrument, mentioned in the Old Testament as being around from at least three thousand years ago and still in use today as a call to worship. Mahler seems to reproduce the sound in the finale of his Symphony no. 2, where the 'shofar' is represented by horns, placed at a distance from the orchestra and audience. Elgar also requires the sound in his oratorio, ***The Apostles***, where the sound of an actual ***shofar*** is desirable (but also written for trumpet in the score, if no ***shofar*** is available); this occurs at the point where there is a morning call to prayer in Jerusalem. Elgar also uses the first notes of a Jewish chant as part of the prayers in the Temple (as referenced in his score). He referred to the Jews on more than one occasion as 'his friends', which indicates and signifies much, not only in musical terms for that oratorio, but in general. For example, the sound of the *shofar* in Elgar's work is there in order to provide the musical setting with actual sounds of the Middle East, and so highlight the Jewish background of Jesus.

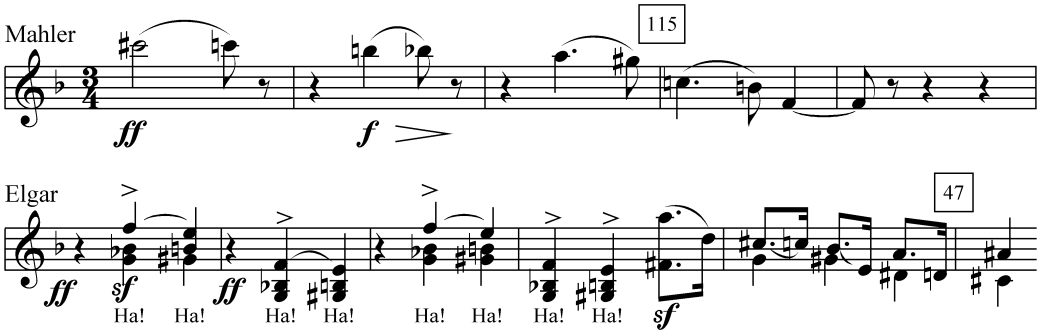
The Demons

Mahler wrote a number of movements in which he himself identified 'Devils'. An immediate link with Elgar comes with the demoniacal music in Part 2 of *The Dream of Gerontius* by Elgar beginning at Figure 29. This is the 'Demon's Chorus', nominally written in the key of 'g modal minor' and picking up the pace, ***presto***, at Figure 43 where the singers are accompanied by chromatic, slippery-slimy motives.

Devilish cackling noises in ***Gerontius*** occur on the mocking syllables *Ha! Ha*! (beginning 5 bars before Figure 47), which can be sung exaggeratedly, with aspirate, nasally rough sounds by tenors and basses, as directed by an imaginative and experienced Elgarian conductor.

With Mahler, there are various movements within symphonies, which clearly show demonic descriptions. For the argument of this article, the obvious example is movement three of his Symphony no. 7, (1904–1905). This extraordinary movement is in d minor, with a D major contrasting waltz theme. Of note is the similarly slippery-slimy music as in the Elgar work, plus the instrumentally portrayed cries or screams of the imagined demonic spirits. Both Mahler and Elgar describe these musically with a melody employing a falling minor second [as in musical example (xxx)]. In the Mahler work, they first occur 4 bars after Figure 114 in movement three.

Musical example (xxx): line 1 – Mahler, Scherzo movement, Symphony no. 7;
line 2 – Elgar, Pt. 2, ***The Dream of Gerontius***, the 'Demon's Chorus'.



In the Mahler example, evocative sounds come from high, shrill, woodwind, low snarling brass sounds, or nasal-sounding trumpets. Both the Mahler and the second part of the Elgar chorus are written in triple metre dance time – Mahler's music specifically comprises several dances, depicting whirling spirits. Elgar also uses high woodwind, and low brass; he additionally uses the colours of the singing chorus. To illustrate the confusion of the swirling, mocking spirits, Elgar uses canonic imitation. Both examples – the ending of the Mahler movement and the Elgar chorus – disappear away into wispy nothingness. Both composers seem to describe a soul journeying on, leaving the frightening cries, cackles and calamitous calls far behind, echoing in the distance, and like the end of a nightmarish episode.

One of Mahler's inspirations for this sound-world was undoubtedly Berlioz, and the finale of *Symphonie Fantastique,* with its own swirling, cackling flying spirits. It is hard to say where Elgar's demons come from, except from his own internal life, and his imagination. Again, the same could be said of Mahler.

It is a case that 'demons' of various natures are common to the lives of both Mahler and Elgar, and identified by them in differing ways. While the two overlapping examples noted here are about demons within specific contexts, they are both descriptions of inner states that were undoubtedly personal, and deeply autobiographical in nature. Indeed, Mahler refers to the 'devil' at the top of his scores, including 'the devil dances this with me' for the second Scherzo, movement 4 of Symphony number 10. At the same time, these portrayals are also devilish spirits that plague and gnaw away at any one of us, and are something with which we can all identify – and why we can appreciate the examples of the demonic in both their works.

The 'devilish' diminished 5th interval (or augmented 4th)

A less obvious use of 'devil's music' might be highlighted by the interval of a diminished 5th (or its inversion, the augmented 4th) – in medieval terms, the 'devil' in music (***diabolus in musica***). Both composers use this interval in strikingly similar ways in their symphonies – for example, Elgar in his first (written 1908), and Mahler in his 6th (1906). First the Elgar example: the interval concerned is between 'D' and 'A flat' and it occurs specifically and unusually in the finale of Symphony no. 1. The key of the Symphony is 'A flat major'; however, the finale begins with the tonality firmly in d minor.[27]

[27] ***The Apostles*** is written in 2 Parts, much like Mahler's Symphony no. 8, and his own *The Dream of Gerontius*. In ***The Apostles***, Part 1 begins in 'A flat Major', but ends in 'D Major'. The interval between 'd' and 'a flat' (or 'a flat' and 'd') is a diminished 5th.

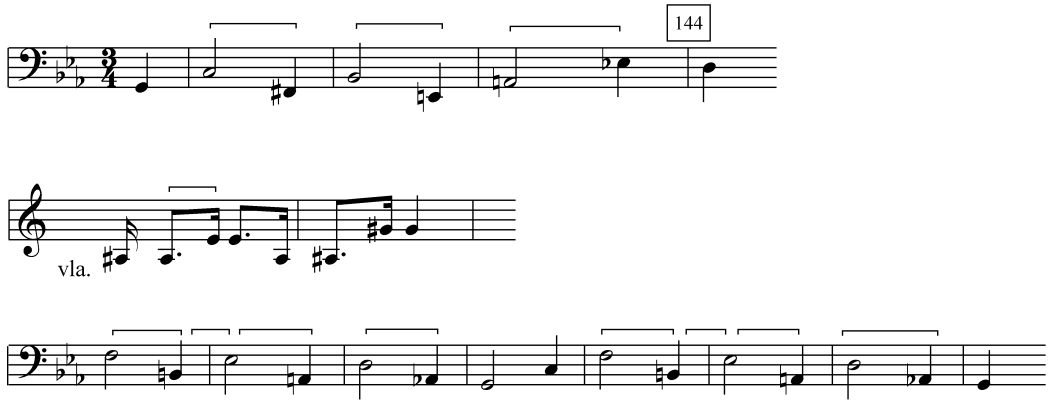
This theme undergoes a number of metamorphoses, including one in the remote key of 'e flat minor', a key mentioned as significant above, and an example of the Neapolitan relationship with the movement's tonic, 'd'. In turn, this is the Dominant minor key of the symphony as a whole, and Elgar brings back the motto theme in 'A flat Major' to complete triumphantly the movement, and, indeed, the whole symphony. This is symbolically a movement from darkness to light, from life's traumas through towards triumph and light, in a true Beethovenian sense of struggle. The devils are vanquished.

With Mahler, the slow movement of Symphony no. 6 is in E flat major – already a key associated in his music with warmth, love, and, in addition with the 8th symphony written just a couple of years later, things heavenly, philosophical and spiritual. However, the key that dominates Mahler's 6th is emphatically based on 'a'. The work begins and ends in 'a' minor', and three of its movements have a tonic 'a'. The fact that the slow movement has a tonic, 'e flat', sets up a key relationship of 'a' to 'e flat' – a diminished fifth.

Mahler is not done with this intervallic relationship within the symphony; in addition to incorporating the tonal relationship between 'a' and 'e flat' between movements, he also uses the relationship within a movement. Movement one, for example, is in 'a minor'; but, there is an important section from Figure 23 to 25 in 'E flat Major'; he also briefly makes use of 'e flat minor' at Figure 40 to 41, at an emotional highpoint of the recapitulation section. In the finale, Mahler uses 'c minor', the relative minor of 'E flat major'. When he brings back the 'E flat Major' material from movement one, we hear it in 'A flat Major', which is far distant from 'a minor'. Mahler is therefore using this excursion to flat keys in particular ways: in movement one, it is a tonal foretaste of the 'E flat Major' of the movement to come, and, in the case of the finale, the tonalities in the flat keys are a reminder of, and a link with, the previous movement; this proves that the relationship is there as an integral part of the narrative and structure.

For Elgar, there is often the presence of this 'devilish' melodic interval, either in the upper voice, or in the bass. In the finale of Symphony no. 2, which ostensibly begins as a calm and peaceful piece in 'E flat major', Elgar introduces a section of descending sequences; in the bass, the notes outline the interval of the descending diminished fifths. The notes that form the interval of the tritone are indicated in musical example (xxxi).

Musical example (xxxi): Elgar, examples from finale,
Symphony no. 2, showing the use of diminished 5th and augmented 4th intervals



The final set of contrasts come through rhythm, and the lack of it at times. Both composers wrote music of rhythmic complexity; often the most complex rhythms are those found in fast-paced music. The contrast to this is music, which goes nowhere, but hovers on a single note; this produces in the listener a feeling of a moment of stillness and of peace.

RESTLESS ENERGY, the March of Time, and the Stillness of PEACE

A personal characteristic of both composers was their restless, relentless energy, which needed outdoor outlets. Musically, this energy can be transferred into the use of rhythmic syncopation. In itself, syncopation forms part of an opposite – the negation of the accented beats, and down beats, which are vital to three- or four-square music, heard everywhere in the dance and march movements in the music of Elgar and Mahler. The use of syncopated rhythms in one part can be juxtaposed with regular, accented music in another part, and if more than one part is using syncopation, then a complex sound is generated, propelling the music ever onward. Other ways in which music can be 'energetic' is through the formation of music for marches, and for dances. Both composers wrote ample examples of both types of music, which will now be considered.

Marches

Elgar and Mahler wrote marches, either as movements of symphonies, or as part of songs or other works. It is easy to identify three different types of marches in their music: (i) military; (ii) ceremonial; and (iii) funeral. All three are 'outdoor' music, and, as such, usually rely heavily on the use of brass and percussion instruments to sound 'authentic'.

One of the origins of marches in the music of both composers is 19th century band music. From an early age, Mahler heard the music of marching bands in the garrison city of Iglau, present-day Jihlava, where he grew up; for the young Elgar, this same occurred in his native Worcestershire. The interesting point is that both composers brought the outdoor March into the concert hall on a scale larger than ever before, and consequently imbued it with multiple layers of contextual meaning beyond the purely descriptive. Again, Berlioz' Symphonie Fantastique must be part of the inspiration for this idea.

One of Elgar's first marches, his *Imperial March*, Opus 32, was written to commemorate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, 1897. It is an example of a public ceremonial march, as are his supreme examples, *The Pomp and Circumstance Marches,* Opus 39; four of these were written in the early years of the new century (1901–1904), with a fifth added in 1930.

Each march is written using a basic three-part structure, A B A^1 with Coda; the main march melody appears as the B section in a contrasting but related key. The B section melody is brought back triumphantly in the tonic key, in a Coda as, for example, in the most famous of them all, March no. 1 in D major. This very tune became a jingoistic rallying call for Britain and its Empire as it went headlong into World War One, with the words referring to 'God making Britain mightier yet' [28]…

But, the spirit of these marches is not all swagger and Empire; there is also the feeling of past glories and nostalgia. The opening of Mahler's Symphony no. 5, written around the same time in 1901–1902, may also provoke similar feelings of the passing of Empire. Two of Elgar's five marches are written in the decidedly darker keys of 'a minor' and 'c minor'. These, in particular, have undeniable affinities with Mahler's militaristic and ceremonial marches, especially the mood of the one, which opens his Symphony no. 6.

[28] The words were written in 1902 by Elgar's contemporary, A. C. Benson (1862–1925). They were added to the main tune after the composition of the March for use as part of Elgar's ***Coronation Ode***.

However, these were not the only marches that Elgar wrote. There is another stirringly triumphant military march, also dating from 1897, with an equally emotive contrasting melody; it occurs in his Cantata, *Caractacus*, Op. 35. The march in C major occurs as a Triumphal Procession at the opening of the final scene of the work, Scene 6, describing the actual event of the noble entry of King Caractacus into Rome, 51 AD. It was mentioned above with reference to its contrasting minor melody.

Elgar also wrote several funeral marches; the first forms part of his incidental music to a play called *Diarmuid and Grania*[29], which became Elgar's Op. 42. The 'Funeral March' has been played separately since 1902 as a popular concert piece, due to its restrained and noble beauty; it uses a mixture of modes, which lends it a Celtic feeling pertinent to the play. It is set in 'a minor' with a contrasting major section in the middle. It appeared just before the *Pomp and Circumstance March* no. 1, with which it makes a suitable contrasting pair.

The most notable funeral march is actually the slow movement of Symphony no. 2 in E flat, Op. 63, dating from 1910–1911. This Symphony is dedicated to King Edward VII who had died at the beginning of 1910. Movement 2, *Larghetto*, is cast as a funeral march in 'c minor'. Elgar's description of this work, while conducting a rehearsal, revealed the following to the orchestra:

> […] *I want you to imagine a great crowd of silent people, watching the passing of a beloved sovereign. Strings, you must play those semiquaver figures of yours like the sigh of an immense crowd* […] *Oboe, I want you to play your lament entirely freely, with all the expression you can get into it* […] *It must sound as if it belonged outside somewhere* […].

This description of the lamenting music of the *Larghetto*, played outside, and coming increasingly closer from a distance away, could easily be a description of some of Mahler's funeral marches. Mahler, too, was a highly impressionable silent witness to one such event in New York in 1910 – a fireman's funeral, viewed from his 10th floor apartment.[30] Partly, this was recreated musically in the opening of the final movement of his Symphony number 10. The idea of lamenting, outdoors, with an immense number of 'silent witnesses', is entirely in keeping with the character of Mahler's funeral marches.

In addition, the Funeral March, which opens Mahler's Symphony no. 5, might also share something of that same description. Another funeral march is the first movement, *Todtenfeier*, of Symphony no. 2; it is likewise in 'c minor', just like the movement of Elgar's[31] Symphony number 2.

Finally, for Elgar, the 'motto' theme of Symphony no. 1, which opens that symphony, is in march-like 4/4 time, with a crotchet, walking bass line. [The melody is given as musical example (ii) above]. It feels like a public ceremonial march, rather than a funeral march, although its serious noble nature could make it a memorial march on a grand scale, depending on how the conductor interprets this opening passage. However portrayed, this march sounds like a line of

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[29] This play is by George Moore and W. B. Yeats. It was dedicated to Sir Henry Wood, the conductor, who suggested to the authors that Elgar write the accompanying incidental music. It premiered in 1901.

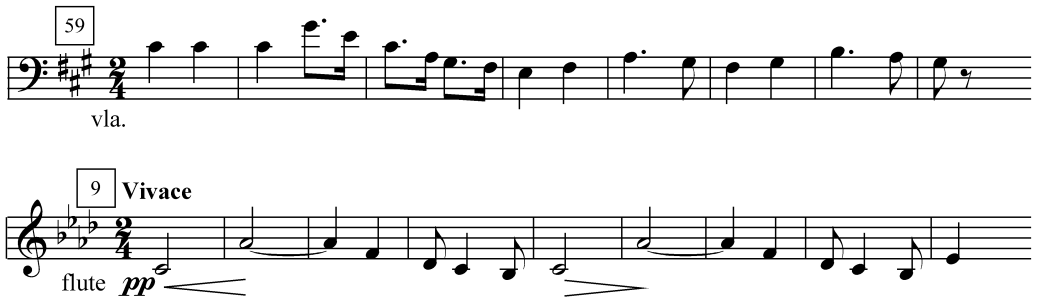
[30] In her memoirs, Alma Mahler mentions how moved she and Mahler were by this funeral march for a fireman, observed from the window of their 10th floor hotel room in New York.

[31] However, there are musical precedents for both these works that have an enormous profile – the 'Marcia Funebre' of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony, plus Wagner's *Funeral Music* for Siegfried, which takes place in his opera, *Gotterdaemmerung*. Both of these funeral marches are similarly set in 'c minor' with contrasting sections in 'C Major'.

people coming from a distance following a coffin, moving past, and then disappearing into the distance[32].

The second movement of this symphony, given as musical example (xxx), also contains another March in c sharp minor, which feels like it could pass as yet another from the *Pomp and Circumstance* set [see musical example (xxxii)]. Indeed, when he came to write his 5th and final March in C major for the Pomp and Circumstance set (1930), the melody of the march section is cast in A flat major; in addition to its key, it bears some striking resemblances to the feeling generated by the motto theme from Symphony no. 1 of twenty years previously.

Musical example (xxxii): Elgar – line 1: movement ii, Symphony no. 1;
line 2 'Pomp and Circumstance March', no. 5 in C; examples of 2 marches mentioned in the text



Mahler wrote a march movement of some description into each of his symphonic works, including *Das Lied von der Erde* and several of his songs, such as *Revelge* (1901). Of these, he mainly wrote funeral marches; however, there are also military or militaristic marches represented, the outstanding example of which is the opening of movement 1 of his Symphony no. 6. There is also a military march in movement 1 of Symphony no. 3; in addition, the opening trumpet calls of movement 1, Symphony no 5, also sound militaristic.

A final march to mention in Mahler, occurs in the final movement, five, of Symphony no. 2. The melody for this terrifying march is based on the first notes of the plainsong, *Dies Irae*, and he builds a march of huge proportions, which is to signify the movement of all souls following the opening of the graves.

Dreams and the child-like

Another aspect of the music of both composers, is the idea of expressing a dream world – a world that is not of the present, real, but something elusive, retrospective and hidden, almost. This is definitely part of the make-up of both composers, that they portray dream sequences or nostalgic reflections on a real or imaginary past.

The idea of the naïve simplicity of childhood, is also found in both composers. Indeed, Elgar wrote ***The Nursery Suites, Dream Children***, and music that contrasts with the present, by referring to a distant past or a place far away from the present. The solo viola, C major folk-melody, in the middle of ***Alassio***, is a supreme example of the latter, and in Mahler, there are countless examples of retrospective music. For here, a similar example to that by Elgar, is to be heard in

[32] It could be viewed as a distant relative of movement three from Mendelssohn's *Italian* Symphony number 4 (in d minor, and based on his witnessing of a religious procession in Naples), or the 'Marche des Pelerins', from *Harold en Italie* by Berlioz ('E major and minor', with contrast in 'C major').

the third movement of Mahler's Symphony no. 3, where there is a Posthorn playing at a distance from the orchestra, as though we are catching it from afar. The similarity with the Elgar example is striking, except that Elgar keeps the solo viola in the centre of the orchestra, and not physically removed from it.

For Mahler, there is also the supposed simplicity of his Symphony no. 4, which ends with the child's view of Heaven. In Symphony no. 2, the second, slow movement, occurs in the narrative after the death and funeral of the protagonist. Instead, it forms a retrospective dream-like sequence, and reflection on the life that has just past. In addition, there are the moments in Symphony no. 6, which include the gentle rattling of cow-bells, in which just a few instruments play softly and restrainedly, as though these are mental pictures, stories, from a past time, or possibly imagined, but certainly far away in time and distance, as though from childhood, or for occurrence in a dream.

Other Ambiguities

A catalyst for contrasts in their music is the way in which both of them can bring music to a stand-still, both temporally and spatially, on a single note, usually very softly. From that single note, it is possible to move in various directions, and to effect a most dramatic contrast to what has gone before both tonally and syntactically. Elgar's Symphony no. 1 affords an example – the end of movement two is in 'f sharp minor', and ends on a single note, the tonic, 'f sharp'. The note, played ***pianissimo***, is held over in great suspense, and we wait for how it will continue. Elgar's contrast is to plunge us straight into a new key – 'D Major' – and begin at a new, slow tempo, one of his noble slow movements.[33]

Similar examples in Mahler occur in Symphony no. 5; in the famous ***Adagietto***, the music comes to a stand-still in 'C Major', on the tonic note 'C'. After what seems like an eternity, the music then wanders briefly via a descending bass line through 'a minor', back to the initial 'F major'. This occurs at bars 4 and 5 after Figure 1.

In fact, Elgar also wrote a work, which almost appears like a version of Mahler's ***Adagietto***. It is ***Sospiri*** (1914) for strings, harmonium and harp. In fact, his original title for the work was 'Sighs of Love' – an occasional piece, to fit with the Salon pieces of his youth – but, it turned out far more philosophically and emotionally deep than his early works. In content, therefore, you could say that both movements were about aspects of 'love' as the two composers experienced it. Furthermore, they both chose to write about love using stringed instruments and harp. While Elgar also adds a harmonium, it is an enriching sound, not just an accompanying or solo sound. The main key for both works is 'F Major', with 'd minor' as a visited relative key.[34] The feeling of peace and stillness with which both works begin and end, after a journey through the vicissitudes of love, is strongly felt.

Both composers also use silence in this affective, effective and highly emotional way as well.

[33] This is a further example of a sub-mediant relationship – see the section above about these harmonic relationships.

[34] The Mahler example also visits 'G flat Major', which is a further example of the unsettling, in every sense of the word, 'Neapolitan' relationship, referred to above in relation to the slow movement of Symphony no. 6 [see musical example (xi) above].

Conclusion

This article started from the viewpoint that Elgar may be considered the 'English Mahler'. This begs further questions, such as can Elgar be considered the 'English Richard Strauss', with whom he is often associated musically; and possibly, the corollary question: can Mahler be called the 'Austrian Elgar'? If not, why not? Does it mean that Mahler is the benchmark composer of his generation against whom all others are now 'measured'?

This article has hopefully illuminated the idea that the way Elgar and Mahler approach musical composition has many overlaps (that is, how they are saying things in musical sounds); what they are saying in music also comes from similar impulses – spiritual, philosophical, questioning, doubting, black corners of the soul, concerns with the hereafter, love, and simply being human in its many facets. In short, their musics are both auto-biographical, and from the deep wellsprings of a tumultuous internal life, in ways possibly not present to the same extent in the music of their absolute contemporaries – Debussy, Puccini, Richard Strauss, Delius, Sibelius, Nielsen – with whom they naturally have some compositional, emotional and psychological affinities, as being in that generation growing up in the shadow of Richard Wagner.

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Variability of Scale Structure as the Basis of Musical Flow in the Opera *Jenůfa* by Leoš Janáček

Abstract | The paper examines the phenomenon of how Leoš Janáček achieved modern sound in his opera *Jenůfa* while maintaining the melodic and harmonic course within the diatonic and tertian structure of chords. The analysis begins with the melody originating from the Czech language and spoken words. Through insight into the development of predominantly short motifs into a wider whole, one can arrive at a very interesting conclusion which is at the same time the primary focus of the research; the variability of scale structure of the melody is in fact the fundamental principle in the creation of the overall musical flow of the piece.

Keywords | Melody – variability – flexible diatonicism – fluidity – branching – independence of layers: linearity – coherence of layers: the vertical

Insight into the close connection between Janáček's oeuvre and folklore is a starting point for understanding the principles on which his music is based. This is primarily reflected in the melody which originates from the spoken language, its melodic and rhythmical structures and the melodizing of the uttered word.[1] The recording contours of speech with the use of musical notation and their thorough analysis has one of the leading roles in Leoš Janáček's theoretical work.

In this domain, the study of Jonathan G. Secora Pearl – *Eavesdropping with a Master: Leoš Janáček and the Music of Speech*[2] has made a significant contribution. It includes the methods used by Janáček when collecting speech melodies and is focused on a comparative, musicological-linguistic analysis of selected examples from a wide spectrum of Janáček's records, thus revealing perceptive overlapping between music and language.

In her extensive academic dissertation *The Musical Realism of Leoš Janáček*,[3] Tiina Vainiomäki is preoccupied with a detailed investigation of Janáček's contribution to the history of music, primarily as a theoretician, where a special emphasis is placed on speech melodies as one of the principal domains of the composer's interest.

In contrast, Paul Christiansen, in his article *The Meaning of Speech Melody for Leoš Janáček*,[4] specifies the psychological sense of speech melodies, or more precisely, their significance for

[1] Karel Vetterl, "Janáček's Creative Relationship to Folk Music," in *Colloquium Leoš Janáček et Musica Europea*, ed. Rudolf Pečman (Brno: International Musical Festival, 1970), 236.

[2] Jonathan G. Secora Pearl, "Eavesdropping with a Master: Leoš Janáček and the Music of Speech," *Empirical Musicology Review* Vol. 1, No. 3 (2006): 131.

[3] Tiina Vainiomäki, "The Musical Realism of Leoš Janáček – From Speech Melodies to a Theory of Composition," (Academic diss., International Semiotics Institute at Imatra, Finland, 2012).

[4] Paul Christiansen, "The Meaning of Speech Melody for Leoš Janáček," *Journal of Musicological Research* Vol. 23, No. 3 (2004): 241.

Janáček himself, who, through presentation of the speech of his dying daughter Olga, tried to preserve her presence.

In addition to its linguistic meaning, the music of speech involves many other elements which intensify its meaning. One can firstly speak of the intonation and sonority of voice which express certain emotions or moods. With the help of these elements, the emphasis on the spoken word is fully expressed. In addition, melodic and rhythmical structures change depending on the speaker's individual use, since each pronunciation is authentic. Precise declamation in vocal pieces was consequently not of primary importance to Janáček, but instead the attempt to catch and understand what is *beyond* the melody of the uttered word. Janáček thereby wants to express certain mental conditions, vital circumstances, a diverse range of emotions, and thus achieve a close connection between a certain word and consciousness. In such a psychological approach to perception and in the relationship between mind and reality, Janáček finds interesting interrelations which have become a landmark for his individual aesthetic and composing style.

