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Articles |

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On the Issue of Progressive Rock and the Paradox of Popular Serious Art[1]

Abstract | Progressive rock of the 1970s represents a unique development in modern music of the twentieth century. It was a movement which introduced the atypical association of a highly sophisticated and complicated means of expression, primarily derived from the area of so-called serious art, with a wide popularity bordering almost on fashion. Bill Martin, the American Marxist philosopher and social theorist, aptly named this remarkable phenomenon progressive rock, based on the Anglo-American rock experimentalism of the second half of the 1960s. This became a global artistic trend over the following decade, using the paradoxical term "popular avant-garde." The study presents the broader cultural context of the existence of the progressive rock genre. Theories on the given topic by Czech popular music scholars are also taken into account.

Keywords | 1960s – 1970s – Popular Music – Progressive Rock – The Beatles – Fusion of Popular and Serious Art – "Popular Avant-garde"

Interest in the genre known as progressive rock, whose climactic era in the first half of the 1970s is mainly represented by British groups such as Emerson, Lake and Palmer, Genesis, King Crimson, Pink Floyd and Yes, has been growing intensely in recent years within popular music historiography.[2] There are a number of reasons for this. Apart from the purely musical or musicological ones, progressive rock attracts particular attention as a unique fusion of so-called serious and popular art, with all the attendant aesthetic, sociocultural and economic conditions and consequences. A number of scholars even characterize progressive rock as a unique moment in modern cultural history; the moment in which the atypical conjunction of an extremely complicated means of expression, with the support of the pop-culture industry and a wide popularity, almost bordering on fashion, occurred. This study will outline the key preconditions and features of the 1970s progressive rock scene.

[1] This study was supported by the Faculty of Arts, Palacký University Olomouc, and its FPVC2016/01 project *Stylová, žánrová a kulturní analýza české pop music v období šedesátých až osmdesátých let 20. století.*

[2] The fact confirms the emergence of a global and interdisciplinary research network *ACADPROG*, which organized the first international conference dedicated exclusively to the issue of progressive rock in 2014. The conference was hosted by the Université de Bourgogne in Dijon. The second conference was held in spring 2016 at the University of Edinburgh. The key English works on progressive rock include Edward Macan, *Rocking the Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Paul Stump, *The Music's All That Matters* (London: Quartet Books, 1997); Bill Martin, *Listening to the Future* (Chicago: Open Court, 1998); Kevin Holm-Hudson, *Progressive Rock Reconsidered* (New York: Routledge, 2001); in French, Pirenne Christophe, *Le Rock progressif anglais* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005); in German, Bernward Halbscheffel, *Progressive Rock: Die Ernste Musik der Popmusik* (Halbscheffel, 2012); in Russian, Valerij Syrov, *Stilevye metamorfozy roka* (Saint-Petersburg: Compozitor, 2008).

The advent of progressive rock as the first ambitious and, in the truest sense, evolutionary art, in the mass media context of popular music, falls roughly into the mid-1960s.[3] Generally, it was a product of the growing confidence of the young and numerous generation born in the 1940s (the generation known as the "baby-boomers"), which, compared to previous generations, had the privilege of better material security and greater access to education. As statistics show, the number of children born increased, for example in the United States, from 24 million in the 1930s to 32 million in the 1940s; in 1954, the annual birth rate reached four million children, with this status lasting until 1965, when four out of ten Americans constituted people under the age of 20 as a result of population expansion.[4] The generational aspect, as one of the basic prerequisites for the uniqueness, artistic individuality and progress of rock music of the 1960s and 1970s, is also recalled by the Czech journalist and rock historian Josef Vlček, when in an interview for Czech Radio he stated: "This was the extraordinary situation of the 1960s when the structure of inhabitants of the United States thoroughly changed, when half of the population was less than thirty years old. This meant that very young people started to manage a number of things."[5] At the same time, however, Vlček recalls other specifics of the post-war generation – a generation not burdened by the crises of past decades, a generation of unprecedented economic security and enthusiasm from the new possibilities of self-realization. This has been taking place increasingly often by means of institutional education. As recently as the 1920s, only one the five teenagers completed high school in the United States, with most of the older "teenagers" already fully involved in the work process. By the mid-1960s, the situation had changed so much that three out of four teenagers had completed secondary education, and nearly half of these students went on to university.[6] The development of higher education institutions, which became an important starting point for public debate on community issues, as well as modern art ideas framed largely by rock aesthetics, not only impacted the United States, Great Britain, and other countries of the so-called West, but also Czechoslovakia. To illustrate: while, for example, the number of university students in the Czech regions was 55,581 in the academic year 1959/1960, in had reached 96,038 by 1964/1965.[7]

In Great Britain – the country which is, especially thanks to the experimental output of the Beatles, mostly associated with the emergence of progressive rock – the phenomenon of secondary art colleges or art schools, played an important role. The spread of this type of institution, which culminated in the 1960s and which spurred the development of similarly oriented or related academic disciplines including polytechnics, stemmed from the educational reforms implemented during the 1940s. These introduced free secondary education for all without distinction of class origin, thus creating learning conditions for thousands of young people from the working-class or lower middle class.[8] Although the British art schools focused primarily on

[3] Cf. John Covach, "The Hippie Aesthetic: Cultural Positioning and Musical Ambition in Early Progressive Rock," in *Rock Music (The Library of Essays on Popular Music)*, ed. M. Spicer (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 65–75.

[4] Landon Y. Jones, "Swinging 60s?," *Smithsonian Magazine* (January, 2006): 102–107.

[5] Lucie Výborná, interview "90 statečných," May 19, 2013, accessed September 29, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MkV2dtgahB8&t=1043s. The topic of generational gap characterized media discourse of the 1960s more than anything else. Youth often used the "generational argument" in various forms: it is symbolic that the most notorious statements of this time include the phrase "do not trust anyone over 30," attributed to a number of personalities including the Beatles, but originally said by US left-wing activist Jack Weinberg in 1964 (Paul Galloway, "Radical Redux," *Chicago Tribune*, November, 16, 1990, 1–2). This theme appears in a number of songs, from the verses "Hail, hail, rock and roll, deliver me from the days of old" (1957) by Chuck Berry to "Too old to rock 'n' roll, too young to die!" (1976) by Jethro Tull.

[6] See the documents by the National Center for Education Statistics, accessed January 14, 2017, https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=65.

[7] See the document by the Czech Statistical Office: *Vysoké školství po únoru 1948*, accessed January 14, 2017, http://wwwczso.cz.

[8] Mark Banks and Kate Oakley, "The Dance Goes On Forever? Art Schools, Class and UK Higher Education," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2016): 44.

the visual arts and design, according to Simon Frith and Howard Horn, these institutions played an important role in the development of domestic, and eventually also foreign, popular music and culture by creating a place where young people, whether students or not, could "hang out and learn [or] fantasize what it means to be an artist, a bohemian, a star."[9] Among the students from the circle of art schools, there were a number of founders of the progressive rock genre, including John Lennon, Pete Townshend, Ray Davies, Eric Clapton, Syd Barrett, Jimmy Page, Jeff Beck, Ian Anderson and David Bowie.

The existence of art schools was understandably only one of the determinants of culture and music of the 1960s; these being determinants arising from deeper sociocultural, socioeconomic and other transformations. In this sense, their importance must not be overstated or absolute. Mark Donnelly makes mention of certain interesting contextual links, regarding the generation of art school students in his book *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics*, which should not be ignored: "Unlike their sixties counterparts, this generation of musicians demanded extensive artistic control over writing, production, album cover design, marketing and the lighting and staging of live shows. When Pete Townshend smashed his guitar into an amp at the end of a show he was at least aware that he was drawing on a tradition of 'destructive' art."[10] Regarding the Who's guitarist Pete Townshend, the inclination towards serious art, in other words, art acclaimed by the intellectual elite, is confirmed by his early attempts at a synthetic rock music piece after the fashion of opera, specifically the concept double-album *Tommy* issued in May 1969. In connection with its preparation, the guitarist spoke with a reporter from *The New York Times* about music "like Wagner and Mahler, music that conjures up things more powerful than you can handle."[11] Townshend returned in his autobiography to a typical aspect of Who concerts in terms of the destruction of musical instruments; as a source of inspiration, he mentions the jazz bass player Malcom Cecile, who extended the instrument's expressive possibilities, among other things by sawing the strings, and the founder of the so-called auto-destructive art Gustav Metzger.[12] In the same manner as Metzger, Townshend also reflected on art as an aesthetic and political act.[13]

The defining aspect of the creative direction of the rock generation of the 1960s was the rapid development of modern mass media (radio, television, new music magazines for teenagers – from 1967, for example, *Rolling Stone*). With their help, the first and last global "dream" of youth about unlimited possibilities and the successful transformation of the world order was born.[14] The enthusiasm of young musicians, and also the music's recipients, was simultaneously supported by the voice of cultural authorities. The output of the founders of the progressive rock movement, the Beatles, was, for example, juxtaposed in 1963 within the cultural column of the traditional newspaper *The Times*, with the work of the master of late-Romantic music, Gustav Mahler. A rather untypical analytically-based commentary by William Mann, reflecting on the

[9] Simon Frith and Howard Horn, *Art into Pop* (London: Routledge, 1989), 21.

[10] Mark Donnelly, *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 100.

[11] Michael Lydon, "The Who in San Francisco," *The New York Times*, September 1, 1968.

[12] Pete Townshend, *Pete Townshend: Who I Am* (London: Harper, 2013), 64.

[13] The idea of "destruction" as a symbol of the revolutionary atmosphere of 1960s culture also influenced other artists from the beginnings of progressive rock. While the excesses of Jimi Hendrix, in the form of burning his electric guitar at the Monterey Pop Festival in 1967, cannot be understood from today's perspective as anything more than an unconvincing marketing trick, the guitarist's "destroyed" rendition of the American anthem *The Star-Spangled Banner*, as can be seen in the Woodstock 1969 documentary, is rightly considered one of Hendrix's most powerful artistic moments, as well as a vivid protest song of its kind – a protest song without words.

[14] The idealism of the 1960s rock generation is expressed, inter alia, through the songs and comments of one of its main representatives, John Lennon (1940–1980). The perception of the sixth decade as a "dream" and the subsequent era of the 1970s as a return to reality or "sobering" is illustrated by Lennon's frequently-used phrase "the dream is over." We find it, for example, in the philosophical and autobiographical song "God" from the album *John Lennon / Plastic Ono Band* (issued in December 1970).

songs "This Boy" and "Not a Second Time," piqued interest within the cultural community, in particular, by the application of sophisticated musicological concepts; these included "chains of pandiatonic clusters" and "Aeolian cadence." Moreover, individual features of the harmony of the songs were compared to Mahler's composition *The Song of the Earth*.[15]

The application of the scholarly terminological-conceptual apparatus – until this time usually reserved for the "great" works of classical music – to the aesthetically underestimated creative expressions of youth, brought into the general cultural discourse of Great Britain, hence into the Anglo-American sphere of the first half of the 1960s, the clear implication that rock music was a serious art form. Rock musicians themselves often understood these inputs from representatives of higher culture as inappropriate distortions of their own creative domain. They even tried to prevent, to some extent, this kind of infiltration – John Lennon, for example, responded to Mann's reflection by sarcastically remarking that he did not know anything about Aeolian cadences and that the terms sounded like the names of exotic birds to him.[16] This could not stop, however, the gradual process of indoctrination of formerly rebellious rock music with the values and aesthetic criteria of serious art, resulting in the creation of progressive rock in the late 1960s.

The work of the Beatles was later compared with that of Franz Schubert and T. S. Eliot, and after the release of *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* in 1967, the critic Kenneth Tynan from *The Times* called it, somewhat hyperbolically, "a decisive moment in the history of Western civilization."[17] Although undoubtedly an exaggerated statement, it clearly illustrates the cultural atmosphere of the era. Together with other groups, the Beatles became the subject of an analytical study by the avant-garde composer and architect of musical postmodernism, Luciano Berio,[18] in the same year, which garnered the attention of other serious composers. The band found a tireless advocate in the former artistic director of the New York Philharmonic: the conductor and composer Leonard Bernstein. Apart from the musicological analysis presented in the television show *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution* (1967), in which Bernstein acknowledges the "Schumannian flavour" of the melodies of the Beatles' songs,[19] it is worth noting the series of lectures at Harvard University in the autumn of 1973.[20] Here, the composer suggestively placed the group's work into the context of the greatest artistic achievements of the twentieth century; the songs "Eleanor Rigby," "A Day in the Life" and "She's Leaving Home" – in Bernstein's words "also great works, born of despair, touched with death" – are preceded by a list of canonical literature, paintings, theatrical plays and films by artists such as Sartre, Camus, Mann, Eliot, Nabokov, Auden, Pasternak, Neruda, Plath, Picasso, Fellini, Beckett, Brecht, Berg and Schoenberg.

If one summarizes Bernstein's analysis and commentary, not only about the Beatles but about rock music of the 1960s in general, it is apparent that the stylistic elements which the composer presents in his typical suggestive way as aesthetically valuable are basically identical to the characteristic features of emerging progressive rock. They include an inspirational freedom that leads to eclecticism, which can take the form of juxtaposition of old blues, Bach trumpet, harpsichord sound or string quartet. Furthermore, the international and interethnic nature of rock, is reflected inter alia by the integration of the influences of Indian or Arabic music. Last but not least, the composer was fascinated by the "electric sound" itself, especially the sound

[15] William Mann, "What Songs the Beatles Sang: From Our Music Critic," *The Times*, December 27, 1963.

[16] Ian MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head: The Beatles' Records and the Sixties* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2007), 71.

[17] June Skinner Sawyers, *Read the Beatles: Classic and New Writings on the Beatles, Their Legacy, and Why They Still Matter* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), part Introduction.

[18] Luciano Berio, *Commentaires sur le rock* [French edition of the text from 1967] (Paris: Farandola, 2006).

[19] Specifically the song "Got to Get You into My Life" from the album *Revolver* (1966).

[20] The series of six lectures was called *The Unanswered Question*. The lectures were eventually published in a book, *The Unanswered Question: Six Talks at Harvard* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976). Videos are accessible at www.openculture.com.

of the electrophonic organ, as well as the refined, irregular and unpredictable formal solutions. On a negative note, Bernstein noted a self-serving high volume, inaccurate intonation, or amateurism.[21]

The well-known rock-and-roll song by American singer and guitarist Chuck Berry "Roll Over Beethoven" from 1956 symbolically encouraged the overcoming of the culture of older generations – the culture of the "noble" art of the masters represented by Ludwig van Beethoven, in favour of a new, musically spontaneous and ideologically rebellious style.[22] About ten years later, however, the situation turned in a fundamental way and the canon of composers and works of classical music became a significant inspirational source for educated and artistically ambitious progressive rockers. Apart from the inner laws and dialectics of the development of Afro-American-based popular music, the cultural analysis offers two possible views of the situation. In the first case, we might talk about the process of legitimizing rock as an art form par excellence from the protagonists of the given genre, in other words, about a positive cultural elevation "from below." In the second case, we can think of an appropriation of rock by higher culture through its own value schemes, i.e., in a sense of a self-deception or loss of "rock identity." This perspective was noted by one of the earliest authors of the philosophically conceived aesthetics of rock, Richard Meltzer, who in 1970 referred to Bernstein's statements on rock values as an "attempt to reduce the phenomenon to something other than what it actually is, in order to confirm its legitimacy."[23] Nine years later, the wider consequences of such tendencies were formulated by David Pichaske in his influential book *A Generation in Motion*. The author viewed inappropriate tendencies toward artiness as one of the elements that dissolved rock and the counter-culture of the late 1960s. These, in his view, moved the given phenomenon into the originally hostile sphere of social and political conservatism,[24] in other words, flattened the original oppositional potential, or abolished the very essence of "contra-cultural existence."

The great expectations concerning the new phenomenon of progressive rock at the turn of the 1970s had a number of consequences. In 1969, for example, when the Who released one of the first rock operas, one of the most famous concert halls in the world – the Metropolitan Opera in New York – opened its gates for the British group.[25] During the same period, rock music resounded for the first time in many other world venues which had previously been strictly dedicated to serious or classical music.

From the point of view of the discussion of the initial formation of progressive rock, the Farewell Concert by the band Cream in the Royal Albert Hall, which took place in the presence of television cameras on 26 November 1968,[26] is particularly interesting. The TV documentary, broadcast for the first time by BBC2 in January 1969, also consisted of interviews with members of the group, which were designed, just as in the case of the American show *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*, to show the cultural level of the current rock wave to mainstream society, including the technical and interpretative possibilities of rock musical instruments as well as the personal profile of the "rocker." The document, which is also a manifestation of the basic ideas of the progressive rock movement, confirms the legitimization of rock as a serious artistic form by the

[21] Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution (1967), accessed January 8, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=afU76JJcquI.

[22] A typical generational, hence musical-stylistic manifesto, by Berry was the song "Rock and Roll Music" (1957) with the lyrics: "I've have no kick against modern jazz / unless they try to play it too darn fast, / and change the beauty of the melody / until they sound just like a symphony."

[23] Richard Meltzer, *The Aesthetics of Rock* (New York: Something Else Press, 1970), 15.

[24] David Pichaske, *A Generation in Motion: Popular Music and Culture in the Sixties* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1979), 179.

[25] Cf. contemporary review of the concert by Alfred G. Aronowitz, "The Who Ride on Gimmicks, but That's Not Enough," *Rolling Stone*, July 9, 1970.

[26] Farewell Concert, accessed January 8, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BEaZe7LWc-Y.

official culture and its typical media, indirectly even providing the genre the character of the "avant-garde," or speaking of it as a possible "art of the future."

The introductory thesis by the BBC moderator Peter Drummond, originally a progressive rock disc jockey and promoter, is a typical product of an overwhelming 1960s intercultural discussion that sought out an adequate attitude towards so-called low art, and which, among other things, was openly dealing with a decline in the social importance of institutionalized religion face to face wtih the growing mass culture. In the introduction, Drummond makes mention of the fact that Cream was an undeniable musical authority recognized by figures such as as teh composers Leonard Bernstein or Igor Stravinsky. The group had also sold, over the last twenty-four months, more records than the Bible over the past twenty-four years. A new type of musically educated rock, or progressive rock performer, was presented, represented in particular, by the singer and bass player Jack Bruce, who between the songs critically discusses his violoncello and composition studies at the Scottish Conservatory, about his first attempt at writing a string quartet at the age of fourteen, about the "incredibly inspiring" bass lines in Johann Sebastian Bach's work, or about the most prominent contribution of popular music to Western art in the form of mediation of the influences of melodically and rhythmically complex Indian music.[27]

Amongst the serious interviews with the members of the group, other topics – which found their way into academic reflection with a delay of several years – were also highlighted. The physical and mental effects of music were discussed, amongst other things, and in addition, the question of improvisation, the question of individualism in rock interpretation compared to the tendencies to uniformity in the education of classical musicians, or the problem of analysis of the expression possibilities of the electric guitar. As has been said, the document manifested the key ideas of emerging progressive rock including the multimedia nature of the genre, but also its general creative ethos – this being the modernist ideal of progress and permanent innovation, as well as the emphasis on autonomous artistic functions; whereas a commercial success could only be an "unplanned accident." The pre-announced breakup of the artistically and commercially highly successful "supergroup" Cream was interpreted in light of the search for new artistic possibilities, although, it was in fact, largely due to personal disagreements amongst the members of the ensemble.[28]

With this entry into the world of aesthetic standards and the intellectualism of serious art, progressive rock largely revived an earlier concept called the Third Stream, specifically the theory of the emergence of a new global music based on the productive fusion of serious and popular musical cultures, with all the attendant artistic and social consequences. In this sense, progressive rock in a way represented the last hope of the modernist utopia of "one music" or "universal music" in general.[29]

A confrontation between the progressive trends of rock music and the original theory and practice of the Third Stream, as defined by the American composer Gunther Schuller[30] in the second half of the 1950s, is provided by the Czech jazz expert Antonín Matzner in the *Encyclopedia of Jazz and Modern Popular Music*: "The emergence of numerous compositions, initiated by Schuller's movement, has more or less confirmed the difference and, in certain aspects, even contradictions between the formal and expressive means of both musical manifestations [classical

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] In this respect, there is an interesting article by the musicologist and journalist Alexander Goldscheider, who, following the traditional periodization of music history by Czech musicologist Vladimír Helfert, views the rock genre as a potential new musical era for the next "three hundred and fifty years." (Alexander Goldscheider, "Kde a co jsou hodnoty v pop music," *Melodie*, Vol. 10, No. 4 [1972]: 110–111.)

[30] Cf. Gunther Schuller, *Musings: the Musical Worlds of Gunther Schuller* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

music and jazz], whereas the convergence of jazz with other musical types took place spontaneously at the end of the 1960s in the field of the synthesis of jazz and avant-garde rock with more prominent results."[31] Matzner also recalls, that "in the field of modern pop music, the trends of the Third Stream have been reflected in so-called classical rock."[32]

The tendencies of the jazz Third Stream of the 1950s with the rock ones a decade or two later were based on similar musical-immanent and sociocultural assumptions. In this sense, the theory of "social reception of popular music as a four-phase process" by Josef Kotek can be recalled. Kotek identifies the first phase as "innovation," its attribute being "a narrow, generationally and socially compact layer of particularly informed and programmed candidates, especially from the youth – a 'handful of insider music makers and consumers."[33] In addition, this phase is characterized by features such as "individualized generational expression," "group identification," "a demonstrative character – type of protest," "a manifestation of social nonconformity" or the fact that the "weaker technical level is compensated through spontaneous expression." In the second phase of the so-called "diffusion," Kotek sees the peak of the authenticity and style character of the given musical direction, in which the amateur music base meets with the interest of professionals and the informed public, resulting in the growth of the technical background and a wider social acceptance. In a general sense, the moment of the constitution of the "third stream" can be seen in the transition from the "diffusion" phase to the third level, this being "adaptation." This level include, among other things, the phenomena of commercialization, stronger promotion in the media, structural conventionalisation or wider consumer democratization, or the growing interest of the middle and older generations. In particular, Kotek's statement is that:

> The first surprise, and the shock of the newly mediated information, is disappearing. The basic vocabulary of the typical style structures is already created and precisely delimited. Furthermore, there are only contaminations and a synthesis of the new idiom with a broad background of older, usually more traditional and familiar musical elements or entire historical styles, taking place. This all neglects the reason for any negative reactions by, the to this moment, passive and differently musically orientated majority of listeners. The new genre is becoming acceptable to a wider public circle (the so-called silent majority). […] More ambitious creators and performers are seeking a way out by emphasizing the artistic difficulty.[34]

To illustrate Kotek's theory, as well as the transition between the second and third phases with the example of progressive rock development, a number of texts can be made mention of, whose authors see the culmination of artistic quality in the works of the late 1960s bands. In contrast, their followers from the first half of the next decade, are still connected with schematism, inclinations to pseudo-artistic mannerism and excesses. In this way, the "utterly authentic" as well as widely "social" progressive output of the Beatles from the era of the *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967) album can be placed in opposition with, for example, the "structurally conventionalised" monumentalism of the record *Tales from Topographic Oceans* (1973) by the band Yes; and furthermore, the experiments and innovations by the Nice with the "pose" of Emerson, Lake and Palmer, etc. David Pichaske supports this view when he argues that many songs from 1964–1966 are still the best art rock in the true sense of the word, as the songs from

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[31] Antonín Matzner, "Třetí proud," in *Encyklopedie jazzu a moderní populární hudby*, věcná část, ed. A. Matzner, I. Poledňák, I. Wasserberger (Prague: Supraphon, 1980), 353.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Josef Kotek, *O české populární hudbě a jejích posluchačích* (Prague: Panton, 1990), 25–26.

[34] Ibid., 28.

that period "are mature without being overripe, artistic without being artsy, poetic without being overly sophomoric or overly opaque."[35]

If one argues that the tendencies of the Third Stream in the context of jazz of the 1950s, with those of rock a decade or two later, grew from similar musical-immanent and socio-cultural assumptions, it should be added that the artistic creations themselves often had common denominators, either at the level of stylistic or compositional means, as well in terms of the overall expression. The stylistic elements of "neo-baroque" aesthetics can be found, for example, in the works of the jazz pianist John Lewis and his Modern Jazz Quartet, as well as in compositions by the Dutch progressive rock group Focus. To illustrate, let us compare Lewis' 1958 fugue "Versailles" with "Carnival Fugue" by Thijs van Leer from 1972. There is not only here a common denominator in the form of historicizing stylizations – in the words of Josef Kotek "contaminations and synthesis of the new idiom with a broad background of older, usually more traditional and familiar, musical elements or entire historical styles."[36]

This confirms, among other things, the confrontation of the 1952 "Jazz et Jazz" by the French composer, violinist and musicologist André Hodeir with the Beatles "Tomorrow Never Knows" (1966) – a piece which "in terms of textural innovation, is to pop what Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* was to nineteenth century orchestral music."[37] Both recordings are surprisingly close due to the inspiration of the post-war experimental aesthetics of electroacoustic music, including the complex studio work with tape, cuts, loops and collages. The difference is "only" determined by the nature of the sound or musical material itself, which is modified using studio means. In contrast to the specific jazz instrumentation and arrangement of the wind instruments, piano improvisation and swinging rhythm section of the first composition, there is the "electric sound" of a rock band with an electric guitar and a typical accompanying bass and drums ostinato figure. What distinguishes, however, the two recordings fundamentally (not counting the more impressive artistic expression of the latter, in contrast to the experimental nature of the first one) is primarily their social impact and cultural significance; all in favour of the aesthetics of progressive rock.

In relation to the issues of progressive rock, the concept of the Third Stream was used by the prominent Czech rock journalist Josef Vlček, among others. In a 1976 article, Vlček considers, in line with his foreign colleagues, the output of groups such as Genesis and Yes, as representing an entirely new musical direction based on the functional synthesis of rock, classical music and jazz. Vlček confirms the popularity of this complex "new music" in the following commentary:

> At the moment, we can say that we are in the period when this Third Stream is achieving great things. The records of the representative artists are gilded even before they come out. The albums by Genesis, Yes or Hatfield and North are among the most played on FM stations. Rick Wakeman and the National Symphony Orchestra with David Maesham managed to sell out Madison Square Garden last year (this year, the show with two former members of the Moody Blues, Justin Hayward and John Lodge, was also packed).[38]

In this sense, progressive rock of the 1960s and 1970s represented a unique moment of modern music history, in which an atypical connection of the extreme complication of the means of expression, with a wide popularity bordering on fashion occurred. The philosopher and social theorist Bill Martin drew attention to a notable phenomenon with the paradoxical term "popular

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[35] Pichaske, *A Generation in Motion*, 184.

[36] Kotek, *O české populární hudbě*, 28.

[37] MacDonald, *Revolution*, 122.

[38] Vlček, "Na vlnách klasiky a rocku," *Jazz* [bulletin of the Jazz Section], Vol. 6, No. 15 (1976): 17.

avant-garde." In his book, *Listening to the Future*, he explains this concept in detail with regard to the ideas of Marxist philosophy:

> For most aestheticians and social theoreticians, the very idea is oxymoronic. Supposedly, an avant-garde can only be appreciated by an elite; supposedly, this elite appreciation is part of the very definition of the concept of avant-garde. But we might take a page from Marx, and argue that "once the inner connections are grasped, theory becomes a material force" […] the point is that the motive forces of society are grasped when a significant part of society is compelled to expand its understanding of these forces. Then this understanding becomes a real force in the lives of many people. As the late sixties gave way to the seventies, many people were prepared by their social experience to be open to experimental, visionary, and utopian music that was brilliantly crafted and performed.[39]

The paradoxical phenomenon of "popular avant-garde" can be observed at various levels of musical culture at the turn of the 1970s. The situation is particularly noticeable if we focus on the concert life itself: while avant-garde art music and jazz had a relatively small audience base, in many ways no less challenging experimental rock enjoyed the interest of the widest audience. The fact that hundreds of thousands of listeners applauded free improvisations or sound compositions lasting tens of minutes at mass rock festivals at the end of the 1960s,[40] while similar creations were listened to by only a "handful of insiders, at the New Music meetings" aroused the interest of musical theorists as well as the artists themselves. This fact is evidenced by the commentary on rock by the composer Lucian Berio from May 1967, in which the author in connection with the Beatles and other groups discusses "unconventional harmonies and forms," "usage of modality of Indian classical music," or "irregular meters"; this particularly struck the author in the context of "three thousand people dancing in ecstasy while alternating 3/4 and 6/8 beat with 4/4, accelerando and ritardando;" "in the context of complex rhythmic structures that present very unusual features, unpredictable five-beat, seven-beat or eleven-beat themes."[41] One should add that the psychedelic culture of the late 1960s, in which progressive rock was formed, largely rejected the dance function in favour of autonomous listening, whether based on purely aesthetic interests or psychological self-exploration with the help of hallucinogenic drugs.

Despite its presumptive standardized predestination – if we use the Adornian term[42] – progressive rock manifested significant transformative traits, both on the artistic and para-artistic levels (culture industry, media, etc.). In this respect, it should be recalled that only under the influence of the new aesthetics of the concept albums, the sale of LPs in 1969 had surpassed the sale of so-called singles – the typical media of popular music consumerism – for the first time.[43] The increasing importance of the LP format had been registered by music magazines already in earlier years. The American magazine *Billboard* had been using, for example, the album charts occasionally since 1945, and on a regular basis since the mid-1950s. This trend was captured in 1958 by *Melody Maker* in the United Kingdom and as of 1962 by *New Musical Express*. Up to this time, albums served primarily as carriers of classical music and jazz. In the case of pop music, the LP format was used to compile greatest hits, movie and musical soundtracks, or music from

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[39] Martin, *Listening to the Future*, 2.

[40] See Jimi Hendrix's sound experiments at the Woodstock Festival (1969), the concert of progressive rock band King Crimson at London's Hyde Park Festival (1969), Pink Floyd's "psychedelic" or "spacerock" performances, etc.

[41] Berio, *Commentary*, 11.

[42] Cf. Theodor Adorno, "On Popular Music," in *Essays on Music: Selected, with an Introduction, Commentary, and Notes by Richard Leppert*, ed. R. Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 437–469.

[43] Stump, *The Music's All That Matters*, 73.

television shows. The chance to record an LP with unpublished material was only reserved for the most successful artists, such as Frank Sinatra.[44]

The LP album or concept album as the primary communication medium of rock or progressive rock, instead of original singles, was confirmed by the renowned American publicist Lester Bangs in 1973 with a reflection on Jethro Tull. The author makes mention of the huge interest on the part of teenagers in concerts last year, writes about "poor school attendance at the moment the show was announced, "ticket queues," "new fever," or "a current blockbuster." Taking into account the development of the group, Bangs mentions the blues outings in the late 1960s and the spectacular conceptual suites from the following decade. The award-winning 1971 album *Aqualung* is presented as a record full of social criticism, serious lyrics and a heterogeneous musical rendition ("rock, Rock, a bit of rock'n 'roll, a lot of mostly borrowed jazz, and folk strains both British and American, as well as the odd 'classical' gambit"), which can hardly result in a recognizable style. Finally, Bangs characterizes Jethro Tull as the prototype of a band that became an international sensation from original underground roots, based exclusively on their albums without having a radio hit single [in the United States].[45]

The connection between popularity and commercial success, with structurally complicated progressive rock, based on the aesthetics of long-play records as carriers of "great opuses" without a supporting single production, is illustrated especially by the *Tubular Bells* album from 1973 by the British musician Mike Oldfield. The recording bears a number of characteristic features of the progressive rock era of the late 1960s and 1970s, whether it be the composition itself or the sphere of its realization. In the first case, one should mention the rather atypical musical form, unusual for current pop and rock practices. The album contains only one song due to the time limit of the record divided into two more than twenty minute long sections – "Tubular Bells, Part One" (25:30) and "Tubular Bells, Part Two" (23:20). The process of composition took nine months,[46] which, at least technically, corresponds to the process of creating more significant, and more extensive, opuses of classical music (romantic symphonies or operas, technologically demanding original electroacoustic or electronic music works, etc.). In addition to the tendency to maximize the means of expression, which is usually associated with the progressive rock inclination towards the aesthetics of late romanticism[47] (however, in this case it instead refers to the jazz rock projects of the band Centipede, or the composition *Rainbow in Curved Air* by the minimalist composer Terry Riley), the album *Tubular Bells* also completes the aesthetics of progressive rock with the use of studio innovations of electroacoustic music; which in the context of rock in the late 1960s was popularized by the Beatles. Oldfield's composition contains twenty instrumental voices, most of which were recorded by the author himself with a multi-track recording, this being quite innovative technology at the turn of the 1970s.

The transformation of the generational structure in the United States, Great Britain, and other countries of the western civilization circuit in the 1960s has been mentioned. This was a context where, using the phrase of Josef Vlček, "very young people started to manage a number of things," then the *Tubular Bells* album provides a good example of such a fact at all levels of the music work, including the production, distribution and reception. Oldfield (born 1953) created the composition at the age of seventeen.[48] After being rejected by the global corporations EMI and CBS, he established collaboration with a generation peer and a beginner in the music industry

[44] *The Complete NME Album Charts* (London: BOXTREE Ltd., 1995) 5.

[45] Lester Bangs, "Jethro Tull in Vietnam," in *Psychotic Reactions and Carburetor Dung*, ed. Greil Marcus (New York: Anchor Books, 2003), 160.

[46] See the BBC4 documentary *Tubular Bells: The Mike Oldfield Story*, accessed January 18, 2017, www.dailymotion.com.

[47] Macan, *Rocking the Classics*, 41.

[48] BBC4 *Tubular Bells: The Mike Oldfield Story*.

Richard Branson (born 1950) whose originally so-called independent label, Virgin Records, began its publishing career with the title *Tubular Bells*. The album met with unexpected worldwide success; in the British charts, it was held for 280 weeks, and reached the first position in October 1974 – according to the *New Musical Express* charts at the time, an unusually complex record which surpassed the traditional albums of established pop artists such as John Denver (*Back Home Again*), Paul McCartney (*Band on the Run*), the Carpenters (*The Singles 1969–1973*), Elton John (*Goodbye Yellow Brick Road*) or the Osmonds (*Our Best to You*).[49]

As has already been mentioned, apart from the twentieth century avant-garde, progressive rock drew a great deal of inspiration from the neoromantic music of the second half of the nineteenth century.[50] Aesthetically, there was a general trend to maximize the means of expression at all levels of the artwork. As was the case with the romantic opera reformer Richard Wagner, progressive rock's ideal was the so-called "total work of art" (or Gesamtkunstwerk) that would synthesize all the available forms of art into a grand audio-visual effect. This ideal was fulfilled in the form of the concept album – a single and unique artistic artefact in which music, text and graphic design supported the overall extra-musical idea, program or story. The aforementioned *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967) record by the Beatles is usually viewed as one of the first concept albums. Even before the British group Genesis, released one of the most famous concept albums – sometimes also referred to as a rock opera – entitled *The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway* in 1974, the band presented their nearly two-hour audio-visual opus in full to an "unprepared" audience during a concert tour.[51] The listening capabilities of the recipients of popular music thereby reached their limits, as was the case with the Romantics, walking in the footsteps of Beethoven. "Consolation," perhaps, could only be the fact that similar rock concerts were – in contrast to the typical practice of popular music, although entirely consistent with the principles of classical music – often organized for a seated audience.

Progressive rock was connected to the artistic approaches of romanticism by a series of related elements. In addition to adaptations of historical forms, including the programmatic song cycle or opera, there was also the concept of virtuosity enshrined in the "supernatural" abilities of the musical genius. For instance, the interpretation of the "Franz Liszt legend" in the 1975 rock music film *Lisztomania,* directed by Ken Russell, might support this claim. The film, which was created with the participation of leading prog-rockers, worked with many historical parallels – even the name was symbolic in this sense; the word "Lisztomania" was used by the romantic German poet Heinrich Heine to mark the turmoil accompanying the performances of Franz Liszt.[52] About a century later, a similar word labelled the "madness" around the Beatles – "Beatlemania."

As has already been mentioned, the American Marxist philosopher and social theorist Bill Martin described the unique interconnection between popular and serious art on the basis of 1960s and 1970s progressive rock using the paradoxical term "popular avant-garde."[53] The paradoxical situation, however, had a number of specific consequences, namely in the very attitude of the artists. While, for example, the group Pink Floyd abolished its own presence on the podium in favour of the autonomy of art through rich video projections, other musicians, including Emerson, Lake and Palmer, strengthened the personal-virtuoso cult with self-centred exhibitionism. Within individual compositions, old classical forms were blended with post-war avant-garde approaches, all of them with sci-fi comic-style costumes and rock stage showman-

[49] *The Complete NME Album Charts*, 120–121.

[50] Macan, *Rocking the Classics*, 41.

[51] Kevin Holm-Hudson, *Genesis and the Lamb Lies Down on Broadway* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 101.

[52] Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 203.

[53] Martin, *Listening to the Future*, 2.

ship. Musical experimentation, as well as the avant-garde spirit, became, for the first and only time, a profitable commodity of the entertainment industry for a mass audience.

Although in recent decades we have been experiencing a sharp increase in the quantity of rock music of all styles and genres, critics and musicologists generally agree on the uniqueness and artistic superiority of the progressive rock from the turn of the 1970s.[54] If we ignore the dangers of prejudice, this is perhaps because this music arose thanks to new and specific historical circumstances, supported more than ever by idealism and the belief in unlimited possibilities. It was also perhaps accompanied by an intense anticipation of "how far it can go" – the irritating magic of unpredictability that lurks in every "first time." It is just this category of "unpredictability", which is often seen by traditional thinking on aesthetics as a criterion for distinguishing between autonomous art and standardized products of the culture industry.[55] With the advent of the new fashion of musical simplicity in the popular music forms of disco and punk rock, and after the general consolidation of the popular music industry, which had been destabilized by the sociocultural transformations of the 1960s, the progressive rock movement was melted down into the "transparent" marketing category of "Album/Adult-Oriented Rock" for a relatively narrow audience in the second half of the 1970s. The word "progressive" lost its active transformative power and became the symptomless label of a historical style-genre category.

As was hinted at in the beginning, the attractiveness of the progressive rock issue for scholars at present has several causes. In general, thanks to its wide sociocultural influence, progressive rock presents a mirror of the spiritual atmosphere of the late sixties and early seventies better than any other artistic form. An analysis of Bill Martin's paradox of the "popular avant-garde" may reveal the mechanisms of popular music culture or even relativize its fixed polarity with the world of the so-called high or serious arts. It can also, however, be a way of obtaining a new perspective on the classical-music "canon;" for example, the music of the nineteenth century, as was shown, for instance, in the film *Lisztomania*.

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[54] See, for instance, an interview "90 statečných" with Josef Vlček, May 19, 2013, accessed September 29, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MkV2dtgahB8&t=1043s.

[55] Cf. Adorno, "On Popular Music," 437–469.

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Czechoslovakian Music in Poland in the Interwar Era

Abstract | The aim of the paper is to collect press sources concerning the dissemination of Czechoslovak music in Poland between 1920 and 1939 and describe their significance within the broader social-political context. The main elements of this context are: the Polish-Czechoslovak conflict of the year 1920, the period of normalization of Polish-Czechoslovak relations in the 1920s (with the culmination in 1928 when the tenth anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic was celebrated in Poland) and the period of the 1930s, characterized by a significant increase in anti-Czechoslovak moods in Poland, ruled then by the government of Józef Piłsudski. In spite of the difficult political situation, there were a number of interesting initiatives which took place in interwar Poland, by both private people and official institutions, in order to promote Czechoslovak music in Polish society. These institutions included: the Warsaw Philharmonic, the Warsaw, Poznan and Lvov opera houses, Polish-Czechoslovak Societies active in several cities, choir associations, music magazines, the Polish Section of the International Society of Contemporary Music and, last but not least, the Czech diplomatic service in Poland.

Keywords | Czechoslovakia – Poland – Interwar Era – Music – Warsaw – Poznan – Lvov – Kraków

The interwar era was a watershed period for the shaping of the cultural policy of reinstated Poland. An official long-term program of cultural development was adopted at this time, the main aim of which was to strengthen the national culture. Politicians and other committed people simultaneously began looking for opportunities to promote Polish culture abroad. Their efforts were focused on carving out a more or less modest place for it in renowned cultural hubs such as Vienna, Berlin or Paris (where many Polish artists had striven to make their careers even before the First World War). The mutual contacts with the newly independent states of Central Europe were still being shaped. This process was inevitably influenced by ongoing political trends which triggered the reactions of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the entities subordinate to it, such as diplomatic posts or cultural organizations. There was also, however, a long tradition within the region of more interpersonal and unofficial contacts regarding issues of culture. The centres were focused on mutual cultural exchange between Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Slavic circles in Germany. These had functioned since the nineteenth century, with their representatives being private people standing behind the establishment of various active societies.

This paper discusses the most important initiatives, both official and private, concerning the establishment and maintenance of Polish-Czechoslovak contacts in four major cultural centres of Poland in the interwar period i.e., Warsaw, Poznań, Kraków and Lvov. The decision to apply geographical criterion and describe the situation separately in each of the above-mentioned

cities reflects the fact that they radically differed from one another in terms of cultural tradition and political past. Due to the partitions of Poland, they had been incorporated, for more than a century, into as much as three states. Poznań become the capital city of the Prussian province of Greater Poland. Lvov and Kraków became two centres of Austrian Galicia. Warsaw, which was initially taken by Prussia, became the capital city of the westernmost province of Russia after the Napoleonic Wars (whose official name and formal status changed several times in response to the successive, yet unsuccessful, uprisings against Russian rule). As a result, the main cultural differences between Lvov, Kraków, Poznań and Warsaw concerned their attitude towards Slavophilism. One should keep in mind that the majority of mutual contacts between Poles and other Central-European musicians, prior to 1914, were established thanks to that intellectual and artistic movement.

Warsaw

Warsaw was the capital city of the independent Republic of Poland in the interwar era, and therefore played a very prominent role in official cultural contacts between the Polish state and Czechoslovakia. As I mentioned earlier, the shape of these contacts depended on certain general determinants which influenced the cultural policy adopted by Polish authorities. The decision to establish an official cultural relationship between Czechoslovakia and Warsaw, taken after the First World War, was, in fact, unprecedented because in the previous centuries such bonds barely existed (apart from a few events that aroused the brief interest of the local audience e.g., the visit of Karel Kramář [1892] or the Slavic Congress in Prague [1908[1]]).

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles, Polish politicians began paying closer attention to the affairs of the Czechoslovakian state. *Gazeta Warszawska* wrote in early 1920: "Czechs have the highest position in Central-Eastern Europe. They should play a prominent role in such a political alliance due to their location, organizational skills and economic power."[2]

The above-described opinion had become common among those Poles who were aware of the fact that Czechoslovakia had the most developed economy of all the countries that emerged after the decline and fall of the Habsburg monarchy.[3] Regardless of its economic superiority, Czechoslovakia was also viewed, however, as a country that played the most important part in the consolidation of the Slavic movement. Although the military conflict in trans-Olza Silesia (1920–1921) affected the mutual relationship between the two countries, it did not suppress attempts to promote Polish-Czechoslovakian cultural exchange. Luckily, many critics and colum-

[1] The Slavic Congress in Prague temporarily aroused an interest in Bohemian music in Warsaw. Miroslav Kropanek even made an appeal for it in the popular local newspaper (*Tygodnik Ilustrowany*). His article included information on the most recent Bohemian music and concluded with the words: "There is a philharmonic hall in Warsaw after all." Another periodical, *Nowa Gazeta*, published an article by Adolf Nowaczyński that same year entitled "Dzisiejsza czeska muzyka [Contemporary Bohemian Music]" which contained an appeal to the managers of musical life for more performances of the best works of Bohemian composers. In response to both those appeals, Grzegorz Fitelberg, artistic director of the Warsaw Symphonic Orchestra which performed at the Warsaw Philharmonic Hall between 1909 and 1911, organized (in 1909) the first monograph concert of Bohemian music in Warsaw including works by Smetana, Dvořák and Fibich. The next similar concert took place in 1911. The conductor was once again Fitelberg. Apart from compositions by Smetana and Dvořák, certain works by Vítězslav Novák were played. Another young musicologist, Adolf Chybiński, also strove to maintain relationships with musicians from Prague. His attempts to include works by the most renowned Polish composers of the day (Szymanowski, Opieński, Fitelberg and Różycki) in the performances held by Umělecká Beseda were unsuccessful, however, (see the letter from Adolf Chybiński to Ludomir Różycki dated 20 January 1911. Printed version, owing to Krystyna Winowicz, *Res Facta*, No. 9 (1982): 318.

[2] B. W., "Stosunki polsko-czeskie," *Gazeta Warszawska*, R. CXLVI, No. 24 of 24 I (1920): 1.

[3] See Jerzy Tomaszewski, "Związki gospodarcze państw sukcesyjnych a Polska," in Druga Rzeczpospolita. Gospodarka – społeczeństwo – miejsce w świecie (sporne problemy badań), ed. Zbigniew Landau, Jerzy Tomaszewski (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1977).

nists representing Warsaw – some of them were members of the Polish authorities e.g., Felicjan Szopski, a reviewer for *Kurier Warszawski*, a leading daily newspaper in the city, who between 1918 and 1929 simultaneously held the post of director of the Department of Music at the Ministry of Arts and Culture – tended to avoid involvement in the ideological conflicts. Therefore, as early as May 1922, the popular weekly periodical Świat published a monographic supplement dedicated to Czechoslovakian culture. It included a general review of Czechoslovakian music by Zdeněk Nejedlý. Adolf Černý himself wrote an editorial entitled *Idea przyjaźni czesko-polskiej u nowoczesnych Czechów* "The Idea of Polish-Czech Friendship Among Modern Czechs." The publication, being a gesture by the editorial staff, sadly remained an isolated one. It was typical, however, as even prior to 1914 traces of Polish-Bohemian friendship were mainly similar papers, as opposed to intense cultural exchange. Czech and Slovak music was hardly ever performed in Warsaw in the early 1920s. Only once, in January 1922, a concert dedicated to Czech music was played in the local philharmonic hall including works by Dvořák, Smetana and Foerster; the artistic director and conductor was Oskar Nedbal, a musician well-known in Poland even before the war. Teatr Nowości, i.e., the Warsaw operetta, staged *Vinobraní* "The Vineyard Bride" by Nedbal in the spring of 1922. In addition, *Vltava* by Smetana, already considered a classical hit, was occasionally played in the Philharmonic hall (for instance in 1920 under the baton of Ignacy Waghalter, a conductor of Polish descent living in Berlin[4]).

Polish-Czechoslovakian collaboration was limited to visits of Polish musicians to Prague for several years. A number of inhabitants of Warsaw, including Karol Szymanowski, attended, among others, the festival held in 1924 in the capital of Czechoslovakia by the ISCM (International Society for Contemporary Music). This event pushed Szymanowski to publish an important article in the professional musical magazine *Rytm*. His paper contained a number of enthusiastic opinions concerning the musical culture in Prague:

> Many prominent people and social groups only occasionally involved in music eagerly partook in the festival […] For several days the rhythm of life in Prague merged with the rhythm of music. It was apparent to an unbiased observer, that this was not a mere show, but an underlying deep and wise conviction on the part of all society and its representatives that every trace of cultural and national life bears, par excellence, a political message stronger and more convincing than the cleverest diplomatic note.[5]

Karol Szymanowski certainly made some contribution to forging friendships between Polish and Czechoslovakian cultural circles (over the course of time, however, he grew quite skeptical about mutual collaboration in Central Europe as such). In this regard the merits of Marian Szyjkowski were much greater. Szyjkowski was appointed the first head of the Institute of Polish Philology at Charles University in Prague, established in 1923. There, he helped bring into existence the Academic Organization of Friends of Poland. Szyjkowski soon became a fierce advocate of "the Polish-Czechoslovakian cause", publishing numerous related papers (e.g., in the daily newspaper *Kurier Warszawski*). Szyjkowski's attitude towards the Polish-Czechoslovakian rapprochement stood in sharp contrast to the approach shared by many Poles; as his articles were wisely devoid of the sense of superiority to Czechoslovak society. As regards the development of Polish civilization in the past, Szyjkowski took the stance that Poland had been the younger partner of Bohemia, from which it had taken many cultural patterns and approaches to education. He was a promoter of a cautious and balanced look at the influence of the Polish uprisings on the

[4] Stanisław Niewiadomski, "Ruch muzyczny w Warszawie. IV," *Gazeta Muzyczna*, No. 15/16 (1920): 125.
[5] "Znamienne uwagi Karola Szymanowskiego o festiwalu w Pradze," *Rytm*, R. I, No. 6 (10) (1924): 4.

Bohemians and their views.[6] Szyjkowski organized a series of concerts dedicated to Polish music in Prague, and informed the Warsaw readers of the first performances of certain Polish operas and ballets taking place in Prague (*Halka, King Roger*, *Harnasie*).

Although the year 1924 coincided with the centenary birthday of Smetana, there were still limited opportunities for the Warsaw public to make a closer acquaintance with Czechoslovak music (as few as three commemorative articles were written in 1924;[7] one year later the publishing house of Ferdynand Hoesick published a Polish translation of a monograph on the composer by Zdeněk Nejedlý.[8]

The Czechoslovakian choir Hlahol solemnized the ceremony of the unveiling of the monument of Frédéric Chopin in Łazienki Park in Warsaw in 1926. Apart from the above event, which was the most important sign of Polish-Czechoslovak collaboration in that year, the monthly periodical *Muzyka* (est. in 1924 by Mateusz Gliński) published a monograph supplement dedicated to Czechoslovakian music. *Muzyka* employed musicologists from all over Central Europe as foreign correspondents (e.g., Boleslav Vomáčka was its correspondent for Prague). The most prominent figures of Czechoslovakian music – Jan Branberger, Karel Boleslav Jirák, Boleslav Vomáčka, Jan Loevenbach and Zdeněk Nejedlý – were involved in the edition. To return the favor, a monograph edition of the periodical *Listy hudební matice* dedicated to Polish music was published in Czechoslovakia in 1927. The editorial to the Czechoslovak edition of *Muzyka* contained the following words:

> As Polish musical life has recently tended to long for a national idea, we have more and more often directed our thoughts and hearts to the music of the Czechoslovakian nation – our brother which is racially robust and pure. Therefore, we urgently need an exchange of mutual propaganda in order to bring our nations closer and more acquainted with each other in terms of music. May that first act of rapprochement of two ancient musical cultures […] become the beginning of vigorous collaboration between the sister nations under the banners of national Slavic music.[9]

The steps to implement the rapprochement were soon to come. The Grand theatre in Warsaw staged *The Bartered Bride* by Smetana once again (under the baton of Adam Dołżycki) early in 1926 (12 January). A festival of Czechoslovak music was held, under the honorary patronage of the president of Poland Ignacy Mościcki, in October 1928 to solemnize the tenth anniversary of the existence of an independent Czechoslovakia. The anniversary was inaugurated with a high mass on behalf of the Czechoslovakian nation celebrated in St. John's Archcathedral in Warsaw. The musical setting was provided by the choir of the Warsaw conservatory. Even prior to the inauguration Felicjan Szopski, a columnist of the *Kurier Warszawski*, published the following appeal: "Czechs are known as a very musical nation. Music plays a most prominent role in their culture, and is an indispensable life companion […] In order for all their contemporary musicians to build up their reputation in Prague, they need to take the step to acquire world fame."[10]

The pianist Jan Heřman, the singer Jarmila Pěničková-Rochová and the Czech Quartet were among the artists performing at the first concert opening the festival. They played string quartets

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[6] See Marian Szyjkowski, "Idea rewolucji polskiej," *Kurier Warszawski*, R. CXVI, No. 35 of 5 II (1936): 3 (evening edition); ibid., *Polská účast v českém národnim obrození*, Vol. III (Prague: Slovanský ústav, 1931); Argus [Marian Szyjkowski], "Czesko-polskie zbliżenie kulturalne," *Kurier Warszawski*, R. CXV, No. 331 of 29 XI (1928): 4 (evening edition); ibid.; Marian Szyjkowski, "O zbliżenie teatralne czesko-polskie," *Kurier Warszawski*, R. CXI, No. 51 of 21 II (1931): 5 (evening edition).

[7] Paula Lamowa, "O twórczości operowej Fryderyka Smetany," Życie Teatru, No. 11 (1924): 83–86; Bernard Szarlitt, "Fryderyk Smetana," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, No. 11 (1924): 274.

[8] The unknown translator used only the initial letters of his or her name (Wł. M.).

[9] "Od Redakcji," *Muzyka*, R. III, No. 2 (1926): 44.

[10] Felicjan Szopski, "Przed festiwalem muzyki czeskiej," *Kurier Warszawski*, R. CIX, No. 294 of 26 X (1929): 3 (evening edition).

by Jirák and Janáček, *Trio* op. 38 by Foerster, *Songs of Winter Nights* and *Two Ballads* to a text by Neruda of Novák.[11] The concert was preceded by a speech (in Polish) by Karel Boleslav Jirák. It contained a declaration of the will to strive for a "great goal" i.e., collaboration with Poles; Jirák derived that goal from the "racial kinship" of the Polish and Czechoslovak nations.[12] During the same festival there was also a symphonic concert under the baton of Jaroslav Krupka (in the program: Ostrčil – *Suite* op. 14, Karel – *Démon*, Suk – *Praha*, Novák – *V Tátrach*, Foerster – *Violin Concerto* played with the Polish soloist Maria Cittówna), and several less important events e.g., "a celebration" organized by the Warsaw Polish-Czech Society including a military march composed in honor of the president of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Masaryk.

Prague and Warsaw maintained a lively cultural exchange in the field of music over the ensuing years. A number of Czechoslovakian musicians (violinists Jan Kubelik, Jaroslav Kocián, and Váša Příhoda as well as the pianist Rudolf Firkušný) performed in the Warsaw philharmonic hall at the turn of the 1930s. The same place played host to the orchestra of the Prague conservatory under the baton of Otakar Ostrčil in October 1929, playing the works of Suk, Karel, Foerster and some of the conductor's original compositions. The following day Ostrčil was the conductor at a gala performance of *The Bartered Bride* by Smetana, with the participation of Czech soloists. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dvořák's death, Mateusz Gliński published in *Muzyka* the Prague speech of Vítězslav Novák.[13]

Yet another monograph concert, dedicated to Czechoslovakian music, took place in the Warsaw philharmonic hall on 3 January 1930 This time the conductor was Karel Boleslav Jirák and among the played works were pieces by Ostrčil (*Via crucis*), Karel (*Ideály*), Suk (*Meditation on Saint Wenceslas Chorale*), Novák (*V Tátrach*), and Foerster *(My Youth*) – not to mention an overture composed by Jirák himself.[14] The concert was broadcast by Polish Radio. There were two more concerts dedicated to Czechoslovak music in the same hall. The first of them was held in March 1930 to solemnize the eightieth birthday of Tomáš Masaryk. The second one took place in October 1933, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the existence of an independent Czechoslovak state. The conductor was once again Karel Boleslav Jirák and works by Suk, Novák, Smetana and Dvořák were performed.