Such an origin of melodic lines thus provides conciseness and a predominantly narrow ambitus. Hence in its greatest part the melody emerges from the one-bar and two-bar motifs, and usually never exceeds four-bar-phrases. The motifs can be tonal, modal or tonally indefinable per se, with an eye to the already-mentioned narrow range or melodic movement, which does not include a pronounced latent functionality.[5] This last property is one of the most characteristic within the structure of Janáček's melody because it permits easy movements and tonal changes, thus creating an authentic indefiniteness and an uninterrupted *fluidity* of musical flow, as Daniel Muller has argued.[6]

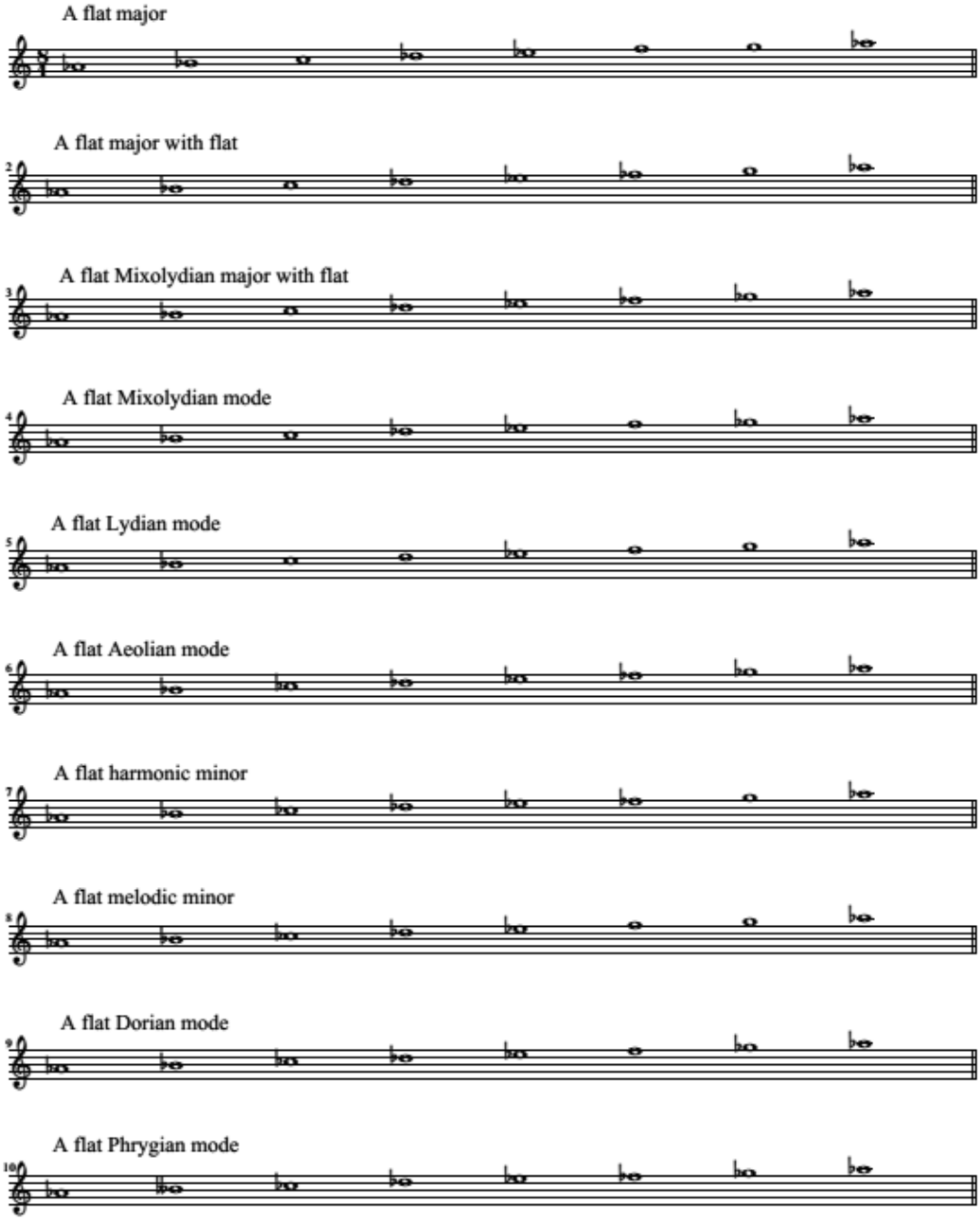
The vital and most interesting analytical domain of the research is the identification of the close connection between the scale structure of a melody and the specific relations of tonality, i. e. the cognition that their development originates from the same idea, based on a conscious and very deliberate *selection of tonal structure*.

When considering **melody**, the composer achieves the development of predominantly short melodic motifs by using various types of scales in order to reach permanent variability either within a unique tonal centre or for the sake of its easier application.

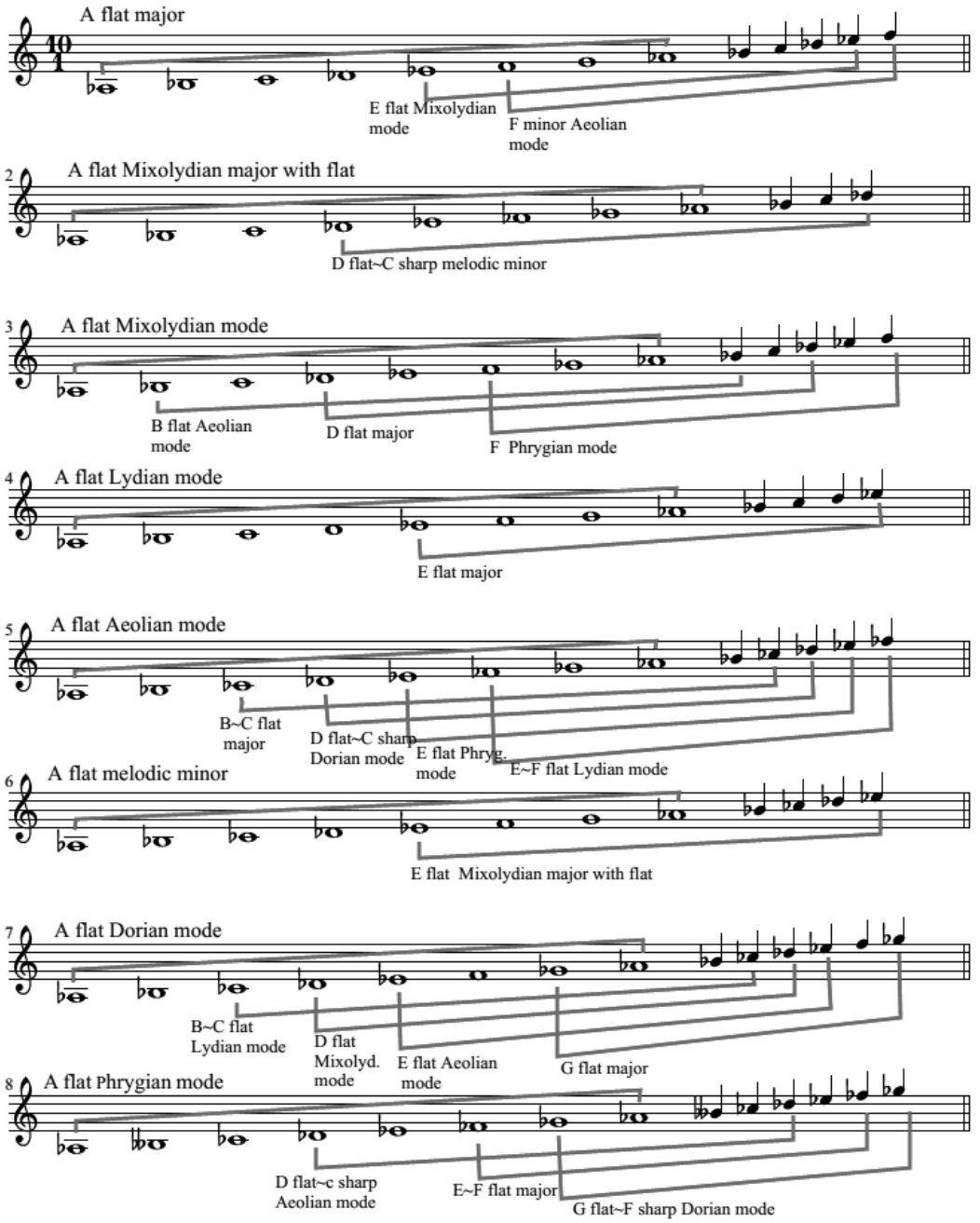
[5] Miloš Štědroň,"The Tectonic Montage of Janáček," in *Colloquium Leoš Janáček et Musica Europea*, ed. Rudolf Pečman (Brno: International Musical Festival, 1970), 119.

[6] Daniel Muller, *Janáček's Technique* (Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1930), 27.

Example 1a – The variability of scale structure of central tonality of A flat



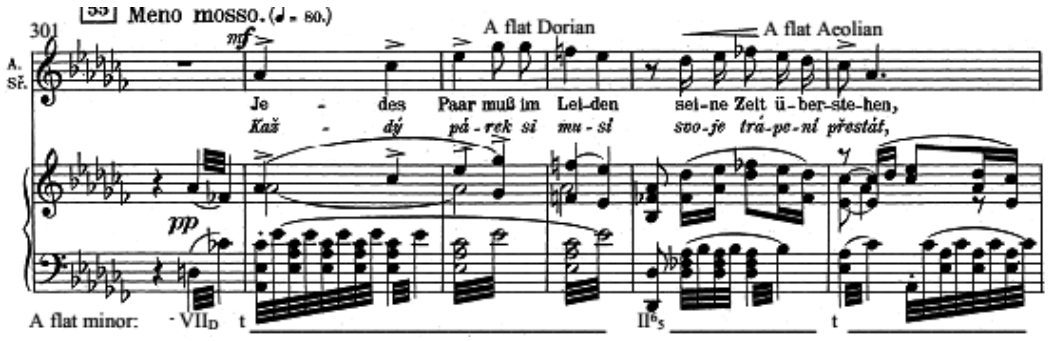
Example 1b – Identical scale tones with various tonal centres



In Example 1, the tables show: (1) the variability of the scale structure of the central tonality of A flat;[7] (2) identical scale tones with various tonal centres, which are most relevant in the musical flow of the opera *Jenůfa*. Such *flexible diatonicism*,[8] inspired by Moravian lied is one the leading and most often applied composing principles, with its two basic types:

1. **Change of scale structure within the same tonal centre –** during a longer continuance of one tonal centre the intervals change, *sharpen* and *release*, as Miloš Štědroň has named it,[9] i. e. reaching the characteristic tones of various scales, thus creating a flexible melodic flow which still remains within the diatonic, and still has an original and diverse sound. The example from Act One, i. e. Scene 5 (bars 301–352) is taken as the richest in terms of the number of elements from various scales. They reanimate a five-bar melodic phrase with the role of the theme in a fugato.[10] This is primarily within the leading tonal centre A flat, Dorian, Aeolian and melodic minor interchange (Examples 2a, 2b).

Example 2a – Act One/Scene 5 (b. 301–306)



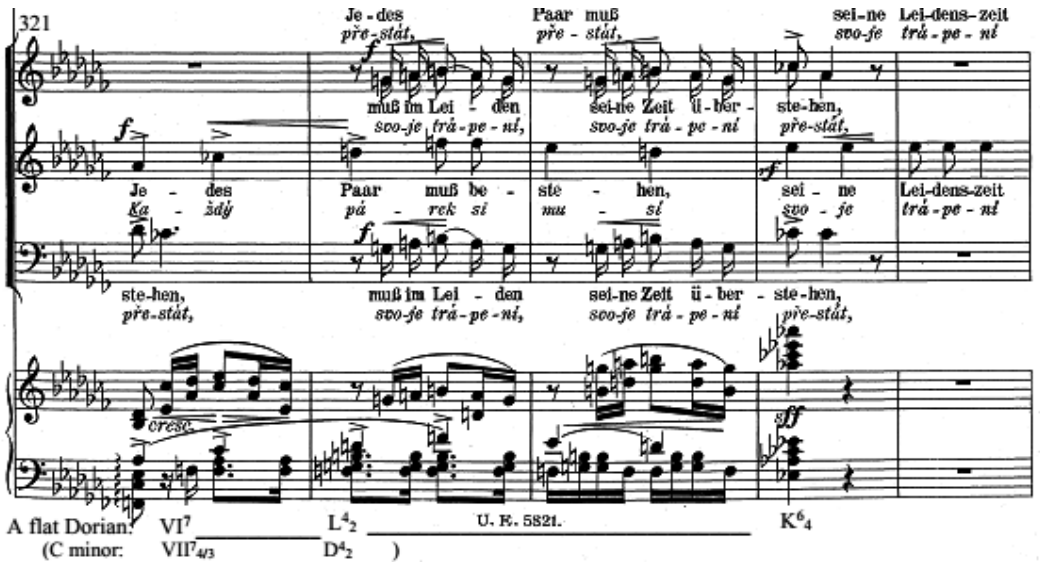
[7] Throughout the entire opera, the tonal centre A flat is most present and appears in the greatest number of scale variants, hence it is considered the central key. It is interesting, however, that no Act begins or ends in the central tonality; not even the First Act, because the piece begins with C flat in unison (thus C flat is expected to be the tonal centre).

[8] The term was taken from the study by Miloš Štědroň, "Janáček's melody – některé specifické rysy", in *Sbornik prací Filosofické fakulty brněnské university* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1997), 93.

[9] Ibid., 93.

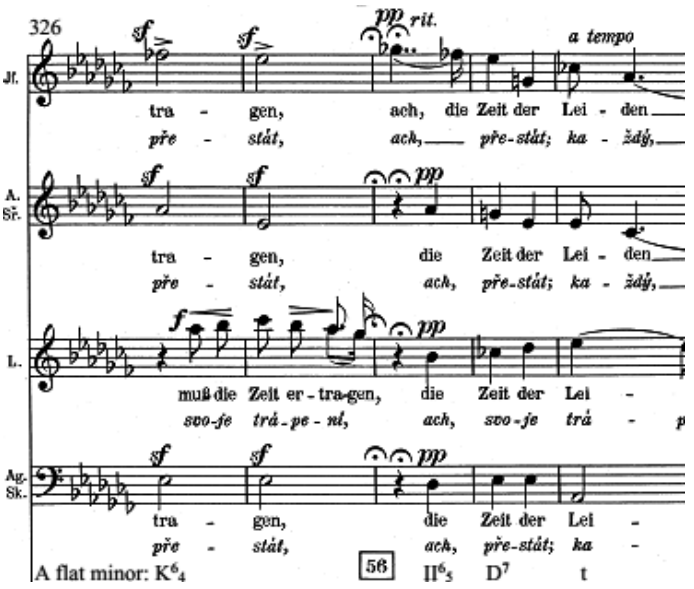
[10] The theme as well as its further contrapuntal development follows the script "Each couple has to suffer its own troubles", after Kostelnička refuses to give Števa and Jenůfa the blessing for their wedding before the year of Števa's probation passes. The fragment has a lyrical, melodious character. but coloured with misdoubt and unrest brings inauspicious peace and foreshadows the disaster.

Example 2b – Act One/Scene 5 (b. 321–324)



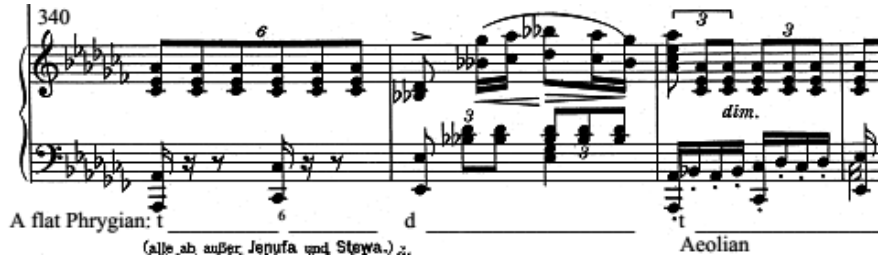
After bar 322, the Lydian chord appears as a new timbre (Example 2c) followed by the classical cadence in bars 326–330!

Example 2c – Act One/Scene 5 (b. 326–330)



After this classical cadence, the Coda appears and brings a return to the initial Dorian timbre and a new element of a Phrygian mode in the closing cadence (bars 335–336 and 340–342, Example 2d). It should be mentioned that the harmonic flow follows the change of scale structure, therefore the chord timbres of certain functions constantly oscillate.

Example 2d – Act One/Scene 5 (b. 340–342)



2. **The change in the tonal centre within the same scale structure** is realised by using two combinations:

Tonal – modal and vice versa
Modal – modal

Both types include mutually combined scales presented in the Table.

Such a concept of variable melody served as the basis for the development of **harmonic language**[11] which also follows two directions:

1. **Within one tonal centre –** The sound of certain scale chords changes with the change of the scale structure, which leads to the expansion of their sonority, their *branching*, as Janáček himself used to say. In this way, mostly proportionally simple, i. e. primarily diatonic harmonic flow, receives quite unusual acoustics. As Janáček said: "As the mere content of the chain of tones is not enough to explain the effect of melody, we would soon arrive beyond harmonic boundaries, should the effect of harmony be based only on the combinations of given types of chords."[12] The composer in all probability implies the branching through the variables of scale structure as additional to typical harmonic connections in the functional sense, since in this way, various structures of chords appear in a wider context. Janáček uses classical keys with the pronounced influence of modes, which, through folklore, as we know, received a significant role in the oeuvre of the composers of national schools.
2. Apart from chord structures and chord connections, the strong influence of modes is reflected **through the specific relationship of tonality**[13] by virtue of the selection of tonal centres and their interrelations which are again closely connected to the scale structure of the melody. This can be observed at two levels:
   a) *Modal influence on the inner coherence of tonality* – with the help of tones that are characteristic for a mode, the scale tones with different tonal centres approximate or become identical. For instance, the Aeolian A flat is identical to C flat (~B) major, D flat Dorian and F flat (~E). Lydian mode; scale tones of A flat Phrygian mode are identical to F flat

[11] A relatively similar conception of musical flow was noticed by Paul Wingfield in his analysis of the opera "Káťa Kabanova". In the paper "Unlocking Janáček Enigma: The Harmonic Origins of Kudrjás's ‚Waiting' Song," *Music & Letters* Vol. 75, No. 4 (1994): 561, he concluded that, in this case, the octatonic scale was a key element in the creation of the highly individual harmonic language.

[12] Quotation from Petar Konjović, *Knjiga o muzici srpskoj i slavonskoj* [The Book on Serbian and Slavonic Music] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1947), 144.

[13] František Řehánek, "Janáček a tonalita," in *Colloquium Leoš Janáček ac tempora nostra*, ed. Rudolf Pečman (Brno: Janáčkova společnost, 1983), 279.

(~E) major, D flat (~C sharp) – A eolian and G flat (~F sharp) Dorian mode. The same tonal centres can be present in some other scale variants, hence they can be mutually different in some tone of the scale. A flat melodic minor – D flat Mixolydian mode will differ, for example, in the seventh A flat, i. e. the fourth of the D flat tonal centre (tones *G* / *G* flat), or the scale structure of A flat Mixolydian major with flat and F flat (~E) major will not be identical in the tones *B flat –C* (the II and III degrees of A flat Mixolydian major with flat), i. e. *A-B* (subdominant and dominant of E major), etc.

All these scale relations can best be identified in the presented Table.

It can consequently be noticed that the differences in the scale tones need not be identical to the classical key system, i. e. the influence of modality results in both a decrease in the number of identical tones in the scale and in their increase. In other words, the composer deliberately selects tonal centres which, in the variability of their scale structure may be identical, approximate or distant in regard to the number of their mutual tones. This does not influence their mutual relationship, but their permanent variability significantly contributes to the enrichment of sonority aimed at animating and shading a specific atmosphere, or achieving distinctive stratification, emphasizing the psychological effects of a certain mental state, feeling or event.

b) *Modal influences on the outer relationship of tonality* implies the relationship of tonal centres, i. e. their interval distance which associates with characteristic intervals in certain modes regardless of their scale structure – e. g. most often the Phrygian relationship (A flat major, A flat minor – B double flat major~ A major – A flat minor), then the Lydian (A flat major, A flat minor – G major – A flat major, A flat minor) and the tritone relationship, i. e. in the distance of an augmented fourth, which also points to the interval relationship which is characteristic of the Lydian mode.

In this way, through the two described aspects of connecting, all stable tonal centres are in certain close and/or melodic and tonal logical interrelations.

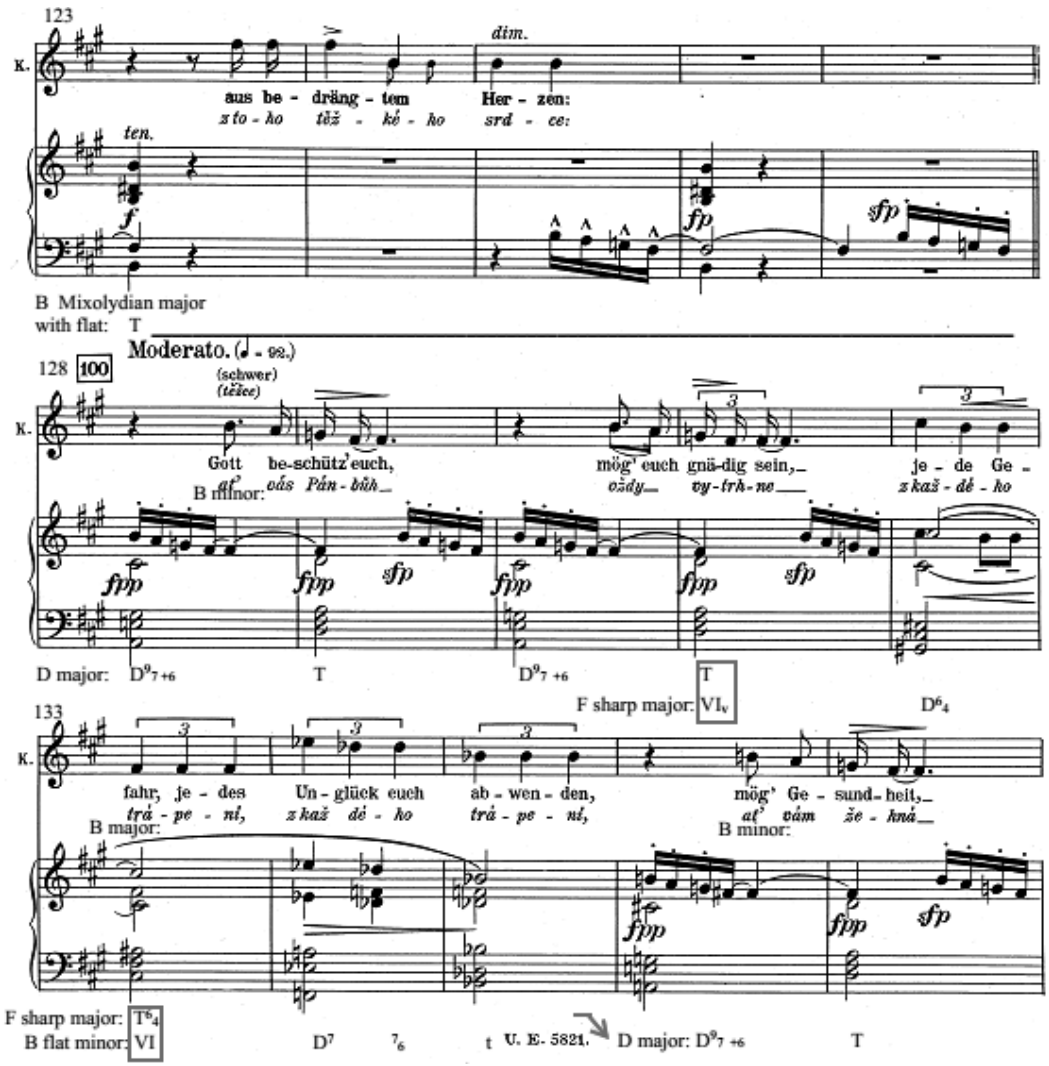
All the above-mentioned keys, derived by using this logic, create stable (established) tonal centres in the musical flow of the opera *Jenůfa*. The principle of an internal connection is noticed as predominant in the selection of the most existent stable tonal centres in the piece. Thus, within this tonal group, the greatest number of tonal-modal modifications is conveyed, by which, as stated above, the scale structure is brought closer or identical. This enables the harmonic flow to transform easily from one key to another, by only changing the fundamental tone. The central tonality (A flat) is present in the greatest number of variances (all mentioned in the Table), while the others are selected in compliance with them, i. e. they adjust to some of the scale tones. Such a basic tonality can be taken as authentic within the tonality which includes an internal connection, while the derived tonality could be taken as plagal scale variances.

In addition to modal influence (which has been discussed so far), **mutation** and the **parallel relationship** of the scales plays a significant role in connecting the tonality. It is noticed that each tonal centre which appears in the modulation flow, stable or unstable, established or non-established, is present in both tone genres, by which the number of tonalities that can be (indirectly) connected by diatonic idiosyncrasy increases. Thus, the understanding of the relationship of certain keys appears closely and diatonically logically related.

In modulation B major – D major, for example, these keys can be brought closer if the target D major is understood as a parallel of the mutational B minor, not as a a third part chromatic relationship between the keys. If then B major has the scale structure of Mixolydian major with a flat, as in Example 3 (Act Two, Scene 8, bars 123–137), they will

differ in one tone only! At the beginning of the presented extract the establishment of B major (bars 123–127) can be seen where the scale structure of Mixolydian major with a flat is pronounced by its upper tetrachord in the descending movement. This tetrachord is at the same time a motif which will, through repetitions, lead to D major. In the given example, the diatonic thinking, i. e. the interrelatedness of tonality is clearly recognizable. The selected tetrachord is mutual for B- Mixolydian major with flat, B minor natural, i. e. the Aeolian mode (which is not officially relevant to the musical flow, but in this case is the essential connection between B major and D major) and for targeting D major!

Example 3 – Act Two/Scene 8 (b. 123–137)

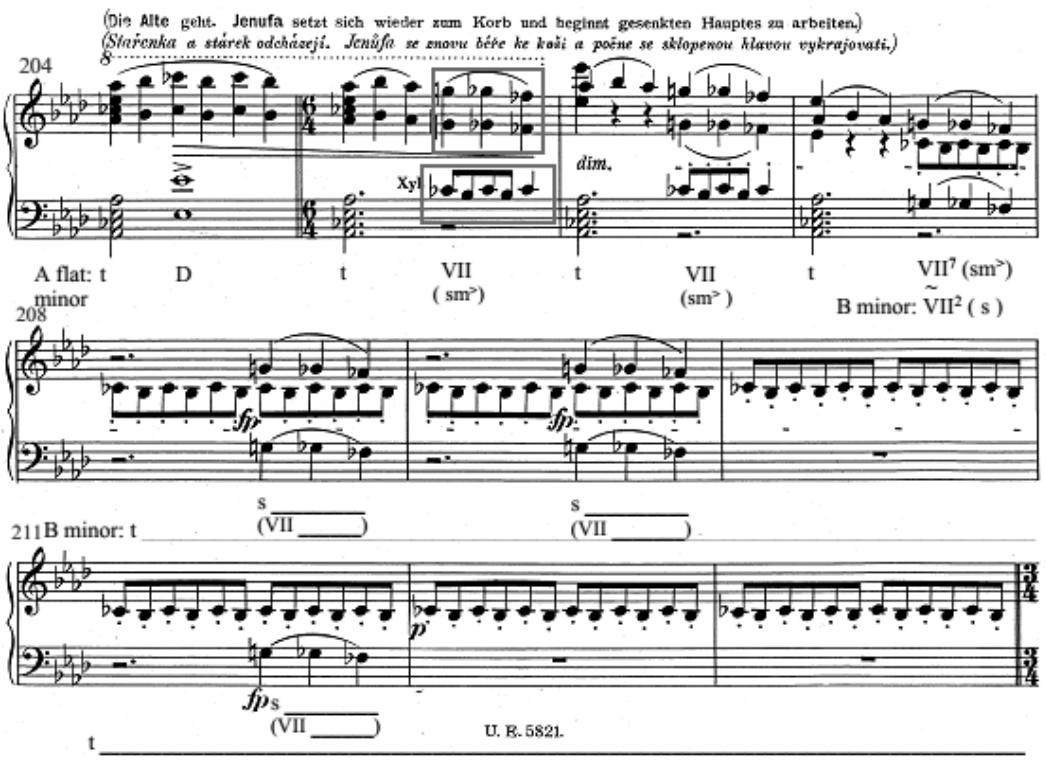


Consequently, by using this logic, distinct keys such as A flat minor – D major can be brought closer in the following way: A flat minor – (C flat major ~B major) – B minor – D major. This can be seen in the transition from Scene 6 to Scene 7 in Act One (Example 4): after A flat minor is established by using an authentic cadence (bars 201–202, Scene 6), from bar 208, the texture

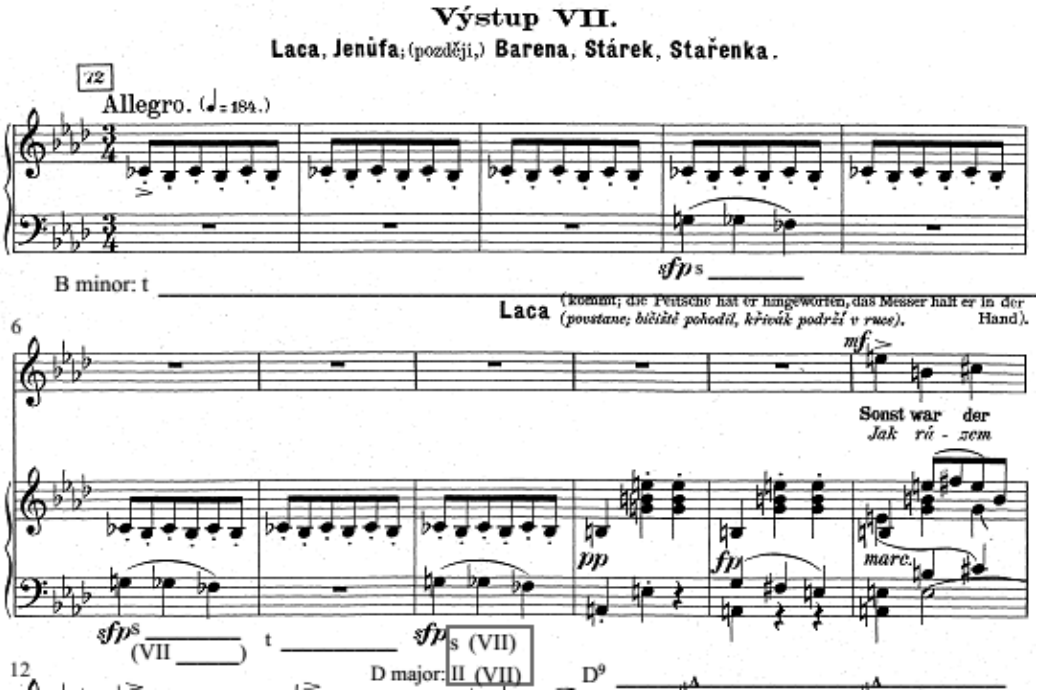
reduces to the ostinato layer[14] and a three-note motif (*G, G flat, F flat*). In joint sound (bars 208, 209, 211), it could be firstly spoken of the diminished seventh-cord – the seventh-chord on the VII degree of A flat minor, with the passing tone *G flat* in the motif and suspension *C flat* in ostinato. In the simplest explanation, A flat minor and D major will be connected through the enharmonic modulation since any key can be reached through the multi-tonal properties of the diminished seventh-chord. The musical flow points, however, to the diatonic, gradual achieving of the target D major. Through the mentioned ostinato where the tone *C flat* with a lower auxiliary tone (leading note) is repeated, the centre is firstly moved to tonal centre C flat major~ B major. A three-note motif, which enharmonically viewed, constitutes therefore to the trichord *G-F sharp-E*, points rather to the minor mode – B minor. Harmonically, in joint sound, it could be spoken of as either the subdominant of B minor or the seventh-chord on its VII degree, depending on whether the ostinato tone is taken as harmonic or non-harmonic. In every respect, both chords are mutual with the future D major (diatonic subdominant, enharmonic VII degree), which will be clarified with the appearance of its dominant ninth chord in bar 9, Scene 7. Consequently, the composer selects the motif of a narrow range which is tonally undefined per se, but can, on the other hand, be easily fitted into several (distant) keys!