The performances of the works of Dvořák in Warsaw should be discussed separately because they belong to the core repertoire of every orchestra in the world. Even prior to the First World War they were played many times under the baton of Emil Młynarski (mainly abroad). *The Ninth Symphony "From the New World"* had its place in the repertoire of Grzegorz Fitelberg, the most prominent Polish conductor of the interwar era. It was performed under his baton, e.g., by the Polish Radio Orchestra, in the first season of its existence (1934/35).[15] Also Pietro Mascagni performed this piece with the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra during his visit in Warsaw in 1925.[16] Regarding the *Cello Concerto*, it was played a number of times. The soloists were always foreign artists such as Kazimierz Wiłkomirski (1924), Judith Bokor (1926), Arnold Földessy (1931) or Erica Mainardi (1935). The last performance of that particular work in Warsaw took place in March 1938, and the cellist was a young member of the Berlin Academy of Music Max Spitzenberger (the concert was held as part of a student exchange program between the con-

[11] Mateusz Gliński, "Ruch muzyczny w kraju. Warsaw," *Muzyka*, R. V, No. 11 (1928): 525.
[12] Karel Boleslav Jirák, "Współczesna muzyka czeska," *Muzyka*, R.VI, No. 3 (1929): 137.
[13] Vítězslav Novák, "Antonin Dworzak [sic!]," *Muzyka*, No. 10 (1929): 426–429.
[14] See "Teatr i muzyka," *Kurier Warszawski*, January 1, 1930, 4 (morning edition); Felicjan Szopski, "Z Filharmonji. Koncert czeski," *Kurier Warszawski*, January 4, 1930, 9 (evening edition).
[15] See Leon Markiewicz, *Grzegorz Fitelberg 1979–1953. Życie i dzieło* (Katowice: Fibak Marquard Press, 1995), 133.
[16] "Teatr i muzyka," *Kurier Warszawski*, No. 287 (1925): 4.

servatories of the capital cities of Poland and Germany[17]). In addition, some foreign ensembles performing in Warsaw, for instance the Ševčík Quartet (a frequent visitor to Poland), played Dvořák's string quartets.[18]

Interest in Modernist Czechoslovak music arose in Warsaw at the turn of the 1930s. Several concerts, which included such works, took place at the local Philharmonic Hall. Hans Bassermann played there *Fantasia* by Suk[19] (in the first months of 1927); the Polish Section of ISCM organized a concert which included *String Quartet* by Alois Hába (in April 1929); *Sinfonietta* by Janáček (in October 1928) and *Start* by Pavel Bořkovec (in October 1930) were also played there. The Warsaw Opera staged *Jenůfa* by Janáček in the first months of 1930[20] and musical circles urged the authorities to perform additional Czech operas (by Smetana and Foerster). Franciszek Brzeziński wrote: "One should stage them in Warsaw, against all odds, as works by so many excellent Czech and Slovak musicians remain far too unknown in Poland." He also felt free to add a sarcastic overheard remark by a Czechoslovak singer: "The audience in Warsaw would not appreciate that opera [*Eve* by Foerster] because they don't like peasants on the stage."[21]

With the closure of the Warsaw Opera, however, due to The Great Depression (1931/1932) such attempts had to be postponed. When the opera reopened, *The Bartered Bride* was once again staged. This time the conductor and artistic director was Milan Zuna, a musician of Czech origin, formerly collaborating with musical theatres in Poznań and Lvov.

The fiftieth anniversary of Smetana's death, that fell in 1934, was commemorated with the publication of the first (and still the last) Polish monograph book on that master. The author was Franciszek Brzeziński. Although the publication was financed by the Polish Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, and despite the fact that the work was based on source materials provided by the Czechoslovak ambassador Václav Girsa, Brzeziński did not abstain from providing certain stereotypical and hardly diplomatic views concerning Czechoslovakian society and its culture. In the introduction he wrote that:

> The Czechs lost their independence much earlier than Poland because they were inferior in terms of their numbers i.e., their nobility (the social class being aware of their nationality) was less numerous. In addition, they were surrounded by the Germanic world on three sides. As a result, they ceased to be a nation and only survived as folk – more or less like our Silesia.[22]

Certain amateur choirs and ensembles contributed to the mutual cultural exchange at the turn of the 1930s. A female teachers choir from Prague, under the baton of Pavel Dědeček, put on the concert in the Warsaw philharmonic hall in 1928. Over the subsequent years the city was visited by the choir Hlahol conducted by Jaromír Herle (1929), by the Prague Academic Orchestra (1930), by an ensemble of Moravian female teachers from Kroměříž (1931), and by the Sokol Choir from Moravská Ostrava (in March 1932). The choir Opus from Brno performed Polish and Czech songs at the Warsaw City Hall on 11 November 1931.

With the appointment of Józef Beck as Minister of Foreign Affairs (November 1932), the political relationships between Poland and Czechoslovakia became severely exacerbated. The publication of certain Czechoslovak periodicals was banned in Poland (*Národni listy*, České

[17] See Magdalena Dziadek, *Od Szkoły Dramatycznej do Uniwersytetu. Dzieje wyższej uczelni muzycznej w Warszawie 1810–2010*, Vol. I 1810–1944 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Muzycznego Fryderyka Chopina, 2011), 524.

[18] Inf. *Muzyka*, No. 2 (1927): 77.

[19] Inf. *Muzyka*, No. 1 (1927): 27.

[20] I discussed the issue of the reception of that opera in the following study: M. Dziadek, "The Reception of Leoš Janáček's Output in Poland in the 19th and 20th Centuries (up until 1956)," *Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities*, No. 2 (2015): 11–19.

[21] Franciszek Brzeziński, "Opery czeskie," *Kurier Warszawski*, R. CX, No. 281 of 13 X (1930): 5–6 (evening edition).

[22] Franciszek Brzeziński, *Smetana* (Warsaw, 1933), 1–2.

slovo and *Moravskoslezský denik*) in 1934.[23] Apart from rumors about closing all the Czechoslovak consulates in the country, the newspapers were full of sensational news concerning the difficult situation for Poles living in trans-Olza Silesia. As a result, the earlier described cultural exchange could not be continued. The only traces after 1935 were some performances of works of modernist Czech composers by Polish Radio and the Polish Section of ISCM. At one concert held by the thriving organization ORMUZ in 1936,[24] the Polish Radio Quartet performed the *Second String Quartet* by Bohuslav Martinů,[25] whose music was of particular interest to the organizers (they were aware of the successes of the composer at the festivals held by ISCM.[26] A number of songs by Ladislav Vycpálek were included in a concert held by the Polish Section of ISCM in May 1937. At the last festival organized by ISCM before the war (it took place in 1939 in Kraków and Warsaw), only one work by a Czechoslovak composer was played, i.e., *Sonatina for Strings and Piano* by Eugen Suchoň. An announced chamber concert of Czechoslovak musicians was canceled because the new authorities of the country (freshly annexed by the third Reich) did not give them official consent to play in Warsaw.[27] Therefore, three other works by Czechoslovak composers, accepted by the jury, could not be performed (*String Quartet* by Vladimír Polívka, *Small Suite for Viola and Orchestra* by Josef Zavadil, and a cycle of songs for alto and piano by Karel Boleslav Jirák entitled *The Awakening*).

The Frédéric Chopin Higher Music School at the Warsaw Society of Music had an intriguing contribution to Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation involving the idea of exchange concerts performed by the best students of the higher music schools in both countries. The body governing this program was the Commission of Exchange Concerts of the best Graduates of Higher Music Schools in Poland and Abroad. It acted on behalf of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. The program functioned from 1928 to 1935. The student exchange took place between, among other places, Warsaw and Prague, over the years 1929–1931.[28] The Polish government at the time showed a preference, however, for collaboration with Latvia and the Soviet Union. As a result, student exchanges took place more frequently between Warsaw and Riga or Moscow.

One should also mention that, according to the *Prager Presse*, the organizers of the third International Chopin Piano Competition (held in Warsaw in 1937) intended to include two Czech musicians in the jury (Jiří Heřman, a professor at the Prague Conservatory, and Otakar Hřímalý of the Royal Conservatory in Cernăuți, Romania[29]). Finally, they were not invited and as many as three Hungarians became its members, which showed how heavily politicized the contest was. Jiří Heřman, nevertheless, gave a concert in Warsaw in November 1937. It was held in the hall of the Warsaw Merchants Society. In a picture published on the occasion by the *Prager Presse* he is accompanied by a number of Polish and Czechoslovak diplomats and Józef Turczyński, a professor at the Warsaw Conservatory.[30] Neither his concert nor the issue of the participation of the Czechoslovak pianists in the Chopin competition were mentioned by the Polish press.

[23] Inf. *Kurier Poznański*, No. 136 of 25 III (1934): 1.

[24] ORMUZ (abbreviation for *Organizacja Ruchu Muzycznego* "Organization for Musical Movement") was an organization dedicated to popularizing music. It was established in 1934 by three musicians connected with the Warsaw Conservatory: Tadeusz Ochlewski, Teodor Zalewski, and Bronisław Rutkowski.

[25] See Konstanty Regamey, "Z muzyki," *Prosto z mostu*, No. 46 (1936): 23.

[26] See e.g., Michał Kondracki, "Pokłosie festiwalów muzycznych w Londynie i Wenecji," *Muzyka Współczesna*, No. 5–6 (1938): 34.

[27] See Konstanty Regamey, "Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej," *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 18 (1939): 4, and Janusz Kosicki, "Po XVII festiwalu S.I.M.C.," *Pion*, No. 17 (1939): 2. Due to the exclusion of the Czechoslovakian musicians from the festival, the announced performances of works by Anton Webern, Milan Ristić and Jerzy Fitelberg were also canceled.

[28] See Dziadek, *Od Szkoły Dramatycznej*, 519–520.

[29] Inf. *Prager Presse*, R. XVII, No. 59 of 28 II (1937). Cernăuți is now part of Ukraine (Чернівці).

[30] *Prager Presse*, R. XVII, No. 319 of 21 XI (1937).

Poznań

The establishment of mutual relationships between Poznań and Prague followed the stabilization of the political situation, which resembled the case of the cultural exchange between Prague and Warsaw. In fact, it was easier because intellectuals from Poznań typically studied in Wrocław, and were therefore acquainted with Slavophilism. The bonds between Poznań and Prague dated back to the nineteenth century. One of the social-cultural issues shared by both cities was the resistance against Germanization. This sense of a community of interests still existed in Poznań in 1918. It was also believed, however, that out of all the centres of Slavic life, Poznań and Prague, due to their prolonged contacts with the Germans, had become the most economically developed and most rational in terms of politics. Czech language courses were opened, at the University of Poznań, as early as 1923. The teacher was Ignacy Hanus. According to Stefan Pappée, a Poznań historian, Hanus had the most substantial contribution to the invigoration of cultural exchange between Poland and Czechoslovakia after the First World War,[31] and was a *spiritus movens* of the Polish-Czechoslovak Society established in Poznań that same year. Among the members of the society were Feliks Nowowiejski (one of the most active Slavophils of the Poznanian musicians at that time) and the musicologist Łucjan Kamieński. The latter paid a fairly long visit to Czechoslovakia as early as 1922, which was followed by the idea of the establishment of the Society of the Friends of Music in Poznań (SFMP). After the first concert organized by SFMP, *Dziennik Poznański* published a review by Wacław Piotrowski including the information that the society took a leaf from the Slavophilic activity of the Národní divadlo [The National theatre in Prague]. Piotrowski wrote that it had been "a sound activity not only in conformity with the spirit of the era, but also taking account of the surrounding environment with its specific needs and peculiarities."[32] Łucjan Kamieński also participated in the festival organized by ISCM in Prague in 1924.

By the year 1925 Czech music had gradually found a steady place in the musical life of Poznań. The local Grand theatre staged *The Bartered Bride* for the first time in March 1922. The only trace of the centenary birthday of Smetana, however, was a brochure on *Dalibor* published in 1925 by Franciszek Łukasiewicz, a local pianist and teacher. A fragment of the cycle *My Fatherland* was also performed at one of the cyclical symphonic concerts put on by the Poznań opera orchestra. The same ensemble also played various classical works of Antonín Dvořák. The last composition by Dvořák that the audience in Poznań had the opportunity to listen to before the war was the *Cello concerto* (in 1938; the soloist was a British cellist Thelma Reiss).

The premiere of the opera by Feliks Nowowiejski entitled *The Legend of the Baltic* (Pol. Legenda Bałtyku; 28 November 1924) is worth mentioning because it was used to manifest how positive an attitude Czechs and Poles had towards one other. The work had a hidden political meaning, symbolically sealing the retrieval of access to the Baltic Sea by Slavic Poland. Its finale included a *Slavic Apotheosis* whose text was simultaneously sung in Polish, Czech and Russian. The premiere was intended as a kind of Slavic feast, and numerous guests from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were invited, including Karel Boleslav Jirák. As Łucjan Kamieński wrote: "A morally Pan-Slavic manifestation took place at the premiere."[33]

Jirák visited Poznań soon after as a conductor. Under his baton, the Poznań opera orchestra gave a concert comprising works by Beethoven, Dvořák and Novák. The review of the event,

[31] Stefan Pappée, "Święto przyjaźni polsko-czechosłowackiej (korespondencja z Poznania)," *Gazeta Polska*, R. V, No. 143 of 25 V (1933): 5.

[32] Dr W[acław] P[iotrowski], "Koncert inauguracyjny Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Muzyki," *Kurier Poznański*, R. VII, No. 100 of 30 IV (1922): 6.

[33] Łucjan Kamieński, "O muzyce czeskiej," *Kurier Poznański*, R. XIX, No. 243 of 19 X (1924): 22.

published in *Przegląd Muzyczny*, a periodical edited by Henryk Opieński, contained the following remarks: "We are extremely glad to spot new trends in the music of the sister Slavic nation – particularly here, in Poznań, where people strongly believe in the infallibility and supremacy of German music."[34]

The same magazine also published a biographical paper on Jirák written by Opieński himself.[35] Jirák was additionally personally invited to collaborate with the magazine *Przegląd muzyczny*, which resulted in the series of his letters entitled *Letters from Prague*. The symphonic poem by Smetana, *From Bohemia's Woods and Fields* was performed by the opera orchestra under the baton of Piotr Stermich-Valcrocciata (he was of Croatian descent) during the 1926/1927 season. The opera orchestra known as the orchestra of the Poznań philharmonic hall played various concertos by Dvořák and symphonic poems by Smetana many times in the 1930s. Its director at that time, Zygmunt Latoszewski, was a conductor particularly involved in the cultural exchanges with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

These were the premieres of various Czech operas which played the most prominent role in the Polish-Czechoslovakian collaboration in Poznań. During the visit by Kamieński to Prague in 1924, one consisted of a project of an exchange of operatic repertoire between the capital city of Czechoslovakia and Poznań. That same year Kamiński published a letter entitled *On Czech Music* in which he announced a plan to stage Smetana's *Dalibor* in the capital city of Greater Poland:

> I have no doubt that no Slav wrote a better monumental-national opera [than *Dalibor* and *Libuše*] until this day. Poles should not settle for their weak reflection present in works by Żeleński. They should include the originals in the opera repertoires instead […] Those Old-Slavic stories, taken out of their original cradle, will definitely impress the sister Polish souls. It is especially true in *Dalibor*, where the noble figure of the Bohemian-Hungarian king Vladislaus II of the Jagiellonian dynasty epitomizes the close relationships between the Crown of Saint Wenceslas and the Crown of Boleslaw the Brave. His wise rule was a blissful oasis of peace in the bloody history of Bohemia between the XV and XVII centuries. His memory was preserved in the oldest, Gothic part of the Prague castle called Vladislav Hall. […] [In *Dalibor*] I felt a certain West-Slavic commonality. The progenitors of the Czech and Polish dynasties, Přemysl and Piast, were both plowmen who became kings. The Czech legend about King Krak's daughter, who gave her hand and crown to a brave countryman, has a Polish counterpart. The Polish version has a different ending because the girl did not want to give her hand and scepter to a foreigner. These are fruits, however, of the same mind if not the same historic source: half-dream and dark memories of a childhood spent together and thus touching the hearts of both Czechs and Poles.[36]

Dalibor was staged in Poznań in 1925 under the supervision of Piotr Stermich-Valcrocciata. In a column written before the opening, Kamieński advertised it as the next stage of "forging postwar brotherhood between Polish and Czech musicians[37]".

Kurier Poznański for the first time announced the next premiere of a Czech opera at the beginning of 1926. It was *Jenůfa* by Janáček, staged in March, under the supervision of Stermich-Valcrocciata. It gained the recognition of connoisseurs and became proof of the openness and progressiveness of the artistic circles of Poznań, despite being quickly removed. *The Bartered Bride* reappeared on the local stage due to a visit by the head of the Prague opera, Otakar Ostrčil, in 1927. The Poznań opera performed an operetta by Oskar Nedbal entitled *Polish Blood*, which had been played many times in Poland before the First World War, in the autumn of 1929. The

[34] Wiadomości bieżące. "Muzyka czeska w Poznaniu," *Przegląd Muzyczny*, R. I, No. 5 (1925): 3.
[35] H[enryk] O[pieński], "Karel Boleslav Jirák," *Przegląd Muzyczny*, R. I, No. 5 (1925): 1.
[36] Łucjan Kamieński, "O muzyce czeskiej," *Kurier Poznański*, R. XIX, No. 288 of 13 XII (1924): 6.
[37] Łucjan Kamieński, "Muzyka w Poznaniu. Wystawienie 'Dalibora,'" *Kurier Poznański*, R. XX, No. 299 of 11 XI (1925): 2.

same stage put on *Schwanda the Bagpiper*, an opera by Jaromir Weinberger, in February 1930, whose "Pan-Slavic" background was easily deciphered in Poznań (the critics found Slovak, Polish and Lemko melodies in it[38]).

Czech choirs, chamber ensembles and soloists were relatively rare guests on the musical stages of Poznań during the interwar era. The Ševčík string quartet played there only once, for example, (in 1925). A concert of Jan Kubelík took place in 1926, while Váša Příhoda and Jan Kubelík gave their performances in 1928. The Ondříček quartet played in Poznań in 1928 and 1931. All these musicians, for example, a choir of Slovak teachers from Bratislava (in 1927[39]) – visited the city as part of their tour of all of Poland.

Instances of performances of new Czechoslovak works in Poznań were equally infrequent. A performance of the *Second Sonata for Double Bass* by Adolf Míšek (the bassist was Adam Bronisław Ciechański) took place in 1932, and was a rare exception. Even more unusual was a performance of genuine Czech folk music by the bagpipe player Jéňa Mandra and violinist Jožka Karas (in 1928[40]).

An apical moment of collaboration between musical circles from Poznań and Czechoslovakia consisted of the Pan-Slavic Singing Congress held in 1929 as part of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of regaining independence by Poland. On that occasion Poznań, at that time the most economically prosperous city in the country, organized the Polish General Exhibition. The Singing Congress was an initiative of the members of the Slavic Singers' Society from Poznań, an ephemeral organization established in 1928 in Prague by Luboš Jeřábek (together with Jan Matouš of Ostrava and Dobroslav Orel of Bratislava).[41] The goals of the society included the publication of a periodical edited jointly by Czechoslovaks and Poles, the publication and mutual exchange of musical documents, the establishment of an ethnographic museum, and the organization of mass singing congresses (which was considered "the most important and efficient activity"[42]). The first head of the society was Leon Surzyński, a practitioner and social activist from Poznań. The first (and the last) congress of its members was held in Poznań in the spring of 1928. Among them were Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavians, Sorbs, and emigrants from the Ukraine and Russia.[43] They also took part in the Pan-Slavic Singing Congress in the autumn of 1928 held in Prague by the Pěvecká obec Československá to solemnize the tenth anniversary of existence of an independent Czechoslovakia. The congress was participated in by the so-called Representative Choir, this being a joint choir from Greater Poland under the baton of Władysław Raczkowski. The Polish delegation included Leon Surzyński and Kazimierz Tomasz Barwicki, an editor of the Poznanian periodical Śpiewak. There were no representatives of Polish cities other than Poznań.

As concerns the congress held in Poznań, two people contributed to its organization. These were Leon Surzyński and Henryk Opieński, a well-known local teacher, publicist, and conductor. The inauguration took place on 18 May 1929 with participants representing Poland, Yugoslavia, Ukrainian emigratory circles in Prague, Lusatia and Upper Silesia.[44] A decision was made to perform the oratory *St. Ludmila* by Dvořák at the opening ceremony. It was played by joint choirs and soloists from Czechoslovakia under the baton of Dobroslav Orel. The following day

[38] r.l. [Lubomir Rubach], "Szwanda Dudziarz Jaromira Weinbergera," *Dziennik Poznański*, R. LXXII, No. 4 (1930).

[39] Inf. *Muzyka*, No. 11 (1927): 540.

[40] Łucjan Kamieński, "Z estrady. Dudziarz-artysta," *Kurier Poznański*, R. XXIII, No. 280 of 21 VI (1928).

[41] Protokoły Rady Naczelnej Towarzystwa opublikował *Przegląd Muzyczny*, R. V, No. 6–8 (1929). See also Stanisław Wiechowicz, "Wielkie święto śpiewackie w Pradze," *Przegląd Muzyczny*, R. IV, No. 3 (1928): 11.

[42] Leon Surzyński, "Po zjeździe. Pokłosie wszechsłowiańskiego Zjazdu śpiewaczego w Poznaniu," *Przegląd Muzyczny*, R. V, No. 6–8 (1929).

[43] "Zjazd delegatów Słowiańskiego Towarzystwa Śpiewackiego w Poznaniu," *Przegląd Muzyczny*, R. IV, No. 12 (1928): 3.

[44] The official representatives of Czechoslovakia were Jan Matouš and Dobroslav Orel. See "Słowiański Zjazd Śpiewaczy w Poznaniu," *Ruch Słowiański*, R. III, No. 10 (1929): 300.

was dedicated to performances of Polish choirs, while an evening concert involved a mixed choir consisting of Yugoslav and Czechoslovak singers (the Hlahol choir conducted by Jaromír Herle) to an accompaniment provided by the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra under its head, Grzegorz Fitelberg. One of the guests was the Czechoslovak envoy to Warsaw, Václav Girsa.

Thanks to the General Polish Exhibition and the Singing Congress the inhabitants of Poznań and various countries in the Central Europe become more interested in one another. It was even said that Poznań and Greater Poland were discovered by the Slavic world in 1929.[45] In his article summarizing the congress, Leon Surzyński wrote: "This noble contest between the Slavic nations will now take place regularly […] As representatives of a strong Slavic country, we must maintain the prestige of our state and singers. We should not therefore be among the weakest regarding the quality provided."[46]

The following Pan-Slavic Singing Congress, to be held in 1932 in Warsaw, was canceled because of the Great Depression and a political situation unfavorable for a cultural exchange between Poland and Slavic countries (especially Czechoslovakia). Traces of the above exchange were almost exclusively limited to official celebrations of Czechoslovak national feasts by diplomats in Poznań in the 1930s. Mention should be made, in this respect, of the contribution of Emma Matoušková, the wife of the Czechoslovak consul in Poznań and an amateur singer. On such occasions, popular songs and well-known European arias were usually performed. The music was provided by musicians from the local opera and by teachers from the Poznań conservatory.

The National Day of Czechoslovakia fell on 28 October 1934 and the last premiere of a Czech opera staged in Poznań before the war took place. It was Dvořák's *Kate and the Devil*, and the director was Józef Munclinger. He came from Lvov, but had lived as of 1918 in Prague, where he popularized Polish music (e.g., contributed to the Prague premieres of *Halka* by Moniuszko and *Harnasie* by Szymanowski). The performance of *Kate and the Devil* was conducted by Zygmunt Latoszewski. In his article, entitled *Nasz repertuar polski i słowiański* "The Polish and Slavic Opera Repertoire", and published in the official opera bulletin, Latoszewski elaborated on the interest in Slavic opera in Poland and concluded: "such a repertoire is far less prominent in Poland than, thanks to the spiritual closeness of that music to the Polish one, it should be."[47]

A certain contribution to the Polish-Czechoslovak collaboration in Poznań was provided by amateur choirs and orchestras from Czechoslovakia visiting the city, typically during the longer artistic tours including also Kraków, Lvov and Warsaw. Such visits were frequent especially at the turn of the 1930s. Among the most important of the performing ensembles of that kind were: Křížkovský men's choir (two concerts given at the turn of November 1926); the choir of Slovak teachers (in October 1927); the Symphonic Orchestra of Students of the University and Technical University in Prague (in March 1930; their concert was held in the University Hall in Poznań); the Sokol Singers under F. M. Hradil (in March 1932).

Mutual cooperation between Poles and Czechoslovaks was suppressed in the second half of the 1930s, and Poznań was not an exception. Over the last years before the outbreak of the world conflict there was a need, however, to organize more "anti-German Slavic events" to demonstrate the will of resistance of all Slavs against the militaristic Germans. Just before the war, for example, the folk play *The Legend of Lednica* by Wanda Korytowska was lavishly staged on the island of Lednica. The play was about the mythical meeting of Lech, Czech and Rus, the three brothers who were the eponymous founders of the Slavic nations. Korytowska's work was very militant in tone and stylistically close to the renowned political pamphlet by Adam Mickiewicz entitled

[45] V. [Václav] Dressler, "Poznań i Czesi," *Kurier Poznański*, R. XXIV, No. 390 of 24 VIII (1929): 2.

[46] Leon Surzyński, "Po zjeździe. Pokłosie wszechsłowiańskiego Zjazdu śpiewaczego w Poznaniu," *Przegląd Muzyczny*, R. V, No. 6–8 (1929): 5.

[47] "Nasz repertuar polski i słowiański," in *Teatr Wielki Opera w Poznaniu* (sezon 1934/1935, No. 2), 8.

The Books of the Polish Pilgrimage. Its final coda was consequently a choral war cry: "Beat the Germans! Beat the Germans!"[48]

Lvov

The musical circles of Lvov were mainly interested in Czechoslovak music because of the city's strong multicultural traditions, with Bohemian artists being quite common there. In the interwar era, however, Polish-Czechoslovak relationships in Lvov were influenced by the political tensions to a much greater extent than in all other places. The city was inhabited, among others, by Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs and Jews, which was particularly fertile ground for fierce ethnic conflicts and for the activity of Polish nationalists. The Polish-Czechoslovak conflict of trans-Olza Silesia (1918–1920) had a serious impact on musical life in Lvov and Kraków. Certain open appeals even appeared there to dismiss all the Czech musicians employed in both cities. *Gazeta Muzyczna* (a periodical edited by Stanisław Niewiadowski, one of the most illustrious music critics and activists in Lvov before the Second World War, between 1918 and 1921) published an article by Stanisław Głowacki entitled *Muzyka a państwo* "Music and the State" in April 1919. The paper comprised a project involving the establishment of provincial musical agencies authorized to verify the competences of all professional musicians. The idea was similar to certain legal solutions later imposed by the Nazis. Głowacki demanded that these potential agencies expel "the citizens of the hostile countries;" as according to him, the foreign musicians were undoubtedly spies on hire.[49] The reaction of Niewiadomski was immediate. First of all, he explained that he allowed for the publication only to maintain the right to free speech. In the next issue, Niewiadomski gave his firm reply containing an appeal to be sensible and abstain from acting too hastily. He emphasized the fact that the political situation was too complex for Poles to determine their foes for tomorrow at once. "There is no other way to live together, but to assess the **individual** responsibility first," wrote Niewiadomski.[50] He defended the Czech musicians living in Lvov, and mentioned their contribution to various aspects of the musical life of the city, brought, for example, as teachers.

The first years of existence of an independent Poland were uneasy. It was *Gazeta Muzyczna* at that time in Lvov which popularized the achievements of the sister Slavic cultures, including the Czechoslovak one. In the first yearbook of the above-mentioned periodical, Zdzisław Jachimecki gave some favorable comments on new Czech music, and placed it among the three "strongholds" of national music, based on a sound folk substrate (the other "bulwarks" for him were Polish and Italian music). According to Jachimecki, the most important representative of Czech national music was Janáček as the author of *Jenůfa*.[51]When Niewiadomski moved to Warsaw in 1921, *Gazeta Muzyczna* ceased to be. The remaining periodicals in Lvov were not particularly interested in the promotion of Czech and Slovak music.

As regards live performances of Czechoslovak music in Lvov, the local Grand theatre staged *The Bartered Bride* (played many times before 1914) on 22 April 1922 under the baton of Bronisław Wolfstahl, a young conductor later connected with the Warsaw opera. According to Franciszek Neuhauser, an old pundit among music critics from Lvov, it was a very good performance, "Slavic in character" and full of "absolute beauty." Neuhauser stated that it had been "a model

[48] Bolesław Żabko-Potopowicz, "Duch Słowian – oraczy zwycięży," *Kultura*, R. IV, No. 29 (1939): 2.

[49] Stanisław Głowacki, "Muzyka a Państwo. Izby muzyczne," *Gazeta Muzyczna*, No. 11 (1919): 84.

[50] Stanisław Niewiadomski, "W sprawie muzyków – obcokrajowców," *Gazeta Muzyczna*, No. 13/14 (1919): 95.

[51] Zdzisław Jachimecki, "Stan muzyki dzisiejszej," *Gazeta Muzyczna*, R. I 1, No. 2 (1918/1919): 14–15; Zdzisław Jachimecki, "*Z* dziedziny twórczości słowiańskiej. I Jej pasierbica. Opera Leona [sic!] Janačka," *Gazeta Muzyczna*, No. 5/6 (1918): 38–39.

rendition of a comic opera" comparable to *The Barber of Seville* by Rossini.[52] *Słowo Polskie*, the second most important daily in Lvov and the official periodical of the Polish nationalist party i.e., The National Democracy, published only brief information on the event. The critic (Adam Mitscha, a young teacher in the local conservatory) focused on the execution, and not on the other aspects of the performance.[53]

One of the permanent conductors of the Grand theatre in Lvov between 1923 and 1928 (whose director was Teofil Trzciński, an illustrious theatre expert) was the Czech musician Milan Zuna. Focused over the long-term on the popularization of Czech music in Lvov, Zuna deserved praise by local critics. One of the premieres of a Bohemian work which he contributed to resulted in a publication in *Słowo polskie* where he was described as "a fierce advocate of Polish-Czech rapprochement."[54] Thanks to Zuna's efforts, the Grand theatre in Lvov was the only one in Poland which commemorated the centenary of Smetana's birth with a performance of his opera entitled *The Kiss* (March 3, 1924). The post-premiere review by Franciszek Neuhauser, in the democratic daily *Gazeta Lwowska*, was critical this time. According to the author, the libretto was mawkish and bereft of humor. Interestingly enough, the review reveals that there was a political conflict about the commemoration of Smetana's birth: "Some Polish musical institutions were *pro*, some *contra*." Neuhauser did not openly taking a side, quoting instead the article by Niewiadomski (published in the Warsaw daily *Rzeczpospolita*) containing an appeal for peace and collaboration between the nations.[55] Neuhauser's review includes, however, a significant final appeal to the authorities of the theatre to stage more Polish operas. Paradoxically, this time it was *Słowo polskie* whose attitude towards Smetana's opera and the centenary of his birth was more favorable. The nationalistic daily published a paper on the Bohemian master in which he was, of course, compared to Chopin as a national composer.[56] The review contained a number of courteous compliments.[57] Interestingly enough, *Słowo polskie* published an article around the same time by Jerzy Bandrowski on disturbances in some villages in trans-Olza Silesia allegedly provoked by the Communists.[58] Thanks to Zuna's efforts, the above-mentioned celebrations also included a morning Sunday concert performed by the opera orchestra. One of the performed works was Smetana's symphonic cycle *My Homeland*.[59]

The next premiere in Lvov was *Jenůfa s*taged on 30 March 1926 under the supervision of Milan Zuna. The event coincided with another escalation of political tension between Poland and Czechoslovakia, during which the authorities of the latter state decided to temporarily close the border and impose economic sanctions against Poland.[60] It did not influence, however, the reception of Janáček's work in Lvov. The press reviews were similar to those published in Warsaw and Poznań. Witold Friemann, a young composer and teacher at the Lvov conservatory, elaborated on the composer's ingenuity, stemming simultaneously from "being ingrained in the modern era" and "deep insight into the secrets of the surrounding life."[61]

Another premiere of a Czech opera took place in Lvov in October 1928. The local municipal theatre staged *Rusalka* by Dvořák to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the existence of the

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[52] Fr[anciszek] Neuhauser, "Z muzyki," *Gazeta Lwowska*, No. 90 (1922): 4.
[53] A[dam] M[itscha], "Sprzedana narzeczona," *Słowo Polskie*, No. 89 (1922): 5.
[54] Witold Friemann, "Jenufa Leona Janaczka [sic!]," *Słowo Polskie*, No. 95 (1926): 5.
[55] Fr[anciszek] Neuhauser, "Z muzyki," *Gazeta Lwowska*, No. 56 (1924): 3.
[56] M.U., "Bedrzych [sic!] Smetana," *Słowo Polskie*, No. 60 (1924): 5.
[57] Witold Friemann, "Z Opery," *Słowo Polskie*, No. 65 (1928): 5.
[58] See Jerzy Bandrowski, "Listy z Czechosłowacji. Nastroje czeskiej wsi na Śląsku Opawskim," *Słowo Polskie*, No. 65 (1928): 4.
[59] See Stanisław Lipanowicz, "Z sali koncertowej," *Gazeta Lwowska*, No. 55 (1924): 3.
[60] See "Z powodu zamknięcia granicy polsko-czeskiej," *Słowo Polskie*, No. 90 (1926): 3.
[61] Witold Friemann, "Jenufa Leona Janaczka [sic!]," *Słowo Polskie*, No. 95 (1926): 5.

independent Czechoslovakia.[62] The ceremony was attended by the Czechoslovak consul to Lvov, Josef Jirásek, and also included a performance by a choir of female teachers from Prague.[63] The opera, conducted by Jarosław Leszczyński, was quite negatively reviewed by a young critic Stefania Łobaczewska. This resulted from the fact that Łobaczewska was a zealous supporter of new music, and therefore considered *Rusalka* a relic of the past, which was only kept alive in Czechoslovakia and purely out of patriotic duty. In her paper, Łobaczewska focused on certain places in the score and how the libretto allegedly imitated Wagner (she indicated some fragments "borrowed" from *Lohengrin*). At that time there was, nevertheless, a strong tendency to look for Wagnerian influences on Central European music. Zdzisław Jachimecki did so, for example, when writing on Moniuszko.

The Lvov opera staged one more Czech work i.e., *Medea* by Jiří Benda.[64] The musical institutions in the city suffered a great deal during the Great Depression in the 1930s. The municipal theatre was closed in 1933, and only a short-term opera *staggioni* took place there. Roughly speaking, almost nobody popularized Czechoslovakian music in Lvov after 1931.

Only two concerts dedicated to chamber Czechoslovakian music (a literal translation of the term used for these concerts at that time) took place in the interwar era. The first of them was held in June 1928 by the Literary-Aristic Organization, a society established before the First World War, whose aim was to promote modern literature and art. Apart from string quartets by Smetana and Dvořák, performed by an amateur ensemble of local musicians, some Czech and Slovak folk songs, elaborated by Štěpán and Novák, were sung by an amateur musician Wiktoria Pastówna.[65] Milan Zuna also conducted a concert dedicated to Czech songs and arias in 1931. The event was organized by the Lvov division of the Pen-Club and Beseda česká to celebrate the thirteenth anniversary of existence of an independent Czechoslovakia.[66] Zuna was no longer a permanent conductor in Lvov at this time. In autumn 1928, when the new directors of the local municipal theatre became Henryk Barwiński and Czesław Zaremba, he moved to Katowice. He had *Rusalka* staged to his own Polish libretto there, as well as *Dalibor*. The Ševčík Quartet visited Lvov several times (e.g., in 1927) and, as in all other Polish cities, performed the quartets by Dvořák. The violin concerto by the same composer was played in Lvov by Jaroslav Kocián in 1927.[67] The Ondříček Quartet played Dvořák in 1928. Váša Příhoda also performed in Lvov several times. *Vltava* by Smetana appeared from time to time in the repertoire of the local orchestras (its last pre-war performance took place in 1935). There is also some information, although scarce, on visits of amateur Czechoslovak ensembles to Lvov, this being part of their Polish tours. A choir of Slovak teachers from Bratislava visited Lvov, for example, in 1927,[68] a choir of female teachers from Prague was there in 1928 and an academic orchestra from Prague in 1930.[69]

Some choirs from Lvov took pains to perform at the solemn anniversary concerts organized by the local division of the Polish-Czechoslovak Society. Their repertoire surely comprised Czech songs (mainly the patriotic ones) as they were included in the songbooks published in Lvov; as of the last years of the nineteenth century some of those songbooks had been openly connected with the Sokol organization (it was legal in Austrian Galicia before 1914, but forbidden in Russia and Germany). The heritage of Stanisław and Lech Bursa, a Lvov family of choir conductors, has

[62] Stefania Łobaczewska, "Z Teatru Wielkiego," *Gazeta Lwowska*, No. 239 (1928): 4.

[63] He visited Warsaw, Kraków, Łódź and Lvov.

[64] Quoted after Leszek Mazepa, "Teatr muzyczny we Lwowie w kontekście kultury muzycznej miasta," *Musica Galiciana*, T. VII. (2003): 22–23.

[65] See Stefania Łobaczewska, "Z sali koncertowej," *Gazeta Lwowska*, No. 133 (1928): 4.

[66] Inf. "Uczczenie 13-tej rocznicy powstania państwa czechosłowackiego w Polsce," *Ruch Słowiański*, R. V, No. 306 (1931): 150.

[67] Inf. *Muzyka*, No. 11 (1927): 539.

[68] Ibid.

[69] See "Przyjazd czechosłowackiej Filharmonii," *Gazeta Lwowska*, No. 72 (1930): 4.

survived. It consists of multiple songbooks comprising Czech, Ukrainian and Croatian songs.[70] Stanisław Bursa owned, among others, a manuscript copy of three volumes of the publication by Förchtgott-Tovačovski entitled *Mužské sbory pro* čtyři *hlasy*, *Sborník Pražského Hlaholu* (1887) with some songs provided with a Polish text.[71] Some Polish collections of choral songs published before the First World War contain Czech "borrowings." *Repertuar Chóru Męskiego Galicyjskiego Towarzystwa Muzycznego we Lwowie* "The Repertoire of the Men's Choir of the Galician Musical Society in Lvov"(1898) contains, for example, an elaboration of the anthem *Kde domov můj* by Vilém Kurz (to the Czech text) whereas Śpiewnik *sokoli* by Franciszek Barański (1903) contains the *Czech Sokol March* with music by F. J. Pelz, Polish and Czech versions of *Kde domov můj,* the Czech version of *Hej, Slované* as well as *The Sokol Anthem in Praise of the Second Congress in Prague* (text by J. V. Sládek […] and music by Karel Šebor). The above-mentioned songbooks were republished and also used after the First World War.

Kraków

The Austrian authorities were not interested in promoting Kraków prior to 1914. The status of former capital of Poland and "the city of Polish kings" was therefore deliberately made inferior to Lvov. As a result, Kraków could begin catching up with the cultural backlog no earlier than the interwar period, and it was a painstaking process. Immediately after the world conflict, Bolesław Wallek-Walewski, a conductor, composer and social activist, established the Kraków Opera Society i.e., the first independent opera stage in the city (before 1914 the Lvov opera performed there every summer and in the years 1915–1918 the private troupe of Adam Skorupka and Stanisław Duniecki was active). The Society ceased to be in 1923, but staged, before its fall, *The Bartered Bride* under the supervision of Wallek-Walewski (26 October 1922). The Oratorio Society was another musical organization established in Kraków at the same time. It took a great deal of effort to perform *Stabat Mater* by Dvořák, under the baton of its founder Stefan Barański, in the first half of 1927.

As regards the establishment of contacts with soloists and ensembles, Kraków was supported by Lvov. The concert offices in both cities cooperated in setting dates for concerts by foreign musicians. The Ševčík Quartet paid a visit to Kraków on the way to Lvov, for example, in 1925 and performed, amongst other things, a string quartet by Dvořák. The review of that concert by Melania Grafczyńska was published in the Warsaw periodical *Muzyka*, since Kraków lacked such magazines at that time. Grafczyńska was a musicologist personally interested in friendly collaboration with the musical circles in Prague. She was the originator of the festival of Polish music held in Prague in 1927. Her review contains, of course, the inevitable remark that the performance of the above-mentioned quartet was "full of Slavic lyricism and sentimentalism."[72]

Among those Czechoslovakian musicians who visited Kraków at the turn of the 1930s were the violinist Váša Příhoda (several times), Jaroslav Kocián (in 1927; he played some works by Dvořák and Suk),[73] and Jan Kubelík (1928, 1932).

The musical audience in Kraków had the best opportunity to become acquainted with Czechoslovak music in the spring of 1927 when the opera ensemble from Olomouc, under the

[70] The collection of Stanisław and Lech Bursa has been included into the collection of Biblioteka Śląska.

[71] These were new texts adapted to sound patriotic for Poles. The Moravian song "Orle pestrý orle po Moravě lítej" was provided, for example, with the text "Go up, White Eagle, over the Polish Land." Nota bene, the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków houses the correspondence between Stanisław Bursa and Forchgott-Tovačovski concerning the exchange of musical documents containing choral works.

[72] Melania Grafczyńska, "Z opery i sal koncertowych. Kraków," *Muzyka*, R. II, No. 2 (1925): 75.

[73] Inf. *Nowej Reformie*, No. 241 (1927).

baton of Karel Nedbal, invited by the head of the Kraków Concert Bureau Zbigniew Bujański, gave several performances in the Teatr Powszechny on Rajska street (May 7–15). The event coincided with the above-mentioned festival of Polish music in Prague (organized by Melania Grafczyńska who came from Kraków) and included staging of four representative Czech works: *Jenůfa*, *The Kiss*, *The Bartered Bride*, and *Rusalka* (as well as *Fidelio* by Ludwig van Beethoven). The works were met with applause and *The Bartered Bride* was performed several times.[74] The reviews of the particular performances, published in the local periodicals, were voluminous. The greatest controversies arose, understandably, in relation to *Jenůfa,* which resulted from the fact that it was played in Kraków for the first time. According to a reviewer writing for *Nowa Reforma*, the composer was eccentric (especially as regards the shaping of melody in conformity with intonation of speech) and the entire work lacked melody; its plot was fragmented, and its type of expression was close to "orgiastic noise." He also wrote that: "Despite all the disadvantages of *Jenůfa*, the music for that opera is powerfully dramatic, fantastic and unusually original. Its harmonization and orchestration are fascinating. Its score is full of subtlety."[75]

There were no objections to the other performances. The critics emphasized how professional the Czechoslovakian guests were and praised the idea of their invitation to Kraków. Certain traditional political slogans were inevitable: "[Orchestra and choir] are vital for every opera. In the case of the ensemble from Olomouc, they stand behind the great artistic achievement, being one more sign indicating how advanced the musical culture of the Czech nation is, a nation that has recently become one of the vigorous leaders of the international musical movement, contrary to some members of the Slavic family."[76]

The success of the above *staggione* resulted in another invitation for the same ensemble to perform in Kraków. It gave two symphonic concerts in October 1927 dedicated to German music (Beethoven, Wagner and Strauss) and one dedicated to Czech music (*Vltava* by Smetana, *From the New World Symphony* and *Carnival* by Dvořák and *At Twilight* by Fibich).[77] The reception was favorable.[78]

The Bartered Bride was once again staged in Kraków in January 1933 owing to the efforts of the Kraków Opera Society under the supervision of Bolesław Wallek-Walewski (reestablished in 1931). The prominent Polish soloist Ada Sari took part in it.[79] Multiple choirs from Kraków greatly contributed to the popularization of Czech and, more generally, Slavic works. Their role was, nonetheless, less prominent than in the case of choirs from Lvov. In this respect, one should mention the Academic Choir of Jagiellonian University established by Wiktor Barabasz in 1878. It was conducted by Wallek-Walewski during the interwar period and performed in various foreign countries in Central Europe. Its travels were mentioned in the introduction to the publication entitled *Kantyczki Chóru Akademickiego w Krakowie od 1885 do 1935 roku* śpiewane "The Canticles of the Academic Choir of Kraków Sung from 1885 to 1935;" this was a jubilee re-edition of the academic songbook published in 1935: "We took Polish song beyond seven mountains, beyond seven rivers, to the Black Sea and the Golden Horn of Bosphorus, to

[74] See Wiesław Gorecki, "Występy opery ołomunieckiej," *Gazeta Literacka*, R. II, No. 11 (1927): 4.
[75] Jul[ian] Św[ięcicki], "Opera ołomuniecka w Krakowie," *Nowa Reforma*, No. 105 (1927): 5.
[76] Ibid., 4.
[77] See "Ruch muzyczny w kraju, Jerzy Wachtel, Kraków. Początek sezonu muzycznego," Muzyka, No. 12 (1927): 584; "Teatry-Kina-Koncerty," *Nowa Reforma*, No. 234 (1927): 5, No. 238 (1927): 6.
[78] See J[ulian] Św[ięcicki], "Z Sali koncertowej," *Nowa Reforma*, No. 241 (1927): 5. The concerts took place between 15 and 16 October 1927.
[79] See Mieczysław Drobner, Tadeusz Przybylski, *Kraków muzyczny 1918–1939* (Kraków: Literackie, 1980), 122.

sunny Italy and to old friends of Poland over the Danube, to our former fief of Wallachia and to our brother Croatians, Serbs, Slovenians, Bulgarians and inhabitants of Golden Prague."

The choir *Echo* from Kraków was also involved in collaboration with musicians from Prague. It performed at the ceremony of the 83rd anniversary of the birth of President Masaryk in 1933.[80]

Various amateur choirs and orchestras from Czechoslovakia also occasionally visited Kraków. A choir of Slovak teachers from Bratislava solemnized, for example, an official event with the participation of representatives of the authorities of both countries in October 1927 (e.g., the Czechoslovakian consul to Kraków, Szedivy[81]); this was called The Slovak Literary-Artistic Celebration. The Opus ensemble from Brno performed in Kraków in 1931 on its way to Warsaw. The city was visited by a choir from Moravská Ostrava over the years 1932–1933 and the orchestra of the railwaymen from Prague under the baton of Karol Šejna (it performed works by Suk, Novák, Fibich and Dvořák[82]).

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[80] Inf. *Ruch Słowiański*, R. VII, No. 1 (1933): 61.

[81] "Słowacka Akademia Literacko-Artystyczna," *Nowa Reforma*, No. 230 (1927): 5.

[82] wigo [Wiesław Gorecki], "Sezon muzyczny," *Gazeta Literacka*, R. IV, No. 9 (1933): 176.

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Instruments Played in *Skřipky* "Fiddle" Music Bands in the Light of Acoustic Measurements and Experimental Construction[1]

Abstract | The ensemble of musical instruments played by *skřipky* "fiddle" music bands can be considered a closed development segment of our traditional folk culture. As a living element, it ceased to exist in the mid-twentieth century. Since that time, it has been part of local folklorism as performed by two folk ensembles. The speed with which the musical instruments stopped being used, as well as the fact that, over a very short period of three generations knowledge of the construction of these unique musical instruments disappeared, should serve as a warning. This loss can only be restored elaborately with hindsight, and it will be irreplaceable in many cases. In this particular case, one can profit from the fact that the knowledge of playing the described instruments has been passed down by survivors and audio-visual technologies, and that several historical pieces, maintained in a playable state, have survived. Only in this way, can one confront the newly made instruments and the original pieces visually and through acoustic measurements. The partial results of the first measurements presented above confirmed the validity of the approach, and their applicability to this tangible segment of musical culture. The results also provide impulses for future developments in documentation of musical instruments within interdisciplinary projects.

Keywords | Musical Instrument – Folk Culture – Experiment – Chordophone – Production

Musical instruments used in folk culture feature an inexhaustible diversity of different types, ranging from simple idiophones to complex constructions, such as hurdy-gurdies and hook harps. Despite this diversity, most musical instruments can be found within a wider territory. Such a range, leaving aside instruments taken over from artificial music, is substantiated by shepherd's wooden horns and their use in the Carpathian Mountains, the Alps and Tibet, for example. The same can be said about bagpipes spread all throughout Europe. We can also find, however, instruments or groups of instruments associated with a small region or a certain social class. The instruments played in the *skřipky* "fiddle" music bands are good examples of this.

The existence of *skřipky* "fiddle" music is closely related to the former German language island in the Jihlava area, where these music bands flourished as part of traditional folk culture in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Pavel Kurfürst has mentioned that the *skřipky* "fiddles" "were played in seventy predominantly German villages and five Czech

[1] The project was supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic within the long-term conception of the research organization, the National Institute of Folk Culture, Strážnice in 2017.

villages situated in the Jihlava Island."[2] While studying the sources, he counted about 140 musicians (between 1850 and 1943), of whom only 35 were Czechs.[3]

This type of music disappeared at the end of World War II due to the expulsion of the German population. However, the instruments did not disappear simply due to the aforementioned reason. A noticeable slow-down could be observed even in the 1930s, when only about five music bands were active around the year 1940. The main reason involved a distinct shift in the aesthetic perception of the population, this being caused by the availability of high-quality music on discs and in cinemas. This brought new claims on the repertoire played by music bands, which had to flexibly respond to the transformation of the population's taste. Moreover, simple musical instruments struggled to satisfy the new demands of musicians. It is therefore not surprising that these instruments were forced out by modern musical instruments (violin, double bass), which terminated the existence of the *skřipky* "fiddle" music bands in the living traditional folk culture.

Pavel Kurfürst in his study *Poslední skřipkaři na Jihlavsku* "The Last Fiddleers in the Area of Jihlava"[4] described the rise and fall of interest in *skřipky* "fiddle" music. Among other things, Kurfürst worked with the recollections of survivors. A description of the history of the *skřipky* "fiddle" music here would entail copying the aforementioned study. One might add, however, that it is young musicians, such as, for example, those from the Pramínek Folk Ensemble in Jihlava, who have displayed an interest in the almost forgotten musical instruments (as does the Vysočan Ensemble, founded in 1953). The Pramínek Folk Ensemble included archaic instruments among its ensemble of instruments. Both groups only play these instruments, however, to liven up their performances; for this reason, their activities are a kind of folklorism.

The use of squeaking fiddles, outside the sphere of folk music, is of interest due to their special sound. The Draga Banda[5] music band can be mentioned as an example as it experiments with several music styles.

The *skřipky* "fiddle" music bands consisted of four instruments, performing as quartets. The lead violinist was called a *primista* (*primáš*) and played the descant fiddle (Klainefiedel, small fiddle – can be compared with the violin) and the leading melody. The second voice (sekund, terc[6]) also used the descant instrument. The third musician played the alto fiddle (Großfiedel, large fiddle – a parallel to the viola). He supported the harmonic variety of the music. The fourth member of the band played a bass instrument called a Ploschperment (also a squeaking double bass). This was an instrument which played the lowest tones and its body construction was different.

For the performance of the *skřipky* "fiddle" music bands, the *hra z plna* "playing at full blast" (Fig. 2) was typical, with the rhythmic structure of the accompaniment copying the rhythm of the melodic instruments. The classic division into melodic and harmonic functions within an orchestra, a quartet in this case, did not exist.

Skřipky from Jihlava

This musical instrument also has other names within the relevant literature, these being more or less regional; for example *křipky*, *skřipce*, *prkýnka*, *třísky*, *Klarfidel*, *Fidlifaul*, *dyndy*, *pajerky* and others.[7] The contemporary appearance of the instrument comes from the first half of the

[2] Pavel Kurfürst, *Hudební nástroje* (Praha: Togga, 2002), 530.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pavel Kurfürst, "Poslední skřipkaři na Jihlavsku," *Národopisné aktuality*, No. 2 (1979): 107–118.

[5] "Draga Banda," accessed March 19, 2017, http://www.dragabanda.wz.cz.

[6] The term "terc" is derived from the typical way of playing the second voice a third lower than the leading melody. The term "sekund" is based on the Latin word for two – the second voice. Both terms are common in the folk environment even today.

[7] A quite thorough list is in Kurfürst, *Hudební nástroje*, 522 and 534–540.

nineteenth century, when the *skřipky* underwent a distinct development in which the German joiner Johann Bernesch (he came from Upper Lusatia and lived from 1785 or 1795 until 1866) was instrumental. Bernesch kept the shape of the sound holes, the comb bridge and the binding leather strap, due to which the instrument could be held more easily. He added the fourth string onto the descant instrument (he kept three strings in the case of the alto instruments). He changed the corpus shape from the eight-like shape (similar to the guitar) into a shape consisting of two trapezoidal plates placed one above the other, as we know it today (Fig. 3). He simplified the violin peg-box, as he made a flat one with pegs inserted from the rear side. All those interventions allowed Bernesch to make an instrument that meant a step backwards in the development, but that resembled string instruments of the ancient vielle-like shape. This archaic appearance led later researchers to the idea that "the vielle from the fourteenth century survived in its unchanged form in the Jihlava area."[8]

The musical instrument, adapted in the above-described manner, soon became very popular and forced out the original *skřipky*, which has not survived in any exemplar to date. As Pavel Kurfürst wrote in his book *Hudební nástroje* "Musical Instruments": "The last instruments featuring the old construction, and played by the musicians in the Štoky area, were destroyed in 1943."[9] It is difficult to guess the reason why the instrument spread, due, amongst other things, to the impossibility of comparing the new instrument with the original ones. Apart from perhaps better acoustic properties, possible factors may have been the simpler construction technique and the more affordable price of the instruments. The construction made it possible to produce an instrument using the basic tools available at most joiners' workshops.[10] The significantly expanded mass production cannot be omitted either. Although the basic shape of the instrument is based on the original construction made by Bernesch, each producer improved it and introduced new variants. Such a diversity is visible especially in the case of the scroll and fingerboard shapes. The *skřipky* features a chiselled-out monolithic corpus (Fig. 4), whose hollow is covered with a flat and slightly arched plate.

Ludvik Kunz mentioned that the original descant *skřipky*, before the intervention by Bernesch, was tuned in fifths d^1 a^1 e^2. After the reconstruction of the instrument, the lower string was added and the resulting tuning g d^1 a^1 e^2 was identical with that of the violin. The alto *skřipky* has three strings g d^1 a^1.[11] Thus, it does not have the lower string c, as in the case of the viola. When the particular pitch ranges are compared, the contemporary pitch of the descant instrument fully overlaps that of the alto instrument, but originally only strings d^1 a^1 overlapped with each other, and the edge strings g and e^2 were based on the characteristic determination of the instrument within the ensemble.