Although such relationships of tonalities in the modulation course are also realized in chromatic or enharmonic routes, without the effect of possible approximation of their scale structures, it seems that even then, they are selected by using this diatonic logic, which is a result of more of a melodic than a harmonic movement.

Example 4 – Act One/Scene 6→7



[14] The Ostinato motif (the alternative repetition of the tones *C flat* and *B flat*), known from the beginning of the composition, denotes the motif of a knife, bringing unrest and the dramatic expectancy of the unhappy event.



Another interesting domain of research, also originating from variability of scale structure as the fundamental principle in the construction of musical flow, is the **relationship between melody and harmony**. In this area, flexibility is perceived in a relatively independent movement of music layers, which the composer realises in several directions.

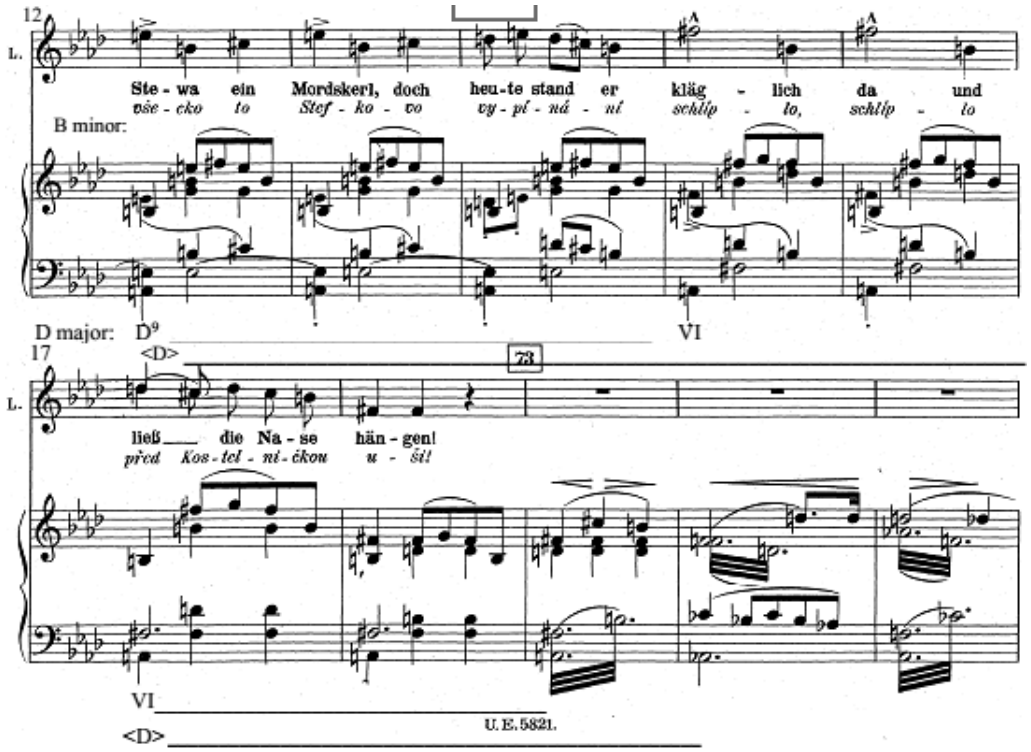
The use of **parallel keys** reveals a new mode of oscillations between them. Janáček readily uses this relationship, not in the sense of an aspiration of musical flow towards one or the other tonal centre, but practically *uniting* both keys into joint sound by using a multi-layered texture. Certain layers point to both keys at the same time:

Example 5a, Act One, Scene 7, bars 11–18 – the vocal part moves in clear B minor within a tonic pentachord, while the accompaniment is divided into three layers: the lowest is the pedal which highlights the fifth of dominant in D major, thus making D major the prevailing tonal centre; the medium – chordal layer is neutral (although the pedal and chordal layer blend within the context of the leading D major and can be explained as a constituent part of the dominant ninth chord), while the highest layer follows the melodic framework of the vocal part in the form of ostinato;[15] Example 5b – Act Two, Scene 4, bars 64–67 – while the dominant and subdominant of F minor interchange in a harmonic flow, the independently viewed melody seems to be developing in A flat major. The occurrence of the tone *E flat* in the melodic line is, in vertical viewing, often an independently introduced descending suspension; the tonic third of A flat major in the melody (tone *C*, bar 66) is, in relation to F minor, the subdominant seventh-chord in the harmonic base,

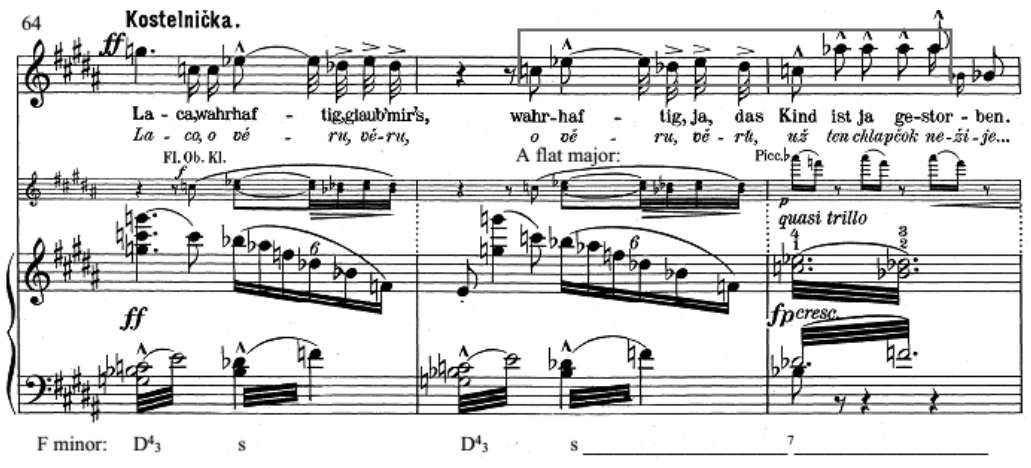
[15] The phrase brings a sarcastic implication, achieved by emphasizing greater jumps of melody through their repetition and accentuation with symbols of articulation. It accompanies Laca's mockery of Jenůfa, laughing at the fading of Števa's boasting after Kostelnička's threat to forbid the wedding.

the suspension of which is descriptively resolved – before the resolution leaps into the seventh of F minor subdominant![16]

Example 5a – Act One/Scene 7 (b. 12–18)



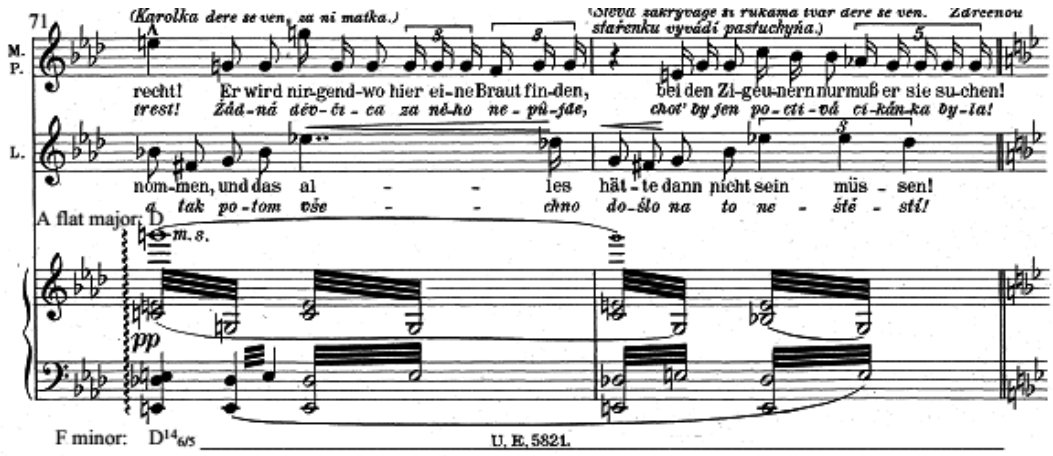
Example 5b – Act Two/Scene 4 (b. 64–66)



[16] The described organisation of the musical flow, i. e. the specific independence of the melodic line on the one hand and the change of the two chords in tremolo and the permanently broken chords in a descending movement on the other hand, reveal the atmosphere of unrest – Kostelnička tells Laca the truth about Jenůfa and the baby, but ends it with a lie that the baby has died.

A similar situation is presented in Example 5c (Act Three, Scene 10, bars 71–72), when one vocal part follows the background harmonic flow on the F minor dominant ninth chord, while in the second, a dominant seventh-chord of the parallel A flat major is broken (with the occurrence of a chromatic auxiliary note preceding the third of the chord). The dominant chords of the two parallel keys are practically joined![17]

Example 5c – Act Three/Scene 10 (b. 71–72)



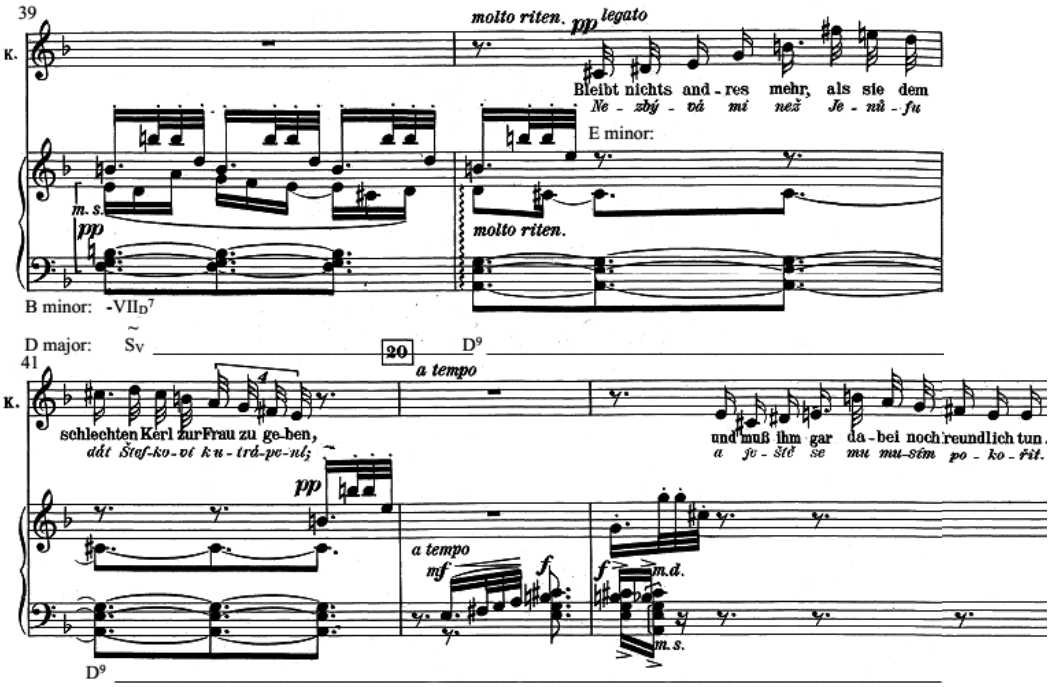
The phenomenon when the keys are not parallel and when the new tonal domain is included in a melody different from the harmonic background will be named **transitory melodic modulation**. The melody is actually fitted into the current key i. e. chord, but it brings refreshment through certain tones which, although not a part of the scale in the sense of harmonic flow, have a logical movement of their melodic line.

Act Two, Scene 2, bars 40–44 – a melodic phrase in E minor, alternately melodic and Dorian[18] develops over the harmonic background of the D major dominant ninth chord. The only tone which actually diverges from D major is *D sharp*, but the development of the melody clearly points to the melodic final, i. e. the tonal centre *E*, which completes the five-bar whole (Example 6a).

[17] The described procedure shows the authentic manner in which the composer adjusts the music content to the plot – in the two soloist parts, the dominant chords of the two parallel keys develop at the same time – consequently, differentiated but not mutually sonorously unrelated. Thus the plot brings two different aspects of the same, unpleasant event; the girl Pastuchyňa comments that after Števa's sin with Jenůfa he will not even be able to find a Gypsy wife, Laca feels remorse and thinks that he is to be blamed, and that everything went wrong the moment he cut Jenůfa on the cheek.

[18] This specific tonal differentiation can be defined in psychological sense as alienation from a sound mind as a consequence of Kostelnička's intensive concern and the shame brought on Jenůfa and hence to her. Expecting Števa to come after her call, alone and angered Kostelnička loathes the fact that Jenůfa would have to fall to such a wretch and thus she (Kostelnička) would have to be humble.

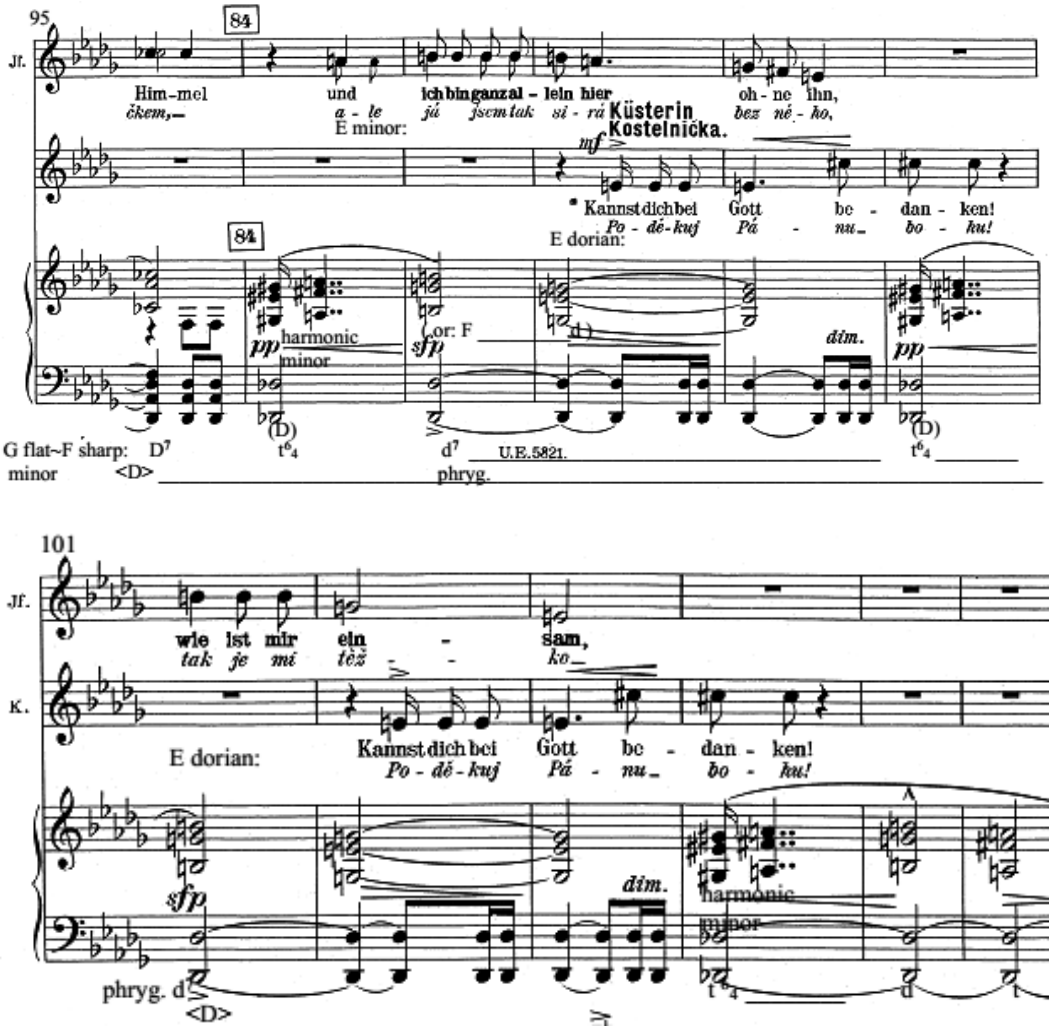
Example 6a – Act Two/Scene 2 (b. 40–44)



An even more interesting and complex example appears in Scene 7 in the same Act, (bars 96–104), where the dialogue of the vocal part develops in E-Dorian mode, while in the harmonic background, Phrygian F sharp minor prevails, combined with the interchanges of elements of the harmonic minor – all these on the pedal of the F sharp minor dominant.[19] The tonal centre therefore moves to E in the melody, within the same (variable) harmonic framework (Example 6b)!

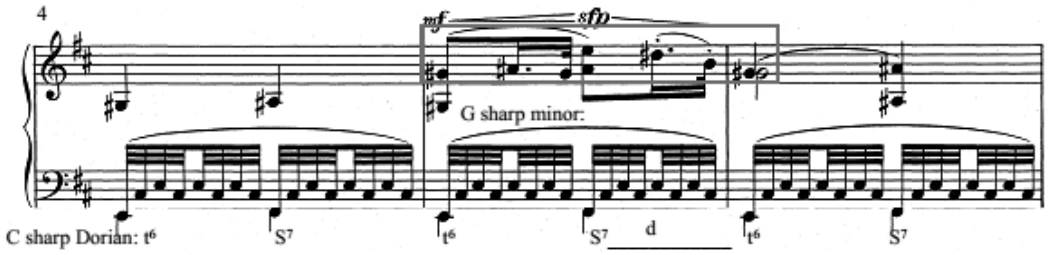
[19] Decomposition of the same scale into two finals (E – Dorian = F sharp –Phrygian) portrays the atmosphere of the tragic event as well as the various mental states of Jenůfa and Kostelnička. With the interchange of the dotted and reversely dotted rhythm in the orchestral part, the character of the funeral march is achieved. Jenůfa mourns her dead son and the melody of her part descends within the E minor Dorian pentachord. Kostelnička, on the other hand, feels some kind of relief, expressed with the melodic jump of the major sixth *E – C sharp*. She tells Jenůfa that she should thank God for it.

Example 6b – Act Two/Scene 7 (b. 96–104)



The establishment of the tonic of a scale chord appears as a type of melodic transitory modulation. However, in most cases, this establishment of the tonic is not achieved in a classical way – through the secondary dominant, but with the duration of a chord, i. e. the movement of melody. An obvious example is the beginning of Act Three (bars 1–12) where the (isolated) melodic line develops in the G sharp-Aeolian mode, while the accompanying harmony moves in C sharp-Dorian mode. Consequently, while the fifth degree is established as the tonic in the melody of the leading C sharp minor, tonic and major subdominant (t^6–S^7) as a characteristic connection in Dorian mode interchange in the harmonic flow (Example 7).

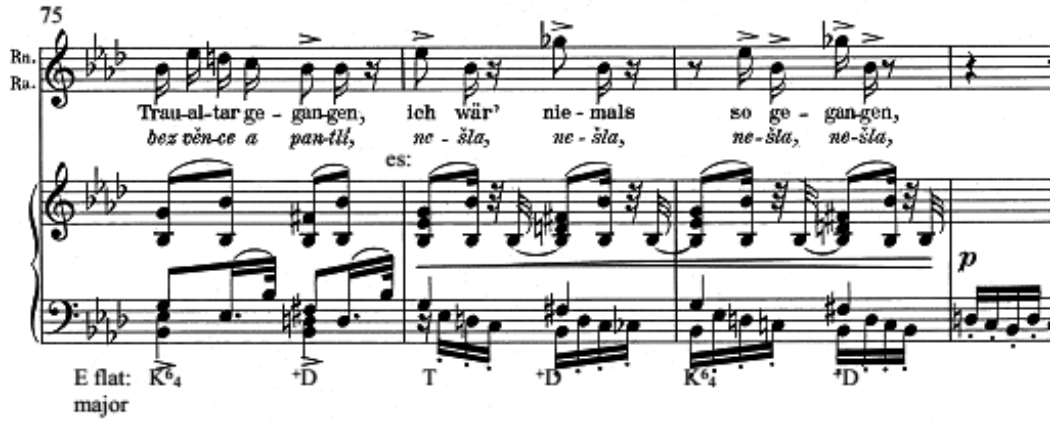
Example 7 – Act Three, introduction (b. 4–6)



The phenomenon of **different functional positioning of the same tone** in the melody and harmony is particularly interesting, which again creates an authentic stratification.

Two interesting examples are connected with the appearance of the mutation of the tonic third in the melodic line, functionally quite clear and of an easily performable intonation. In Act Three (Scene 2, bars 76–77), the mutation of the tonic third of leading E flat major in the melody (which is introduced and resolved with the leap of the minor sixth) is harmonized with the augmented dominant and practically presents a sharpened II degree (Example 8, bars 71–82).

Example 8 – Act Three/Scene 2 (b. 75–78)



The next example, already viewed as the unity of a number of tonal centres through mutation and parallel relationship of tonalities, more precisely B major, B minor and D major (Example 3 – the fragment from Act Two, Scene 8, bars 123–137) is one of the most interesting examples in the domain of harmonic connecting. From the viewpoint of the melodic line, the fragment has a very simple flow – the melody develops within one tonal centre – firstly natural B minor, with an occurrence of mutation in the enharmonic record (bars 134–135, *E flat –D flat-B flat ~ D sharp- C sharp- A sharp*). At the same time the vertical will reveal a modulation in parallel D major, then mutually include a third part relation F sharp major and a B flat minor with a return to D major, thus completing the mediant cycle of the harmonic flow! However, although they look like a distinct expanding of the tonal framework in harmony, the selected keys are in fact related to the initial B tonal centre – F sharp major is the establishment of the dominant as

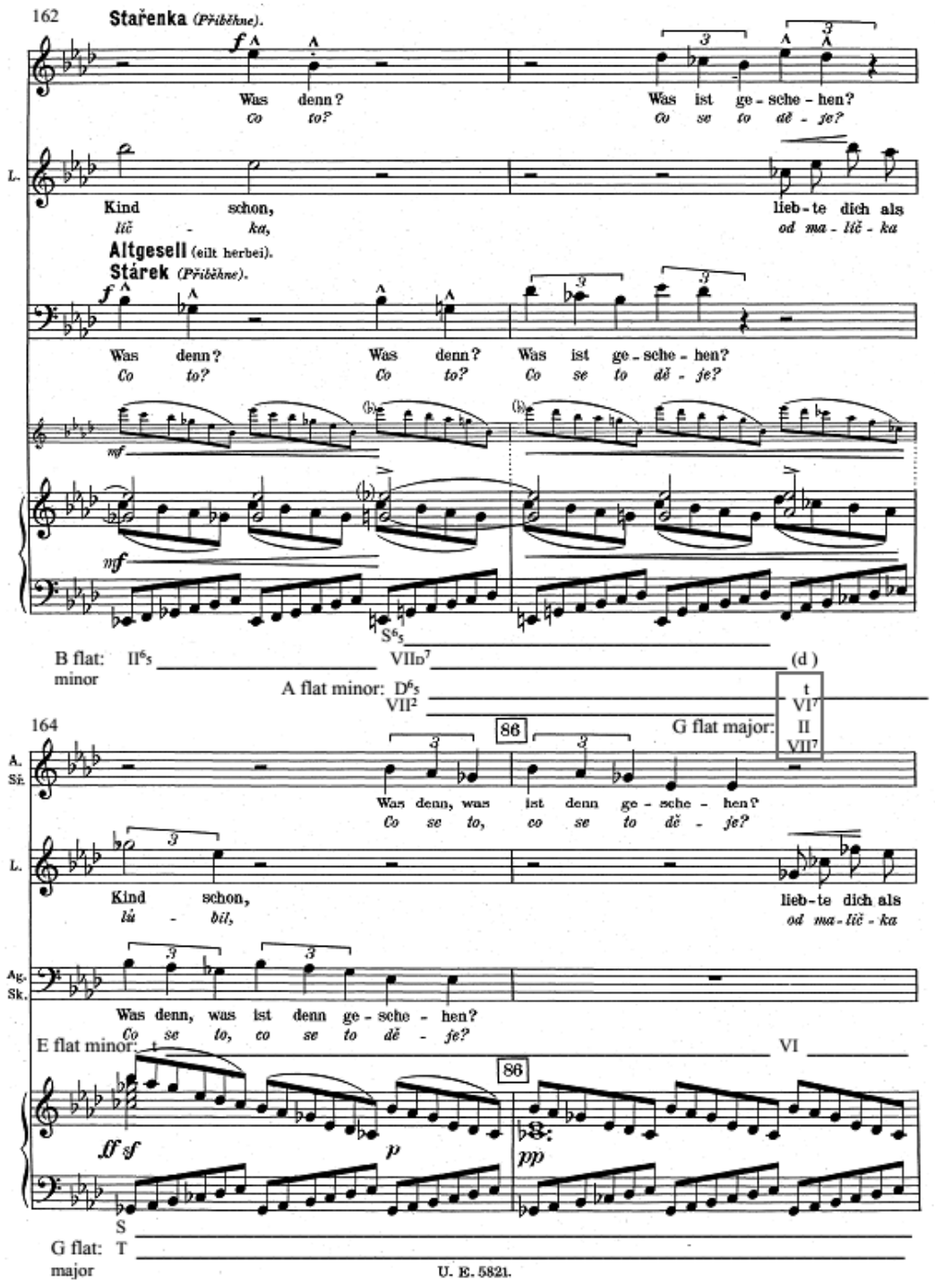
tonic, and B flat (~A sharp) minor is its leading tone, i. e. the Lydian domain, which represents a further branching of the dominant function![20]

The real stratification in the sense of **bitonal chords** can also be the constituent of the musical flow, although in these cases, the chords are most often interwoven as multi-note chords, and rarely divided by register. An interesting example where stratification creates more dilemmas is in the last, seventh Scene of Act One (bars 162–163). Due to chromatic movement in the bass on the one hand, and the static pedal tone in the highest pitched voice on the other, the harmonic flow divides into two chordal layers – the dominant seventh chord (*E flat – G – B flat – D flat* in the vocal parts, supported by the higher register of the orchestra accompaniment) and the diminished seventh chord (*E – G – B flat – D flat*), which are practically different in only one, but fundamental, key tone. Theoretically, their sound can be combined as a ninth chord (dominant ninth chord of A flat minor with ninth in the bass). However, the register distance of the motifs that are exponents of these two harmonies and their constant movement in the opposite direction basically reveal bitonal chords and hence bitonality, due to the interpolation of a new tonal centre – A flat minor, between the leading B flat minor and the targeting G flat major. The possibility of a dual explanation of resolution makes this example interesting. On the one hand, each chord has its separate (at least partial) resolution – the dominant seventh chord resolves into its temporary tonic, while the diminished seventh chord ascends gradually, although it does not resolve in the expected structure of the major (or minor) chord, but in a leading seventh chord. At the same time, they combine into one harmony – the seventh chord on the VII degree of the targeting key, G flat major. Furthermore, the stratification of the texture allows for up to three pitches to be interpreted as a potential final! The Ostinato figure in the bass is closest to G flat major, the harmonic layer is based on long-lasting sound of the major triad on the tone *C flat,* hence the entire accompaniment can be understood as C flat-Mixolydian mode on the pedal of the dominant, while the soloist parts mostly tend towards E flat minor[21] (Example 9).

[20] The moment when Kostelnička gives her blessing to Laca and Jenůfa is perfectly portrayed with a differentiation of the melodic line and the vertical; thus (seemingly) a simple act of blessing has a complicated psychological background in their case.

[21] The described organisation of the musical flow is the first significant dramatic culmination and is undoubtedly the reflection of the chaotic atmosphere and overall unrest which follows after Laca cuts Jenůfa's cheek at the end of Act One.

Example 9 – Act One/Scene 7 (b. 162–164)

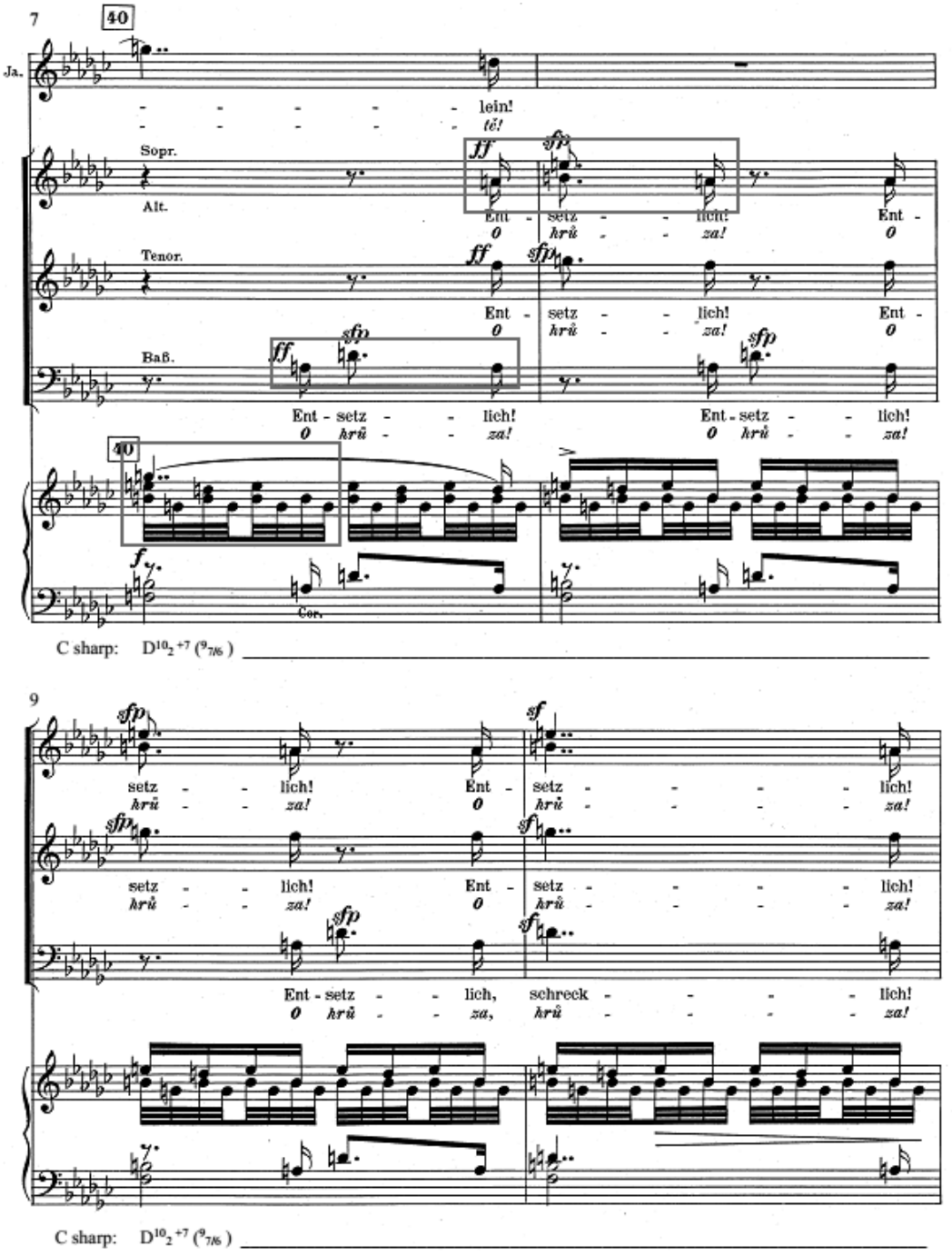


A very significant and frequent phenomenon in the musical flow, by which a special dramatic effect or tension is achieved, is the **long duration** of one, or the interchange of two **chords**. On these occasions, there is a more pronounced wealth of non-harmonic tones, which, like the previously described phenomena, can contribute to the occurrence of an ambiguous tonal centre. The interpretation of actual chords changes with the help of melody and stratified texture, i. e. the oscillation is created. An independent movement of critical, additional and non-harmonic tones, viewed from the vertical, as well as the mentioned ambiguity, i. e. indefiniteness, will be supported by several interesting examples: In Act Three (Scene 7, bars 7–10), the jump of a fifth in the soprano corresponds to A minor, the fourth in bass firstly associates with D minor, while dominant ninth chord with the added sixth in C major is always present in harmonization, hence it is assumed that the ninth moves into the added sixth, i. e. fifth of the chord, by which its acuteness is lost[22] (Example 10a); Act Two, Scene 3 (bars 74–77) – on the phone of the dominant ninth chord in A flat minor, the melodic flow in Kostelnička's solo part moves from the framework of A flat minor following the ascending route of the diminished scale, to reach its culmination in bars 76–77[23] (Example 10b).

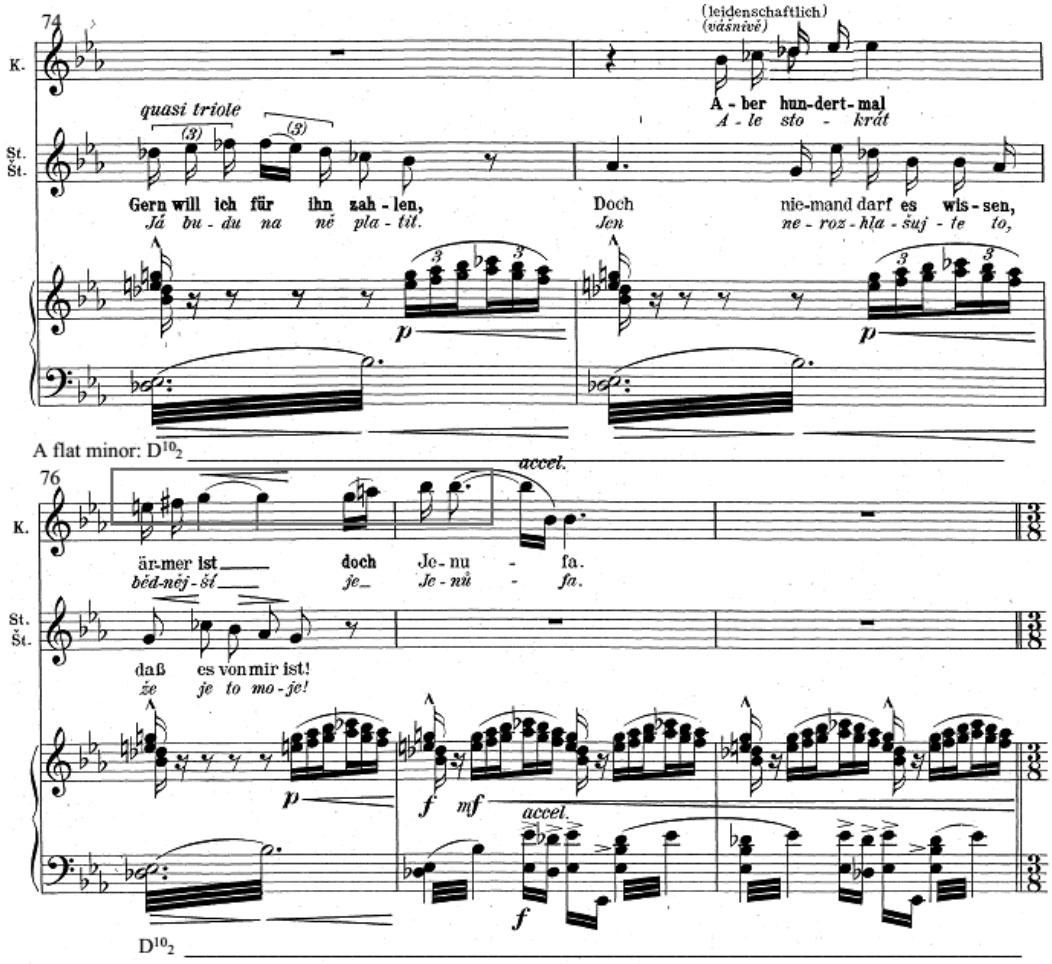
[22] The repetition of short motifs, accentuated with a high interval jump and punctuated rhythm underlines and emphasizes the word "Awful!", which everybody shouts in disgust and horror at the moment when the dead child is found.

[23] The psychological background is obvious – while Števa offers money to keep secret the fact that child is his, Kostelnička, desperate due to his amoral behaviour, unable to do anything, tells him about Jenůfa's humiliation.

Example 10a – Act Three/Scene 7 (b. 7–10)



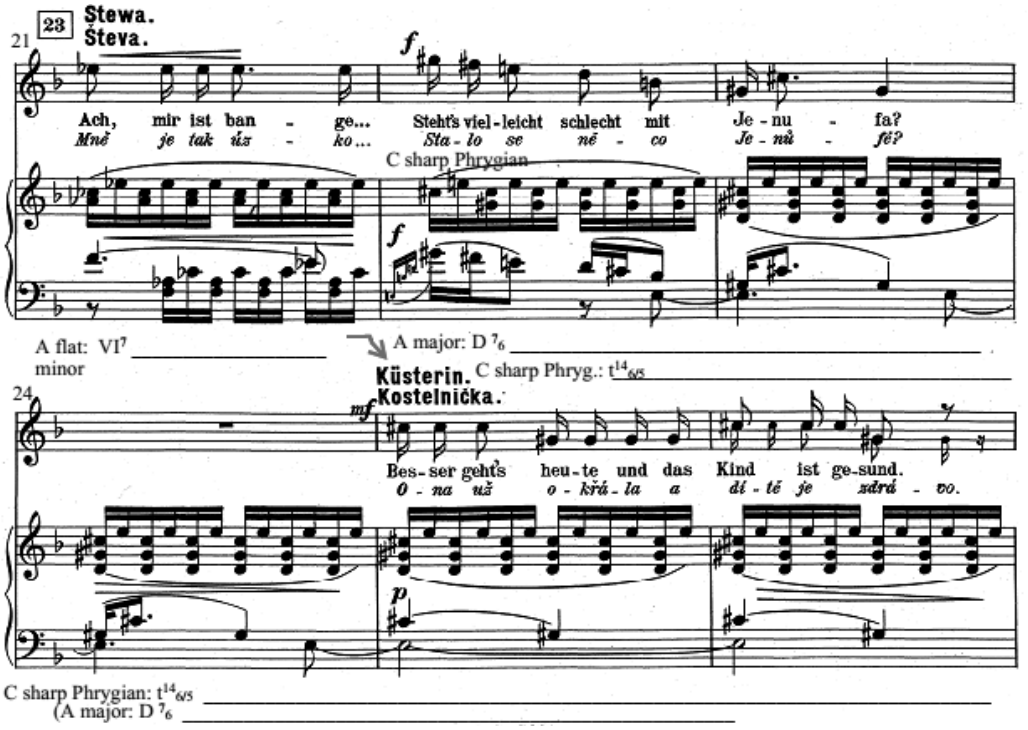
Example 10b – Act Two/Scene 3 (b. 74–77)



In Example 10c (Act Two, Scene 3, bars 22–26) a tonally ambiguous situation is shown. While in the soloist part, the melody is built on the C sharp-Phrygian mode, the first association in the harmonic flow is the dominant seventh chord with the added sixth, i. e. A major dominant. However, with the intensified prominence of the tones of C sharp minor tonic triad, *C sharp – E* in the highest voice of the orchestra part (i. e. its piano score), as well as the fourth movement *C sharp-G sharp* in one of the inner voices which follows the melodic line of the soloist, the same chord begins to be heard primarily as C sharp minor tonic with an added second.[24]

[24] Tonal fluidity in this context portrays Števa who unwillingly goes to Kostelnička at her request. The permanent repetition of the jump of the fourth *C sharp-G sharp* expresses an unpleasant expectancy. He pretends to be worried about Jenůfa, but in fact, although aware of what is to be heard, is afraid of the moment of truth and the news that the baby was born.

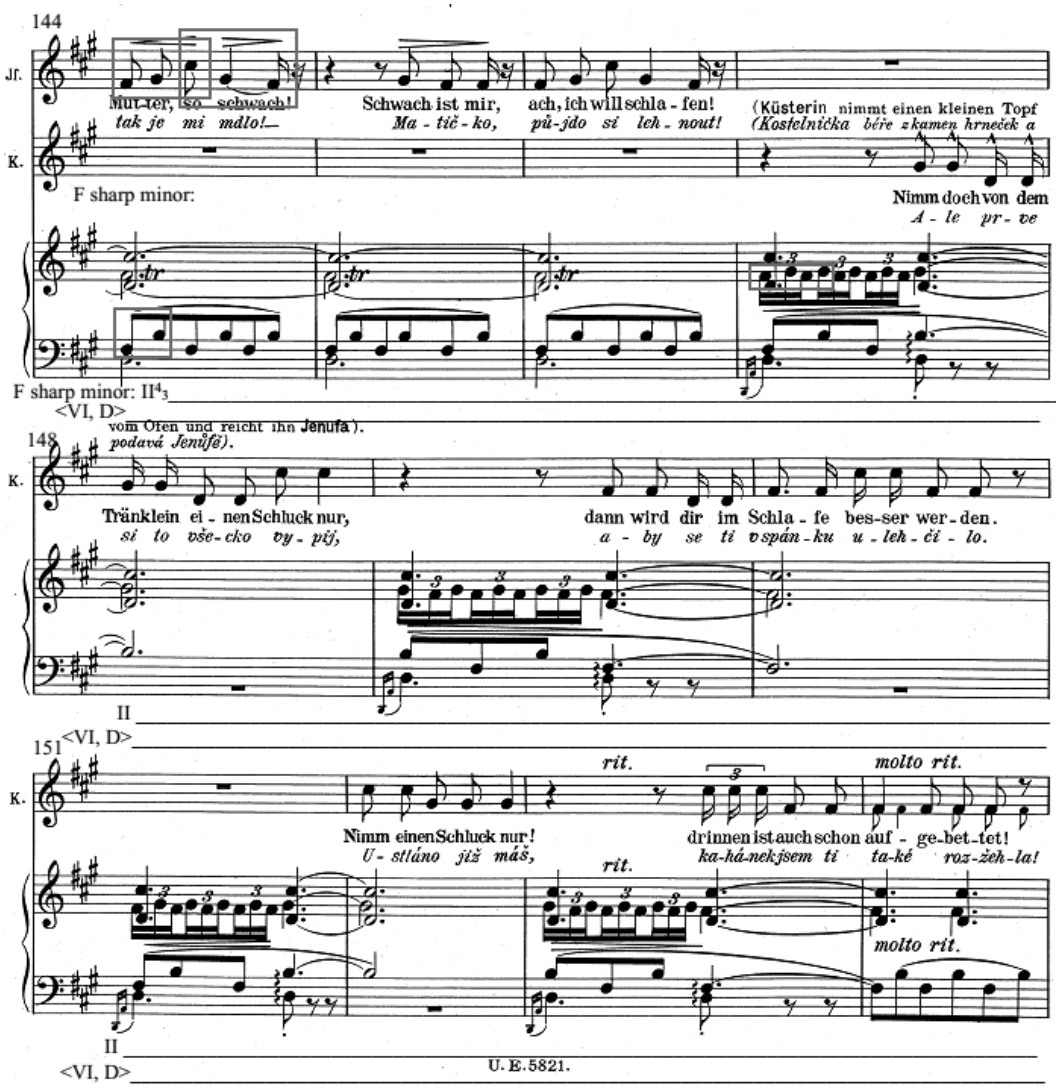
Example 10c – Act Two/Scene 3 (b. 22–26)



The use of the second-fourth and fourth-second motifs as derivatives of the pentatonic scale is noticed as a very significant structural element of the melody (and not only the melody). These motifs, which originate from local folklore, are transmitted from the vocal to the instrumental melody, become the composer's "melodic motto" is displayed to the maximum in the form of figure, timbre and ostinato. In Example 10d (Act Two, Scene 1, bars 144–154) such a situation can be seen where the melody of the soloist part is based on the second-fourth motif (*F sharp-G sharp-C sharp*) with the centre on *F sharp*, which is prominent as final. Further development brings extension towards tone *D*. The harmonic background consists of the tones of a complete pentatonic scale (*D-F sharp-G sharp-B-C sharp*), which are fitted in the harmony and present throughout the entire fragment. This harmony is tonally indefinable per se, especially due to the range of the seventh *D-C sharp*, while the inner voices are also based on the movement of the fourth, i. e. second. With regard to the tonal centre which is pronounced in the melody, it can be firstly defined in F sharp minor (as the seventh chord on the II degree with the pedal tone of the dominant in the highest voice of the orchestral part). On the other hand, the repetition of *D* in the bass, also as a pedal (which is completed with the upper fifth D-A as appoggiatura) points to the *D* Lydian mode as a possible tonal centre.[25]

[25] This tonal indefiniteness describes the momentous psycho-physical condition of Jenůfa. Jenůfa complains that she is sleepy, her mother offers her pills for better dreams.

Example 10d – Act Two/Scene 1 (b. 144–154)



Conclusion

I have attempted to present in short the specific structure of the melody and harmony as well as their interrelation in Janáček's opera *Jenůfa*. It is truly surprising that the described phenomena occur mostly within the framework of the diatonic and a third part relationship of chords. The new sound primarily originates from relatively independent movement of layers. The melodic line, which is both independent in (diatonic) flow and skilfully fitted into the current tonality or chord, thus providing various kinds of freedom in conducting critical harmonic, additional and non-harmonic tones from the vertical perspective, is one of the main characteristics of the musical language of Leoš Janáček.

Such an innovative approach in the use of traditional means from which the modern sound originates is perfectly analogous with the personality of a man; the traditional background is

his outer appearance, surroundings and customs. By using a specific musical language and methods of refinement which surprise and delight the analyst, the composer, realistically and picturesquely depicts the intimate psyche and conjures up complex emotional states in the life of an ordinary man, permanent changeability and the conflict of various moods and feelings due to an uninterrupted fight, primarily with one's own self and then with the unforeseeable problems and joys which life itself brings.

This penetration into the phenomenon of modality to its very core, and the creation of new possibilities in the application of traditional methods which is very significant in the context of modern European music, places Janáček among those contemporary artists who opened up new horizons in the history of music.[26]

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[26] Gheorghe Firca, "Leoš Janáček – promoteur de la pensee modale contemporaine," *Colloquium Leoš Janáček et Musica Europaea*, ed. Rudolf Pečman (Brno: International musical festival, 1970), 116.

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An American Theorist Reflects on a Quest of Quibbles (or) Don't Follow Us, You Don't Want to Go There

Abstract | The author discusses the history and purpose of music theory, a field of study that, as he says, has done much to turn students away from music since its birth as an independent academic discipline in the United States in 1977. In this regard, the consequences of the separation of music theory and musicology are analysed. The author also criticises the separation of music into distinct categories within the school curriculum. He argues that it is counterproductive if we begin by explaining to our students how things are so much different before they understand how things are essentially the same and how they fit into the time continuum of music history. Here he illustrates the fundamental common features between classical and popular music.

Keywords | Music Theory in the United States of America – Crisis – Music Education – Music History – Musicology

As one of the senior music theorists at the largest school of music in the world, I invite you to walk with me as I shed light on a path upon which I implore my European colleagues not to tread. It is a journey into the dark underworld of music theory, an academic discipline that has done much to turn students away from music since its birth as an independent academic discipline in 1977. In retrospect, I see that, although we have lured Alice into the rabbit hole with the sweet strains of Euterpe, this Wonderland has become her nightmare. Rather than being akin to the delightful explanation of the mathematical secrets and hidden meanings and fascinations that Lewis Carroll embedded into *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) for the elite, music theory and its pedagogy have become, for most students, little more than literary nonsense.

Nearly four decades ago, American music theorists decided to focus their collective attention on abstract mathematical formulae—which had little to do with actual music, because American musicologists were overly focused on the color of Beethoven's socks—which likewise had little to do with actual music. The result was a tragic separation of music theory and musicology into distinct disciplines. The practical outcome of this separation has resulted in two divergent, academically overgrown paths on which few of us are any longer looking at, much less listening to, "music." And on those occasions we do find ourselves involved with actual music, it is too often the music of the dinosaur or a new music of such contrived mechanics that it is beyond the comprehension of mere mortals.

Indeed, many of us have become so impressed with our own all-important slice of the musical pie (and with ourselves) that we are loathe to point out to our students things which are perfectly

obvious and which would encourage a broader understanding of the similarities hiding behind the music of the dinosaur, the popular musician, and the eccentric programmer-inventor.

For example, how often do we point out that the 18th-century powdered-wig composer, banging away on his harpsichord, had much in common with everyman's out-of-control neighbor, twanging away on his guitar in the wee hours of the morning? Whether experimenting with the new-fashioned Baroque or with free-form jazz, each had neighbors who wanted to strangle the musician to silence the cacophony wafting through the air at a volume that was far too loud and which included far too many f-sharps.

How often do we point out that the popular "four-chord song" (basically everything written by musicians who have no trouble attracting audiences) was not invented by unkempt beatniks with guitars and drum sets but invented by people banging out the *chaconne* and *passacaglia* on the harpsichord—musicians who were themselves once perceived as lunatics, but who are today perceived as the revered masters of the classics.

We can all agree that it is pedagogically convenient to separate music into distinct categories of classical music vs. popular music or musical-theater music vs. folk music; these distinctions focus our attention on the differences between these musics. This is wholly appropriate when we wish to explain how this music is different from that music. It is a problem, however, if we begin by explaining to our students how things are so much different before they understand how things are essentially the same and how they fit into the time continuum of music history.

If we changed ourselves and our pedagogical tune even in the slightest, perhaps our students could easily understand that Mozart lives reincarnated in the body of the unkempt jazz musician with the electric guitar and the sleep disorder. In following this path, I suspect that our teaching of music theory could be far more practical than a series of Roman numerals that could equally represent thousands of pieces written by anyone from Bach to Bacharach, and far less foreboding than a mysterious pitch class set of some 21st-century Nostradamus.

In following this path, I suspect that our teaching of musicology would be far more interesting than an overview of who wrote which particular song, and far more meaningful than the coincidence that Beethoven wore green socks when he composed his first symphony and yet again when he composed the sixth symphony.

(Looking) *Through the Looking-Glass, and* (Seeing) *What Alice Found There* (1871)

Whether we choose to live in a land of academic fantasy—telling ourselves that our students actually listen to Webern while on holiday, or whether we are simply too lazy to acknowledge that music has evolved—following in the footsteps of the senior Bach complaining to little Bach that this new tonal music was utter nonsense, professors must recognize that we have a higher obligation than simply to astound our students with matters that could, if we truly wanted to invite them into our inner circle, be reduced to simple explanations and associations.

New students, in general, do not have any meaningful idea about what they like and what they do not like, or about what is effective and what simply does not work. It is the faculty, through an honest assessment, who must identify what it is that we can do best and what is in the best long-term interest of both the student and our society, and then we must deliver that product better and more cost-effectively than anyone else in our market area. The notion of priority-weighting what students "want" or think that they "need," despite the growing New Age mentality which

argues that "the student is the consumer," is nonsense. Faculty, in turn, must act as responsible caretakers of their charges. In this, however, we often fail miserably.

Faculty must have the wisdom and experience to know what is required for the student to attain a realistic goal in the next generation of employment. This comes from a sense of tradition and history, personal experience in the classroom, aggressive contact with the discipline outside the institution, and a demonstrable willingness to accept the fact that this year's information and this year's "chalk and blackboard" technology will not prepare this year's student for next year's employment. Good teaching, then, must be linked directly to a realistic appraisal and effective delivery of what each student needs to achieve success as a representative of the institution.

Good teaching, then, means setting aside the music of the past in favor, or at least in acknowledgment, of what many of my colleagues denigrate as "the music of the bordello." Whether we like it or not, this music of the common trollop is what music has become, and it is the music with which our students are most familiar. In fact, music has returned to the people, and I argue that the wide chasm between academic music and the audience can be attributed directly to the professional musician's insistence on either continuing to dredge up the past (without an accompanying willingness to acknowledge its direct relationship to the present) or pursuing a path of overcomplicated hoo-ha accessible to only a handful of aural number-crunchers. As proof of the former, I point out that we must now have entire institutions—not merely departments within over-arching schools but entire institutions—which teach classical music, and we must now have other institutions which teach jazz or popular music; as proof of the latter, I ask only that my detractors look out and count the number of faces in the audience or provide some other explanation for the abysmal lack of financial support from society-at-large.

The result of our self-indulgence, in both practice and in the classroom, is that our once-great art of music theory has now become the cheap exercise of "music fundamentals" for the masses. We have to look into the looking-glass to see the culprit. We have no one to blame but ourselves.

A Comedy Ordained by God

As men (and perhaps it will give some insight to our female colleagues regarding our typical behavior), we follow the Biblical principle of passing the blame elsewhere. Just as Adam responded "And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat" (Genesis 3:12—in which Adam first blames God and then blames the woman), so, too, we justify our pedagogical stubbornness and continue to teach in ways that might benefit from close re-examination.

Our rationale is as exceedingly simple as it is exceedingly logical: this is the way it has always been done; it is the way in which I was taught, and it is the way my students will learn. The thinking is neat and orderly. It is an insistence on order and logic that rings from the earliest moments of our discipline.