The *skřipky* was held like a violin, i.e., da braccio, with several smaller differences. The musician held the instrument with his left hand in the fingerboard area and supported it with his chest. He also had a leather strap wound around his left arm to hold the instrument in place. The reason for this was that the instrument (in contrast to the violin) was quite heavy.[12] Dobrovolný mentions 900 g for the small *skřipky*, and up to 1 200 g for the large *skřipky*.[13] The instruments in the collections at the National Institute of Folk Culture correspond to the above data.

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[8] Kurfürst, *Hudební nástroje*, 525.

[9] Ibid., 524.

[10] Compare Jiří Höhn, *Hudební nástroje IX. 1. část – Dlabané smyčcové nástroje* (Strážnice: Národní ústav lidové kultury, 2014).

[11] Ludvík Kunz, *Die Volksmusikinstrumente der Tschechoslowakei* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1974), 77.

[12] The violin usually weighs no more than 500 g.

[13] František Dobrovolný, *Lidové hudební nástroje na Moravě*, 2. díl (Praha: Ústřední dům lidové tvořivosti, 1958), 18.

Ploschperment

The *Ploschperment* also has various German and Czech-German names, such as *bas* "double bass," *bas k huslím* "double bass to accompany the fiddle, " *Paβ*, *Poβ*, *Boβ*, *Bloschperment*, *Bloβprment*, *Baβgeige*, *Baβfidel*, *Ploβpermen*t, *Plaschperment*, *plašeperment* and others.[14]

The instruments which belong to the group are characterised by several aspects in the realm of construction, sound and musical operation. The combination of all these features gives a unique exemplar that has no parallel in the surrounding regions.

The *Ploschperment* (Fig. 5) has a distinct buzzing hoarse sound. Its resonant properties are weaker and do not have distinct lower frequencies. The instrument was supposed to accompany dance and place stress on rhythm. For this reason, the quality of the instrument was based on volume, and the tone purity played a secondary role.

The instruments are provided with leather straps to make transporting the instrument easier. The instrument might have been played suspended on a strap, as was the case of the tromba marina and the modified violoncello (Fig. 6), but due to the weight of the instrument and the way of making the strings shorter, such a possibility seems fairly improbable. The ready-to-play instrument lay on the musician's knees or on the table. The musicians used their right hand to hold the robust bow and press on the strings; the left hand made the strings shorter. The palm of the left hand did not grip the neck of the instrument, but was directed from above onto the fingerboard. The strings were not made shorter by pressing the string onto the fingerboard, but by "pinching" the string with the thumb and the forefinger, or by gripping the string with the hand. The nearly flat fingerboard was to support the arm.

Sound Characteristic

The sound characteristic of *skřipky* "fiddle" music differs from that of the traditional line-up of string bands. It features a strong, sharp tone with a greater rate of higher aliquot tones, given by the robust construction which does not enable larger resonant echoes, and by the low quality of the used strings. This property was advantageous when the music band accompanied dancers, as the emphasis was placed on the volume of the expressions, especially when playing outdoors.[15] The perception of the volume is intensified by a screw – a special tool placed on the double-bass (Fig. 7), which with its buzzing sound, supports the rhythmic component of the musical accompaniment. Between 2011 and 2016, research fellows from the National Institute of Folk Culture (henceforth NULK) in Strážnice worked on projects aimed at stringed musical instruments, which included the experimental constructions of a *skřipky*[16] and a *Ploschperment*,[17] as well as acoustic measurements of the constructed instruments.[18]

In the case of *skřipky*, the newly built instrument (Inv. No. 50770) was compared with an instrument from the NULK collections (Inv. No. 997).[19] The historical instrument was built by František Havlíček from Nová Bystřice near Soběslav. There is no date mentioned on the instrument, but its origin falls between 1945 and 1960. The instrument made by Havlíček is atypical due to the purity of its workmanship, whereas both the outside surface of the instrument and its

[14] Compare Kurfürst, *Hudební nástroje*, 604.

[15] Compare Dobrovolný, *Lidové hudební nástroje na Moravě*, 17–18.

[16] The skřipky-fiddle was made by the violin maker Pavel Hůšek who worked at the Pilař Studio in Hradec Králové.

[17] The technique for the construction of the "Ploschperment" was reconstructed by the violin maker Jiří Petlach, and the instrument was made by his son Martin Petlach; both of them worked in their common workshop in Sivice (District of Brno-Venkov).

[18] The measurement was carried out by Ing. Zdeněk Otčenášek, PhD. in the sound studio of the Academy of Arts in Prague.

[19] The compared instrument has been chosen due to its dimensions, which were similar to the newly made instrument.

inner parts are treated with grinding canvas or a scraper. In contrast to common instruments, it is much lighter, this being determined by the unnaturally narrow cross-section of the corpus. In contrast with the data mentioned by Kurfürst and Kunz, the instrument's surface is probably treated with wood stain and a thin layer of colourless alcohol varnish. This only covers the pores in the wood, and might be the reason for our assumption that this method was used as an improper way of protecting the instrument against surface wear and tear and impurities at the museum exhibition (the instrument was treated using the above-mentioned method undoubtedly before it was acquired by the NULK). The instrument has modern (violin) metal strings. Another significant intervention includes the placing of a bass bar under the top plate.

The dimensions, shape and construction of the experimentally made *skřipky* are based on original musical instruments owned by the Pramínek Ensemble. It was the violin maker Pavel Hušek who repaired the original instrument and was able to gain a familiarity with its construction. Due to the more robust corpus, the instrument is much heavier; which has a negative impact on the resonant properties of the instrument. The top plate is not reinforced by the bass bar and the instrument is not treated on its surface. A combination of metal and catgut strings was chosen for the instrument.

During the acoustic measurements of the instrument, Inv. No. 997, the plate of whose thickness is similar to common violins, it was discovered that its behaviour at frequencies up to 500 Hz is similar to that of common violins. In the range of 500–600 Hz, the basic tone is not split into two resonant maximums (this phenomenon is given by the flat back plate). The resonances between 1 200 Hz and 1 800 Hz radiate a higher acoustical power in relation to the resonances in the range around 1 000 Hz. This quite strong radiation results in the nasal character of the sound. The *skřipky*'s bridge resonates, in contrast to that of the violin, only at higher frequencies. The sound is lighter, but the missing violin formant causes the sound of all the tones to have a matt to unbright character. At the frequencies of the basic resonant modes with frequencies up to 500 Hz, the old *skřipky* with its vibrations and radiation can be compared to a good violin. This demonstrates that a high-quality thin top plate made of good resonant wood might have been used. The differences over 500 Hz are brought about by the construction forms of the plate shapes, the types of arching and the sound holes, as well as by the different bridge; these will probably be typical for this sort of instrument.

The new instrument (Inv. No. 50770) had a different result. Due to its thicker plates and lack of a bass bar, the instrument only radiates limited acoustical power at frequencies up to 700 Hz. All the tones whose basic frequency fall within that frequency range sound very poor to thin. The acoustic power above the frequency of 700 Hz is radiated with a similar intensity as in the case of the traditional violin. The range, however, of relative frequency reduction between 1 200 Hz and 1 800 Hz and a relative increase between 1 800 Hz and 2 700 Hz is missing. This results in an insipid and unclear to unbright character of all the tones, and faint tones on the upper string. Higher acoustical levels radiated in the range above 6 kHz, as compared to master violins, can be found in violins that are of poor quality. These higher acoustic levels are the reason for swishing sounds and are accentuated by the irregular bow stroke on the strings.

The results of the acoustic measurements confirmed the assumption brought about by mechanoscopic observations and a comparison of the musical instruments stored in the NULK collections with several instruments with a substantiated origin (instruments owned by the Pramínek Ensemble). The instrument, Inv. No. 997, was only made after the living tradition had disappeared, and might have been intended as a replica for public presentation. Its sound does not correspond to the original sound-aesthetic feeling, and the quality of workmanship is far from the commonly used period instruments.

The *Ploschperment* was measured in 2016. The instrument, made within the aforementioned project and stored in the NULK collection, was compared with an instrument used by the Pramínek Ensemble. The latter instrument, on loan to the ensemble, was made by an anonymous producer. It is an original *Ploschperment* and as such, is one of several similar instruments which have been maintained in a playable state. The instrument's corpus was repaired several times, this being reflected by a number of patches inside the body. The removal of wires, and the obtuse gluing-together of the corpus, were the most significant interventions (Fig. 10). The instrument is robust, although surprisingly light. The corpus's inner parts are trimmed only roughly. The top plate is reinforced inside with two low and broad bass bars, one of which is glued on, while the other one is a monolithic part of the top plate. The aperture sound holes are replenished with eyelets and constitute a symmetrical three-part sound hole. The vibrations between the top plate and the back are transmitted through a sound post. Remnants of the original wires and a groove, into which the ribs were inserted, are visible on both plates. The instrument is provided with four catgut strings. The surface is treated with an alcohol varnish on dark-brown wood stain, but the painting work is of poor quality.

There is a need to mention briefly how the change in the corpus assembly was made. The *Ploschperment's* plates originally had a groove around the edge, which functioned like a "shoetree" (Fig. 11) to fix the rib shapes when being bent, and to reinforce the joint of the assembled instrument. When studying the surviving instruments, one cannot be completely certain whether the use of the glue in the groove joint can be assigned to the period when the instrument was made, or whether the instrument was glued together later, simultaneously with the removal of the wires. For this reason, we tried to use animal hide glue to make the garland and the back (i.e., the box) complete, while making the experimental instrument. The top plate is placed freely, without being fixed with glue. The result is a corpus, which is dismantable from one side. This procedure seems to have no influence on the acoustical properties (it might intensify the buzzing sound, but is not perceivable if the instrument is played without the screw). Another step in the experimental construction could include the assembly of a complete corpus without using glue, and the observation of the changes in the instrument's properties. The theoretical rationale for the use of the groove joint, which is based on the experimental construction made, has two aspects:

1. When the particular ribs are bent, violin makers usually use an (inner or outer) mould. Pavel Kurfürst was the first who explained the use of the groove joints that substituted for the function of the mould. Violin makers inserted the bent ribs, after plasticisation, into the grooves between the top plate and the back and allowed them to dry thoroughly. The ribs could consequently be fixed into the required shape.
2. The procedure of gluing the corpus together is very demanding. When making the box complete, the violin maker mounted one piece after another. When doing this, it is fairly simple to adhere to the time demands of the animal hide glue, and the technique does not require a large amount of clamps. It is much more time-consuming, in contrast, to close the box with the top plate for such large instruments, and for this reason, it is impossible to guarantee the right properties of the glued joint. We are therefore of the opinion that our technique, i.e., dry sewing-together of the corpus (without any glue), is one of the possible explanations as to how the surviving instruments could have been constructed. The used wires (Fig. 12) can also be understood as substituting for the clamps and increasing the corpus's resistance against mechanical damage. As Pavel Kurfürst has mentioned: "Its invulnerability is substantiated by the exemplars that survived long after the war, as undamaged attributes in masked processions or as sledges for children."[20]

[20] Kurfürst, *Hudební nástroje*, 562.

If the groove is combined with a glued joint, it is no longer possible to speak about a dismantlable joint, which makes any subsequent repairs more difficult. Therefore it is no surprise that the follow-up repairs replaced the sewn corpus by the traditional glued construction.

Apart from the difference in the technique of corpus joining, there is no other significant difference between the measured instruments.

When the frequency characteristics were measured, the instruments were in a horizontal position – they lay on a supporting plate whose dimensions were comparable to those of the instrument's back. This way of positioning was chosen due to the old practice that the *Ploschperment* lay on a table or on the musician's knees when it was played.

Both instruments differ in the radiation of very deep (to 200 Hz), middle (the range 700 to 1 000 Hz) and high (above 3 500 Hz) frequencies.

Within the frequencies from 60 to 200 Hz at the top plate level, the replica has the values of the radiated SPL which are 5 to 10 dB higher.[21] The aforementioned higher SPL values in the case of the replica are caused by the fact that the shape of the resonant characteristic of the replica's strongly vibrating basic mode is flat; the basic mode has its resonant peak at a frequency of 160 Hz. The basic mode frequency of the other measured instrument is lower (about 140 Hz), but the form of its vibrations differs from that of the replica at 160 Hz. Although the replica radiates enough at the frequency of 140 Hz, its SPL is lower by approx. 3 dB at a frequency of 140 Hz, in comparison with the resonant maximum of the other instrument. The replica in contrast radiates more strongly at other frequencies between 60 and 200 Hz.

The difference between both instruments can be found in the range of frequencies between 650 and 1 000 Hz, where the original instrument radiates SPL, this being on average higher by 5 dB than that of the replica. The lowest SPL can be observed in the microphones that are attached in the direction of the fingerboard, although the difference between this and the other directions is not as large in the case of the replica.

In contrast to the replica, the original instrument radiates more, in terms of SPL, in the range of frequencies between 3 500 and 4 200 Hz (again by 5 dB SPL on average). The ESPI technique does not allow the vibration images to be measured over the entire area.

The above-mentioned trends in the differences between the replica and the original historical instruments manifest themselves most in the direction of common listening to the instrument laid on the table or the knees. Resulting from the differences, the replica's body is ready to radiate the two first harmonic components of deep tones of the lowest octave more strongly, to which its fuller to earthy tone corresponds. In the case of the replica, however, that tone will be darker compared to the original instrument. Due to the higher values of the higher harmonic components' SPL, the original instrument's tones may be brighter and broader compared to the replica's tones. Much will depend in all of the cases, however, on the playing technique and the strings used.

The screw was not taken into account (it was muffled) during the measurement. As a side result, the measurement detected a fault on the original instrument's corpus in the space of the upper arch, which showed vibration anomalies for most of the measurements (Fig. 15).[22]

[21] Sound Pressure Level

[22] The finding was passed to the owner of the instrument. The damaged spot and the identification of the defect are expected to by visually analysed in the future.

Conclusion

The acoustic measurements verified the former information resulting from visual analyses of the surviving musical instruments and their experimental construction, including the correctly chosen construction technique for the *Ploschperment*. The significantly different results of the *skřipky* measurements highlight the necessity of selecting several other original instruments to obtain a higher amount of input data for a more detailed analysis and a possible revaluation of the correctness of the technique applied during the experimental construction.

The acoustic measurements of musical instruments are applied more and more frequently in organology. In connection with the experimental construction of musical instruments, they are becoming a unique source of information to better understand the links between the construction and the development of musical instruments, especially those of traditional folk culture in this case. While one cannot dispute the long time required for particular operations related to such research, as well as the high costs for acoustic measurements and construction of instruments, it is never clear at the beginning whether the chosen technique will lead to a successful result. Nonetheless, even negative findings, i.e., demonstrations that a certain technique is not suitable or usable, are an important part of the experimental construction's methodology; without them it is impossible to make any progress.

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Fig. 1: Vysočan Ensemble from Jihlava. František Koch (1912–1994) is playing the double bass; leading violinist: Miloslav Brtník Sen. (1928). The photo comes from the implementation of the project called *Video-Encyclopaedia of Folk Dances in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia*. Photo by Rudolf Chudoba 1995. NULK Archives.

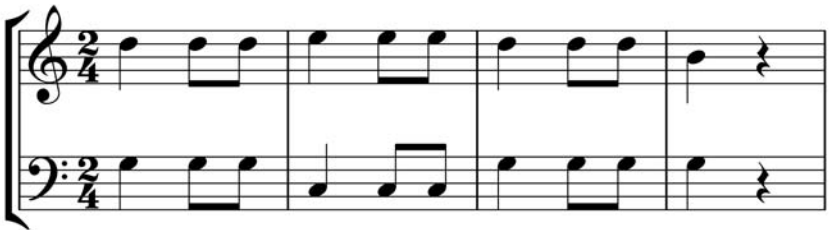

Fig. 2: Example of "playing at full blast."

Fig. 3: Historical *skřipky*. Photo by Pavel Hušek 2013. NULK Archives.

Fig. 4: Detail of the instrument's corpus before it was closed by the top plate. In the upper part, there is material for the construction of another instrument. Photo by Jiří Höhn 2013. NULK Archives.

Fig. 5: *Ploschperment* – a replica made within an experimental construction. Photo by Jiří Höhn. NULK Archives.

Fig. 6: Basset. Fiddlers from Terchová – Festival of Folk Songs and Dances in Strážnice 1964. Photo by Luboš Poláček 1964. NULK Archives.

Fig. 7: Screw detail. Photo by Jiří Höhn. NULK Archives.

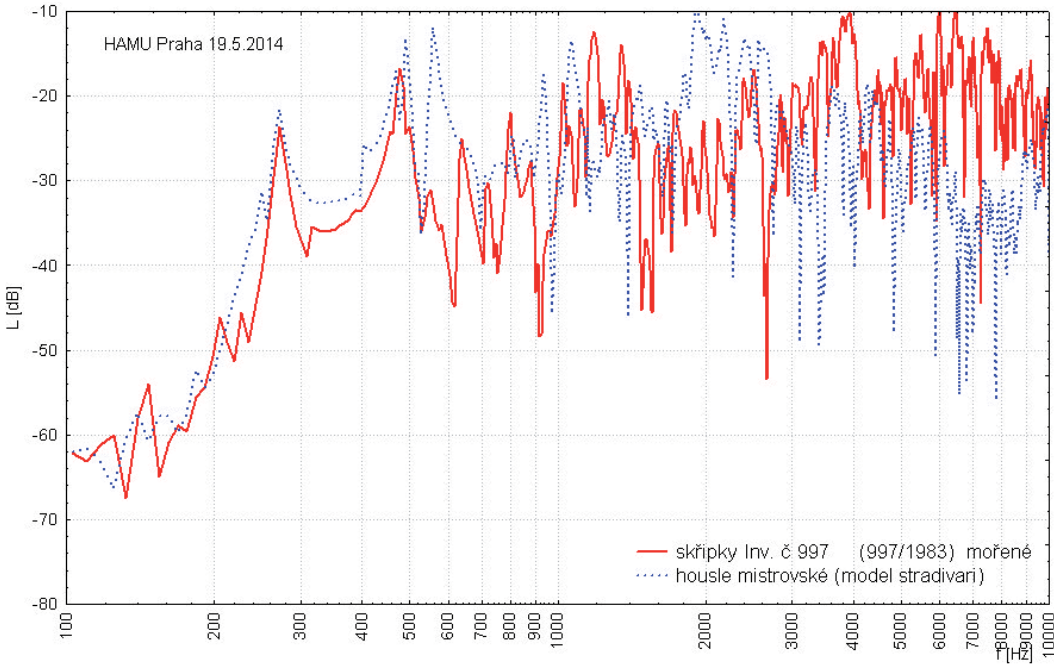

Fig. 8: Results from the measurement of the transmission characteristic of the *skřipky* 997/1983 and those of a typical contemporary master violin.

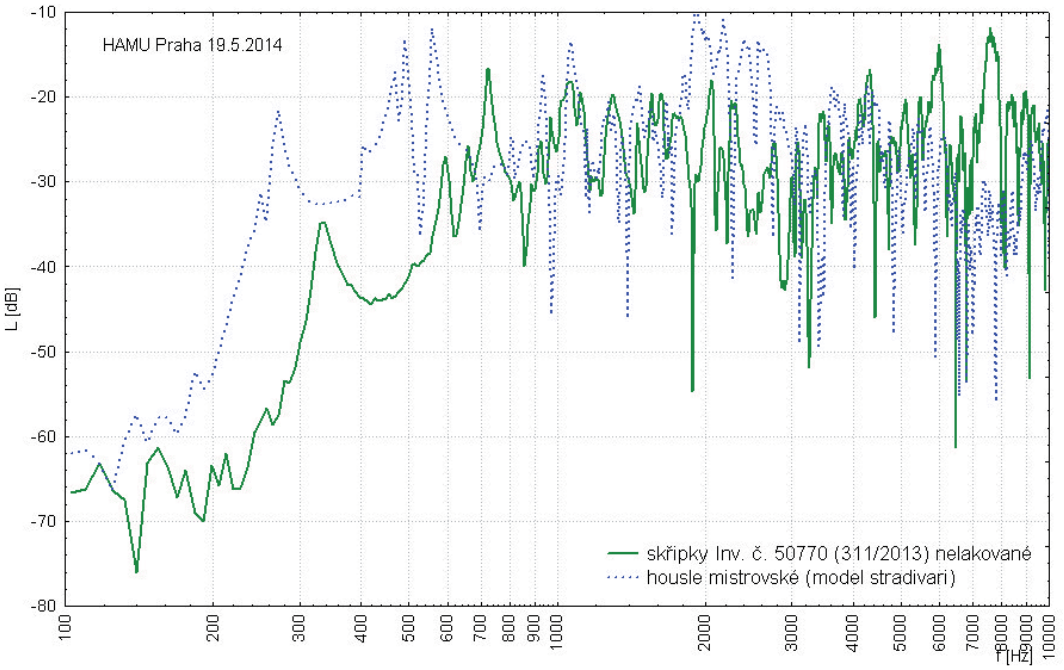

Fig. 9: Results from the measurement of the transmission characteristic of the *skřipky* 311/2013 and those of a typical contemporary master violin.

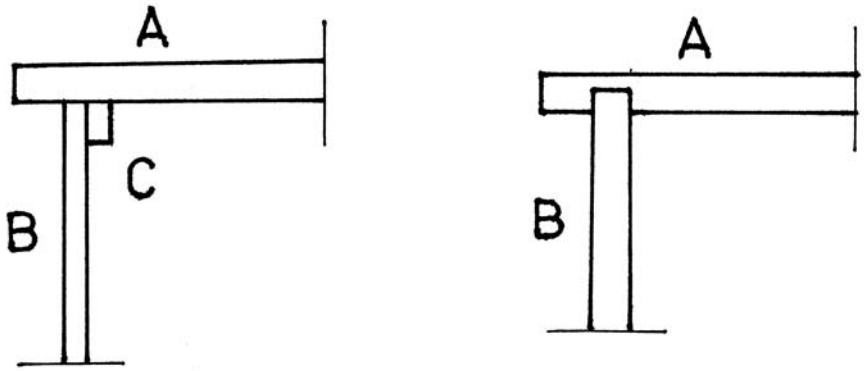

Fig. 10: Obtuse joint between the plate and the ribs (on the left-hand side) and by a groove (on the right-hand side). A – Plate, B – Rib, C – Placing the ribs. Drawn by Jiří Höhn 2016.

Fig. 11: Detail of a groove for the garland on the back. Photo by Jiří Höhn 2015. NULK Archives.

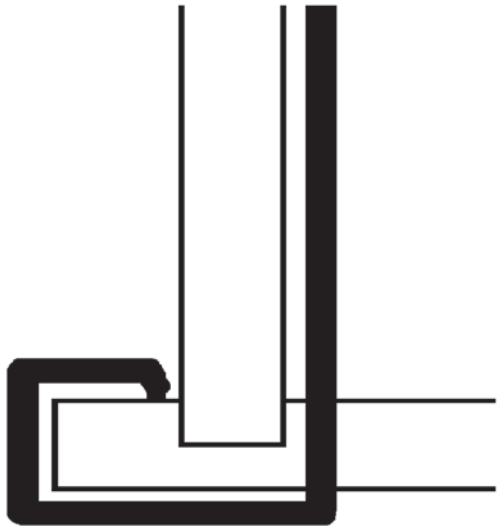

Fig. 12: Chart of wire routing around the back's edge.
Drawn by Jiří Höhn 2016.

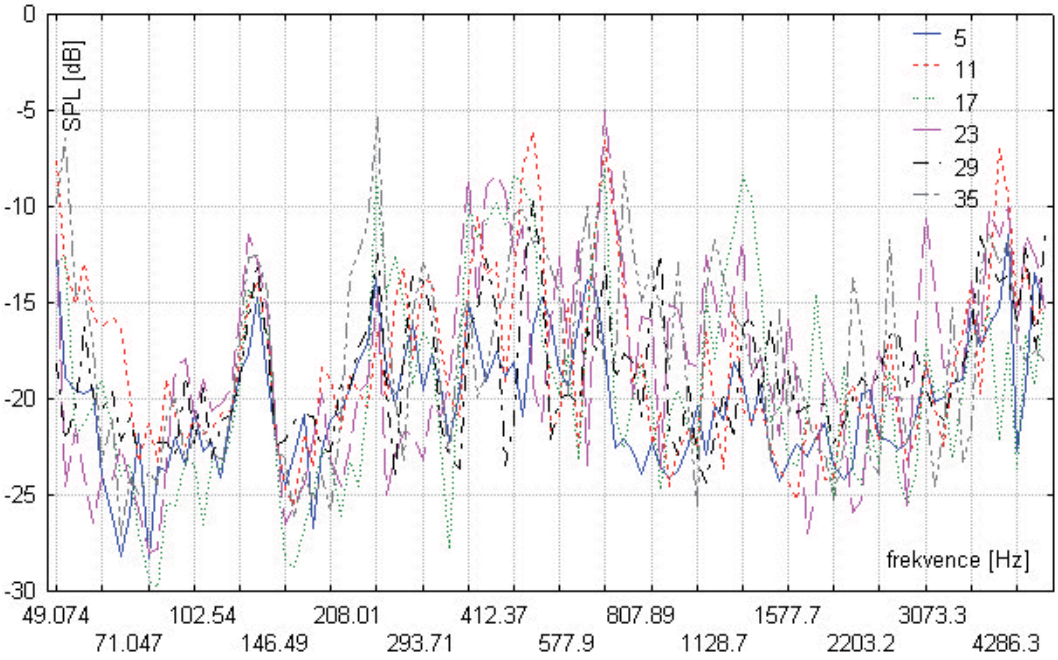

Fig. 13: Transmission frequency characteristic of the *Ploschperment*
(microphones 30° above the top plate level).

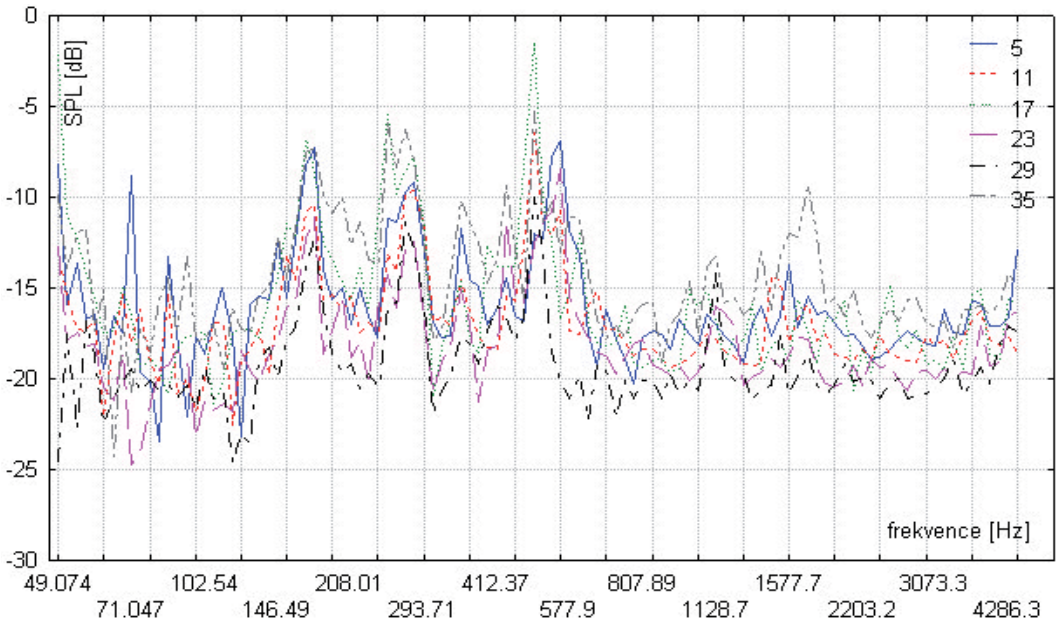

Fig. 14: Transmission frequency characteristic of the Ploschperment's replica (microphones 30° above the top plate level).