In the Medieval world, everything was ordered; being created by God, everything in the world was not only ordered, but it was also divinely ordered. Man believed the cosmos was arranged in

various gradations of good and less-good; numbers, even when applied under the most bizarre set of assumptions,[1] gave order and explanation to a world still lit only by fire.[2]

When European universities first formed during the Middle Ages, the university curriculum was separated into three courses of study. The first course, the elementary course, was the *trivium* (three subjects, or "trivial"-lesser matters). This first course focused on grammar, dialectic (logic), and rhetoric; one learned the mechanics of the language, how to construct an argument using the Socratic Method, and then how to use language either to instruct or persuade.

The second course of study was the *quadrivium* (four subjects), which consisted of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. One not only learned the numbers and how to manipulate them, but also how to apply those numbers to the highest degrees of logic and reasoning.

Finally, one studied philosophy and theology, with the latter being the highest of all academic pursuits.[3]

Music theory, at least in the Medieval world and well into the Renaissance, was the study of logic applied to music; moreover, it was dependent on mathematics to advance its arguments and to prove or disprove its hypotheses.[4] The melodies, harmonies, rhythms, metered text (iambic, trochaic, etc.), and architectural forms of music could all be expressed in mathematical proportions ranging from simple to complex. Value judgments about music could not only be made, but could also be proven, by formula.

In the ancient world, we studied music not to "make" music but to understand God, and numbers provided us with the way of making sense of His universe and His music. Carried to the extreme, the number "six" separated the good sounds from the bad sounds, giving us the major/minor 3rd and the major/minor 6th as consonant sounds, but relegating the seconds and sevenths, as well as the augmented and diminished, into the category of discordant sounds. How could this be so? Because acoustical ratios were applied to the senary numeral system of the Medieval music-mathematician, a numeral system which was itself a product of a geocentric

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[1] "Saint Augustine said [numbers] were the thoughts of God and therefore had an eternal truth. One needs no comment. Two represented duality—body and spirit, light and darkness, right and left, man and woman, wet and dry. Three stood for the Holy Trinity, God in three persons, and also for the human trinity: body, soul, and spirit. Four (two times two, or three plus one) represented the perfection of the Trinity upset by the addition of a unit; it symbolized the material universe, the four rivers of Eden or the four Virtues, the four cardinal points, the four seasons, man's four members, the four letters of the name Adam, and so on." And so it was through the number 12 (Apostles) as well as for the geometrical shapes (circle, spiral, etc.), colors, planets, stones, and animals; each was assigned some special significance which was then manifest in architecture, art, music, medicine, psychology, and daily fashion. None of this, of course, was remotely related to how music was created by God, but has everything to do with how music was explained by mortals. Robert Delort, *Life in the Middle Ages*, translated by Robert Allen (New York, New York: Universe Books, 1972), 88.

[2] A reference to William Manchester's *A World Lit Only by Fire: The Medieval Mind and the Renaissance; Portrait of an Age* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1992).

[3] See Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (New York, New York: Da Capo Press, 1972).

[4] In the Medieval world, scholarship was serious business. Unlike today, when cheap textbooks flood the market and corrected editions appear almost simultaneously, the Medieval author of a manuscript did not rush to a publisher before the ink had time to dry. Once finished writing, the author would place his work on a shelf and wait for seven years. If the author still believed that everything in his manuscript was correct after those seven years had passed, it was at this point only that he would take the manuscript to the printer. If, however, something needed to be rewritten, the author would rewrite it and then return his work to the shelf for yet another seven years to begin the waiting process anew. As a carry-over from early academia, many of today's universities typically allow a seven-year period for the doctoral student—after completing all of the coursework—to write the dissertation. At that point, and only after seven years of focused study on a very specialized subtopic, it is presumed the student is qualified to speak as a budding expert in the field.

solar system (in which earth is at the center of the universe and circled by the Sun, the Moon, and five planets).

Why "six" as the all-important number to differentiate the good sounds from the bad sounds (with apologies to jazz musicians)? This was perfectly logical in a world where numbers ruled supreme. According to the astronomers, there were six planets in the heavens. According to Plato, there are six differences of position: up, down, ahead, behind, right, and left. According to the Bible, the world was created in six days. For mortals, it was enough to know that six ratios in the overtone series (2 : 1 = perfect octave, 3 : 2 = perfect fifth, 4 : 3 = perfect fourth, 5 : 6 = major third/minor sixth by inversion, and 6 : 5 = minor third/major sixth by inversion) were related to six planets (at least the ones that were visible when using early telescopes) and, as well, to $1 + 2 + 3 = 1 \times 2 \times 3 = 6$.

Indeed, it was a world created by God. It may have been a world of unlimited variation, but it was also a world in which everything was ordered and explained by the numbers that man could contrive and twist into some type of rational argument.

The Death of the Theorist

The rise of popular music that occurred during the Renaissance (1437–1601) gave birth to the great divide between the academician (focused on *musica theorica*, or "theoretical" music) and the common man (focused on *musica practica*, or "practical" music).

Practical musicians (composers and performers) write and perform music using symbols to represent sounds. The practical reproduction is fairly straightforward and requires little thought: on a piano, depress the correct key; on a clarinet, place your fingers over the correct holes and blow.

The music theorist uses the letters of the alphabet, Arabic numerals, and Roman numerals (a) to mark events—e. g., architectural sections, and (b) as shortcuts to describe the function of sounds—e. g., the relative position of a single note (vis-à-vis other notes) within a larger collection of notes in which each has to obey particular rules of motion.

(Think of the theorist as someone who provides the engineering manual that explains not only how to disassemble an automobile, but also how and why those individual parts were originally assembled, and in that particular order, to create a moving vehicle.)

The musicologist evolved as the historian who looks back over his shoulder to record "what happened."

Performer	Presses down on the accelerator and the car moves forward.
Composer	Builds the car according to assembly-line specifications; in the last 50 years of "modern music," welds some parts together and expects everyone to recognize the creation as a car even when it does not meet generally accepted expectations associated with a "motor vehicle."
Theorist	Can explain not only why the car moves forward but also, if it does not, can list all of the possible reasons for why it is doing "something else," disassemble the entire vehicle, fix whatever is not quite right, and then put the vehicle back together again.
Musicologist	Videotapes the process and adds explanatory footnotes so that, in the future, we can recall the smallest detail of the automotive surgery.

The Medieval scholar ordered the world so that he could better understand its parts in relation to the whole. It may have been a universe of unlimited variation, but it was a universe in which everything—however illogically conceived—was logically ordered and explained by numbers.

Musicians walked the Medieval earth as scientists of the highest order. How, then, did we fall to a place in society where we are now the hired help coming in through the back door, performing like monkeys chained to an organ grinder?

Encyclopedias of the professions ("vocations" to which a person had been called by God) were common in Medieval Christian Europe at a time when man was attempting to understand the world in an order of rank, position, and privilege. These encyclopedias became increasingly common as the Church found them useful in asserting its authority above secular authority.

In 1568, the *Eygentliche Beschreibung Aller Stände auff Erden* [Exact Description of All Ranks on Earth][5] ranked the 114 professions as they were viewed through the eyes of God. In this work—which was embraced by the Church not only for the encyclopedia's proper ordering of the world but also for its anti-Semitic sentiment—professions related to Church and State are listed first. Not surprisingly, the Pope holds the highest position on the list, and even the lowest monk and pilgrim stand above the secular Holy Roman Emperor.

Positions of Church and State (pope, priest, king) are followed by professions related to the intellectual arts (physician, pharmacist, astronomer). These are then followed by the crafts (butcher, baker, candlestick maker). Musicians and fools are listed at the end, as misfits in the social order. Now little more than monkeys grinding out music for the masses, the various types of musicians find themselves falling between numbers 100 and 109 in the overall list of 114. Only the Tapestry Weaver, the Money Fool, the Gluttonous Fool, the Court Jester, and the Village Idiot are seen as less worthy in the eyes of God.

In 1568, what was once the Church's closest academic rival was cast to its current position, from where it now offers cheap, mass-produced goods to the consumer—"as much as possible to as many as possible."[6]

The music philosopher-theorist, no longer a necessity, has now approached extinction; the statement can be proven simply by observing how many teachers of music theory were actually trained in the specific discipline of music theory.

The music fundamentalist—teaching the rudimentary grammar of music to enable "bowing and blowing"—has replaced the theorist in the chain of passing on what was once a highly philosophical and mathematical discipline to a new group of consumers. After all, "anyone" can teach music theory and, in the New World, it has become the practice for the Dean to assign the tenor vocalist or the alto saxophonist to teach music theory, while the true music theorist, a dying breed, exists only in very large institutions and usually then only to teach at the graduate-advanced level.

In essence, the music theorist is no longer needed if all he is to do is create new systems that very few wish to hear and even less can comprehend.

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[5] Hans Sachs and Amman Jost, *Eygentliche Beschreibung Aller Stände auff Erden*, 1568.

[6] Perhaps the best definition of "popular" music comes from Dr. Philip Tagg, an English musicologist and specialist in the discipline of popular music: "Popular music, unlike art music [and folk music], is (1) conceived for mass distribution to large and often socioculturally heterogeneous groups of listeners, (2) stored and distributed in non-written form, (3) only possible in an industrial monetary economy where it becomes a commodity and (4) in a capitalist society, is subject to the laws of 'free' enterprise, according to which it should ideally sell as much as possible of as little as possible to as many as possible." Dr. Tagg's definition not only qualifies this music in terms of its intended audience and its mode of storage and transmission, but also recognizes that *popular music is a mass-produced, non-specialized commodity whose value is determined by the profit derived from its dissemination to a large group of consumers.* While this observation may seem cold and heartless, popular music—and perhaps all music?—has but two reasons to exist. It exists for you to buy "it" and it exists to convince you to buy "stuff" (which can range from an ideology, to an emotion, to a pair of overpriced jeans). If it were not so, music would have disappeared as the first musician was starved into extinction. Philip Tagg, "Analysing Popular Music: Theory, Method and Practice," *Popular Music*, No. 2 (1982): 41.

In essence, what has become all-important is not music "theory," but the creating and reproducing of the music of the Common Practice Period … like so many rabbits.

In hindsight, it appears as though we may well have over-specialized ourselves out of existence.

"Off with Her Head!"

"Grow up!" It is the common admonition of parents and teachers; it is the mantra of those who would kill the dreams of children.

Indeed there does comes a time when we must set our fantasies aside to dwell in the world of reality—the world as it is, not the world as we would like it to be. "Grow up," indeed. Perhaps, as pedagogues, we should heed our own advice.

Much like Hansel and Gretel followed a trail of bread crumbs to return home again, let us follow our own trail of bread crumbs to take us back to the moment that many of us decided to pursue our study of music. For most, it was not because of our aural fascination with creating new systems or with manipulating Nostradamus-like symbolism, but because of our intimate involvement with music of the common people. Our first love, however, was quickly extinguished in the university classroom. Here, we were immediately redirected onto the path of "real music," guided by academicians who are loathe to recognize (if they do indeed recognize) that the music of Mozart has much in common with the music of Irving Berlin and Lady Gaga.

Back when I was your age—and I hope the reader will excuse the liberty of my saying so, as I suspect that I am older than most of the readers of this article—and riding in a car without seatbelts or air conditioning (neither of which were yet available), we had to twist a knob on the radio until we found the best reception for a particular station. And then, every sweaty half-kilometer down the road, we had to make some microscopic adjustment to avoid hearing two stations of music and some political nonsense all on top of one another.

When people in my day moved to a different television channel, it was an adventure even in the comfort of our living room. We did not have a remote control (or even push-buttons) to change a channel; instead, we fiddled with a big tuning knob attached to a television box that was as large as a suitcase, and we made the effort only when the picture became virtually unrecognizable. (I remember that this was often just after my little sister refused to continue standing, motionless, with her hand on the television and her head wrapped in tin foil stolen from my mother's kitchen.)

But that day is no more. Technology has advanced, and we have digital receivers with push-button automatic tuning. And just as the toys with which I once played are now found in antique shops, the music I enjoyed as a child is now repackaged on CD sets as "classics" or "oldies."

Life has moved forward. Music has moved forward. Unfortunately, the discipline of music theory seems either to be stuck in the past (is it really necessary for the alto sax player to be proficient at reading figured bass?) or off in some adventure of experimental wizardry without seeing that most of the world has no use for it. Again, I simply ask my critics to count the number of people in the audience.

Reinventing a Perfectly Good Wheel for a Broken Wagon

Imagine, if you will, the scenario that took place as your student drove on the highway between Prague and Brno.

Imagine how many times that student's thumb changed the radio station with the digital tuner.

- He gets to the first channel and, within a nanosecond, he is off to channel two because he "doesn't like musical theater."
- Within a fraction of a second he again moves forward because—although he likes the music of the *dechovka*—he has never heard this particular polka.
- And so he moves forward once again, to hear a rhythm-&-blues song that he does recognize but does not particularly like—even though it exists within a subgenre of music he does like, and so he moves to a fourth channel.
- The fourth station is a jazz station. Immediately he moves away from the unintelligible noise (because so many jazz musicians went down the same evolutionary path as their counterparts—changing what was once "popular" into something unrecognizable by the masses).
- Now, the student is on a station that is playing rock-&-roll.
- He decides to go back to station number two. He listens for eight seconds, decides that the previously unknown polka is "acceptable" but not something that he wishes to hear at the current moment, and finally jumps three stations forward to German speed rock.

Consider how many music-related decisions that student—a mere "neophyte" in music!—made in the span of 10 or 11 seconds.

In a fraction of a *single* second:

- he placed music within a specific subgenre of popular music,
- he decided if the subgenre was—or was not—acceptable for today's listening pleasure,
- he recognized that he had—at some moment in the past—either heard or not heard a particular piece of music,
- he made the "I like it, I don't like it, I sort of like it" decision,
- he weighed the "I like it, I don't like it, I sort of like it" decision, and then
- he decided to depress—or not to depress—the digital tuner on the steering wheel.

Despite what the student already knows about music, which is legion, frustration in the music theory classroom often comes from asking our students to start over, from the very beginning, and to make *our* music, *their* music. Instead of building from the knowledge-base that the student already possesses, which is legion, we follow a syllabus that explores how this hat of a powdered-wig is different from that hat made of raw meat (a reference to Lady Gaga).

May I suggest that we would cause ourselves fewer headaches and experience less attrition in enrollment if we would begin by speaking merely of "hats"? Rather than following the path that focuses on the differences between the hats—powdered wig, baseball, hockey, beanie, cowboy, *sombrero*, and *yarmulke*, perhaps we should begin by speaking of what makes a hat, a "hat." Perhaps, too, in the music classroom—and long before we speak of astrological numbers and symbols and the color of socks, I suggest that we should begin by speaking of the fundamental characteristics of hats in general and be speaking of what makes music, "music."

In short, unless we begin in a classroom filled with natives from Papua New Guinea who were formally exposed to music of only the Rainforest (and even then the argument is specious, because the music of the Rainforest shares qualities that we find in the music of Mozart and Lady Gaga), we doom ourselves both to being a faculty out-of-touch with where the student is

today in his or her musical understanding and to being pedagogues reinventing a wheel that is already working perfectly well.

"If it ain't broke, don't fix it"

If something is working perfectly well, we do not make changes. This seems perfectly reasonable, but candlelight seemed sufficient until the light bulb, the horse seemed sufficient until the automobile, and the pencil seemed sufficient until the laptop computer.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, if it "ain't broke," and we don't fix it, civilization remains at a standstill. And what is remarkable is not that there is often a great resistance to change but that there is often a very good reason to *resist* change.[7]

The history of civilization is one of moving toward the comfort zone. We like the comfort zone. What makes the comfort zone so "comfortable" is (a) we have been there before, (b) we like it there, and (c) we know we can count on it to be there tomorrow.

And, as logical beings, we do the same thing—day after day after day—doing what works best for us.

- It keeps us alive: "Run from the saber-toothed tiger. Run from *every* saber-toothed tiger, *every* day."
- It gets us to work on time: "Drive the same route, stop at the same shop for coffee, slow down for the speed trap to avoid getting yet another ticket, and arrive in 31 minutes—just as the pleasant narcotic effect of the caffeine enables us to greet the Dean with a big smile on our face."
- It keeps us from having to make decisions and take risks: "I like this type of cookie and so I simply ignore all of the other cookies—which may, in fact, be *better* cookies—but by choosing the first cookie I know there is no risk of getting a cookie I will not like."

What do reproductive cookies have to do with music theory? If we have to ask, then I suggest that we ourselves are part of the problem.

Music by the Cookie-Cutter

If we look at music and, in particular, the architecture of music, we see that this "hands off" approach—the "it ain't broke so let's not fix it" approach—has been used for centuries. It has been used with great success and, if you would like people to buy your music or come to your concert, it is best not change that pattern.

Human beings love consistency. Since the beginning of time, consistency is what has kept us alive, which explains why we love it. If yesterday we ate the red berries and we lived, it is okay to eat the red berries; if yesterday the pit bull bit our fingers, we learned (the hard way) not to pet the pit bull.

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[7] Much to the dismay of physicists, Isaac Newton's first law of motion—"A body in motion tends to remain in motion unless acted upon by an outside force"—does not apply to humans. Bodies, if they are human bodies, gravitate toward what may appear to be, at first blush, laziness. We get up in the morning and we follow our same routine, day after day. We brush our teeth, we drink our coffee, and we put on our socks and shoes. Without thinking, we suddenly find ourselves at work. Over the years and after countless repetitions, each of us has developed the simplest pattern of motion that takes us from our bed to our work desk, on "autopilot." But perhaps this is not laziness. Perhaps it is the pinnacle of efficiency.

Humans are very good at identifying differences: red berries vs. purple berries, pit bull vs. golden retriever and, with a little practice, this music vs. that music.

In music, consistency can be reduced to a simple observation. After a composer does something, he (or she) is left with only three possibilities:

- Do it again.[8]
- Do something different.
- Stop.

Virtually every classical symphony and concerto and sonata written during the last 400 years follows one, single, simple architectural pattern: this music, this music (which is a repetition of the first music), that music (something new), and then back to this music (returning back to the first music). Expressed in alphabetic letters, AABA. If ever (rarely) there is a third music, we label that new-new music as "C." In addition to the big blocks, we can, of course, have some introductory music that precedes the first A; we can also have a special finale to bring the piece to a spectacular close.

AABA is one of the most common architectural forms in Western music. It worked perfectly well for composers in the 1700s, classical composers are still using it today, and 21st-century rock stars have not strayed very far from that same formula.

Had Mozart used this particular architectural form on Monday but on Tuesday decided to do something else, our discussion would be a matter of trifles. But Mozart did *not* do something else on Tuesday, nor on Wednesday, nor on any day thereafter, and AABA became one of the most commonly used forms in all of Western music. It became so for two very good reasons:

- Each time the form was used, it became more entrenched in the audiences' expectation. There was a sameness even the non-musician could understand, and this sameness—each time it was repeated—provided an ever-increasing level of comfort.[9]
- Each time the form was used, Mozart was able to write yet another symphony or piano concerto or flute sonata just that much more easily and rapidly. He had done "it"—or had done "nearly it"—a hundred times before. All he had to do, without thinking and without taking any risk, was pull out his cookie-cutter.

Hundreds of books have been written about the AABA pattern Mozart used to make "sonata form" and yet:

- sonata form can also be called "sonata-allegro" form—even when the music is not performed at allegro speed,
- sonata form can also be called "first-movement" form—even when the form is used as the architectural basis of the second or third or fourth movement of a work,
- although the word "sonata" means something to be played, "sonata form" can also be used as the model for pieces meant to be sung,

[8] In the matter of "do it again," it is the repetition that tells us whether we are doing something again or doing something different. We have to be able to say "I've heard that before" in order to recognize that it is not an endless wandering of the same thing.

[9] Oddly enough, "sameness" enables experimentation. Mozart could toss in a small variation to surprise his audience without worrying that people would walk out of the concert hall complaining about his "unfathomable noise." If they attended last night's concert, they could expect tonight's concert to be—although perhaps not identical—at least very similar to the previous evening's concert.

- if the overall length of a song is relatively short, AABA is sometimes called a "song form"—even if there's no singing, and
- in the Tin Pan Alley subgenre, it's called the "32-bar form"—even when, in practice, the music is repeated … and so it is really a "64"-bar form.

And then we have the different names that get attached to describe the very same thing. The classical musician would use the terms "exposition, exposition (repeated), development, and recapitulation," while the pop musician would use the terms "verse, verse (repeated), chorus and verse."

Perhaps all of us should take a lesson from Lao Tzu, the father of Taoism, who observed that "the name that can be named is not the eternal name." Lao Tzu spoke about 300 kinds of tables: dining-room tables, coffee tables, end tables, nightstand tables, folding tables, operating tables, etc., but noted that, while each table is different, each table fits the definition of "table." In other words, Lao Tzu cautioned us against getting so caught up in the minutia that we miss the point.

AABA. We all know what it is. Even our students (already) know what it is. Let us not confuse the fact (that which gives it a sameness and an association to other like-things) with so many fine distinctions that we lose sight of what this particular table has in common with all of the other tables. In other words, let us not lose sight of the fact that, while many fine distinctions can be made about AABA, there is but one fundamental characteristic about AABA: do something, do it again, do something different, and then go back and redo the first thing.

Let us think about this the next time we teach about a classical symphony or a piano concerto, which we could play perhaps one time during an academic class session. Would it not be better, for our pedagogical outcome, to play a 4-minute show tune or something from the jazz repertoire, 10 of 15 times over, to illustrate the point of what we are explaining? Or are we so caught up in the mindset of "my music is the right music" that we are willing to allow the essence of what we're trying to pass on to our students to fall by the wayside?

What, then, is our ultimate purpose? It is a question that many of us have never asked ourselves because we were immediately caught up with key signatures and cadences.

Let us resolve to begin with a philosophical goal rather than with a mechanical attack upon the first measure of a particular motet or symphony. In our discipline, let us resolve to use the agent of music theory to dissect both the underlying mechanics of music as well as its surface decorations, and to devise and consistently employ a vocabulary and labeling system that will enable us to communicate our discoveries in an effective manner.

Fairy Tales Are More than Fairy Tales

If the original sin of the music theorist was abstraction (e. g., using the number of planets to determine consonances), our second deadly sin is one of disassociation with context.

The reader did, of course, recognize the above bread-crumb reference to the fairy tale "Hansel and Gretel," first appearing in the Grimms' 86-story collection of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* [Children's and Household Tales] from 1812.[10] The reference was not without purpose.

Consider that children are often taught their first life-lessons by chant, rhyme, song, and story, and that these fairy tales—like much of music—may not have been conceived as entertainment or even as absolute music (the opposite of program music).

The Grimms' dark and frightening tales have often been criticized as being inappropriate bedtime reading. The evil stepsisters of Cinderella have their eyes pecked out by doves, Hansel

[10] Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Children's and Household Tales: 1812).

and Gretel kill a cannibalistic witch by baking her to death in an oven, and the evil queen in *Snow White*—after eating the lungs and liver of the supposed deceased—is ultimately forced to wear red-hot iron shoes and dance to her death at Snow's wedding. Are these the stories that are supposed to lull a child to sleep?

Perhaps the critics miss the point. Words warning incorrigible children not to wander off into the forest lest they become lost or injured are, generally, words lost upon the ears of children lacking the maturity to understand the real and ever-present danger. On the other hand, warning children not to wander off into the forest lest they meet a witch who consumes the flesh of small boys and girls elicits quite a different reaction and, of course, the desired behavior.

What do the meanings behind such fairy tales have to do with music? Like fairy tales, music is merely a combination and succession of audible frequencies until we listen through a different set of headphones. Much of our music was conceived with a higher purpose. It has served as a vehicle to record a history, to express and teach values, to validate social and religious affiliations, and even to convey feelings and emotions that are understood by people only within the group—which may be, for example, a disenfranchised minority. Music has also been used to preserve pieces of history that have been omitted, for various reasons, from our history textbooks.

How often, I ask, is "text" (which itself is often the single feature differentiating a *discant clausula* and a motet, or a sacred motet and a secular motet) the compelling feature in a music-analysis class? And if text is so often ignored, at the expense of keys and chords and modulations, what about "text in context"?

Is the song secular, sacred, seasonal, celebratory, patriotic? By whom would it have been performed? For whom? What is the purpose of the song? What is the song meant to do? Is it a mnemonic device, meant to sell something, to teach something, to comfort, to elicit laughter, to record an event that has taken place in history, to promote rebellion?

Yes, it is vitally important to study chords and modulations and cadences, but is this all there is to music? What a sorry world of abstraction music would be without context!

To Be Seated (Again) at the Right Hand of God

The *theory* of music theory is logic applied to music, the *practice* of music theory is assigning numbers and letters to music, and the *purpose* of music theory is to understand the sound events that occur within a single piece of music and then, by comparison, to understand how those events relate to sound events in every other piece of music that was written since the beginning of time, in any genre, in any culture.

By beginning our study of the "sameness" (our music = their music) in music theory, we can then move forward to understand what makes all of these musics different from one another. And, as we consider all of the surface decorations that make "this music" different from "that music," we will see that we have been baking the same cake (or at least a very limited number of different cakes) for the 400 years of the Common Practice Period—different on the outside, yet the same on the inside.

And, as we look at the text of the music and as we look at the musical codes and games embedded beneath that text, we can come to understand this music in its full historical and social context. In short, we can see why we care to look at it at all.

Therefore, let us humbly acknowledge that which gives meaning to this ceremony we call "music theory." For most who walk the earth, sound without context is merely noise. For the music lover, music without context is merely a tune that he or she can hum while driving down the highway or, at best, an aural adventure passively experienced in the concert hall. For the per-

former, it is often little more than "bow and blow." And for the musicologist, it is an opportunity to lift his head from the cappuccino and ask "what just happened?"

Although the Medieval Church may have cast the musicians as a whole and the music performer in specific into the lower echelons of society's rankings, the music theorist still reigns supreme.

The music theorist can comprehend and hold his own in any discussion, with anyone, about any piece of music, written in any genre or style or medium, emanating from any time period in the entire history of the world. This is what we do.

Further, the music theorist can prove, by way of logic and number, that his observations are correct, and the music theorist can communicate abstract concepts, often based on illogical foundations, using a clear and concise vocabulary that can be woven into an argument that could be presented in any court of law.

Music theory is an advanced analytical science. It is the study of logic (applied to music) that is dependent on mathematics to advance its arguments and to prove or disprove its hypotheses. It is the study of debate and the construction of argument. It is a record of history and the study of context. Next to theology, it is the discipline most favored by God Himself.

All that remains for us, at least for Americans in the field of music theory, is to shed our mantle of pomposity, to stop quibbling about so many insignificant quibbles, and to reinvent ourselves as being relevant to the music of the 21st century.

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Karel Burian – the Guest of Budapest (1913–1924)

Abstract | In the present article the last third of Karel Burian's career is discussed, not only because it is perhaps a less known period of Burian's biography, but also because it is closely connected with Hungarian culture. In these years he appeared in Budapest as a regular guest of the Royal Hungarian Opera mainly as a Wagner singer but also in French, Italian and Hungarian operas, and celebrated his thirty-year jubilee as an opera singer also in Budapest. After a chronological overview, certain special aspects of Burian's Hungarian activity are examined, e. g. his Hungarian naturalization (the so called 'Hungarian divorce') and the political context of his appearances at the end of the First World War.

Keywords | Karel Burian – First World War – Hungarian divorce – Hungary – Naturalization – Opera, Scandals – Richard Wagner

1 Introduction[1]

Even today, the name of the Czech *Heldentenor* Karel Burian sounds familiar not only in his native land, but also among the opera lovers in Hungary. Despite the fact that it was required to sing in Hungarian on the stage of the Royal Hungarian Opera, the most successful Wagner tenor of the first quarter of the 20th century in Budapest was a foreign singer: Karel Burian. In the present article I discuss the last ten years of his career, not only because it is perhaps a less known period of Burian's biography, but also because it is closely connected with Hungarian musical culture.

In 1913, the zenith of Burian's artistic career and reputation was already behind him. In the past years he had travelled a great deal between cities and theatres in Europe and in the United States and had earned a lot of money with his guest appearances.[2] He had made a sizeable number of recordings of opera excerpts and songs for several recording firms.[3] From 1911 on, he had published a series of recollections in the journal *Smetana* about the most important moments of his career,[4] and the publication of some of these writings in the first volume of his memoires can

[1] This study is a largely extended version of the relevant chapters of my unpublished DMA Thesis entitled *Karel Burian és Magyarország* [Karel Burian and Hungary] (Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music, 2012). A brief summary of the thesis, focused on performance analysis, was published in Hungarian and in English in 2013. This study differs from them both in its extension and content. All of the citations are translated by me. The spelling of the name of Karel Burian varied in the contemporary Hungarian press, it was usually written in Hungarian, as Burián (or Burrián) Károly. I offer my thanks to Ágnes Lux for her help with the English text.

[2] See Burian's letter to Johannes Reichelt in his chapter "Karl Burrian. Um die Tragik verwöhnter Heldentenöre," in Johannes Reichelt, *Erlebte Kostbarkeiten* (Dresden: Verlag Wodni & Lindecke, 1941), 347.

[3] I compiled Burian's discography (Appendix 2 of my DMA Thesis) and identified recently his last Pathé recording in the article "Musicologists and Librarians Working Together: The *Lendület* Archive and Research Group, Budapest," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 61/2 (2014): 152–162.

[4] Klára Kolofiková: "Burian, Karel" [last modified January 13, 2010], in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí* (Praha, 2010), accessed June 19, 2015, http://www.ceskyhudebnislovnik.cz/slovnik/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&action=record_detail&id=7049.

be considered as retrospection.[5] Perhaps Burian also treated the year 1913 as a turning-point. He published a short summary of his career in a German-language journal of Budapest under the title *Aus meinen Lehr- und Wanderjahren*, paraphrasing Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.[6] His companion, a married lady from Dresden called "Marschenka" by Burian, also died in 1913 in the USA.[7] He bought an estate in Senomaty where he could retire and relax in the summer.[8] And, although he was still considered a world star, he was not, in fact, that any more. He was still a very successful singer but there were also some scandals surrounding him, not to mention his escape from Dresden,[9] the problems of his marriage,[10] his disrepute based on his capricious cancelling of advertised performances.[11] And – according to Kutsch and Riemens – his voice quality also weakened around 1913.[12] Perhaps this chequered career engendered his desire for a calmer and quieter life and his settling in Senomaty and Budapest. In summary, he went through almost all of the events mentioned in his biographies, which deal with his great successes from before 1913 in much more detail. The period after 1913 is generally unknown and the biographical studies are also incomplete and dissenting.

With the exception of the Hungarian lexicon articles,[13] the fact that Burian appeared in Budapest regularly between 1913 and 1924 is only mentioned in the article by Klára Kolofiková in the new online edition of *Český hudební slovnik*.[14] The Burian article of the *Großes Sängerlexikon* by Kutsch and Riemens only mentions that he appeared in Budapest in the season 1923–1924.[15] In his article, Paul Wilhelm stated that Burian preferred the city of Budapest, but he did not give more information on that,[16] while the author of the longest English article about Burian, James Dennis, mentioned only "Wagner concerts in Budapest in 1915".[17] Further literature does not mention his presence in Budapest. According to Einhard Luther,[18] Bohumír Štědroň,[19] Jürgen

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[5] Karel Burian, *Z mých pamětí*, Vol. 1 (Praha: Melantrich, 1913). As far as I know, no further volumes have been published.

[6] Karl Burrian, "Aus meinen Lehr- und Wanderjahren," *Budapester Fremdenblatt*, 22 February 1914.

[7] For a detailed but very ironic and sometimes incorrect description about the relationship between Burian and Marschenka and about the death of Marschenka see Leo Slezak, "Karl Burian und Prager Freunde," in Leo Slezak, *Mein Lebensmärchen* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983), 161–167.

[8] Josef Bartoš, *Karel Burian* (Rakovník: Výbor pro jubilejní oslavy v Rousínově, 1934), 36.

[9] See, for example, "Burian, Karl" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, Personenteil Bd. 3 hrsg. von Ludwig Finscher (Kassel, Stuttgart, Weimar: Bärenreiter, Metzler, 2000): col.1298–1299; col.1299.

[10] Burian's wife, Františka Jelínek, has not been a member of the Hofoper in Dresden since 1906, later their relationship deteriorated.

[11] Einhard Luther, *Helden an geweihtem Ort. Biographie eines Stimmfaches. Teil 2 Wagnertenöre in Bayreuth (1884–1914)* (Trossingen, Berlin: Edition Omega Wolfgang Layer, 2002), 351.

[12] Karl Josef Kutsch and Leo Riemens, *Unvergängliche Stimmen. Sängerlexikon* (Bern, München: Francke Verlag, 1975), 103.

[13] Aladár Schöpflin (ed.), *Magyar szinmüvészeti lexikon. A magyar színjátszás története. I. kötet* [Hungarian Theatrical Lexicon Vol. 1] ([Budapest:] Országos Színészegyesület és Nyugdíjintézete, [1929]), 250–251; Bence Szabolcsi and Aladár Tóth (eds.), *Zenei Lexikon. A zenetörténet és zenetudomány enciklopédiája. Második, pótlással bővített kiadás*, Vol. 1 [Musical lexicon] (Budapest: Győző Andor, 1935), 138–139.

[14] Kolofiková, "Burian, Karel".

[15] Karl Josef Kutsch and Leo Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon.* 3, erweiterte Auflage. Bd. 1 (Bern und München: K. G. Saur, 1997), 510.

[16] Paul Wilhelm, "Carl Burrian," *Record News* 4/7 (March 1960): 243.

[17] James Dennis, "Karel Burian," *The Record Collector* 18/7 (July 1969): 155.

[18] Luther, *Helden an geweihtem Ort*, 365.

[19] Bohumír Štědroň, "Burian Karel," in *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí.* svazek prvý A–L, ed. by Gracian Černušák, Bohumír Štědroň and Zdenko Nováček (Prague: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1963), 155–156.

Kesting[20] and the article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, after 1913 he only appeared in Czech Theatres (Plzeň, Brno, Olomouc, Ostrava, České Budějovice, the German Theatre in Prague, etc.). Some further lexicon articles do not mention his activity after 1913 at all.[21] Obviously, James Dennis did not have access to the Hungarian sources when he wrote in his study that "War time news is scanty."[22] In the following subchapters I will discuss Burian's presence in Hungary not only chronologically after 1913, but also from several particular points of view. These facts can not only widen the picture about a great singer and make his biography even more complete, but also deepen our knowledge of his personality.

2 Karel Burian in Hungary, 1913–1924

Burian was present in the operatic culture of Budapest from 1900 to his death. In the theatrical season 1901–1902 he was a member of the Royal Hungarian Opera and created the main roles in the Hungarian premières of *Tristan und Isolde* by Richard Wagner, *Onegin* by Piotr Tchaikovsky and *Fedora* by Umberto Giordano. At the end of the season he broke his contract and left Budapest for Dresden. He came back to Budapest in 1907 as a guest singer, and returned regularly for three or four performances every year. He appeared not only in the repertoire operas, but also, for example, in the revival of *Der Evangelimann* by Wilhelm Kienzl in 1912.

From 1913 onwards, Burian had a special contract at the Royal Hungarian Opera as a "regular guest".[23] He was engaged for a pre-defined number of performances which had to take place over a period of some months, and his contract was renewed from period to period.[24] This contract was advantageous for both the Opera and Burian: on the one hand, mainly after the outbreak of the First World War, but also due to his often cancelling, Burian would not get another offer for a longer contract with such favourable terms at other theatres. On the other hand, it was worth having a famous singer, a "star" in the ensemble of the Royal Hungarian Opera which did not have a real Wagner tenor after 1914. Burian was regarded as almost an ordinary member of the Opera; for example, it happened that he was asked to cover for a member of the Opera.[25]

Although Burian's last performances in Vienna were in September and even in October 1913, on the basis of the list of his performances and the press articles it is obvious that the first contract period as a "regular guest" began in September 1913.[26] He planned a three-month holiday at the turn of 1913 and 1914 to appear at guest performances in London, New York and Prague, but from these only the London guest performances came about in February 1914.

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[20] Jürgen Kesting, *Die grossen Sänger* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2008), 192.

[21] For example, Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "Burian, Karel," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second Edition. Vol. 4, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001): 624.

[22] Dennis, "Karel Burian," 155.

[23] "Burrián Károly szerződése" [Károly Burrián's contract], *Budapest*, 27 June 1913.

[24] Unfortunately, none of these contracts survived.

[25] 28 November 1915, in the role of Faust.

[26] "Burrián Károly szerződése" [Károly Burrián's contract], *Budapest*, 27 June 1913. I compiled the – still incomplete – list of Burian's performances on the basis of playbills (Budapest, Vienna, Dresden, Hannover and Munich) and literature (Prague, Bayreuth, London, New York, etc.).

2.1 New and failed roles

As a "regular guest" of the Royal Hungarian Opera Burian enjoyed exceptional treatment. Although he should have learned new roles, he appeared only in his former roles until November 1916. The reason for this could have been that the management of the Opera decided that the regular performance of the Wagner repertoire – which would have been impossible without Burian – was more important than him learning and performing new roles. He appeared 70 times in the Opera over 18 months between September 1913 and May 1916.[27] 71% of these performances (50) were that of operas by Wagner. Most of the performances of *Lohengrin* and *Die Walküre*, and all of that of *Tannhäuser* and *Tristan und Isolde* were billed with Burian. It shows the lack of Wagner tenors in Budapest that if he cancelled a performance, the management changed the programme to another opera,[28] or Georg Anthes, a retired tenor singer of the Opera, had to cover for him.[29]

As a Wagner singer, Burian had a number of very successful and memorable performances between 1913 and 1924 in Budapest. For example, the two performances of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* on 8 and 23 April 1914, were among Burian's greatest performances there. The role of Hans Sachs was sung by Fritz Feinhals. The press critics were enthusiastic: "It is not an everyday phenomenon to see the name of Feinhals and Burian together on the playbill. […] Feinhals was a splendid Hans Sachs: his powerful baritone managed the exhausting role with ease. Burian sang Walther beautifully; his pianos were greatly refined. The third act duet of the two great artists caused such a sensation that it was applauded at the end of the piece by the audience."[30]

After the outbreak of the First World War, the Royal Hungarian Opera did not open its doors until 21 March 1915. At that time Burian appeared as a guest singer at the German Theatre in Prague,[31] but only ten days later, on 15 April, he sang the role of Tristan in Budapest in a new way for the Hungarian audience: in German. The reason is simple: according to an old unwritten rule which might have stemmed from the 1840s, it was not allowed to sing in German on the Hungarian (National) stage.[32] The first time the audience of the Royal Hungarian Opera could listen to a singer singing in German occurred on 8 April 1915, when Alexander Kirchner, a guest singer from Berlin, did not know the role of Lohengrin in Italian. In order for *Lohengrin* to be performed, the Minister of Culture had to allow singing in German at the Royal Hungarian Opera.[33] After that date, Burian also had the possibility to sing in German at the Opera in Budapest.

In the season of 1916–1917 Burian appeared in several new roles at the Royal Hungarian Opera. Although *Götterdämmerung* by Richard Wagner had been planned to be performed already in the 1902–1903 season with Burian in the role of Siegfried,[34] he sang that for the first time in Budapest only on 4 November 1916. It was his first appearance of the season; his voice

[27] He stayed in Budapest from September 1913 to May 1914, in April 1915 and from October 1915 to May 1916.

[28] For example, on 6 November 1913, when *Madama Butterfly* was performed instead of *Lohengrin*.

[29] For example, on 23 May 1914, in the role of Siegmund.

[30] "Operaház" [Opera], *Budapesti Hirlap*, 9 April 1914.

[31] Pamela Tancsik, *Die Prager Oper heißt Zemlinsky. Theatergeschichte des Neuen Deutschen Theaters Prag in der Ära Zemlinsky von 1911 bis 1927* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2000), 424 and 426.

[32] Edit Mályuszné Császár, "A rendi Nemzeti Színháztól a polgári nemzet színháza felé (1849–1873)" [From the National Theatre of the estates toward a theatre of the bourgeois nation], in Miklós Hofer et al., *A Nemzeti Színház 150 éve* [150 years of the National Theater] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 54. – Burian also sang his Wagner roles in Budapest in Italian until the spring of 1915.

[33] (–ldi.) [Izor Béldi], "Németül énekeltek a m. kir. Operaházban" [It was sung in German at the Royal Hungarian Opera], *Pesti Hirlap*, 9 April 1915.

[34] (–ldi) [Izor Béldi], "Az operaház jövő szezonja. II." [The next season of the Opera], *Pesti Hirlap*, 19 June 1902.

was relaxed and he was allowed to sing in German.[35] In the same season he also appeared in a jubilee performance: the hundredth night of *La Bohème* by Giacomo Puccini at the Royal Hungarian Opera on 29 April 1917.

On 24 May 1917 the Opera was offering the world première of a Hungarian opera: *Othello mesél* [Othello Recounts] by Jenő Sztojanovics. It was by no means a success, ran for only three nights, with Burian in the title role each time. Sztojanovics's opera received very bad reviews. The journalist of *Népszava* wrote that "this 'opera' is a poor patchwork both in text and music. […] No matter how beautiful is the voice of Burian, he is incapable of making water spring from a rock, and his noble art is doubly downgraded in this work."[36] In contrast to the opera, Burian was generally praised, especially as he sang in Hungarian: "Of the main roles, Károly Burián took on the rather passive part of Othello. He sang with clear Hungarian pronunciation and a disposition of rare brilliance."[37]

The Hungarian audience looked forward to listening to Burian in new roles. The next occasion of such a performance was in April 1918, in *Samson et Dalila* by Camille Saint-Saëns. The bill on 2 April, 1918 which advertised that performance, attracted a full house to the Opera. As Samson, Burian had great success; as one of the critics wrote: "His rich voice soared impressively and with fresh power in the effective crescendo of the music by Saint-Saëns; his unique singing and acting ability compensated his not too emphatic figure."[38]

His short figure might have been much more appropriate to his next new role: he sang Loge for the first time in Budapest on 16 May 1920, in a highly spectacular production of *Das Rheingold*. The critics wrote primarily about the stage invention of Jenő Kéméndy – which made the Rhine Maidens more effective –, with only some words about the singers. Consequently, we do not know too much about Burian's singing, except from the critic of the *Népszava*, who wrote that "A prominent element of the performance was the interpretation of Burian, who sang Loge, the fire-god of the Germanic legend with a sonorous voice, with youthful verve and a perfect grasp of Wagner".[39]

On 30 December 1921, Burian celebrated his thirty-year jubilee as an opera singer in the role of Tristan in Budapest. Burian himself said to a Hungarian journalist in an interview that he considered Budapest so important in his career that he would like to celebrate his jubilee there in that role, which was created there by him.[40] *Tristan und Isolde* also had a jubilee that year, namely, it had been in the repertory for twenty years. Before the performance, Government commissioner Gyula Wlassics Jr. read out the gratulatory letter of the Minister of Culture and greeted Burian on the stage.[41] At the celebration, the director of the Opera, Rezső [Raoul] Máder and, on behalf of the ensemble of the Opera the baritone singer, Viktor Dalnoki, greeted Burian, and it shows the popularity of the tenor singer, that a member of both the boxholders and of the regular customers of the 3rd floor was given the chance to say a few words after the performance.[42] In his answer, Burian pointed out that, out of the performers of the *Tristan* première twenty years

[35] h. e. [anonymous author's shortcut], "Operaház" [Opera], *Budapesti Hirlap*, 5 November 1916.

[36] ni. [anonymous author's shortcut], "Othello mesél" [Othello Recounts], *Népszava*, 25 May 1917.

[37] "Otello mesél" [Othello Recounts], *Alkotmány*, 25 May 1917.

[38] k. e. [anonymous author's shortcut], "Operaház" [Opera], *Pesti Napló*, 13 April 1918.

[39] B. [anonymous author's shortcut], "Operaház" [Opera], *Népszava*, 18 May 1920.

[40] [without title] *Az Ujság*, 25 December 1921. – I have found no sign of any other city marking the jubilee. This is unlikely anyway, as Burian no longer appeared in Dresden or America. The online archives of Prague National Theatre make no mention of it.

[41] (–ldi.) [Izor Béldi], "Burian jubileuma" [Burian's Anniversary], *Pesti Hirlap*, 31 December 1921. For the text of the gratulatory letter of the Minister of Culture see "Karl Burians Jubiläum," *Pester Lloyd,* 31 December 1921.

[42] (–ldi.) [Izor Béldi], "Burian jubileuma".

before, only he and the conductor István Kerner were still active.[43] Burian expressed his thanks in Hungarian for the almost endless applause at the end of the first act.[44]

It was an irony of fate that the Hungarian audience had the possibility to hear Burian in his most famous and successful role, Herod in *Salome* by Richard Strauss, only at the end of his career and only two times. The critic for *Nemzeti Ujság* provided a sensitive description of Burian's rightly world-famous interpretation: "Burián performed the eager-eyed, weak, softened tetrarch, afraid of wind and blood, with splendid artistry. His movements, indecisive haste, and swings between fear and love portrayed with perfect fidelity the frailty of Herod caught between pain and desire."[45] Unfortunately, these two *Salome* performances were in the last Budapest season of Burian; he appeared in the season of 1923–1924 only once, as Siegmund on 26 September 1923. According to our recent data, it was his last performance in a complete opera not only in Budapest, but also in his life.

Apart from operatic performances, Burian also appeared in Budapest as a concert singer. It is remarkable that 19 of his known 24 Hungarian concert appearances took place in the years after 1913. The programmes of these recitals included, besides art songs, a strikingly numerous number of operatic arias and ensembles from operas in which he never appeared in the Royal Hungarian Opera. Only the concert audience had the possibility to listen to extracts from *Rienzi*, *Die Zauberflöte*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Der Freischütz*, *Tosca*, *Manon Lescaut*, *Werther*, *Aïda*, *Otello* (Verdi), Goldmark's *Merlin*, Mascagni's *L'amico Fritz* and Smetana's *Dalibor* and *Hubička*. His song repertoire in Budapest included, besides songs by Wagner, Mahler and Richard Strauss, songs by Czech composers. He sang Jindřich Jindřich's *Liebesträume* and *Verwelkte Blüte* as a Hungarian première on 27 November 1921, with the piano accompaniment of Miklós Gutmann, and *Erinnerungen I-III* by František Neumann was also very likely performed for the first time in Budapest by him. Burian also appeared in Budapest in concerts with his brother Emil Burian and with his son Richard Burian.[46]

Certain abortive plans also need to be mentioned alongside the performances by Burian. The Hungarian press repeatedly reported on the revival of the most emblematic Hungarian national opera, Erkel's *Bánk bán*, with a new cast with Burian in the title role, sung in Hungarian and planned to be premièred in October 1913.[47] He actually borrowed the score from the library of the Opera in August 1913,[48] but this première did not come about. The revival of *Bánk bán* was held on 13 April 1914, with Béla Környei in the title role; Burian never sang the role of Bánk bán.

Bánk was not the only role which was announced with Burian but never performed by him, at least in Budapest. *Notre Dame* by Franz Schmidt, a Hungarian-born composer, was premièred in Budapest in December 1916, with József Gábor in the role of Gringoire. However, the role of Gringoire was advertised with Burian even one month before the première.[49] *Notre Dame* was performed only five times with the same cast, even though the press stated that Burian also learned the role. *Toldi szerelme* [Toldi's Love] by Ödön Mihalovich – the director of the Music Academy at the time – was planned to be revived in the 1918–1919 season. On 24 May 1918 Miklós Bánffy, the intendant of the Royal Hungarian Opera, wrote a letter to Burian in which

[43] "Burian ünneplése. A mai Trisztán-előadás" [Celebrating Burian. Today's Tristan performance], *Az Ujság*, 31 December 1921.

[44] (–ldi.) [Izor Béldi], "Burian jubileuma".

[45] R. M. [anonymous author's shortcut], "Operaház" [Opera], *Nemzeti Ujság*, 18 March 1923.

[46] "(A két Burian)" [The two Burians] *Pesti Hirlap*, 3 January 1922.

[47] Sándor Hevesi Dr., "Az Opera jövő hetéről" [The next week of the Opera], *Pesti Napló*, 14 September 1913; "Az Operaház munkaterve" [Plans of the Opera], *Egyetértés*, 24 August 1913.

[48] See page 8 of the old casting book of the Royal Hungarian Opera (Archives of the Hungarian State Opera).

[49] "Az Operaház első bemutatója" [The first première of the Opera], *Színházi élet* V/40 (12–19 November 1916): 33.

he asked him to sing the role of Toldi in that revival in Hungarian.[50] Burian did not appear in Budapest in the 1918–1919 season at all, however. In 1920, on the occasion of Fritz Feinhals' guest appearances, Verdi's *Otello* was advertised with Karel Burian in the title role and Feinhals as Iago, but the performances had to be cancelled because of a minor accident of Burian's: at a performance of *Carmen* Elza Szamosi, the singer of the title role, pushed him too strongly in the heat of the moment at the quarrel in the last scene, and Burian's leg got injured.[51]

2.2 "Burián-Dalnoki Károly", a Hungarian citizen

There is a strange statement in the Burian article of the old *Hungarian Theatrical Lexicon*, which is not mentioned in any other biographies of Karel Burian: "[in 1913], in order to receive Hungarian citizenship, [Burian] let himself be adopted by Béni Dalnoki, the former great buffo of the Opera."[52] This act was mentioned in the press in 1913 and 1914, later in some obituaries in the Hungarian press,[53] but was later forgotten. One could doubt the reality of this sentence, but Burian himself verified that in his testament dated 17 June 1920 in Budapest with the following words: "I remonstrate that, on account of the warrant no. 212673/1913 of the Ministry of Home Affairs, I made the oath of allegiance in Budapest in the presence of the mayor, consequently I am a Hungarian citizen."[54]

But why was Hungarian naturalization so important for Burian? It was more than a courtesy to the Hungarian audience. Its background was a well-known legal institution, or rather a loophole, called 'Hungarian divorce'.[55] By the early 20th century, divorce was not allowed in all of the provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, only in Hungary and if the parties were Hungarian citizens. This was the reason for the Hungarian naturalization of many foreign citizens. It shows the obvious popularity of the 'Hungarian divorce' that it was incorporated into 20th century statutory interpretation manuals as well.[56]

The process of naturalization had strict conditions, including, among others, ones which were in all probability not valid for Burian; for example, the person had to be put down into a register of a Hungarian locality, had to have been living in Hungary for five years without interruptions and had to be registered as a taxpayer in Hungary.[57] But exactly the same conditions were

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[50] See the typed copy of the letter from Miklós Bánffy to Karel Burian on 24 May 1918 in Arisztid Valkó, comp., *Adatok az Operaház történetéhez 1* [Notes toward the history of the Opera House, Vol. 1] (Manuscript, Budapest, 1975), 71–72. (Institute of Musicology, RCH HAS).

[51] "(Hirek az Operaházból)" [News from the Opera] *Budapesti Hirlap*, 22 May 1920; "Burrian balesete" [Burrian's Accident] *Az Est*, 23 May 1920.

[52] Schöpflin, *Magyar szinmüvészeti lexikon,* 250.

[53] See [Izor Béldi], "Burrian-adomák" [Burrian anecdotes], *Pesti Hirlap*, 27 September 1924.

[54] "Ich schicke voraus, dass ich zufolge Bescheid 212673/1913 des Ministeriums des Innen in Ungarn, den Staatsbürgereid zu Händen des Bürgermeisters in Budapest geleistet habe, somit ungarischer Staatsbürger bin." Handwritten testament of Karel Burian, deposited at the royal notary Lajos Band on 17 June 1920. Budapest City Archives, HU BFL – VII.269 – 1920 – 557.

[55] For the history of the "Hungarian divorce" see the publications of Sándor Nagy, especially "Osztrák válások Erdélyben, 1868–1895. Otto Wagner "erdélyi házassága"" [Austrian divorces in Transylvania 1868–1895. Otto Wagner's 'Transylvanian marriage'], *Fons* 14/3 (2007), 359–428.

[56] István Szászy: "Nemzetközi magánjog. 73. §. Az örökbefogadás" [International civil law. 73. §. Adoption] in Károly Szladits, *A magyar magánjog. Általános rész. Személyi jog. Első rész* [Hungarian civil law] (Budapest: Grill Károly, 1941), 471.

[57] Dezső Márkus Dr.: *Magyar Magánjog Mai Érvényében. Törvények, rendeletek, szokásjog, joggyakorlat. I. kötet. Jogforrások. Személyjog. Családjog. Második, javított kiadás* [Hungarian civil law today…] (Budapest: Grill Károly, 1905), 54.

disregarded if the applicant had himself adopted by an older Hungarian citizen.[58] According to the register of the notary dr. József Kiss, Burian and Dalnoki appeared in the notarial office on 5 and 6 November 1913.[59] It was not compulsory to assume the adoptive's name,[60] but it seems that Burian did so, as he signed his testament as "Karl Burian-Dalnoki" and had a bank account in Budapest under the name of Károly Dalnoki.[61]

The surviving Hungarian probate files record Burian dying as a Czech citizen.[62] As he wrote his Hungarian testament in June 1920 as a Hungarian citizen, he must have asked for the Czech citizenship after that date. Even in 1921 he was still mentioned as a Hungarian citizen in a short article in a Hungarian theatrical journal, but this source is a less conclusive proof than his handwritten testimony.[63]

2.3 Scandalous performances

It is always hard to read scandalous news about a great artist like Karel Burian, even if it is well known that he was famous not only for his excellent voice, but also for his capriciousness, alcoholism and womaniser habits.[64] He was involved in a number of scandals in Budapest as well, mainly in his later years, and journalists, who were avid for sensations mainly in the years of and after the World War, jumped at these occasions to write high-profile reports.

It is not clear whether Burian did it consciously or because of his capriciousness or laziness, but if he felt his voice was not in good enough condition, he immediately cancelled his performance. Moreover, in 1908, he called off his first appearance in Budapest as Rodolfo in *La Bohème* by Giacomo Puccini the morning of the performance, but in the afternoon still undertook to sing.[65] After 1913 he cancelled advertised appearances so often that the press began to poke fun at this in reviews. When he first sang Siegfried in *Götterdämmerung*, the *Pesti Hirlap* critic wrote, "Wonders never cease…! Burrián's appearance was announced for Saturday in *Götterdämmerung*, and, lo and behold, Burrián actually appeared. Despite the fact that it was announced, he sang after all."[66]

As he knew that the Opera depended on his appearances, he even dared to threaten to resign from the Opera because of the casting of the revivals of *Fedora* in May 1922 and *Salome* in the spring of 1923.[67] In the former case, he even had a concert agency organize a farewell concert for

[58] See the supplement to Act L/1879, § 8, then in force.

[59] Budapest City Archives, HU BFL – VII. 186. – Register [for 1913 and 1914], Volume 7, 408. Unfortunately, the files themselves have not survived.

[60] Kálmán Csorna Dr., "Rokonság. 22. §. Rokonsági kapcsolatok. 5. Az örökbefogadás" [Relationship … adoption]. In: Károly Szladits, *A magyar magánjog. Második kötet. Családi jog.* [Hungarian civil law] (Budapest: Grill Károly, 1940), 308.

[61] See the Hungarian notarial probate documents of Burian, Budapest City Archives HU BFL VII. 179. – 1930 – 011. 6.

[62] Budapest City Archives, HU BFL – VII. 12. b. – 1929 – 416515, 6.

[63] "Burián," *Magyar Szinpad*, 25 October 1921.

[64] See, for example, Michael Scott, *The Record of Singing*, Vol. 1: to 1914 (London: Duckworth, c1977), 200; Dennis, "Karel Burian," 155; Reichelt, "Karl Burrian. Um die Tragik," 337–339, etc.

[65] "Opera," *A Nap*, 11 February 1908.