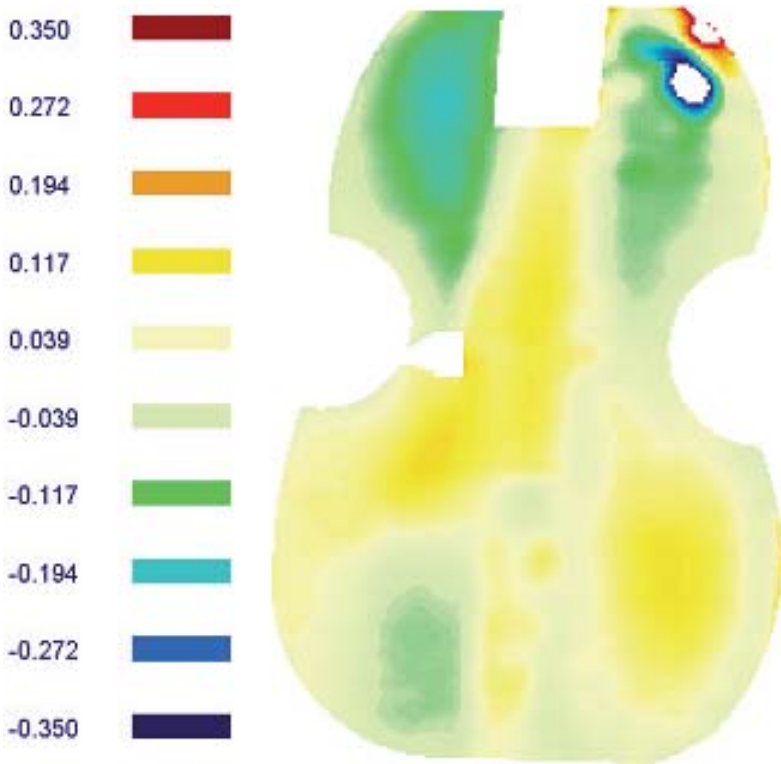

Fig. 15: Photo of the top plate at f_r = 380 Hz in the upper right corner, the non-standard behaviour of the corpus caused by a hidden defect is visible.

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An American Tune by a German Composer: How Paul Simon's "American Tune" Creates Meaning through Borrowing[1]

Abstract | It is well-known that Paul Simon took the melody for the first eight measures of his song "American Tune" from the chorale "Acknowledge Me, My Keeper" – more commonly, "O Sacred Head, Now Wounded" – from the *St. Matthew Passion*. It is also known that Bach used this melody elsewhere in his oeuvre: namely, in the *Christmas Oratorio* (though with a different harmonization). Somewhat less known is that Bach borrowed the tune from Hans Leo Hassler's secular song *Mein G'müth ist mir verwirret* "My peace of mind is disturbed."[2] In this study, I trace the origins of "American Tune" from the Hassler song and textual correspondences between various incarnations of the song in order to explore intertextuality with other texts. Further, I argue that the Statue of Liberty, mentioned only briefly in the bridge, is the focal point of "American Tune," and it is the locus of the protagonist's misgivings about the contemporary political situation in the United States.

Keywords | Paul Simon – "American Tune" – Intertextuality

Borrowing of classical themes for popular songs is of course nothing new. Chopin's *Prelude in C Minor* provides the introduction for Barry Manilow's "Could It Be Magic?;" Eric Carmen's "All By Myself" borrows extensively from Sergei Rachmaninoff's *Piano Concerto No. 2 in C Minor, op. 18*. Sting used a theme from Sergei Prokofiev's *Lieutenant Kije* for "Russians." In this last example, the musically educated and attentive listener would be expected to make the connection between the textual material and the geographical origin of the theme; a song called "Russians" calls for a theme by a Russian composer. Sting does not try to conceal his source; on the contrary, he mentions it in his liner notes. Paul Simon, however, does not make the connection between his song and Bach's chorale tune plain, but instead he coyly entitles it "American Tune."[3]

Sometimes the popular song can supplant its classical source. Once, as an undergraduate, I was walking across campus with a fellow music student when suddenly the carillon player began his noontime concert. My friend suddenly stopped and exclaimed, "Listen! They're playing

[1] I thank Jura Avizienis and Mark Brill for their keen observations and suggestions. This article is a rewritten version of a paper that I read as part of a panel entitled "Allusion, Influence, and the Ambiguity of Cover Songs in Popular Music" at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society and Society for Music Theory in Nashville, Tennessee in November 2008.

[2] Bach had borrowed other tunes from earlier composers – "O Welt, ich muβ dich lassen" is a contrafactum of Renaissance composer Heinrich Isaac's "Innsbruck, ich muβ dich lassen."

[3] Other composers such as Liszt set the melody. The Dave Brubeck Trio and Peter, Paul and Mary used the melody for the song "Because All Men Are Brothers," appearing on the *Summit Sessions* album, which was released two years before "American Tune."

the Beatles!" To which I replied: "That's actually the *Marseillaise*." When my friend heard "All You Need Is Love," I heard the French national anthem. For many listeners of "American Tune," learning that the melody's beginning is several centuries old comes as quite a surprise. Those who learn of the melody's origin ex post facto might be inclined to inquire about possible connections between the song and its predecessors.

Quotation, homage, parody, allusion, and influence are all terms in the doxa of musical borrowing and each has its own set of valences and expectations for the listener. One must always first look to texts associated with the music in order to determine whether there is more to the allusion than a simple lifting of a catchy tune.[4] An attentive listener who notes the origin of the melody might expect a clear correspondence between the chorale text and the "American Tune" lyrics, whether it be a straightforward quotation, a reinterpretation, ironic distancing, or something else. Of course, the song is intended to appeal to listeners who are unaware of the borrowing as well as to the initiated. Many listeners enjoy the song without any awareness of the borrowing.

If Simon did intend for some listeners to make a connection to Bach's chorale, we might speculate that he wished to draw a parallel to the Christian origins of the United States and to a canon of Protestant hymns and a particular set of connotations that such an association might evoke. The verse melody and its accompaniment are hymn-like. Simon's simple guitar and bass accompaniment has a rhythmic similarity to a chorale, and the harmony of the first eight measures is in an eighteenth-century idiom.[5] Finally, various religious tropes characterize Simon's text and the overall mood of the song is one of quiet reverence. All of these elements interact to evoke spiritual associations.

Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!

Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that Paul Simon would be asking the listener of "American Tune" to make a connection between his song and the origin of the beginning of the tune. After all, relatively few people these days know the chorale tune in its Bachian incarnation, let alone as the melody of an obscure song by Hassler, a German organist and composer who was born the same year as Galileo and Shakespeare, although not nearly as well-known as they. Also, Simon makes no attempt to call attention to the borrowing and in fact calls the song "American Tune," which would seem to preclude the possibility of any lyrics or music being adapted from another geographical area. The only aspect of this song that can rightly be considered wholly American is the text. Yet even here we find correspondences to the song's predecessors, which I will address presently.

The lyrics for "American Tune" are as follows:

> Many's the time I've been mistaken, and many times confused,
> And I've often felt forsaken, and certainly misused.
> But it's all right, it's all right, I'm just weary to my bones
> Still, you don't expect to be bright and bon vivant
> So far away from home, so far away from home.

[4] For more on allusion, see Christopher Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). Reynolds distinguishes between two different types of allusion – assimilative and contrastive.

[5] Although when the melody changes from quotation to free melody, the harmony changes as well to a more popular style, including V–IV retrogression and other aspects incongruous to common practice music but native to popular music.

I don't know a soul who's not been battered
Don't have a friend who feels at ease
Don't know a dream that's not been shattered
Or driven to its knees.
But it's all right, all right, we've lived so well so long
Still, when I think of the road we're traveling on,
I wonder what went wrong, I can't help it
I wonder what went wrong.

And I dreamed I was flying.
I dreamed my soul rose unexpectedly,
and looking back down on me, smiled reassuringly,
and I dreamed I was dying.
And far above, my eyes could clearly see
The Statue of Liberty, drifting away to sea
And I dreamed I was flying.

We come on a ship we call the Mayflower,
We come on a ship that sailed the moon
We come at the age's most uncertain hours
And sing an American tune
But it's all right, it's all right
You can't be forever blessed
Still, tomorrow's gonna be another working day
And I'm trying to get some rest,
That's all, I'm trying to get some rest.

– ©1973 Paul Simon[6]

Possible connections between "American Tune" lyrics and the text of the Bach chorale immediately suggest themselves. Attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux in 1153 and translated into German by the seventeenth-century theologian and hymnodist Paul Gerhardt, the primary text of Bach's *Passion Chorale* is:

Acknowledge me, my keeper,
My shepherd, make me thine!
From Thee, source of all blessings,
Have I been richly blest.
Thy mouth hath oft refreshed me
With milk and sweetest food,
Thy Spirit hath endowed me
With many heav'nly joys.[7]

[6] Citing these lyrics for this article qualifies as fair use under the four factor test. The purpose of the use of the text of "American Tune" is transformative (providing scholarly analysis and commentary to a musical composition); only part of the piece is reproduced (only text, but no music); and finally, this use for scholarly purposes has no effect on the potential market for selling the music and no compensation has been or will be received for this article.

[7] This translation is by Z. Phillip Ambrose.

"American Tune" seems to refer openly to the text of the *Passion Chorale* in the line "You can't be forever blessed" from the last stanza. This would seem to evince a particular intertextuality between "American Tune" and Bernard's text. Simon's protagonist may be talking to the speaker of the chorale text with twentieth-century world-weariness and ironic remove. Simon seems to be admonishing the chorale text speaker for naïve optimism, while at the same time reassuring him that things could be worse.

Even more notable is how similar Simon's text is to the original source text of the verse melody, Hassler's love song. Although it might not seem at first glance that a sixteenth-century naïve love song would have much in common with a twentieth-century pop song with specific political undertones, again Simon's lyrics seem to refer to an earlier text in a direct way. Here is Hassler's text:

My peace of mind is disturbed
This, by a gentle maiden.
I am totally and utterly lost,
My heart aches so.
Day and night have I no rest,
Forever must I weep.
Endlessly I sigh and sob,
And despair in deep sadness.

The primary difference between the antihero of "American Tune" and that of Hassler's song is that there seems to be some hope that things might improve in the future in "American Tune." Souls are "battered," friends are ill at ease, dreams are "shattered" and "driven to their knees." Simon's man speaks of often being "mistaken," "confused," "forsaken," and "misused," claiming at the end that he just wants "to get some rest."[8] A four-measure codetta at the end of the song has a plagal feeling that bespeaks relaxation, supporting the ontology of the text: "That's all, I'm trying to get some rest" coincides with musical repose, followed by a musical rest, an authentic cadence.

Hassler's lover has no rest from "continual sighing and weeping, in utter sorrow despairing," while Simon's working man sings of weariness and needing rest. Simon's singer acknowledges the difficulties he faces, but he seems reconciled with his fate and resolved to make the best of his situation. Lamenting the political situation of the day, he is speaking to a wider audience than Hassler's young man, who is merely experiencing personal torment in love. An analogy between a holy man's suffering and that of Hassler's lover or Simon's working man might seem rather overwrought. But such conceits are centuries old, found among other places in motets with secular love texts in French juxtaposed against Latin devotional hymns to the Virgin Mary.

"O Sacred Head, Now Wounded" is the most famous text set by Bach to this tune. One key difference between the Hassler song and this hymn is the location of the injury to the afflicted.[9] Whereas Hassler's secular song text focused chiefly on the heart ("My heart aches so"), *O Haupt,*

[8] In a tune from an altogether different America, Simón Bolívar made a statement to a friend near the end of his life that sounds strikingly similar to the first verse of "American Tune:" "I am old, sick, tired, disillusioned, besieged, maligned, and badly paid. And I ask for nothing more than a good rest and the preservation of my honor. Alas, I don't think I will ever find either." (Simón Bolívar to Briceño Méndez, Cartagena, September 20, 1830, *Documentos para los anales*, 266–267, as cited in Marie Arana, *Bolívar: American Liberator* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013], 562). "El Libertador" was battling to free his own citizens, rather than offering refuge to immigrants, but he is another figure representing liberty in the New World.

[9] In the full poem *Salve mundi salutare*, each stanza speaks to a part of Christ's body as he is being crucified.

voll Blut und Wunden features most prominently the head, specifically a head crowned with thorns, bloody and wounded. The contrast in focus is striking:

O head, full of blood and wounds
Full of sorrow and full of scoffing!
O head, for mockery wreathed
With a crown of thorns!
O head, once handsomely adorned
With highest honor and esteem,
but now highly insulted
Let me hail you!

Other contrasts suggest themselves. One is that Hassler's text is in the first person; Bernard's in the second person. Furthermore, Hassler's protagonist speaks of private suffering, while Jesus's suffering is communally inflicted pain and public derision, which Bernard acknowledges, addressing Jesus directly.

Specific syntactical cues in "American Tune" guide the listener as the song proceeds. The three verses and bridge are each marked by shifts in verb tense. The first verse is in the present perfect tense; the second, in the simple present; the bridge in the simple past (as we might expect a dream to be); and the third and final verse is again in the present tense, a syntactical signifier of a change in focus to the present day. Following each verse, the choruses are signaled textually by a shift in agency through the contrastive conjunctions and adverbs "but," "still" and "and."[10] The contrastives betoken a change in perspective, from pessimistic to optimistic. Thus in its final verse, "American Tune" concludes on a hopeful note. Perhaps it is American eternal optimism in the song that accounts for the protagonist's resignation to his temporarily downturned fortunes and his expression of hope for quick improvement ("Still tomorrow's gonna be another working day"), which forms a strong contrast with the hopelessness of Hassler's hapless lover.

Music

Music in "American Tune" is a shuffle in common time, diatonic in C major, with brief tonicizations of the relative minor. In places the minor inflections connote sadness or despair (for instance, on "Oh, but I'm alright, it's alright," the music moves from briefly tonicized A minor back into reassuring tonic C major). There is a pentatonic melody on the phrase "sing an American tune" – the pentatonic scale has sometimes been used to depict musical "Americanness," as in Dvořák's *Ninth Symphony* (*From the New World*). But beyond mere superficial appearances, it might seem that the one thing about the song that is *not* American is the tune itself. It starts as a German melody, whether in its original Hassler incarnation or the Bach refitting. A stereotypical American song might be patriotic, optimistic, "future is bright," and joyful, rather than the world-weary, resigned, uncertain, and anxious song that Simon actually wrote.

Music in each verse moves from sounding Baroque to sounding more and more contemporary. The Hassler melody, against such a bass line, strongly conveys a Baroque musical sensibility. The effect is also present in the song as a whole (an orchestra enters at the bridge and continues until the end). We might interpret this transition from Hassler/Bach to Simon as a passage from Old World Europe to New World America. (In the third verse, Simon bookends America's history

[10] Jura Avizienis has my gratitude for calling my attention to this issue.

from a European perspective with two journeys of discovery: the Mayflower crossing and the Moon landing, which had occurred only four years earlier.) The bridge is a mini-dream sequence in which orchestral accompaniment lends an uplifting and larger-than-life character. Though this is not reflected in the transcription of the song in Simon's published *Greatest Hits* songbook,[11] the bass at times sounds Bach-like in its directionality and contrapuntal relationship to the melody.[12]

"American Tune" is characterized by conflicting musical impulses:

Baroque characteristics	**Folk characteristics**
Use of I^6_4 chords at final cadences of verses 1 and 2 and traditional harmonic progressions	Tonal regression (V–IV)
Diminished chords	Occasional ninth chords
Steady meter	Occasional meter changes
Orchestral accompaniment from the bridge and through verse 3 to the end	Strumming of guitar
Directional/goal-oriented bass	
Counterpoint between melody and bass	Riff on "sing an American tune" is in pentatonic (an "American" scale)

Which musical elements are particularly American? The rhythmic syncopation that Simon gives to the melody, as well as the changes the melody undergoes throughout "American Tune," lends the song a particularly New World flavor. A simple guitar accompaniment fills out the chords that might have been elaborated by a lute or sung in four-part choral harmony in the Hassler and Bach versions of the melody. The song could be an "American" tune in that it borrows a bit from here, a bit from there, an amalgam of different things.

Hassler's melody is in the Phrygian mode, which in the Renaissance and Baroque eras was most closely connected with mourning. *Déplorations*, written to mourn the deaths of composers and sometimes invoking classical mythology as well as Christian imagery, were most often set in this mode; the most famous compositions of this type were dedicated to Josquin des Prez and Johannes Ockeghem by their students and admirers.[13] For Hassler, the choice of Phrygian would be an effective poetic conceit: the lover grieving for the loss of his "tender maiden." For Bernard of Clairvaux, the affect perfectly fits the situation and is straightforward, with the singers lamenting Jesus' torture and painful death. For Simon, Phrygian's associations with bereavement have likely lost much of their earlier resonances.

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[11] Paul Simon, *Greatest Hits, Etc.* (New York: Columbia, 1977).

[12] At other times the bass merely outlines the tonic and dominant pitches, a more standard pop bass line. Also, in solo appearances, such as the *Dick Cavett Show* in 1974 or the *The Late Show with Stephen Colbert* in 2015, Simon just accompanies himself by strumming chords on guitar, not attempting to add a directional bass line.

[13] Davitt Moroney, "Déploration," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 7, 7th ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 223–224.

A Mighty Woman with a Torch

The Statue of Liberty is the female embodiment of the American Dream. During the song's bridge, Simon's singer recalls a dream in which he sees her "drifting away to sea."[14] What could he have meant by that? Statues are supposed to be static. Simon could have been trying to imply that liberty would be abridged under a Nixon second term. I will address this notion below.

Emma Lazarus wrote a poem for the dedication of the statue in 1886, "The New Colossus," referring to the Colossus of Rhodes, one of the seven ancient Wonders. The poem appears on a bronze plaque that rests today on the pedestal at the foot of the statue. Here is the text of that poem:

"The New Colossus"
Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome;
Her mild eyes common
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"
– Emma Lazarus

Give Me Your Tired, Your Poor

The Statue of Liberty has had numerous meanings ascribed to it. In an insightful analysis about various interpretations over time, Werner Sollors discusses nineteenth-century poems by John Greenleaf Whittier, Emma Lazarus, and Thomas Bailey Aldrich (expressing, respectively, Franco-American friendship, a benevolent welcome to immigrants, and angry anti-immigrant sentiment), in addition to a number of twentieth-century interpretations.[15]

The Statue of Liberty greets immigrants to the United States, welcoming them from all over the world. Supposedly, the genius of America is in taking foreign elements and assimilating them. As noted above, the change in the melody and harmonic progressions in "American Tune" from the Bach/Hassler tune to Simon's own melodic invention might be interpreted as musically representing the journey immigrants made from Europe to America. The early seventeenth century becomes the late twentieth. Immigrant-melody becomes a naturalized "American Tune."

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[14] At the Concert in Central Park that Simon and Garfunkel gave in September 1982, the phrase "Statue of Liberty" generated loud applause and cheers among the audience.

[15] Werner Sollors, "'Of Plymouth Rock and Jamestown and Ellis Island;' Or, Ethnic Literature and Some Redefinitions of 'America,'" in *Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and American Experience*, ed. Donald L. Horowitz and Gérard Noiriel (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 205–244. The poems mentioned were Whittier's "The Bartholdi Statue" (1886), Lazarus's "The New Colossus" (1886), and Aldrich's "Unguarded Gates" (1892).

The lyric "Still, tomorrow's goin' to be another working day" could refer to immigrants' work ethic and strong desire to succeed in the New World; this could be interpreted as the weary desire for rest, faced with another working day, an immigrant's nightly ritual. On the other hand, the line "Still you don't expect to be bright and bon vivant so far away from home" raises questions. Why is the protagonist far from home? This phrase would seem to support the notion of American-as-immigrant as having at least another layer of meaning. Alternatively, it could mean that the protagonist feels far from home in that he sees the contemporary political situation as less than ideal – more on this presently.

The Brazen Giant

Simon's song was released in the wake of Richard Nixon's successful presidential re-election campaign. Like many political progressives of the time, Simon was dismayed by Nixon's re-election as president. Perhaps it is for this reason that he invoked in his song the metaphor of Lady Liberty, the woman betrayed and forsaken by the man tasked with defending and supporting her. After all, the Watergate cover-up was in full swing and the investigation was underway. Citizens were uncertain as to how the story would ultimately play out. Would Nixon get away with his misdeeds and the concomitant cover-up?

George McGovern had been nominated to challenge incumbent Richard Nixon with a Democratic anti-war message. The progressive wing in the Democratic Party had been furious in 1968 when the establishment Hubert Humphrey was installed as the nominee by party insiders, and this was a chief cause for the riots at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. Four years later, they got the candidate they wanted in McGovern. Adored by the left, McGovern turned out to be too progressive for the American electorate at that time, and he was overwhelmingly defeated in November, only winning Massachusetts and the District of Columbia. In the end, Nixon's election had been more or less a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, the defeat was a bitter one for Democrats, only somewhat ameliorated by the election of Jimmy Carter four years later. (Simon performed "American Tune" at a concert given at Washington's Kennedy Center the evening before Jimmy Carter's inauguration. At the time, the song might have seemed to summarize fatigue with the Nixon era, but Carter's "malaise" speech might have been closer to the song's central meaning.)[16]

Tuning into America

"American Tune" was the first song on the B-side of the album *There Goes Rhymin' Simon* (1973). Likening the song to a "state of the union address,"[17] Cornel Bonca called it "one of the most nakedly melancholic songs Simon's ever written, and a deeply affecting and concise framing of the bewildered, weary American mood in 1973. It is one of the greatest songs anyone has written about the fallout of failed 1960s idealism."[18] In just a few words and musical gestures, the song distilled the essence of disillusionment of a certain segment of society with contemporary political realities; few other songs so capture the Zeitgeist of America in 1973. Meaning in the song is created partly through a modern reinterpretation of borrowed musical material.

[16] Actually, the word "malaise" was never used, though the phrase "crisis of confidence" was. This speech came to be known as "Carter's malaise speech."

[17] Cornel Bonca, *Paul Simon: An American Tune* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 107.

[18] Bonca, *Paul Simon: An American Tune*, 66.

For future research, it might be fruitful to explore the layering of various covers of Paul Simon's song.[19] To what extent are artists covering "American Tune" aware of the Bach connection? If they are aware of it, do their songs shed new light on the song and its text or on the intertextuality between the song and its predecessors? Often, cover songs can be constructively viewed as palimpsests, where uncovering one layer of meaning can reveal many others hidden beneath the surface of the music.

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[19] The song has been covered by, among others, Willie Nelson, Dave Matthews, Eva Cassidy, Ann Wilson, the Indigo Girls, the Starland Vocal Band, Glen Phillips, and Darrell Scott.

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Representatives of the New Jewish School on the Stages of Interwar Prague

Abstract | Jews, whose culture had existed for thousands of years, finally gained a "national consciousness" at the beginning of the twentieth century. According to Leonid Sabaniejew (1929), this allowed them to speak to a wide audience in their own musical language, and furthermore, introduce Jewish music to the world of general European art. The musical works of these composers, who declared themselves representatives of the so-called "New Jewish School in music", reached Prague during the interwar period. The group was established in Vienna, soon after the First World War, (as the Society for Promotion of Jewish Music, founded in 1928) and was primarily made up of Jewish artists who had emigrated from Russia. They aspired to create modern art in the form of "concert music", which would exploit the achievements of classical music, but at the same time remain distinct and specifically Jewish in terms of its material. There is a direct analogy here to the activity of Fryderyk Chopin in Poland, Edvard *Grieg* in Norway, or Mikhail *Glinka and Modest Musorgski in Russia*. The main ideologists of the new Jewish school were the cellist Joachim Stutschewsky, and the pianist, pedagogue (working in Vienna, but born in Warsaw) Juliusz Wolfsohn. The article documents in detail the presence of the works of the abovementioned artists, as well as other composers of the new Jewish school, e.g., Ernst Bloch, Jean Paul Ertel, on the stages of interwar Prague, and their participation in important music events of that time such as the ISCM World Music Days Festival in 1924. The author also reports on the activity of a group of young debuting Jewish composers, among whom Frank Pollak, Walter Süskind, Mieczysław Kolinski, Berthold Kobias and Hermann Weiss, are worthy of mention. Finally, the article underlines the important role of the Universal Edition publishing house in the process of promoting new Jewish music in the city on the Vltava. The sources on which the study is based are mainly periodicals published in Prague, in both the German and Czech language.

Keywords | Czechoslovakia – Prague – Interwar Era – New Jewish School in Music

The "New Jewish School" is a term, which became widespread as a result of the activity of Russian musicians of Jewish origin.[1] Jascha Nemtsov, in a monograph devoted to this group,[2] described how they appeared at the beginning of the 1920s in the leading centres of Central Europe, Berlin and Vienna. There they continued, on a broader scale, the work on the creation of the Jewish national style, begun in St. Petersburg and Moscow before the October Revolution and which would be equivalent to other national styles: Russian, Polish or Czech. Nemtsov proposed a division of this style into two branches: traditionalistic, popular (or even utilitarian), referring to

[1] Members of this group were, among others, Julij Engel, Aleksander and Grigorij Krejn, Josef Achron, Michaił Gnesin, Moshe Milner, Solomon Rosowsky, Lazar Saminsky.

[2] Jascha Nemtsov, *Die Neue Jüdische Schule in der Musik* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2004).

the Romantic style, drawing from the treasury of Jewish folk songs (i.e., the "Eastern-Jewish" – ostjüdisch folklor) and Modernist, elitist, mostly interested in Hebrew melodies, striving to stylize them in the spirit of the latest trends in Western music.[3] In the press before 1939, the Jewish school was called in parallel "Russian-Jewish" (russisch-jüdisch, see the title of an article by Elsa Bienenfeld in *Neues Wiener Journal* from 2 August 1931, p. 10).

As of the early 1920s, work on creating a Jewish style in music (in both varieties: the popular and the elitist) was carried by both Russians (Russian Jews and non-Jewish composers,[4] such as Musorgski, Borodin or Prokofiev, who were utilizing Jewish melodies), and composers of Jewish origin who were active in Western Europe. Among the representatives of the first stream are those composers who were associated with Vienna, such as Robert Volkmann, Juliusz Chajes, Josef Sulzer (son of the legendary cantor Salomon Sulzer). The second stream included Bernhard Sekles, Rudolf Réti, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Maurice Ravel, Darius Milhaud, Boris Blacher, and above all, Ernest Bloch, who in the years 1911–1918, composed musical pieces framing the "Jewish cycle" (including the popular *Hebrew Rhapsody* for cello and orchestra and *Psalm 22* for choir)[5] and in 1923–1924 published the miniatures, which gained great popularity among virtuosos: *Baal Schem Suite* for violin and piano and *Meditation Hebraique* for cello and piano. Also worthy of mention are works inspired by Jewish/Hebrew *melos*, composed by Western authors of non-Jewish origin. Apart from the "immortal" *Kol Nidrei* by Max Bruch, these include two *Hebrew Songs Op. 15* by Ferruccio Busoni and Paul Ertel's *Hebraikon String Quartet Op. 14*.