[66] "(M. kir. Operaház)" [Royal Hungarian Opera], *Pesti Hirlap*, 5 November 1916.

[67] "Burián az idén már nem lép fel az Operában" [Burián not appearing again at the Opera this year], *Pesti Napló*, 11 May 1922; and "Burián énekli Heródest a Salomében" [Burián will sing Herod in Salome], *Új nemzedék*, 7 December 1922.

him.[68] The Opera could not continue, of course, without the presence of Burian, and Burian by then could not return to other theatres where he had broken his contracts. This was the reason why a journalist from *Pesti Hirlap* wrote that "we do not consider so tragic the farewell words of the singer and the farewell of Lohengrin, sung at the end of the concert."[69]

James Dennis stated in his article that Burian sang Lohengrin so drunk in Budapest that he could not board the boat drawn by the swan and asked his colleagues on stage: "What time does the next swan leave?".[70] This is first of all not even true as it did not happen with Burian in Budapest but with Leo Slezak in America and not because he was drunk.[71] It is true, however, that in a performance in 1918, Burian sang the title role of *Lohengrin* drunk at the Royal Hungarian Opera.[72] Burian's alcoholism was mentioned repeatedly, and also incorrectly, in the Hungarian press; for example, at his last *Tristan* performance in Budapest (20 January 1923), when he had to cancel the performance after the first act, because of a throat haemorrhage. As some of the critics mocked him in their reviews, assuming that he drank not only the elixir in the first act, but also other kind of drinks, director-in-chief Ferenc Mihályi had to declare in the press that "Burian was not drunk, but he was so weak physically and in such a weakened mental state that I had to accept that he could not continue singing the extremely long and exhausting role."[73]

History also caused several scandals at the Opera, and Burian could not avoid some of them. On 5 April 1920, during the duet of Wotan and Fricka in the second act of *Die Walküre*, a group of approximately 30 anti-Semitic youths burst into the auditorium yelling against Lajos S. Rózsa, who sang the part of Wotan. The performance came to a halt and could not be finished: part of the audience improvised a counter-demonstration for Rózsa and the police pushed out the demonstrators. Rózsa declared in the press that "It felt good that my friend and colleague Károly Burrian showed full solidarity with me."[74] All that is known for certain concerning Burian's behavior at the performance is his advice that the performance should come to an end. According to the press articles, his solidarity consisted of "announcing he would never appear at the Opera House again".[75]

After the end of the First World War, Hungarian journalists sometimes associated Burian's appearance with the tension between Hungary and the Republic of Czechoslovakia. In January 1920, when Burian returned for the first time to Budapest after the First World War, Izor Béldi wrote in *Pesti Hirlap*: "The *Czech* Burian was highly celebrated tonight at the Hungarian *National* Opera. [italics in the original article!]"[76] The news about Burian's accident, namely the case when he drank lye,[77] also received a political connotation in the Hungarian press. The newspaper *Nemzeti Ujság* published a highly ironical report with a criminal title "The Czechs have poisoned Karel Burian".[78] According to them, Czech waiters poured poison into Burian's

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[68] 19 May 1922, in the Grand Hall of the Academy of Music.

[69] "(Burián bucsuhangversenye)" [Burián's farewell concert], *Pesti Hirlap*, 20 May 1922.

[70] Dennis, "Karel Burian," 162.

[71] Walter Slezak included it in his memoirs, see Walter Slezak, *Wann geht der nächste Schwan?* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1971), 211.

[72] "Burián tegnap részegen énekelte Lohengrint" [Burián sang Lohengrin drunk last night], *Magyar Estilap*, 17 April 1918.

[73] "Két Tristan egy este" [Two Tristans a night] *Világ*, 21 January 1923.

[74] "Nagy botrány az Operaházban" [Great scandal at the Opera House], *Az Ujság*, 6 April 1920.

[75] "Rózsa Lajos az Operaház megzavart előadásáról" [Lajos Rózsa on the interrupted performance at the Opera House], *Az Est*, 7 April 1920.

[76] (–ldi.) [Izor Béldi], "(Nemzeti operaház)" [National Opera], *Pesti Hirlap*, 22 January 1920.

[77] Bartoš, *Karel Burian*, 47.

[78] "(Burrián Károlyt megmérgezték a csehek)," *Nemzeti Ujság*, 26 November 1920.

glass. Their reason was the singer's friendship with the Hungarians, the friendship of which they deduced from the singer's frequent performances in Budapest. The ironical allusions to Burian's well-known alcoholism and many cancelled performances are obvious.

2.4 Burian's death and probate in Hungary

News of Burian's death on 25 September 1924 reached the newspapers of Budapest quickly. A lengthy obituary appeared the next day in the newspaper *Világ* with remarkably accurate biographical information.[79] It even mentioned Burian's last letter written to Budapest, apparently to his tenor colleague Béla Környei. The Opera House could not be represented at the funeral, but a requiem was celebrated the following Friday at the Terézváros Parish Church,[80] where the ensembles of the Opera performed the funeral march from *Götterdämmerung* and the Pilgrims' Chorus from *Tannhäuser* under the conducting of István Kerner.[81]

Burian's probate in Hungary dragged on for long years; the probate files were dated in 1929[82] and on 6 May 1930.[83] His musical "heritage" was also significant in Hungary. This might have been on the one hand a result of Burian's successes and guest appearances in Budapest that Béla Környei, the most famous Hungarian tenor singer of that period, could not become a real Wagner hero. He sang the title role of *Lohengrin* only four times in 1910 without any success and appeared later mainly in Italian and Hungarian roles. On the other hand, it can also be considered the impact of Burian, and partly that of Georg Anthes, whereby an extremely talented generation of Hungarian Wagner tenors arose after 1913. Zsigmond [Sigismund] Pilinszky, Tannhäuser of the 1930 and 1931 *Festspiele* in Bayreuth, had his début at the Royal Hungarian Opera on 20 December, 1913. He consequently learned almost every great Wagner tenor role and had his début as Erik in 1914, as Siegmund in 1918, as Lohengrin in 1919, as Tannhäuser in 1925 and as Siegfried in 1927. After 1928 he became more successful in Berlin as a member of the Städtische Oper and the Kroll-Oper, from where he was invited to Bayreuth as well. Another great Hungarian Wagner tenor was Zoltán Závodszky, the first Hungarian tenor who could appear in every Wagner tenor role He had his début in 1920 as Heinrich in *Tannhäuser*, later sang many smaller roles by Wagner, and after 1926 the roles of Erik, Siegmund, Parsifal, Loge, the two Siegfrieds, Tannhäuser and Walter von Stolzing. He was capable of singing even Tristan, a role which had been without an appropriate performer since the death of Burian.

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[79] "Burián Károly meghalt" [Károly Burián died], *Világ*, 26 September 1924.
[80] "Burián Károly halála" [Death of Károly Burián], *Az Ujság*, 27 September 1924.
[81] "Gyászmise Burián lelkiüdvéért" [Requiem for the soul of Burián], *Az Ujság*, 30 September 1924.
[82] Budapest City Archives, HU BFL – VII.12.b – 1929 – 416515.
[83] Budapest City Archives, HU BFL – VII.179 – 1930 – 011.

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What did Olomouc Concert-goers Listen to during the First Czechoslovak Republic? Local musical Societies in the International Context

Abstract | The present study is concerned with the two most important musical societies in Olomouc: the German *Musikverein* and the Czech *Žerotín*. It provides a survey of the repertoire produced by these societies in Olomouc in the period from 1918 to 1938. The findings are presented against the cultural backdrop of the time and the historical development of music. The repertoires and programming of the musical societies in question are compared to those of selected societies in Vienna, Graz, Basel and London. An evaluation of the quantitative data is given.

Keywords | Basel – Graz – London – Musikverein Olomouc – Repertoire – Vienna – Žerotín Olomouc – 1918–1938

1 The Inter-war music scene in Olomouc

The Interbellum is now considered a distinct period in the history of Europe's musical culture. Developments in the then-Czechoslovakia reflected larger trends around Europe. In the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic, which was characterised by political stability and economic prosperity (the latter being true of the first decade only), popular music completed its split from classical music, the public musical sphere stabilised and the previously amateur arts scene transformed into a professionalised one. During the first years after the war, music was used as a vehicle of national consciousness and cultural memory. Mass media, in particular radio and film, was quickly becoming popular. The 1930s' music scene was dominated by jazz and popular music while classical music was edged out into the margins and contemporary music was consumed exclusively by the elite.

In Olomouc, a city with a substantial German population,[1] German culture persevered throughout the period of the First Republic, retaining its autonomy and operating without any interventions from Czechs. The German music scene was epitomised by musical societies, the oldest and most important of which was the *Musikverein* (1851–1944). The Czech music scene

[1] There were over 23,000 people living in Olomouc in 1919, out of whom 40% were Czech and 34% were Germans. See *Statistická ročenka hlav. města Olomouce*, vol. 7, (Olomouc: Město Olomouc, 1938), 126. Following the creation of Greater Olomouc, that is, after the annexation of the adjoining suburbs (1919), out of the 57,000 inhabitants in the city, 69% were Czechs and 29% were Germans. See *Statistický lexikon obcí na Moravě a ve Slezsku. Úřední seznam míst podle zákona ze dne 14. dubna 1920. čís. 266 Sb. zák. a nař. Vydán ministerstvem vnitra a státním úřadem statistickým na základě výsledků sčítání lidu z 15. února 1921*, (Praha, 1924), 63.

was represented by the *Pěvecko-hudební spolek Žerotín* (The Žerotín Vocal and Instrumental Musical Society) founded in 1880. A watershed moment in the organisation of Olomouc's musical culture came in 1920 when *Družstvo českého divadla* (The Association for Czech Theatre) took over the management of the ex-German municipal theatre and a Czech opera house was established there. After several short-lived attempts by both the Czechs and Germans, *Volné sdružení přátel moderní hudby* (The Friends of Modern Music) took charge of the year-round management of the theatre.

Last but not least, music became an integral part of the public activities of schools (*Hudební škola Žerotína* from 1888, *Deutsche Musikverein Schule* in the years 1852–1867, 1893–1917, 1919–1939). If we add to it the liturgical programmes at the main archdiocesan shrine of Saint Wenceslas Cathedral, the main city churches of Saint Maurice and Saint Michael, the Dominican and Capuchin monastic chapels as well as other churches in what was then Olomouc's suburbs (including Chválkovice, Nová Ulice, Nové Sady and Řepčín), it can be convincingly argued that the range of musical offerings in Olomouc was wide enough to satisfy even the most discerning music lover.

2 Czech and German musical societies

The activities of musical societies, which were a typical phenomenon of 19th century Europe and which owed their development to the October Diploma of 1860, further intensified during the years of the First Republic. While in 1910 there were 288 different societies (general, national, cultural, scholastic, gymnastic, artistic or charitable), twenty years later the number had grown to 703.[2]

As for the German music scene, the following societies, in addition to the aforementioned *Musikverein*, were active at the time: *Männergesangverein* (1860–1946), *Damensingverein* (1879–1946), *Olmützer Musikerbund* (1900–1924), *Verein Olmützer Zitherclub* (1880–1946), *Gesangverein in Neu- und Greiner Gasse* (1888), *Olmützer Musikerbund* (1900–1924), *Arbeitergesangverein "Vorwärts"* (1908), *Gauverband der deutschen Gesanvereine von Olmütz und Umgebund* (1910–1927), *Deutscher für Olmütz und Umgebung* (1912–1946), *Deutscher Volksgesang-Verein* (1912). The following societies were founded at a later time: *Deutsche Singgemeinde* (1923), *Vereiningung zur Pflege moderner Musik in Olmütz* (1924), *Olmützer Kammermusikvereinigung* (1924) and *Vereiningung der Freunde der Kammermusik* (1937).

These ensembles naturally competed with their Czech counterparts such as the *Žerotín*, which played a pivotal role in the Interwar cultural life in Olomouc. *Žerotín* organised a mixed choir, an amateur orchestra called *Filharmonie Žerotína* (The Žerotín Philharmonic Orchestra, 1925–1945) and a choral society called *Šestnáctka Žerotína* (The Žerotín Octet originally, 1923).

Apart from these traditional societies, Olomouc was home to tens of musical and arts societies which shaped the cultural life of the city and contributed to the music education and musical fulfilment of its populace.

The operational aspects of the aforementioned institutions have not been examined yet, nevertheless, it is clear that these Czech and German musical societies were involved in the majority of vocal, chamber and orchestral productions around the city. Together with the opera house, they became the crucial movers of the music scene in the period of the First Republic. Although these societies had ceased operating by the onset of WWII, their legacy lives on in institutions that continue to play an important role in the musical life of Olomouc to this day, namely, the

[2] Josef Föhner, "Das Olmützer Vereinswesen," in *Československá Republika* (Olomouc, Praha 1930/1931), 59–60.

Moravian Philharmonic Orchestra, the Chamber Music Society, the Žerotín Academic Choir and the Nešvera Men's Chorus.

What kind of music did these Czech and German societies expose the Olomouc townsfolk to and how did it compare with their counterparts in selected Western European cities?

3 Repertoire

The programming of any institution is limited by many circumstances, be they external factors like the spirit of the times, preferences for particular genres, target audiences, economic and operational constraints, organisational and technical resources and member counts; they can also be limited by internal factors, such as the choirmaster's education or the musicianship and vocal mastery of the instrumentalists and singers.

One of the foremost musical societies and choral societies in Olomouc in the period of the First Republic was ***Musikverein***. It resumed its activities in 1919, reviving a long tradition of high-quality musical entertainment. *Musikverein* had had long-term cooperation with the *Männergesangerein* and *Damensingverein*, so it was only logical that the three institutions ended up sharing one choirmaster, Johann Spack. Spack was succeeded in 1920 by Schönberg's disciple Fritz Zweig and one year later by Josef Heidegger. The society organised an orchestra of 30 musicians and cooperated with members of the theatrical orchestra on larger events, during which up to 70 instrumentalists could be enlisted.[3] As far as the ensemble's concert schedule was concerned, *Musikverein* held five subscription concerts a year from 1920 to 1925 and four concerts a year beginning in 1926, two of which they managed on their own and for the rest they would invite non-resident musicians from Brno, Berlin, Munich or Prague. The ensemble also toured to nearby cities, e. g. Šternberk and Brno. With the war approaching, the frequency of the society's public activities doubled so that in the first five years it was comparable to that of *Musikverein in Steiermark* in Graz which gave from two to four large concerts a year.[4] The society maintained this busy concert schedule basically up until WWII. Unsurprisingly, it was still a long way behind the Viennese *Singverein* which produced eight large concerts with two repeats in the 1938–1939 season alone.[5] As far as quantity was concerned, the Olomouc *Musikverein* was also well behind the *Musikverein für Steiermark* which put on 21 concerts in the 1938–1939 season,[6] or the *Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft* in Basel which managed to organise 13 concerts during the same period.[7]

There may have been several reasons for this. Apart from ensemble size and musical capabilities, concert attendance and the financial considerations connected to it certainly played important roles. Unlike its foreign counterparts which received subsidies from the state, the Olomouc *Musikverein* was financed solely by membership fees and subscriptions. When attendance was low, the society slid into financial woes. Apparently, this happened relatively often because, as the regular music reviewer Angela Drechsler pointed out in 1931, the German audience was by

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[3] Nikola Hirnerová, "Olomoucký Musikverein a jeho vliv na olomouckou hudební kulturu," in *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomoucensis. Facultas Paedagogica. Musica VI. Hudební věda a výchova 8*, (Olomouc: Palacký University, 2000), 29.

[4] See the statements made by Angela Drechsler, *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 16 June 1930, 44.

[5] Gottfried Möser, "Der Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien" (MA thesis, Universität Wien, 2003), appendix III.

[6] Harald Kaufmann, *Eine bürgerliche Musikgesellschaft.150 Jahre Musikverein für Steiermark* (Graz: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1965), 150.

[7] Fritz Morel, *Die Konzerte der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft in Basel 1926–1951. Festschrift zur Feier des 75 jährigen Bestehens der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft,* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1951), 104–106.

no means able to fill up the Reduta, not to mention the larger venues.[8] Representatives of the *Musikverein* often appealed in the press to Olomouc's German citizens asking them to consider their attendance of the society's productions as their national duty.[9]

In regards to its programming, it should come as no surprise that the society was traditionally inspired by Vienna. The Olomouc-Brno-Vienna affiliation was a reliable and busy one. Representatives of the Olomouc *Musikverein* were familiar with what went on at the *Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde* and the *Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft*.

The first concert of the revived society took place on 27 April 1919 and featured Beethoven's *Consecration of the House Overture* and Brahms' *A German Requiem.*[10] The opening concert of the 1919–1920 season under the baton of Josef Heidegger featured R. Schumann's *Manfred Overture* and L. v. Beethoven's *Symphony No. 3* as well as R. Wagner's overture to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*.[11]

The *Musikverein's* productions encompassed symphonies, concertos, overtures, symphonic poems and vocal-instrumental works by such composers as J. Haydn (*Schöpfungsmesse*, *Symphony No. 94 in E flat Major*), W. A. Mozart (*Symphony No. 45 in D major*, *Symphony No. 35 in D Major (Haffner)*, *Requiem*), L. v. Beethoven (all nine symphonies, *The Creatures of Prometheus*), C. M. von Weber (overtures to *Oberon* and *Euryanthe*), F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (*The Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage*), R. Wagner (overture to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*), P. I. Tchaikovsky (*Symphony No.* 6), E. Grieg (*Sigurd Jorsalfar*, *Peer Gynt)* and A. Bruckner *(Symphonies Nos. 3–9*).[12] Among these pieces, G. Mahler's *Symphony No. 2*, performed in 1924,[13] occupied a prominent place.

When it came to producing vocally and instrumentally demanding genres, *Musikverein* teamed up with partners *Männergesangverein* and *Damensingverein*. Together, they produced Mozart's *Requiem*, Beethoven's *Symphony No. 9,* Rossini's *Stabat Mater* and Brahm's *A German Requiem*. The society started recording music sessions for Czechoslovak Radio in 1938.

As for Czech music, the society performed compositions by B. Smetana (*Valdštýnův tábor*), A. Dvořák (*Symphonies Nos. 2 and 5*, *In Nature's Realm*), J. Weinberger (*Loutkohra*, *Vánoce*) and J. Suk (*Meditation on the Old Czech Chorale 'St. Wenceslas'*).[14]

It stands to reason that works of German composers formed the core of the society's repertoire. This is clear from the statistics: 123 out of the 148 compositions that were given in the first decade after the war were of German origin.[15] The accentuation of a national musical culture during the first post-war decade was a pan-European trend. One just needs to look at the repertoire of other institutions. For example, at the ceremonial concert of the London Music Society on 4 May 1920, the London Symphony Orchestra – led by Albert Coates – gave performances of E. Elgar's *In the South (Alassio)*, R. Vaughan Williams' *A London Symphony,* H. Berlioz' *Les nuits d'été* and R. Strauss' *Ein Heldenleben*.[16] The statistics from the *Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft*

[8] *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 12 February 1931, 5.

[9] See appeals in *Mährisches Tagblatt*, e. g. in the issue of 1 June 1923, 3, or the issue of 6 October 1934, 5.

[10] *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 28 April 1919, 3.

[11] *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 12 November 1919, 4.

[12] Nikola Hirnerová, "Olomoucký Musikverein a jeho vliv na olomouckou hudební kulturu" (MA thesis, Palacký University in Olomouc, 1996), 170–199.

[13] *Mährisches Tagblatt,* 14 June 1924, 3.

[14] Anja Edith Ference, "Německé divadelní, hudební, pěvecké a umělecké spolky v Olomouci v letech 1918–1938" (Ph.D. diss., Palacký University in Olomouc, 2012), 66.

[15] Eva Odstrčilová, "Olomoucký hudební život v letech 1918–1938 v zrcadle olomouckého tisku" (MA thesis, Palacký University in Olomouc, 1989), 65.

[16] *The British Music Society Bulletin,* vol. II, 4 April 1920, 81.

in Basel for the 1921–1922 season show that out of the 42 authors whose works were played, 33 were Germans.[17]

The merit of the Olomouc *Musikverein* was in producing not just traditional compositions, but also works by contemporary composers. For example, the subscription concert of the 1927–1928 season that took place on 13 December 1927 featured not only Mozart's *Symphony No. 45 in D major* and Tchaikovsky's *Piano Concerto No. 1 in B flat minor*, but also F. Schreker's *Ein Tanzspiel (Rokoko)*.[18] Other examples worthy of mention here include the evening dedicated to Hans Pfitzner songs which took place on 9 October 1923[19] or the performances of A. Schoenberg's sextet *Verklärte Nacht*, A. Scriabin's *Symphony No. 2*, R. Strauss' *Ein Heldenleben* and *Tod und Verklärung*, F. Schmidt's *Symphony No. 1*, N. Myaskovsky's *Symphony No. 7*, E. Kornauth's *Ballade für Cello und Orchester*, E. W. Korngold's *Viel Lärm um Nichts* and *Die tote Stadt*, H. Pfitzner's *Kätchen von Heilbronn*, Z. Kodály's *Psalmus Hungaricus* and K. Altenberger's *Symphony No. 6*.[20] Although the Olomouc openings of these musical pieces usually came one or two decades after their world première, with the notable exception of Korngold's *Viel Lärm um Nichts* which opened in Olomouc only five years after its original production in Vienna, the *Musikverein* made it possible for music lovers in Olomouc to sample the highlights of 20th century music. The works of P. Dukas, I. Stravinsky, A. Honegger and S. Prokofiev which premièred over two months in 1923 in London[21] would be unknown to Olomouc audiences for a long time, as would the compositions of Les Six, the Neoclassical school, the Second Viennese School, P. Hindemith and C. Orff which, again, is no big surprise. The conservative audiences in Olomouc were simply not ready for such musical productions – and this is leaving aside the musical, operational and financial constraints which have already been hinted at.

Another virtue of the *Musikverein* lied in the fact that it regularly introduced chamber music to Olomouc concert-goers. The first chamber-music concert was held as part of the second subscription concert on 28 October 1920 and featured renderings by violoncellist Paul Grümmer and pianist Paul Wittgenstein of the works of L. Boccherini, R. Schumann, F. Chopin, F. Liszt, F. Mendelssohn and J. Strauss II.[22] Both resident as well as non-resident musicians, including pianist Eugen d'Albert (1919), Quartett Rosé (1921), Pfitzner Quartett (1921), the Brno String Quartet (1922, 1926), violinist Georg Kulenkampf-Post (1923), Prager Trio (1927) and Sedlak-Winkler Quartett (1932), performed compositions by J. S. Bach, W. A. Mozart, L. van Beethoven, F. Schubert, J. Brahms and M. Reger for local audiences who would otherwise not have been able to hear this music.

The repertoire at these concerts did not differ significantly from that of chamber-music concerts in other cities or countries. The chamber-music scene traditionally relied on tried and tested compositions that guaranteed sufficient attendance and positive response. Contemporary music made only tentative inroads into this realm. The Berlin-based Roth Quartet which promoted the music of K. Weill, P. Jarnach and I. Stravinsky and which performed to great acclaim in 1924 in London[23] was something of an "exception that proved the rule".

It can be said that the repertoires of chamber music ensembles proved more resistant to the nationalistic tendencies that were so plainly evident in the activities of musical societies, espe-

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[17] Fritz Morel, *Die Konzerte der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft in Basel. In den Jahren 1876–1926. Festschrift zur Feier des 50 jährigen Bestehens der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft.* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1926), 221–224.

[18] *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 14 December 1927, 4.

[19] *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 10 November 1923, 3.

[20] Hirnerová, "Olomoucký Musikverein," 29.

[21] *The British Music Society Bulletin,* vol. V, 2 February 1923, 47–48.

[22] *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 29 October 1920, 5.

[23] *The British Music Society Bulletin,* vol. VI, 2 February 1924, 285.

cially in the first post-war decade. For example, at its concerts for the British Music Society in 1931, the Liverpool Centre String Orchestra (with guests) performed G. F. Handel's *Concerto for Oboe and Strings* and J. S. Bach's *Concerto D-Minor for Pianoforte and Strings* in addition to compositions by Mozart, Grieg and Corelli. During the 1932–1933 season in York, local musicians performed selected pieces by R. Schumann, J. Brahms, J. S. Bach, M. Ravel, L. v. Beethoven, F. Chopin, A. N. Scriabin and I. Albéniz.[24]

The most important Czech musical society in Olomouc, the ***Pěvecko-hudební spolek Žerotín***, commenced its post-war activities with a production of Smetana's *The Bartered Bride* (November 1918). Prior to the establishment of the Czech theatre, the society specialised in opera, the genre that the local audience had missed the most. In the space of a mere two years, the society produced 26 musical plays such as Smetana's *The Kiss* and *Dalibor*, Dvořák's *Rusalka*, Kovařovic's *Psohlavci*, Hervé's *Mam'zelle Nitouche* and Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel*.[25] Members of the society cooperated on the orchestral parts with members of the municipal and regimental bands and later on with the theatre musicians. All operas were conducted by Jaroslav Wilkonski (1918–1920).

Žerotín went back to its primary purpose, or namely the production of large vocal-instrumental compositions in 1920. Its mixed choir included about 100 members. In the initial period, a year's work would culminate in two ceremonial concerts, one in the spring and one in the autumn. Furthermore, there were tributes to composers such as Pavel Křížkovský (1920), Zdeněk Fibich (1920) and Bedřich Smetana (1924). The society also produced one-off events that focused on larger cantatas (for example, Antonín Dvořák's and Vítězslav Novák's). In addition, the society organised many occasional performances, academies and entertainment functions and invited renowned soloists to perform in Olomouc. In this regard, the diversity and intensity of *Žerotín's* public activities equals not only that of Olomouc's *Musikverein*, or for that matter, Brno's *Musikverein*, which shared an itinerant conductor with its Olomouc namesake, but compared favourably also with the *Musikverein für Steiermark* in Graz which put on two-to-four large concerts every year.[26]

As mentioned before, musical societies in general favoured a national repertoire during the first post-war decade and Olomouc's *Žerotín* was no exception. The very first concert after the war featured J. Nešvera's cantata *Naší písni*, B. Smetana's *Vyšehrad* and A. Dvořák's *The Heirs of the White Mountain* and *Hussite Overture*.[27] *Žerotín* also put on Dvořák's *Saint Ludmila*, *Stabat Mater* and *Requiem* under the direction of conductors Jaroslav Wilkonski and Jaromír Fialka (1921–1926). This "classical" national repertoire was supplemented with works by Czech modernists such as L. Janáček and V. Novák (*The Storm*, *Amarus*, *Na Soláni Čarták* and *The Eternal Gospel*). Among the foreign pieces included in the repertoire were H. Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust* (1920), G. Mahler's *Das klagende Lied* (1923) and F. Liszt's *Christ* (1926).

Žerotín began quite early on to put on orchestral concerts. In 1919 it produced Mozart's *Violin Concerto No. 4 in D major* and Camille Saint-Saëns' *The Piano Concerto No. 2 in G minor*.[28] Unfortunately, the audience in Olomouc showed little interest in a symphonic and concerto repertoire. The attempt in 1920 to launch a regular classical music concert programme in Olomouc ended up being a disaster when – out of the planned four-concert series intended as showcases

[24] *The British Music Society Bulletin. New Series*, vol. 3, Autumn, 1933, 20–23.

[25] Václav H. Jarka and Bohuš Vybíral and Ferdinand Tomek, *Padesát let olomouckého Žerotína, 1880–1930* (Olomouc: Pěvecko-hudební spolek "Žerotín", 1931), 57–61.

[26] Kaufmann, *Eine bürgerliche*, 147.

[27] Jarka and Vybíral and Tomek, *Padesát let*, 60.