The presence of the New Jewish School in Prague is primarily connected with its role as a satellite centre in relation to Vienna, from where the ambassadors of the Jewish school (Juliusz Wolfsohn and Joachim Stutschewsky) arrived to perform their music and organize concerts. Furthermore, an important role in the popularization of the new trend was played by local young musicians, these being students at both Czech and German conservatories who managed to create their own artistic group in the mid-1930s, as well as musicians associated with the diaspora: cantors, managers of singing societies and activists of numerous Jewish social organizations. No less important was the impact of propaganda created by the leading publishing house of the new Jewish school, Viennese Universal Edition (simultaneously the publisher of the magazine *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, which shaped the views of German-speaking readers concerning the new music, including the New Jewish School), as well as the influence of the International Society for Contemporary Music festivals (one of the musical pieces by Ernest Bloch was even performed in the programme of the first festival, which took place in Prague in 1924). The result of the UE's advertising campaign (based on contracting with those artists who had agreed to perform the newly released music scores) was the building up of works introducing the new Jewish school into the repertoires of Czech soloists and ensembles. One cannot obviously speak of a conscious policy on the part of these groups (among others, the Prague Philharmonic under the leadership of Václav Talich and both Prague string quartets) towards the new Jewish school, as the events described in this article were groundbreaking and eminently niche. The Jewish music began, however, to permeate concert programmes, which were addressed to both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences, roughly as of the mid-1920s. They had a short period of success, after which the troubles related to both the economy (the crisis of 1929–1932 led to the collapse of many musical institutions, including the Vienna Universal Edition), and political factors (Hitler's coup) had begun. When discussing the presence of modern Jewish music in Prague during the

[3] Ibid., 118–199.

[4] The term "non-Jewish" is introduced as the equivalent to the German "nichtjüdisch" to avoid using terms with racist connotations (e.g., "Aryan").

[5] See Alexander Knapp, "The Jewishness of Bloch: Subconscious or Conscious?," in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 97 (1970–1971), 99–112.

interwar years, one should in fact use words such as "attempts," "experiments" etc., and bear in mind that the principal role in spreading it outside the diaspora was played by individuals who were enthusiasts about this kind of art.

Finally, a considerable role in the dissemination of the New Jewish School can be attributed to the Prague newspapers and magazines, both Jewish (*Selbstwehr*, *Židovské zprávy*, *Jüdisches Almanach*) and non-Jewish. The national Czech-language daily *Národní listy* ignored the manifestations of Jewish artistic life in the city (similarly, it did not mention events in German). Many German-language newspapers, *Prager Tagblatt*, *Prager Presse* as well as *Deutsche Zeitung Bohemia*, wrote about it, however, since they viewed musicians of Jewish origin, educated in the German cultural circle, as German musicians (Erich Wachtel may serve here as an example). Among the Czech newspapers, interest in Jewish musical life had been repeatedly demonstrated by *Národní politika*, as well as the professional music magazine *Tempo*. *Hudební listy* wrote several times about Jewish music, including the new Jewish school. The sources, on which this account is based, were gathered from the aforementioned press titles.

Musical life within the Jewish diaspora in Prague was extremely intense after World War 1. This was related to the arrival, during the War and just after, of a large number of Jewish immigrants from Russian territory. Prague consequently made an acquaintance with Chassidic music. Testimony of this process was provided by Max Brod, a leading German-speaking Prague music critic associated with the Zionist environment. The custom of practicing traditional western synagogue music in its reformed version, introduced in the nineteenth century by local cantors operating under the Austro-Hungarian union of cantors (created on the model of an analogous organization which was active in German countries), was very much apparent in the city. Prague Jewish organizations also offered a wide range of music events for their members, with worthy of mention being: Jewish School Association in the Czech Republic (*Jüdischer Schulverein fur Bohmen*), Union of Jewish Women (*Judischer Frauenverein*), Library for Jewish Students in Prague (*Lese- und Redehalle Jüdischer Hochschüler in Prag*), Mensa Academica Judaica, Hebrew Jewish Student Club "Jvriah" (*Hebräische Klub der jüdischen Studentenschaft "Jvriah"*). They organized various balls, parties or so-called "academies," during which Jewish poetry, drama, music and dances, usually, with a view to a general audience, in a simplified form, were presented.[6] There was also a Jewish operetta, which flourished on small stages such as Café Ascherman and the hall of Hotel Bristol. Press advertisements about Jewish operetta productions, which were published in *Prager Tagblatt*, even encouraged non-Jewish German-speaking audiences to participate from the early 1920s. Listeners were ensured that the performances would be presented in a language understandable to them. Jewish wandering singers, therein Russian newcomers, also appeared on various Prague stages. Their repertoire included songs in the popular arrangements of Josef Engel and other members of the Russian "modern-Jewish" group and their satellites. A good example would have been a concert of Eastern-Jewish songs, which took place on 4 January 1921 in the hall of Urania. The songs were presented by Max Kriener (a well-known propagator of Zionism), and an outstanding singer associated with the German opera stages. The concert was organized by the Prague Zionist Group (zionistische Ortsgruppe Prag) so as to collect funds for the National Jewish Foundation. As *Prager Tagblatt* reported, it was the first concert of Jewish songs open to the wider (in other words, not necessarily Jewish) audience of Prague.[7] The review of this concert was written by the professional music critic Ernst Rychnowski, who has been cooperating on an ongoing basis with *Prager Tagblatt*. We learn from his article that during the concert there were presented both folk and artistic songs; the latter written by Janot Roskin with

[6] See "Hebraische Akademie," *Prager Tagblatt*, March 11, 1922, 5.

[7] "zum erstenmal auf diesem Gebiete vor die Offentlichkeit treten." "Bühne und Kunst," *Prager Tagblatt*, January 1, 1921, 7.

lyrics from Jewish poets: Yitskhok Leybush Peretz, Moritz Rosenfeld, Pinchas Dembitzer. Roskin came from the Vitebsk region and published several cycles of Eastern-Jewish folk songs, under the collective title *Jüdische Volkslieder* in Berliner publishing house Musikverlag für nationale Volkskunst, between 1916 and 1921. These songs were included in Max Kriener's repertoire. *Prager Tagblatt* noted several concerts in subsequent years where contemporary artistic Jewish songs were presented. They referred to the tradition of considering as "Jewish music" everything that had in it "something Jewish,"[8] thus not only stylizations of authentic melodies were taken into account, but also musical pieces in which the Jewish "character" could be found or works by composers of Jewish origin. Ernst Rychnovsky discussed, for instance, an evening of Mahler's songs, which was organized in March 1924 by the Student Association "Bar Kokhba" in cooperation with the already-mentioned Max Brod (the leading Prague promoter of Zionism and Jewish culture),[9] as well as the performance of Raval Stromfeld (June 1926), to the programme of which two *Hebrew Songs* by Busoni were included.[10] In *Tempo. Hudební listy* the concert of Radiojournal (the name refers to the Prague radio station which, from the year 1925, broadcast live concerts) was thrashed out. The audience could hear *Deux mélodies hébraïques* by Maurice Ravel, performed by the French singer Susanne Balguerie during this evening.[11]

Musicians working in Prague synagogues began to show interest in the new Jewish music in the 1920s. They were mainly those who had close contact with the local German professional music scene. Mention should be made, first and foremost, of Erich Wachtel, who, in the year 1937, was recognized by the Jewish magazine *Selbstwehr* as the most well-known Jewish musician in Prague.[12] Wachtel was a graduate (student of Alexander Zemlinski) and a teacher at the Deutsche Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Prague, where he taught composition and theory of music. He was active as a conductor from the mid-1920s in the Vinohrady Synagogue ("Weinberger Synagoge/ Vinohradská synagoga"), which Czech-speaking Jews attended. Erich Wachtel also worked as a teacher in the Hebrew Gymnasium in Prague, was the conductor of the Prague Chamber Orchestra (he established this institution),[13] organizer of the Jewish Singing Association (it was linked to the three major centres of Czechoslovakia, see further), was a lecturer and a composer.[14] He specialized in the performance of contemporary music, resulting in the promotion of music of Prague and Viennese representatives of The New Jewish School. The earliest document of Wachtel's interest in the New Jewish School was a concert that he organized in November 1924 in the Vinohrady Synagogue. This was an evening of Eastern-Jewish synagogue compositions (*Konzert ostjüdischen Synagogen-Kompositionen*). A detailed programme of this concert is unfortunately unknown.

Concerts by visiting artists were an essential factor for the popularization of new Jewish music among wider circles of audience (also non-Jewish). They took place in large concert halls such as Urania or Lucerna Palace as well as in the German Theatre. Juliusz Wolfsohn, a musician born in Warsaw in a well-known family with Zionist sympathies and who received his education in Moscow, Paris and Vienna, and has been living in Vienna since World War I, came to Prague as early as 1922. During his first postwar concert in this city (March 1922), Wolfsohn played *Four Paraphrases On Old Jewish Folk Songs* which he had composed two years earlier. They were

[8] Cf. Nemtsov, *Die Neue Jüdische Schule*, 51.

[9] "Buhne und Kunst. Konzerte," *Prager Tagblatt*, March 19, 1924, 6.

[10] p., "Judischer Liederabend Raval Stromfeld," *Prager Tagblatt*, June 4, 1926, 6.

[11] H. D., "Z hudebního života československého," *Tempo*, No. 7 (1930): 250.

[12] *Selbstwehr*, January 8, 1937, 8.

[13] The orchestra worked until about 1925, also offering programmes of classical music, mainly German (see *Bohemia*, February 18, 1925, 6; *Národní listy*, February 18, 1925, 10).

[14] A play with Wachtel's music, *Die Sankt Jacobsfahrt* written by Dietzenschmidt, the subject of which was medieval Christianity, was performed on the small stage of the German Theatre in Prague in 1926. The premiere took place on March 9.

the point of the programme which was highlighted in the previews of the concert published in *Prager Tagblatt*,[15] however, thereafter the reviewer for the newspaper did not pay much attention to them, focusing instead on the Chopin interpretations and the presentation of Brahms and Bruchs' chamber music featuring the popular Prague violinist and bandmaster Otto Šilhavý.[16] Wolfsohn included *Four Paraphrases On Old Jewish Folk Songs* (already published by UE) into the programme of his Prague concert in December 1924. They were juxtaposed with Chopin's *Sonata in B Minor*, *Variations* by Sanisław Niewiadomski dedicated to the pianist,[17] *Waltzes Op. 39* by Johannes Brahms and pieces of music by Alessandro Scarlatti. Ernst Rychnowsky, who reviewed this concert for *Prager Tagblatt*, expressed his appreciation for *Paraphrases…* by comparing them to Liszt's concertos due to their virtuosity.[18] However, in the magazine *Der Auftakt* (the newspaper was published by the Deutsche Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Prague) an extremely harsh opinion appeared, where the author[19] pointed out the pianist's technical and memory errors, categorizing the entire performance as a "disaster". What is more, he also acknowledged the fact that the advertisements for the concert, where we could read about the release of *Paraphrases* by Universal Edition, were merely a publicity stunt.[20] Two years later, Wolfsohn decided to present his next piece containing a stylization of Jewish folk songs, the *Hebrew Rhapsody*, to the Prague public. This musical piece was also discussed in *Prager Tagblatt*, with a characteristic advertising note that it had already been released by Universal Edition. The critic, hiding under the codename "V. P.", has appreciated the bravura with which the pianist performed "Eastern-Jewish motifs." The programme also included works by Chopin and Liszt.[21] A performance by the Rhine Quartet (*Rheinisches Streichquartett*) in October 1923 represented an opportunity to familiarize Prague critics with the artistic ideology of the new Jewish music representing the modernist genre (jüdisch-*nationale Kunstmusik*; as Wolfsohn was considered a representative of the popular stream). The ensemble arrived in Prague at the invitation of the choir from Vinohrady Synagogue, and therefore incorporated into its repertoire a work based on Hebrew melodies – *String Quartet "Hebraicon"* by Paul (Jean Paul) Ertel – a German composer and music critic living in Berlin. Ernst Rychnowski, who also reviewed this concert, discussed the effective method of developing "ethnic" material in a serious quartet form, suggesting as the best solution (which he had heard in Ertel's music) treating folk melodies as the basis of a thematic elaboration, and opposing at the same time possible attempts to create an entire piece "in the Jewish spirit" by exploiting original motifs in such a way that they would only be recognizable in the deep layer of the work.[22] This opinion may indicate Rychnowski's awareness of the statements by Russian-Jewish group members (Engel, Gnesin, Krejn) and perhaps the opposing views of Ernest Bloch, which were discussed by Paul Rosenfeld in 1921[23] in the Viennese (but popular also in Prague) magazine *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, devoted to propagating modern music (the editor of the paper was UE). (Bloch emphasized that his music, despite being inspired by the Jewish spirit, was solely based on his own invention.)

The Prague audience had the first opportunity to hear Bloch's music during the ISCM World Music Days Festival, which took place in the autumn of 1924. *Psalm 22* for baritone voice and orchestra was part of the programme of the third festival's concert. It was accompanied by works

[15] "Buhne und Kunst," *Prager Tagblatt*, March 3, 1922, 5.
[16] V. P, "Konzert Šilhavý – Wolfssohn," *Prager Tagblatt*, March 10, 1922, 6.
[17] Wolfsohn played it from the manuscript.
[18] E[rnst] R[ychnowsky], "Konzerte. Klavierabend Juliusz Wolfsohn," *Prager Tagblatt*, December 4, 1924, 7.
[19] It was probably the editor of *Auftakt* Erich Steinhardt.
[20] "Klavierabend Juliusz Wolfsohn," *Der Auftakt*, No. 12 (1924).
[21] V. P., "Konzerte," *Prager Tagblatt*, March 26, 1926, 6.
[22] E. R., "Konzert des Rheinischen Streichquartetts," *Prager Tagblatt*, October 30, 1923, 8.
[23] Paul Rosenfeld, "Ernesto Bloch," *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, No. 8 (1921): 135.

by Stravinsky, Horwitz, Roussel and Suk performed by the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Václav Talich. Bloch's work was admittedly omitted (as the centre of attention was this time the success of Czech music) in the Prague reviews published after the festival. In the following years, however, his instrumental and vocal-instrumental pieces appeared quite often, and even more importantly, they were performed by Czech artists. Czech musicians gathered in the group Spolek pro moderní hudbu in 1925, and organized a performance of *Sonata for violin and piano.*[24] *Psalms 114* and *137* for soprano and orchestra sounded out in 1929 under the baton of Oskar Nedbal at the Czech Philharmonic (Olga Forrayová was a soloist. The reviewer from *Listy hudební matice* enjoyed the "barbaric" coloration of these musical pieces; in terms of style, he associated Bloch's music with Impressionism[25]). The same psalms were included in the programme of the Czech Philharmonic's subscription concerts in the spring part of the season 1930/1931.[26] Radiojournal's concert programme was also enriched by a new piece by Bloch, *"Shelomo" Hebrew Rhapsody* for cello and orchestra (the first performance took place in December 1930, the orchestra was conducted by Otakar Jeremiáš, the soloist was B. Heran)[27]. *String Quartet* by Bloch was performed by the Ondříček Quartet as part of series of concerts managed by Český spolek pro komorní hudbu in October 1930.[28] The above-mentioned piece was added to the repertoire of Prague Quartet,[29] whose members also occasionally played Bloch's *Piano Quintet*.[30] It can be assumed that the Czech musicians were acquainted with these works through its publisher, the Universal Edition. According to reports published in *Listy hudební matice*, the Bloch compositions: *String Quartet*, *Piano Quintet* and *Concerto Grosso*, as well as pieces of other representatives of the new Jewish school (e.g., Julisz Wolfsohn), were often presented in Brno, the second most important centre of musical life in Czechoslovakia[31].

An article by Jaroslav Vogel, *Zidovstvi w moderni hudbe*, appeared in February 1926 in issue number 5 of the music magazine *Tempo – Listy hudební matice*. This serves as valuable testimony of the influence of the New Jewish School output on the consciousness of the elite of the local music environment (in that version, which was promoted by UE, the journal *Musikblätter des Anbruch* and the ISCM festivals). The author analysed the position of composers of Jewish origin in European music and declared an intention of examining the question of Jewish influence in new Czechoslovak music. In the first part of the article, Vogel repeated the slogan of the time concerning the "non-racial" character of works created by assimilated Jews, such as Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer and Halevy, and then proposed a vision of Mahler as a composer who, "under the cover" of Christianity, wrote music in the Jewish spirit. Furthermore, referring to Halevy, he stated that over time Jews ceased to be "ashamed" of belonging to their race and began to create, under the influence of Zionism among other things, a national Jewish music based on the tradition of synagogue singing. "There are not many of them yet" – Vogel continues, mentioning the names of three composers: Ernest Bloch (as the author of *Psalm 22*), Arnold Schönberg (*Jacob's Ladder*) and Darius Milhaud (*Poèmes juifs*). He hopes that the music of these creators will soon take root in Prague. The final paragraphs of Vogel's text concern the question of the relation-

[24] "Z hudebního života československého," *Tempo. Listy hudební matice*, No. 6 (1925): 208.
[25] bv, "Z hudebního života československého," *Tempo. Listy hudební matice*, No. 4 (1929): 150.
[26] H. D., "Z hudebního života československého," *Tempo. Listy hudební matice*, No. 2 (1930): 75.
[27] "Z hudebního života československého," *Tempo. Listy hudební matice*, No. 6 (1931): 207.
[28] Ibid.
[29] In *Tempo*, No. 6 (1931): 215 there is a note here that the ensemble also performed this piece in Bratislava in the autumn of 1930.
[30] *Tempo* reported that the piece was performed featuring the pianist (Artur?) Rubinstein at the Anglo-American music congress held in Lausanne in 1931. "Československá hudba v cizině," *Tempo. Listy hudební matice*, No. 1 (1931): 34.
[31] "Z hudebního života. Brno," *Tempo. Listy hudební matice*, No. 3/4 (1927): 141; No. 9/10 (1927): 325; No. 4 (1931): 146; No. 7 (1932): 266.

ship between the new Czechoslovak music and the Jewish music: the first mentioned should draw inspiration from the creators of the Jewish national school, but defend itself against the influences of assimilated (cosmopolitan) composers as it aims to build its own national school.

The role of the Jewish culture centre of Prague was taken over by the institution called Beth-Haam as of 1929. It was located on Dlouhá třída (Langegasse) 41 and owned, among other things, a festival hall (*Festsaal*) and a winter garden. It ran up until 1938, becoming the main centre for the presentation of Jewish culture in Prague. Numerous concerts and lectures on Jewish music, aimed at a Jewish audience, took place there. This was where two new Jewish institutions: Jüdisches Gesangvereinigung (the core of this choir became members of former Hebraisches Männerchor; note that the same name was borne by a similar Viennese choir)[32] and a symphonic orchestra, were established by Erich Wachtel in the spring of 1930. While the activity of the orchestra was very brief, the Jüdisches Gesangvereinigung was an institution on the basis of which Wachtel organized, up until early 1937, a number of concerts with programmes embracing both classics of Jewish music (Rossi, Mendelssohn, nineteenth-century elaborations of liturgical music) and modern-Jewish works. Wachtel made contact with the Vienna-based Verein zur Förderung jüdischer Musik, operating under the leadership of Joachim Stutschewsky and the critic Max Graf as of 1928, in all probability in 1930. A concert of leading representatives of the Viennese group was held in the hall of Beth-Haam on 8 November 1930. Joachim Stutschewsky, the singer Hanna Schwarz, a pianist from Lvov Jakob Gimpel, a reciter Oskar Teller and a dancer Gertrud Kraus were mentioned as artists.[33] The Jüdisches Gesangvereinigung's choir also performed.[34] The programme included folk Jewish songs, Hebrew artistic music (*hebräische Kunstmusik*) and recitatives to the texts of a Russian-born Jewish poet living in Vienna, Chaim Bialik. The profits from the concert were donated to the Jüdisches Nationalfond. Jascha Nemtsov quotes a report from *Die Stimme* (20 November 1930), where it was stated that the concert had achieved great success in the view of music critics from both Jewish and non-Jewish papers.[35]

Over the following years Wachtel continued to organize concerts in Prague synagogues, making stylizations of synagogue music by contemporary Jewish composers (Lewandowsky, Rubin) parts of its programmes. Part of Bloch's *Baal Shem* suite was included in a concert dated 5 November 1933, which took place in Karolinenthaler Synagoge. Wachtel performed the violin part personally and was accompanied by Josef Suda on the organ (sic!).[36] A major synagogue concert (*Tempelkonzert*) in Weinberger Synagogue was announced on 8 November 1936. It was attended by the Jüdisches Singvereinigung conducted by Erich Wachtel and many outstanding stars: the cantor Igno Mann, the leading Prague organist Bedřich Wiedermann (professor of organ at the local conservatory, conductor of choirs in Emauskirche and Karlinerkirche[37]) as well as Joachim Stutschewsky. The programme of the concert, apart from the synagogue songs, included the "new Jewish music" (*jungjüdische Musik*), more specifically, the works of Mario Castelnuovo Tedesco, Ernest Bloch and Darius Milhaud.[38]

Erich Wachtel also organized annual Jewish concerts, which were open to the general public, in the largest halls of Prague as of 1934. He conducted his choir in the great hall of the City Library on 24 May 1934; the programme containing the works of Solomon Rossi and Felix Men-

[32] The presidents of the society, which intended to expand its activity to all of Czechoslovakia, were A. Brand from Prague, Oskar Hirsch from Teplitz-Schönau and Max Borger from Ostrava.

[33] "Abend jüdischer Kunst," *Prager Tagblatt*, October 21, 1930, 8.

[34] "Konzerte," *Prager Tagblatt*, October 27, 1930, 7.

[35] Nemtsov, *Die Neue Jüdische Schule*, 222.

[36] "Matinée synagogaler Musik," *Prager Tagblatt*, April 15, 1934, 10; Cf. "Konzerte," *Bohemia*, April 17, 1934, 5.

[37] See "Prof. B. Wiederman – 50 Jahre," *Prager Presse*, November 11, 1930, 3.

[38] "Kunst," *Prager Tagblatt*, October 28, 1936, 15; November 6, 1936, 7. The Hebrew Cultural Organization "Tarbut" was mentioned as the organizer of this concert.

delssohn was expanded with elaborations of Palestinian songs by an unknown author (probably Wachtel himself). The concert was crowned by a historical curiosity: the premiere of the song *Hallelujah* by the father of Czech opera František Škroup took place during this evening; the piece was performed from the manuscript, which had been, as it was noted in *Národní politika*, in the possession of Jüdisches Gesangverein.[39]

Another annual Jewish concert organized through Erich Wachtel' efforts, this time in Lucerna Palace, took place on 2 April 1935. Just a year after the American premiere, the choir of Jüdisches Gesangvereinigung, the Prague Symphony Orchestra (FOK) and the soloist-baritone Vittorio Weinberg performed together a renowned work by Ernest Bloch – *Servizio sacro* (*Avodath Hakodesh*) as well as the *Cantata Op. 103* by Darius Milhaud to the texts of the Psalms. The reviewer from *Prager Presse* was fascinated by Bloch's work, correctly recognizing the Hasidic pattern that had laid at its base (the Shabbat songs – *niggunim*), and appreciating the combination of oriental instrumental coloration with modern harmony. He described the new quality, created by the composer, as a "deeply felt spiritual-national work" (*tief empfundenes geistlich-nationales Werk*); Milhaud's cantata, as a continuation of the choral style of Salomone Rossi, "the first Jewish composer [writing] in European style" (*des ersten jüdischen Tonsetzers in europäischen Stil*).[40]

The third great concert of Jewish music with the participation of the Jüdisches Gesanverein took place in Prague on 26 February 1936. Max Kriener appeared as the main soloist. He was accompanied by local singers: Berta Simonowa and Lilly Barthova. The choir of Jüdisches Gesangverein was conducted by Bernhardt Vajda, with G. Schmidt playing on the organ. The concert was held in the Urania hall. The short review published in *Prager Presse*, relates that "treasures of synagogue music" were performed during this evening.[41] After 25 September 1936, Wachtel conducted a concert, the programme of which contained, apart from Mendelssohn's oratorio *Elias* (presented in Hebrew), his own elaborations of Hebrew songs.[42] The fourth annual concert of the Jüdisches Vereinigung, which took place after 19 February 1937, was conducted by Israel Abramis, a cantor from Riga. He was brought to Prague as a replacement for Erich Wachtel, who, according to *Selbstwehr*, retired from his position in January 1937 and moved to Brno, where he founded the Jungjüdisches Gesangverein[43] (in another note it was stated that Wachtel established a new choir called "Juwal" in Prague in March[44]). After Wachtel's departure, Prague hosted a concert of Jewish music with the Jüdisches Gesangverein from Ostrava (in the great synagogue after February 25, 1937, under the baton of Anton Aich and with the participation of Joachim Stutschewsky.[45] This was a repetition of a concert that had taken place earlier in Ostrava; the programme is unknown). The next concert of new Jewish music in Prague is dated 11 April 1937. It was probably attended by students from the Jewish gymnasium, and compositions by Bloch, Stutschewsky, Dyk, Weiner and Achron were performed. The last open choral event that took place in the Beeth-Haam was a concert of the Jewish Singing Association "Juwal" in May 1938, which was conducted by Israeli Abramis. It is known that the programme was filled by "Palestinian choirs."[46]

The history of the presence of the New Jewish School's output in Prague before the Anschluss is also related to the work of the pianist, harpsichordist and composer Frank Pollak. He

[39] *Národní politika*, (morning edition), May 17, 1934, 4; Cf. "Kunst," *Prager Tagblatt*, May 6, 1934, 7.
[40] O. B., "Musikalische Uraufführungen," *Prager Presse*, April 4, 1935, 8.
[41] "Kunstchronik," *Prager Presse*, February 28, 1936, 8.
[42] *Selbstwehr*, September 25, 1936, 9.
[43] *Selbstwehr*, February 19, 1937; January 8, 1937.
[44] *Selbstwehr*, April 9, 1937, 6.
[45] Inf. *Selbswehr*, February 25, 1937, 10.
[46] "Konzerte," *Prager Presse*, May 17, 1938, 9.

was a graduate of the Prague Conservatoire. *Listy hudební matice* reported that he had studied composition with Rudolf Karel. Pollak's work entitled *Hebrew Rhapsody* was performed as part of the show ending the academic year 1928/29.[47] Frank Pollak was active in Prague, mainly as a pianist and accompanist, and also played a major role in promoting early music. He initiated two concerts consisting of works by contemporary Jewish composers in 1934. One of the best performers of Jewish songs, J. Segal-Rosenbach, performed on the stage of Mozarteum Hall in February 1934 at his initiative. He presented Hebrew, Palestinian, Arabic-Yemeni and folk (i.e., Central European in Yiddish) songs in a musical elaboration of such composers as S. Alman, Rosowski-Seira, M. Milner, J. Achron and W. Binder. The concert, which met with a note in *Listy hudební matice* was complemented by several piano pieces by Joachim Stutschewsky and an unknown composition by Joel Engel.[48] An event announced as a "concert of young Jewish composers active in Prague" (*Konzert junger Prager jüdischen Komponisten*) took place at the French Institute on 18 December 1934. The initiator of the evening was Frank Pollak, while the Jewish Youth Union "Menorah Brith Hanoar" was recorded as its organizer. As stated, works by Walter Süskind, [Mieczyslaw] Kolinski, Berthold Kobias, Hermann Weiss and Frank Pollak were presented at the concert. The artists were the above-mentioned composers as well as the singers, Erna Fischer-Vogel and Else Kleiner. Among the pieces which were performed (not necessarily with Jewish names) were Süsskind: *2 Lieder* to the text of R. Tagore, piano *Préludes*, Kolinski: *Kleine Suite* for violin and piano, songs to the lyrics of Arnošt Krauss and Oskar Wiener, Pollak: *Hebräische Rapsodie*, the song *Tvůj hlas* to the lyrics of Josef Hora, Weiss: songs. The reviewer of *Prager Tagblatt* put the latter pieces first as they were meant to reflect the true Eastern coloration.[49] This view was shared by a critic from *Prager Presse*, who stated that the songs by Weiss (who was a student of Vítězslav Novák and Rudolf Karel) turned out to be "the most Jewish items of the evening" (*das jüdischste des Abends*) due to the accompaniment rhythm of Hasidic origin, which went beyond the European system, and the character of the melody of the solo voice. The reviewer has also paid attention to Süsskind's *Preludes*, finding in their sound an unconscious imitation of the structure of choir voices in the Hassidic service.[50]

The Prague group of Jewish composers turned out to be ephemeral. Two further composer concerts organized by Pollak (and with his participation) took place in 1936 as "Evening of young Prague composers"[51] and the "Chamber concert of Czech composers."[52] Pollak's group fell silent after 1936, most likely due to the unfavorable political climate around the Jewish nation.