[28] Ibid., 61.

of various national traditions – only one concert featuring works by French masters (H. Berlioz, J. Massenet, C. Saint-Saëns and C. Franck) was brought to fruition.[29]

In 1923 the ambitious second conductor of *Žerotín*, Jaroslav Talpa, who was himself an alumnus of the excellent *Pěvecké sdružení moravských učitelů* (The Moravian Teachers' Singing Society), established within the larger organisation a chamber choral society called *Okteto Žerotína* (The Žerotín Octet) which specialised in performing rearrangements of traditional airs and choral compositions. Two years later, the choir had grown to twelve members (*Dvanáctka Žerotína*) and later to sixteen members (*Šestnáctka Žerotína*) in 1926. Its repertoire included choral compositions by P. Křížkovský, B. Smetana, Z. Fibich, L. Janáček, J. B. Foerster, V. Novák, J. Křička and B. Vomáčka. In 1930, the choir split from the society on account of internal disagreements. The choir later evolved into the Nešvera Men's Chorus (1947).

The society achieved the much-desired autonomy in terms of instrumental capabilities with the founding in 1925 of the sixty (later eighty) member strong orchestra ***Filharmonie Žerotína*** (The Žerotín Philharmonic Orchestra). The ensemble was directed by Ferdinand Vacek (1925–1926) who was later succeeded by Karel Nedbal (1926–1928) and Ivo Milič (Cyril Pecháček, 1928–1940). The inaugural concert of the orchestra featured A. Thomas' overture to the opera *Raymond*, E. Grieg's *Peer Gynt* and A. Dvořák's *New World Symphony*.[30] The work of the ensemble culminated each year in two separate concerts.

The orchestra's programming was predominantly centred on the Czech repertoire and included the works of B. Smetana (*My Country* and other symphonic poems), A. Dvořák (*The Heirs of the White Mountain*, *Stabat Mater*, *The Spectre's Bride*, *Moravian Duets*, symphonic poems, *Slavonic Dances*), J. Nešvera (*De profundis*, *První májová noc*), V. Novák (*Bouře*, *V Tatrách*), O. Ostrčil (*Osiřelo dítě*, *Balada o mrtvém ševci a mladé tanečnici*), J. Suk (*Praga*, A *Serenade for Strings*, *Meditation on the Old Czech Chorale 'St. Wenceslas'*, *Křečovická mše*), J. Křička (*Moravská kantáta*, *Horácká suita*), L. Janáček (*Suite for a String Orchestra*, *The Eternal Gospel*), J. B. Foerster (*Symfonie č. 2*) or O. Zich (*Osudná svatba*, *Modlitba na Řípu).* Among the foreign composers featured in the repertoire were J. S. Bach, G. F. Handel, W. A. Mozart (selected symphonies and concertos), L. v. Beethoven (*Symphony No. 5 In C Minor, "Schicksal"*), H. Berlioz (*L'Enfance du Christ*, *Roméo et Juliette*) and P. I. Tchaikovsky (*Symphony No. 6 "Pathétique"*).[31]

The first chamber music concert in the post-war history of *Žerotín* took place on 12 October 1921 and featured Ševčík Quartet's rendering of selected string quartets of L. v. Beethoven, A. Dvořák and C. Debussy.[32] Chamber compositions were sometimes featured in the grand orchestral concerts put on by the society. Yet, *Žerotín* only started to develop a chamber music programme in earnest after the establishment of the *Komorní odbor* (The Chamber Music Section) in 1928. The inaugural concert of the *Komorní odbor* on 26 November 1928 was dedicated to the music of Franz Schubert.[33] In subsequent years, around four chamber music concerts were held every year as a standard. These events featured not only works by classical music greats such as J. S. Bach, G. F. Handel, W. A. Mozart, L. v. Beethoven, C. M. v. Weber and F. Schubert, but also the quartets of R. Strauss II and compositions by B. Smetana, A. Dvořák, J. B. Foerster, J. Suk, V. Novák, O. Zich and O. Ostrčil.[34]

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[29] Ibid., 63.

[30] Ibid., 68.

[31] Ibid., 63–68.

[32] *Výroční zprávy pěvecko-hudebního spolku Žerotína.* (Olomouc: Hudební škola pěvecko-hudebního spolku "Žerotína", 1920), 7; Státní okresní archiv Olomouc, fond Pěvecký sbor Žerotín Olomouc, M 6-113, inv. no. 171, carton 6.

[33] Jarka and Vybíral and Tomek, *Padesát let,* 64.

[34] Jarka and Vybíral and Tomek, *Padesát let,* 74–79; Bohuš Vybíral, *Do druhé padesátky. Památník olomouckého Žerotína 1930–1940,* (Olomouc: Pěvecko-hudební spolek "Žerotín", 1941), 7–20.

By the mid-1930s, *Žerotín* had grown to include the newly-founded dance orchestra *Harmonie* (1931–1933), *Zábavný odbor* (Entertainment Section, 1932), *Taneční odbor* (Dance Section) and *Odbor pro pěstování lidových písní a tanců* (The Section for the Advancement of Traditional Song and Dance, 1933–1936) on top of the organisational sections mentioned previously. All of these sections were established for one reason only: to once again draw Olomouc music lovers into the society's productions. As indicated before, it was no easy task to produce classical music concerts in the midst of an explosion of jazz, popular music, radio and mechanical cinema music.

The Žerotín mixed choir (led by I. Milič) together with the orchestra continued to organise annual as well as anniversary concerts. It put on concerts dedicated to the music of V. Novák (1931), J. Nešvera (1932), A. Dvořák (1934), B. Smetana (1934), J. Suk (1934), J. B. Foerster (1934) and O. Zich (1934). The large spring and autumn concerts offered evidence of the society's continuing preference for contemporary Czech composers. Some of the pieces were repeats (J. B. Foerster, V. Novák, J. Nešvera), while some had premièred in Olomouc such as J. Kunc's *Stála Kačenka u Dunaja*, E. Axman's *Moje matka* and J. Křička's *Ogaři.* Foreign music was represented by H. Berlioz (*Roméo et Juliette*).[35] The society celebrated the 50th anniversary of the founding of the *Hudební škola Žerotína* (Žerotín Music School) on 3 May 1938 with a concert in which more than 700 musicians performed the following compositions: A. Dvořák – *My Home*, A. Rubinstein – *The Piano Concerto No. 4 in D minor*, P. I. Tchaikovsky – *The Violin Concerto in D major*, and O. Jeremiáš – *Selected national airs for children's choir and orchestra.*[36] In the 1930s, the society started collaboration with Czechoslovak Radio who would broadcast some of their concerts. For example, in 1935 the Radio broadcast an evening programme featuring the works of Olomouc-based composers Josef Nešvera, Antonín Petzold and Ivo Milič.[37]

In the 1930s, compositions by foreign authors were gradually incorporated into the repertoire of the *Filharmonie Žerotína* (The Žerotín Philharmonic Orchestra) under the direction of conductor Ivo Milič. Although domestic provenance still prevailed over works from other countries, music societies started to include more and more works of the classical music canon (especially German ones) in their repertoires and were not afraid to tap into other national traditions. Granted, the repertoires of Czech, German, Austrian and British musical societies all remained quite uniform. Here we can reference the 1935–1936 season of the *Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft* in Basel; apart from great German masters such as J. S. Bach, G. F. Handel, L. v. Beethoven, R. Schumann, F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and J. Brahms, the programming featured the Russian composer S. Prokofiev and various Frenchmen including H. Berlioz, M. Ravel, C. Debussy and A. Roussel.[38] The same season of the Viennese *Singverein* featured the music of J. S. Bach, G. F. Handel, L. v. Beethoven, F. Schubert and A. Bruckner, as well as G. Verdi and Z. Kodály.[39]

One of *Žerotín's* most interesting concerts in terms of programming took place on 16 October 1934 and featured the Žerotín Philharmonic Orchestra with Rudolf Firkušný on the piano in a rendering of W. A. Mozart's *Symphony in C (The Jupiter)* and *The Piano Concerto No. 20 in D minor*, B. Smetana's *Macbeth* and *Polka in E minor*, F. Chopin's *Two etudes Op.* 10 F and F. Liszt's *Polonaise No. 2 in E major.*[40] Another stand-out event was the "Russian Concert" of 19 April 1935 featuring the works of P. I. Tchaikovsky (*Symphony No. 4 in F minor, The Capriccio Italien*) and N. Rimsky-Korsakov (*Capriccio Espagnol*).[41] Noteworthy also is the concert of 20 February 1936

[35] Vybíral, *Do druhé,* 7–20.
[36] Ibid., 20.
[37] Ibid., 15.
[38] Morel, *Die Konzerte,* 97–103.
[39] Möser, *Der Singverein,* app.
[40] Vybíral, *Do druhé,* 14.
[41] Ibid., 15.

that juxtaposed the compositions of J. Nešvera, P. I. Tchaikovsky, J. S. Bach (*Orchestral Suite No. 2 for Flute, String Orchestra and Harpsichord*) and G. F. Handel (*Concerto Grosso Op. 6 No. 11*).[42]

As far as concert frequency is concerned, *Žerotín's* choir and orchestra did well in comparison with their German counterparts in Olomouc and perhaps even with the *Musikverein* in Brno, but they were well behind the selected foreign institutions. Let us demonstrate this through a few examples. In the 1934–1935 season, *Žerotín* produced five large concerts, two chamber music concerts and ten one-off events.[43] In the same period, the *Musikverein* in Graz held 13 large concerts and four chamber music concerts,[44] the *Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft* in Basel produced 14 large orchestral concerts[45] and the Viennese *Singverein* put on 12 evening concerts and four repeats.[46]

As we have explained, the two societies in Olomouc operated independently, competed with each other and complemented each other in their programming. There is no historical evidence of there ever having been any cooperation between them.

Conclusion

The musical societies of Olomouc were crucial movers of the local vocal-instrumental, symphonic and chamber music scene. They were central to the burgeoning Interwar musical culture in Olomouc. The activities of each society complemented those of the other so that in the course of one concert season, in which about ten large concerts were held, the local music lover was able to sample a diverse range of classical and modern music pieces. The German musical society focused on compositions of national descent. Its selection of contemporary music was largely modelled on the example of Vienna. The Czech musical society played an important role in promoting compositions of Czech provenance. Apart from works by the founders of Czech national music, it performed compositions of Czech modernists and other contemporary authors. Both societies struggled with shrinking audiences that increasingly preferred jazz and popular music and were not ready for contemporary music. These musical societies were also struggling financially because their activities were financed solely by membership fees and revenues from concerts. The societies were naturally limited by the vocal and instrumental capabilities of their members and conductors. By comparing the quantity of concerts put on by these societies and selected similar institutions in other countries, we have demonstrated that the Olomouc-basedsociety did not match their Austrian, Swiss or British counterparts, all of which received state aid. On the other hand, as far as their repertoires were concerned, these societies were definitely up to the standards of the time, as one would expect in a traditional music city.

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[42] Ibid., 17.
[43] Ibid., 12–16.
[44] Kaufmann, *Eine bürgerliche,* 149.
[45] Morel, *Die Konzerte,* 93–96.
[46] Möser, *Der Singverein,* app.

MusicOlomouc 2015 (Review by Martina Pudelová)

The MusicOlomouc festival is one of the youngest contemporary music festivals in the Czech Republic. Since it was founded in 2009, it has become a place where performers and fans of contemporary Czech and international music making can regularly meet up. Every year, the festival reaches an ever larger audience, and over time has managed to achieve a similar status as events of a similar type, such as festivals in Prague, Brno, Hradec Králové and Ostrava. This year's seventh annual MusicOlomouc, which took place on 20–29 April 2015 at the Palacký University Art Centre in Olomouc, offered seven concerts and brought both organisational and programme changes. The MusicOlomouc founder, previous programmer and director, Jan Vičar, handed his role over to his Olomouc colleague, the pianist and composer Marek Keprt. The new director's objective is to preserve the continuity of the now established festival, while also moving its programme concept forwards to more avant-garde creation which would ensure not only an Olomouc audience, but also a more specialised audience focused on contemporary avant-garde art music and marginal musical genres, including from abroad.

The festival's first concert was a piano recital by Marek Keprt, interestingly entitled Oiseaux-Schwebung-Shine. These three words: birds, trembling and shine capture both the musical and visual nature of the entire concert, in which besides two world premières from Czech composers, pieces by representatives of French, Austrian and Japanese music were also heard. The musical production was complemented by an extra visual element. Slowly moving images were projected onto variously coloured backgrounds in the darkened Corpus Christi Chapel. The first part of the programme linked the figure and music of O. Messiaen, with miniatures no. 1, 2 and 4 of the *Petite esquisses d'oiseaux* (1985) series representing the robin, blackbird and song thrush being played. The première performance of Markéta Dvořáková's *Mikropříběhy pro klavír* (2015) also included a piece with a bird theme entitled *Kos a kočka (The Blackbird and the Cat)*. The other four miniatures, apart from their playful titles, were also characterised by a specific selection of notes – specific modes. Up to now, Keprt has focused as a pianist on interpreting the works of A. N. Scriabin. In Tristan Murail's composition *Cloches d'adieu, et un sourire* (1992), which is according to the composer a "musical commemoration" of Messiaen involving many allusions, Keprt was able to use the sound spectrum of the entire keyboard, with sound effects of aliquot stringing and a variable and contrasting dynamic of individual notes with chords. In his piece, *Les yeux clos II* (1988), the Japanese composer, Toru Takemitsu, was also inspired by Messiaen's music and also included the use of the sostenuto pedal. This technique is used to a greater extent in Gérard Pesson's *Ambre nous resterons* (2007), in which the performer held two notes with the middle pedal over the entire time, "reinvigorating" and distinguishing them following every heavier stroke of the keyboard. Keprt was able to capture this extended sound effect with ease. The evening concluded with a composition from the performer himself. The piece *V punčošná chvění vRosnívá šáloBdění* (2015), which had its première performance, is based on a repeating five-note arrangement with the left hand, and thanks to changing melodic patterns with the other hand, ever new contexts are discovered and played out. In contrast, Keprt's four-movement *Květ vyškeblování se zhmotňuje na sněhu* (2006, 2015), is based on various harmonic models and pedal work.

This year's festival renewed the tradition of repeating at least one concert in various towns in the Olomouc Region. Marek Keprt's recital was subsequently performed in Zlaté Hory under

completely different acoustic conditions, resulting in a different overall sound. Compared to the sound and echoes carried in the Baroque chapel, the concert hall in the Franz Schubert Music School offered a great reduction in echo, but on the other hand a technically complex venue focused on delicate finger technique – e. g. Pesson's and Keprt's pieces sounded much clearer and bolder.

The subsequent two concerts played out on the edges of art music, minimalism, jazz and improvisation. The evening entitled Difference and Repetition was performed by ensemble SWOMP made up of the jazz musicians Michal Wróblewski (saxophone), Jan Přibil (trumpet), Martin Opršál (marimba), Vlado Micenko (double bass) and Kamil Slezák (drums). As well as the brass and wind instruments, the entire programme was dominated in terms of sound by the marimba, on which Opršál is able to create unexpected sounds through various playing techniques (from playing with a bow to "blowing" into the instrument). In harmony with the brass and wind instruments, and in harmony with the rhythmic sections, this created an unconventional musical experience. These performers play in a number of jazz ensembles and their inspiration in each other and mutual interplay was obvious in their final improvisation.

Duo Pavel Zlámal and George Cremaschi's concert entitled Initial Music was played in a similar spirit of improvisation and experimenting with the possibilities of the instruments. This particular evening was unique in terms of the festival programme in many regards. It was the first time ever that a MusicOlomouc concert had been played in the Jesuit College Atrium, which offers great acoustic potential. The partially open space is brilliant for spreading sounds and echoes on the one hand, and also particularly sensitive to the least noise on the other hand. The musicians, however, were able to positively exploit this deficiency and cleverly incorporated it in their music. The first half of the evening showcased Pavel Zlámal, who took turns on the clarinet, bass clarinet and saxophone. First of all, the première of Michal Nejtek's clarinet piece, *Tasted Thoughts* (2015), was performed, followed by a selection of five pieces from Zlámal's extensive and unfinished series of compositions, *Way of Consideration* (2015). In this, he played as a performer of "unlimited possibilities", who can not only manage circular breathing, but is also able to create the sound of a ticking clock on his instrument, and is also able to sound in places like a string ensemble, amongst other effects, something which the acoustics of the Atrium helped in creating. The piece, *Otvírač hlav*, demonstrated his unlimited to extreme compositional and interpretational approach, with the third section meant to play in silence, only "in the heads" of the audience. After the break, the double bassist with American roots, George Cremaschi joined Zlámal and together they created a literal musical tornado. They tested out the technical possibilities of playing the saxophone and double bass with the première of Peter Graham's piece *COAX for double bass and saxophone* (2015), and the event was rounded off with a final improvisation which demonstrated an incredible musical interaction between both performers, and also showing that they can play their instruments right up to the edge of apparent absurdity.

The second half of the festival was opened with a performance by the ensemble, Prague Modern, together with the soprano Irena Troupová. The concert was divided into three sections. The first one involved shorter pieces by Iannis Xenakis and György Kurtág in which David Danel's violin was particularly dominant. As a result of an unexpected change to the programme, the start of the evening was a little diffident, but this was immediately lost with the performance of Jiří Kadeřábek's melodrama *Milena* (2014). In this composition, inspired by the story of Milena Jesenská, not only did Irena Troupová give a fantastic performance, but so did the piano quartet given the role of story-teller as well as musical accompaniment. The concert undoubtedly reached a climax with the performance of Georg Friedrich Haas's *String Quartet No. 5*, for which the audience moved from the Chapel to the space of the darker Atrium. The musicians were arranged in the corners of the room and the audience were able to dissolve into the dark

background on randomly positioned seats, absorbing individual notes and also the homogenous sound of all the string instruments. The performance of this piece was without doubt another of the festival's highlights.

Playing with dark and light, as well as "flowing" notes was also a feature of the next concert, for which electronics were also used for the first time at this year's festival. The violinist David Danel accompanied by Jan Trojan's sound projection performed Luigi Nono's world-famous piece, *La Lontananza Nostalgica Utopica Futura* (1988/89) for the first time to an Olomouc audience. Danel walked through the Atrium amongst the audience using variously positioned stands lit up only by small lamps. Both musicians demonstrated great freedom in their performance of the piece, complementing and responding to one other. The recording with which Trojan "guided" Danel's performance in both a musical and spatial sense, was created in collaboration with exceptional artists – the solo section was played by Gidon Kremer along with L. Nono and S. Gubajdulina. Although the violin section is fixed in terms of notes, the final sound of the piece always depends on the mutual co-ordination of both performers, and to a certain extent chance also plays its part.

The festival's penultimate concert, which included besides compositions by G. Ligeti, Marie Porten and Roxanna Panufnik, also the recently written pieces of Czech composers (Ivo Medek, Petra Machková, Peter Graham, Sára Medková, and Miloš Orson Štědroň), was an all-woman performance. Members of Brno's Isha trio: the singer Lucie Rozsnyó, the flautist Kristina Vaculová and the pianist Sára Medková proved themselves not only as soloists but also as a wonderful ensemble. The evening began and ended with Ivo Medek's series *Ancient Stories* (2010) and *New Ancient Stories* (2014). The use of a prepared piano, various techniques of flute playing and traditional singing, speaking, laughter, whispering and shouting, together with careful choreography, all contributed to the concert's richness of sound and timbre.

The festival's highlight, announced firmly in advance, was meant to be a performance by the Austrian ensemble, Österreichisches Ensemble für Neue Musik, with a history dating back almost forty years, and this was undoubtedly the case. The group performed in the chamber formation of Theodor Burkali (clarinet), Ivana Pristasova (violin), Peter Sigl (cello) and Nora Skuta (piano), and they showed the Olomouc audience how to "do" contemporary music – composing and performing it abroad. During the evening's first piece, Johannes Maria Staud's *Lagrein* (2008), it became apparent to the entire audience that it was going to be an incredible musical experience. This was followed by G. F. Haas's piece, *de terrae fine* (2001) for solo violin. In this almost twenty-minute composition, Pristasova stunningly demonstrated various methods of playing the violin, with a boldly contrasting dynamic and nature to individual sections which in places created the impression that the violin was holding a dialogue with itself. The first half of the concert ended with Bernhard Gander's *schlechtecharakterstücke* (2008), which played out negative characteristics: greed, envy and avarice. This in places aggressive work used a number of unconventional instrumental playing techniques (e. g. hammer on the piano, con legno bow playing) including various scratching and squeaking noises which in places almost gave an impression of an unpleasant, although deliberate, performance. The final composition of the evening and the whole festival was Helmut Lachenmann's *Allegro sostenuto*. This piece for clarinet, cello and piano was undoubtedly one of the most difficult for the audience to appear in the festival. It was as if this piece was meant to demonstrate in which direction future years of the festival would be taking under its new management.

The Olomouc audience is often said to be very conservative. We could discuss for some time why this is the case, and whether it is even true. The city's musical life should not be adapted and "restricted" according to the alleged preferences of the audience, but instead a sufficiently wide range of musical production should be created. This year, MusicOlomouc 2015 was able

to attract not only Olomouc university students, but also a number of audience members from across the country. We can but hope that this programme shift to more avant-garde production will be able to attract more fans of contemporary and international music-making.

Czech Summaries

Songs Composed by Władysław Żeleński to the Lyrics of the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové*

Písně Władysława Żeleńského komponované na texty *Rukopisu královédvorského*

Mateusz Andrzejewski

V souvislosti se svým dílem *Patero zpěvů z Rukopisu královédvorského* skladatel Władysław Żeleński zmiňoval jistý "slovanský element". Na základě této teze autor studie zkoumá vztah uvedeného hudebního díla se Slovanskou myšlenkou. Představuje Żeleńského písně ve světle slavjanofilství a sporu o Rukopisy; analyzuje je v kontextu raných hudebních zpracování známého literárního falza.

The Reception of Leoš Janáček's Output in Poland in the 19th and 20th Centuries (up until 1956)

Recepce díla Leoše Janáčka v Polsku v 19. a 20. století (do roku 1956)

Magdalena Dziadek

Studie zkoumá přítomnost díla i osobnosti Leoše Janáčka v polském hudebním životě. S pomocí nově objevených faktů vysvětluje Janáčkův zájem o Polsko a jeho kulturu. Zařazování Janáčkových skladeb do dramaturgie polské opery stejně jako do koncertního repertoáru autorka interpretuje jako součást širšího společensko-politického kontextu, jejímž cílem bylo utvrzování polsko-českých vztahů (včetně polské recepce Slovanské myšlenky). Autorka se dále zabývá vlivem uměleckých idejí převažujících v západní Evropě (zvláště ve Vídni a v Berlíně) na polský způsob porozumění Janáčkově hudbě.

Ottavio Tronsarelli e la *Catena d'Adone* fra morte di Marino e messa all'indice del poema

Ottavio Tronsarelli a *Catena d'Adone* mezi Marinovou smrtí a zařazením na seznam zakázaných knih

Roberto Gigliucci

Studie se zabývá operou *La catena d'Adone* libretisty Ottavia Tronsarelliho a skladatele Domenica Mazzocchiho (1626, Řím). Analýza je zaměřena na život a dílo libretisty; dále na provedení a tisk libreta a partitury. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována specifické historické a kulturní situaci opery tehdejšího římského prostředí mezi Marinovou smrtí a církevním odsouzením jeho básně Adone. Autor studie podrobně analyzuje vztah uvedené básně a Tronsarelliho libreta, přičemž ukazuje vzájemné rozdíly a zdůrazňuje funkce Tronsarelliho a Mazzocchiho uměleckého záměru.

Elgar and Mahler: Ships that Passed in the Night

Elgar a Mahler: lodě, jež plynuly nocí

Greg Hurworth

Autor článku se pokouší ukázat podobnosti mezi hudebním dílem Sira Edwarda Elgara a Gustava Mahlera. Ukazuje, že oba skladatelé pocházeli ze skromného prostředí a v zemích svého původu nabyli věhlasu v rámci vyšších společenských kruhů. Povahy obou skladatelů přispívaly k častému nepochopení jejich hudby, což u tvůrců vedlo k nekonečným frustracím a životním útrapám. Kontrast bezbřehé radosti a hlubokého smutku proniká tvorbou Elgara a Mahlera v takové míře, že oba individuální styly sjednocuje na bázi řady společných jmenovatelů, které bychom nenašli u nikoho z jejich současníků (Puccini, Debussy, Sibelius, Nielsen). Článek usiluje o to ukázat obecné sdílené významy v Elgarově a Mahlerově hudbě, stejně tak i způsob, jakým skladatelé tyto významy vyjadřují hudebními prostředky.

Variability of Scale Structure as the Basis of Musical Flow in the Opera *Jenůfa* by Leoš Janáček

Variabilita modálních struktur jako základní tektonický princip v opeře *Jenůfa* Leoše Janáčka

Jelena Mladenovski

Studie zkoumá prostředky, jimiž při zachování melodického i harmonického řádu v rámci diatonické a terciové akordické struktury Leoš Janáček ve své opeře *Jenůfa* dosáhl moderního zvuku. Úvodní částí analýzy je rozbor melodiky, která vychází z českého jazyka a mluveného slova. Pochopení Janáčkovy stavby vyšších skladebných celků z převážně drobných motivů je klíčem k interpretaci skladatelova díla a primárním zájmem předložené studie; variabilita modálních struktur se ukazuje jako základní tektonický princip analyzovaného díla.

An American Theorist Reflects on a Quest of Quibbles (or) Don't Follow Us, You Don't Want to Go There

Zamyšlení amerického teoretika nad honbou za slovíčkařením aneb Nechoďte za námi, to přece není nic pro vás

Thomas Sovík

Autor se zamýšlí nad historií a smyslem hudební teorie, studijního oboru, který se v roce 1977 ve Spojených státech ustavil v podobě nezávislé akademické disciplíny a který v následujících letech do značné míry zapříčinil odklon studentů od samotné hudby. V této souvislosti jsou diskutovány důsledky rozdělení věd o hudbě na obor hudební teorie a muzikologii. Autor rovněž kriticky nahlíží na kategorizaci hudby v rámci školního vzdělávání. Jako problém spatřuje primární orientaci na rozdíly mezi jednotlivými typy hudby, jež odvádí od celostního vidění fenoménu hudby a jejího zasazení do kontinua hudební historie. V tomto směru autor uvádí

základní společné jmenovatele hudby vážné a populární, často přehlížené z důvodu dogmatického a selektivního pojetí hudební výchovy.

Karel Burian – the Guest of Budapest (1913–1924)

Karel Burian – host v Budapešti (1913–1924)

Ferenc János Szabó

Článek představuje závěrečnou třetinu umělecké kariéry pěvce Karla Buriana, a to nikoliv pouze z důvodu menší známosti dané etapy Burianovy biografie, ale také kvůli vazbě na maďarskou kulturu. V letech 1913–1924 se zpěvák stal pravidelným hostem maďarské Královské opery, kde vystupoval nejenom jako představitel wagnerovských rolí, ale také jako interpret postav oper francouzské, italské či maďarské provenience. Třicáté výročí operní kariéry Burian oslavil rovněž v Budapešti. Po úvodním chronologickém přehledu se studie zaměřuje na specifické aspekty Burianova maďarského působení; jde například o jeho maďarskou naturalizaci (takzvaný maďarský rozvod) a politický kontext Burianových vystoupení na konci první světové války.

What did Olomouc Concert-goers Listen to during the First Czechoslovak Republic? Local Musical Societies in the International Context

Co poslouchali návštěvníci koncertů v Olomouci v době První republiky? Místní hudební společnosti v mezinárodním kontextu

Eva Vičarová

Studie se zabývá dvěma nejvýznamnějšími hudebními společnostmi v Olomouci, jimiž jsou německý *Musikverein* a český *Žerotín*. Text nabízí přehled repertoáru uvedených institucí v Olomouci v letech 1918–1938. Zjištěné údaje jsou prezentovány na pozadí obecných kulturních souvislostí a hudební historie. Repertoárová i programová koncepce obou společností je srovnávána s vybranými institucemi stejného typu ve Vídni, Štýrském Hradci, Basileji a Londýně. Studie obsahuje zhodnocení a interpretaci zjištěných údajů.

Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities

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