In the last years before the Anschluss, the new Jewish music also penetrated the Czech musical environment through contacts with the USSR. Karel Boleslav Jirák led the Prague Radio Orchestra in a performance of Alexander Veprik's piece entitled *Smutečni zpěv Op. 20*, as part of the concert devoted to Soviet composers' music, on December 1935.[53] The "Přítomnost" Society presented Louis Gruenberg's cantata *The Daniel Jazz* for voice and chamber orchestra in May 1936 (it was conducted by Iša Krejčí, the solo part was sung by A. Votava),[54] while in March 1937, at a concert organized by the Society for Economic and Cultural Cooperation with the USSR, Aleksander Veprik's piano pieces and Samuel Feinberg's songs were performed.[55]

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[47] "Z hudebního života československého," *Tempo. Listy hudební matice*, No. 2 (1929): 61.
[48] fb, "Koncerty," *Tempo. Listy hudební matice*, No. 7 (1934): 263.
[49] W[alter] S[eidl], "Junge jüdischen Komponisten," *Prager Tagblatt*, December 20, 1934, 6.
[50] O. B., "Konzert junger Prager jüdischen Komponisten," *Prager Presse*, December 20, 1934, 6.
[51] W[alter] S[eidl], "Abend junger Prager Komponisten," *Prager Tagblatt*, March 27, 1936, 8.
[52] "Kunst," *Prager Tagblatt*, April 20, 1936, 7.
[53] "Koncerty," *Tempo. List pro hudební kulturu*, No. 5 (1935): 55.
[54] fb, "Koncerty," *Tempo. List pro hudební kulturu*, No. 13 (1936): 151.
[55] František Bartoš, "Z hudebního života," *Tempo. List pro hudební kulturu*, No. 11 (1937): 147.

A report on the presence of modern Jewish music in interwar Prague should be complemented by information concerning the performance of individual pieces being part of recitals of visiting virtuosos. Unfortunately, this kind of information cannot be collected on the basis of press releases, because the press did not always provide detailed programmes of concerts of soloists.

Based on the information collected thus far, we know that Jewish music was represented in the 1930s in Prague, as well as in Vienna, mostly by popular works by Joseph Achron, Ernest Bloch and Joachim Stutschewsky, who were already recorded and broadcast by radio stations throughout Europe at the time. Bloch's unknown work was performed on 10 November 1930 in Lucerna Palace by the world-famous violinist Natan Milstein.[56] The *Suite* by the above-mentioned composer was presented in 1931 by the violist Karl Kalliwoda.[57] The violin pieces of Bloch and Achron (unknown by title) were played by Lea Lipszyc (Luboszyc; this well-known artist was once a student of the renowned Polish conductor Emil Młynarski) during her recital, which took place in Prague in March 1936.[58] The unknown work by Bloch was performed by the Jewish-American violinist Jacques Margolies at the end of October 1937,[59] and in February 1938, the cellist Regina Schein (wife of Joachim Stutschewsky) played the songs of Achron and her husband. The recital by Regina Schein (she was presented as Swiss, as at that time the Stutschewsky family had already lived in this country) became the topic of a long review written by Oskar Baum, who emphasized the values of "modern Jewish artistic music" (*modern-jüdischer Kunstmusik*) of both Achron and Stutschewsky, especially the neoteric way they developed Eastern-Jewish songs and dances.[60]

It has not been possible thus far to confirm the performances in Prague of Bloch's works by such well-known propagators of his output as Josef Szigeti or Rafael Lanes. There is also no mention of possible presentations of the composition *Eli, Eli* in an arrangement by the leading Czech violinist Váša Příhoda (the work was repeatedly broadcast in 1937 by the Viennese Radio; the origin of this song is sometimes viewed as folk, but was in fact composed by Jacob Koppel Sandler). On the basis of a piecemeal analysis of Prague radio programmes, it can be stated that, as in Vienna, Berlin or Warsaw, Jewish works were sometimes broadcast here, mostly those which were in virtuosos' repertoires; the *Hebrew Song* of Mussorgsky in an elaboration by J. Stutschewsky remained very popular.

The report presented above should be complemented by comparisons with the situation of Jewish music in other centres of Central Europe: Berlin, Frankfurt, Vienna or in Polish cities, as only in a comparative perspective can the authentic social status of this music in the interwar period be revealed. On the basis of sketchy information which has been gathered by the author of this article (mainly taken from the German magazines: *Musik Blätter des Anbruch* and *Signale für die musikalische Welt*), we can risk the statement that the fate of the new Jewish music was similar in all Central Europe centres. It began to build its position, both in and outside the diaspora, as of the mid-1920s, quickly achieving quite significant success (it seems symbolic that the "day of Jewish music" was included in the programme of the music festival, which accompanied the exhibition *Music in the Life of Nations* organized in Frankfurt in 1927). Its influence began to consequently decline due to economic and political reasons. Similarly, only comparative studies will allow us to ascertain how far the Jewish and non-Jewish audience of Prague was open to Jewish music and to what extent the musical life of the city was affected by anti-Semitism. The

[56] Inf. *Národní politika*, November 8, 1930, 9.

[57] H. Wien-Claudi, "Musikbriefe. Aus Prag," *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, No. 41 (1931): 951.

[58] "Kunst," *Prager Tagblatt*, April 1, 1936, 5; "Der Tag in Prag," *Prager Presse*, March 30, 1936, 8.

[59] "Der Tag in Prag," *Prager Presse*, October 27, 1937, 7.

[60] o. b., "Bühne und Musik. Konzert Regina Schein," *Prager Presse*, February 13, 1938, 7.

last two questions would concern, of course, not only the reception of the new Jewish school, but also the presence in Prague of other more popular Jewish music forms such as traditional synagogue music, Jewish folklore or operetta.

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Stylistic Synthesis in Libby Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason*

Abstract | This study explores Libby Larsen's creative compositional reintroduction of a centuries-old theme, the *Royal Theme*, in which she draws from the *Musical Offering* in her *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (2007). Larsen does more in the composition than simply display her composing ideas on the *Royal Theme*. A number of familiar musical characteristics and ideas, that have certain elements of style in common from the musical past, are also used. The work goes beyond the usual musical style of Larsen and demonstrates the composer's individual and unique synthesis of conservative and contemporary musical language. The study shall also examine how Larsen copes with the stylistic changes of the three periods, in particular the styles of J. S. Bach and Frederick the Great, and how she reinterprets these different musical styles in the music.

Keywords | Libby Larsen – *Evening in the Palace of Reason* – Twenty-First Century Music

Although much of Larsen's music has been performed and recorded, there have been very few detailed research publications on her compositional handling. Most research on Larsen, as a female composer, has focused on her biography. One finds the general reception of her music in newspaper reviews such as the *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, *IAWM Journal*, *Start Tribune* and others. Only a handful of scholarly journals such as *American Music, Strings* and *Notes* have published recording and performance reviews of her compositions. Indeed, there remains much research to be done on Larsen's musical treatment and stylistic development.

This study therefore explores Libby Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (2007), hereafter referred to as *EPR*. Her creativity takes inspiration from James R. Gaines's book, by the same title, and Larsen's piece, has as its design a musical work that intends to depict and reveal the connection between Bach and Frederick at Potsdam through the use of the *Royal Theme*. What is interesting is that Larsen creatively places herself in the context, along with Bach and Frederick, by incorporating her musical language, including various contemporary compositional writings.

The paper examines how Larsen copes with the stylistic changes of the three periods and how she reinterprets these different musical styles in her music. One obvious handling in *EPR* is that the music tends to move between polyphonic and melody-dominated homophonic textures in various small ways, as material is developed in different sections of various movements. To some extent, Larsen's approach to musical handling is also similar to an operatic singing style. Prevailing Baroque musical characteristics and styles such as Lombardic rhythms, imitative texture, and instrumental groupings are introduced in the composition, but in Larsen's particular style. All these aspects are addressed in this study.

In many respects, Larsen also demonstrates her personal respect for Bach, including the use of the monograph *BACH* in the music. The *BACH* motif can be found in such works as *The Art of Fugue, Well Tempered Clavier* and *Canonic Variation* on "Von Himmel Hoch." In this four-

letter motif, "B" and "H" are German notations for B-flat and B natural, respectively. Moreover, the use of *B-A-C-H* can be heard in a great deal of twentieth century music such as Arvo Pärt's *Collage über B-A-C-H* (1964), Alfred Schnittke's *Quasi una Sonata* (1968), and Pamela Decker's *Passacaglia on B-A-C-H* (2004).

Rather than detail Bach's or Frederick's composing approaches, this study draws on the style favored by the two composers. Bach was faithful to the old style; his compositional writings reach back to his studies of Froberger, Frescobaldi, Palestrina, and other early masters. Bach was viewed as "a conservative who consummated the developments of the past and did not embrace the new musical fashion,"[1] although there may be heard some *galant style* in his late compositions. In contrast to Bach's contrapuntal musical writing, Frederick cultivated a *galant style*, a style that emphasizes melody and simple texture.

Even though there is no employment of logical harmonic progression and phrase structure in *EPR*, these being significant in the classical period, Larsen approaches the classical style through the use of texture, dynamic levels and expressiveness in her music. In most cases, her work also contains many of the elements that can be associated with the *style galant*.

Indeed, the work goes beyond the usual musical style of Larsen. She uses a range of characters from playful jazz, rock and roll to the twentieth century art musical language of Gershwin. The composition demonstrates Larsen's avant-garde reinterpretation of earlier stylistic traits.

The *Royal Theme*

Frederick the Great, a passionate music-lover, talented flutist and great music patron, extended an invitation to J. S. Bach to visit the Prussian Court in Potsdam in 1746. The very next year, in the spring, Bach, in his sixties, made the long trip from Leipzig to the Royal Palace. The event of Frederick meeting Bach at Potsdam has been discussed and described in journals and books. It has become an intriguing subject matter for music scholars, including composers, to explore related topics and possible ideas that draw from this event. It was also during this event that the *Royal Theme* came to be. After his return from Potsdam in 1747, Bach wrote the *Musical Offering* on this *Royal Theme* given ton him by Frederick.

The *Theme* seems to have had a particular appeal for twentieth century composers. The *Royal Theme* was not only orchestrated in 1934–1935 by Anton Webern in *Fuga (Ricercata) a 6 voci*, *Fugue No. 2* from Johann Sebastian Bach's, *Musical Offering*, but also has been employed in the music of twentieth century composers such as Bart Berman's *Three New Canons on the Royal Theme of J. S. Bach: The Musical Offering* (1978) and Sofia Gubaidulina's *Offertorium* (1980, rev. 1982, 1986). In addition, Bach's work and the *Theme* has given inspiration to composers such as Mozart and Beethoven. Ortrun Cramer claims, for example, that the *Royal Theme* inspired Mozart to write his opening theme for his *Piano Sonata, K.457* and the musical handling of intervals, such as the diminished 7th in the *Musical Offering*, can be heard at the opening of the first movement in Beethoven's *Piano Sonata op. 111*.[2] Indeed, for centuries, composers have continued to explore possibilities to reintroduce, and draw inspiration from the *Royal Theme*.

In her *Evening in the Palace of Reason*, Larsen creatively reintroduces this centuries-old *Royal Theme*, in which she draws from the *Musical Offering*. This is not the only composition, however, that uses the *Theme*, Larsen also incorporated it in her *Bach 358* (2008). With an effort

[1] Frederick Neumann, "Bach: Progressive or Conservative and the Authorship of the Goldberg Aria," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 71, No. 3, Anniversaries 1 Johann Sebastian Bach-b. 1685; Heinrich Schutz-b. 1585 (1985): 281.

[2] Ortrun Cramer, "The *Royal Theme* from a Musical Offering in Dialogue among Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven," *Fidelio* 7/4 (Winter 1998): 56–67. Also available online at http://www.schillerinstitute.org/fid_9701/984_sub_moral_appen_PDFs/chapter-4.PDF .

very different from Bach's handling of the *Royal Theme*, Larsen reworks the theme in the *EPR* and presents it in a modern manner, establishing a new musical context for the *Theme*. New musical ideas that draw from the *Theme* are evident, providing unity in her work. Indeed, many authentic practices of various periods have been adopted and modified in the composition. *EPR* not only offers a new perspective on the composer's compositional writing, but also challenges audiences with a different listening experience. Larry Fuchsberg praises Larsen's creative imagination in her music: "Libby Larsen doesn't need caffeine. Words and ideas tumble out of her, competing for breath, at a pace too quick for note-taking," and claims that "she has the gift of being simultaneously down to earth and wildly, unstoppably imaginative."[3]

Larsen and *Evening in the Palace of Reason*

The title of this music composition is inspired by the title of a 2005 novel by James R. Gaines. The book is divided into chapters that carefully address the contrasts of Frederick the Great's up-bringing and the life of J. S. Bach. The climax falls with the event of the face-to-face contact between the two. What is interesting is that Gaines places J. S. Bach and Frederick in the context of the great eighteenth century musical movements, showing their artistic preferences and achievements. It is this aspect that attracts Larsen to draw on the collision of musical styles of the two figures.

As Larsen explains:

> My interest lies in the story, a story which lies at the crossroads of the Age of Reason and the Romantic Era or, musically speaking, the crossroads of music that values reason and prefers discipline, order and control and music that values feeling and prefers passion, individuality, and spontaneity.[4]

Although there are no obvious musical idioms in her work that can be related to the Romantic era, Larsen adopts the ideas of "individuality" and "spontaneity," which she refers to as the Romantic spirit in the music, giving uniqueness to *EPR*. Romantic music is often "generated by a consciousness of self, stimulated by and embodying the artist's own perceptions, thoughts, and feeling."[5] It also shows an intense interest in nature and the supernatural, as well as many other prevailing musical manners and aesthetic viewpoints of the period such as expressing ideas, images and emotions. Larsen's music demonstrates her own perception, thought and individuality, showing a connection that touches the surface but not the core – here I am referring to the style and trend – of Romanticism.

Larsen's *EPR* is not restricted to one musical style, but instead there is a search for musical language that fuses three musical periods. She explores parallels among the musical styles of Bach, the Classical period and our time. She has stated herself:

> I want to pay homage to J. S. Bach while placing both his and Frederick the Great's musical language preferences in the ever morphing continuum of pitch, harmony, and texture. And so within the context of my own musical ear, I explore counterpoint, fantasy, monophonic and polyphonic texture, and in general, music governed by reason versus music governed by emotion.[6]

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[3] Larry Fuchsberg, "Classical Music: The Libby Larsen Variations," *Star Tribune*, February 15, 2008, accessed March 17, 2014, http://www.startribune.com/entertainment/music/15646687.html.

[4] Libby Larsen, accessed March 17, 2014, http://libbylarsen.com/index.php?contentID=236&profileID=1387&startRange=.

[5] Edward F. Kravitt, "Romanticism Today," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (Spring, 1992): 93.

[6] Libby Larsen, accessed March 17, 2014, http://libbylarsen.com/index.php?contentID=236&profileID=1387&startRange=.

Larsen goes on to explain how she interprets the musical expression of the Baroque and Classical periods in her twenty-first century American music:

> In contemplating Bach at that crossroads [between the age of faith and the age of reason], we can contemplate some of the tensions in our own culture, a culture very much at odds with itself. For Bach, music was a fundamental organizing principle; it served the being, the essential nature, of humankind. But for Frederick, music was an entertainment, a diversion – a lot like the Roman Coliseum, or the Super Bowl. It served the state, just as it now serves commercial interests or an imagined oneness.[7]

In many ways, Larsen is often seen as a composer who favors American vernacular music. Indeed, she embraces the exploration of contemporary culture and pop musical styles and is better known to many as a composer who cultivates popular idioms and jazzy American vernacular music. These musical characteristics can be heard in her works such as *Four on the Floor* (1983), *Overture for the End of A Century* (1994), *Concert Dances* (1996) and *Strut* (2003). In *Four on the Floor*, for example, Larsen uses repetitive pitch pattern in the boogie-woogie style in piano, and repeating pounding chords on piano in *forte* that are reminiscent of Jerry Lee Lewis' pianistic style found in his performances such as in *Whole Lotta Shakin' Going On* (1957), *Great Balls Of Fire* (1957) and many others. In *EPR*, however, Larsen presents her musical language differently, which will be discussed later in the paper.

Timothy Mangan claims that "Larsen's music is generally conservative, no one would mistake it for anything other than late twentieth century music. It also carries a distinctive American sound."[8] In her compositional output Larsen has also written compositions that use electronic instruments, for example, the use of tape in *A Verse Record of My Peonies* (1980), synthesizer in *Canticle of the Sun* (1987), electric guitar and amplified harpsichord in *A Brandenburg for the New Millennium* (2002), and a laptop computer in *O Magnum Mysterium* (2011). The experience with electronic sound came in the late 1980s when she spent 18 months working with Morton Subotnick, investigating logarithmically-based sound manipulation programs.

Although she is often seen as a composer who favors pop musical idioms, Larsen encourages audiences with different musical training and style preferences to hear her music. "I'm expecting an audience member to bring the experience of Brahms and Mozart to the hall, but then to use that as a springboard to move beyond, into my music; or let my music move into them."[9] She also believes that a successful work of music "should speak to the blue-haired lady and it should speak to a three-year-old child in much the same way."[10] Thus, it is intriguing to examine how Larsen incorporates pop musical material into a traditional music context and how she reaches her audience with her fusion of styles.

Throughout her creative career, Larsen has received commissions from different organizations and groups such as the South Coast Chorale, the nationally recognized Los Angeles Master Chorale, the Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra and the Cleveland String Quartet. She has also received many awards, including a NEA Fellowship and a 1994 Grammy Award for her production of *The Art of Arleen Augér*, which includes her song cycle,

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[7] Larry Fuchsberg, "Classical Music," *Star Tribune*, February 15, 2008.

[8] Timothy Mangan, "She Works on Full Commission: Libby Larsen, a Throwback to the likes of Mozart and Haydn, wants her works heard in concert halls, not classrooms," *Los Angeles Times*, December 10, 1995, accessed March 17, 2014, http://articles.latimes.com/1995-12-10/entertainment/ca-12334_1_libby-larsen/2.

[9] Bruce Duffie, 2009, "Composer Libby Larsen: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie," accessed August 12, 2013, http://www.bruceduffie.com/larsen.html.

[10] Ibid.

Sonnets from the Portuguese (1991). She has gained a reputation as a "world-class composer" and her music has been widely recorded by Nonesuch, Decca, and Koch International classics.

Influences and Style

Although some of Larsen's musical ideas show influences from twentieth century composers such as Erik Satie and Virgil Thomson, it is not surprising to discover that Larsen often titles her works in relation to traditional genres such as the concerto, string quartet, symphony, overture and others. Among the musicians whose works and musical styles deeply inspired Larsen is J. S. Bach. She claims that "I read everything I could about Bach, with more of a cultural than a technical perspective."[11] "With Bach, you can't avoid counterpoint. Midway through the writing, I realized how much I love it, although it's fallen away from the common musical ear. Counterpoint is a culture's reflection on itself. If only our own culture could be more contrapuntal!"[12] Larsen has stated. She also adds, "you don't need to know anything about Bach to engage with his music or with mine. The only prerequisite is close attention."[13] Indeed, in her music Larsen deals with Bach in an abstract way and this can be found in her *EPR*. The work shows an alternative way of interpreting and presenting Bach in twenty-first century music.

Evening in the Palace of Reason was commissioned by Leonard, Street and Deinard in honor of Lowell Noteboom. It was premiered on 22 February 2008 by the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra, with Nicholas McGegan as conductor, at the Ordway Center for Performing Arts, Saint Paul, Minnesota.

Although not exactly like the musical structure of *Musical Offering*, which contains 2 fugues, 11 canons and a trio sonata for flute, violin and basso continuo, and one perpetual canon, *Evening in the Palace of Reason* consists of five movements with titles: I) "Ricercare á 4;" II) "Canon;" III) "Ricercare: Divertimento;" IV) "Air on Two Themes of J. S. Bach;" and V) "Counterpoint with Riddle and Jig." The music is a *concerto grosso* in musical manner. It is presented in two small ensemble groups of string instruments: a string quartet operates as the concertino, which alternates with a "larger" instrumental ensemble (the "repieno" or *concerto grosso*) that consists of two violins, viola, cello and contrabass. Each instrumental grouping in the *EPR* is similar to Baroque sonatas (for church and chamber) in style. Larsen captures the spirit of the Baroque period, particularly the instrumental groups found in Arcangelo Corelli's concerti; for example, his *Concerti, op. 6*, *concertino* contains two violins and cello which alternate with a *concerto grosso* that has two violins, viola and basso.

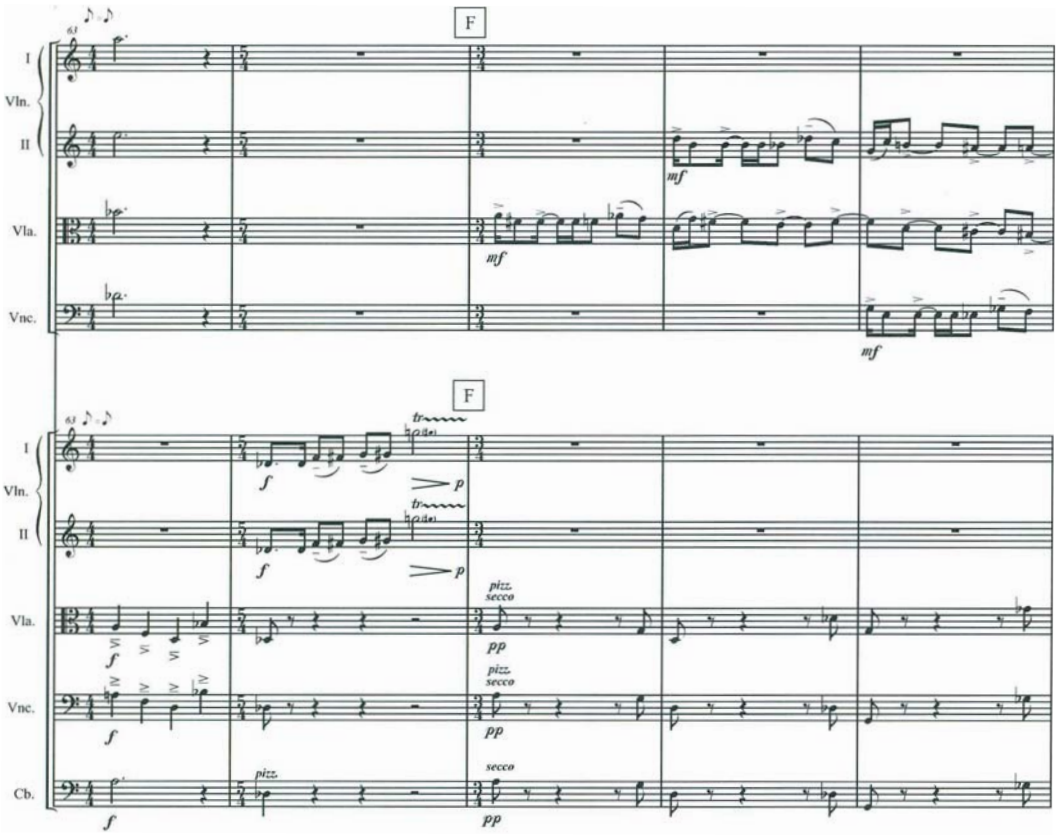
Nevertheless, the treatment of the *concerto grosso* or "larger" group in Larsen's composition is presented in different musical manners. It tends to show, for example, less contrast with the string quartet, functioning as an accompaniment, particularly in the first movement. In the second movement, the two instrumental groups complement each other, with each group presenting a musical idea in turns. There are also moments where an echo-like effect is achieved. Examples can be heard at measures 10–12 and 13–16, and measures 90–95 and 95–99 in the second movement.

Despite the traditional title given to each movement, the music moves between the musical styles of the Baroque to the Classical, while also touching on the musical disciplines of the twentieth century. The most obvious stylistic division between Baroque and Classical is indicated in the title of the third movement (*Ricercare: Divertimento*). *Ricercare* is often in imitative texture, while

[11] Larry Fuchsberg, "Classical Music," *Star Tribune*, February 15, 2008.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

Divertimento refers to works that have light musical characters which are "for the entertainment of the listeners and the players, without excluding the possibility of high artistic achievement, such as is found in divertimentos by Haydn, Boccherini and Mozart…. [*Divertimento*] could serve as background music for some social gathering such as a conversazione or a banquet."[14] Haydn had written many divertimentos for two violins, viola and cello. Here, Larsen draws on the disparate musical characters of the two musical genres.

Generally, Larsen makes use of different imitative techniques in *EPR*. Apart from using point of imitation texture against simple chord-like accompaniment, Larsen at times inserts passages that are reminiscent of a four-part imitation of a *capella* style to capture the traditional vocal music of past eras. In addition, although the second movement is called a "canon," Larsen employs no strict imitation; rather, imitative textures and techniques including point of imitation are evident throughout the movement (Example 1). Thus, Larsen adapts the musical term freely.



Example 1: Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (Mvt. II: mm. 65–67)

Fragments of the *Royal Theme* are presented in *EPR* at the opening of the music and throughout the composition, displaying various ways of exhibiting the theme in fragmentation. Indeed, Larsen offers various artistic strategies to introduce the *Theme* from Bach's *Musical Offering*, providing listeners with the opportunity to hear it differently; one hears the prominent melodic thirds and descending chromatic lines instead of a single coherent melody.

[14] Hubert Unverricht and Cliff Eisen, "Divertimento," *Oxford Music Online*, accessed July, 10, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07864?q=divertimento&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

Larsen employs these fragments, throughout the music, to form other themes and as building material in the movements. Larsen adopts, for example, descending chromatic melodic lines that are reminiscent of the second half of the *Royal Theme* to provide a link and transition to a new idea. Beginning at measure 7 she even uses a series of descending chromatic melodic lines as a connection, leading to a new event which emphasizes the head of the *Theme*, beginning at measure 20. Such a musical treatment also creates a forward momentum. Generally, the descending chromatic contour is often presented in imitation.

Intervals, such as thirds and in particular ascending thirds, that derive from the head motif of the *Royal Theme*, are also scattered throughout the entire composition. Often, a leap of a third is used in the first two notes of a musical idea or melodic line. There are also times when a series of thirds, in either ascending or descending forms, is introduced at the opening of the movement or important passages. A clear example can be seen right at the opening of the second (cello and double bass), fourth (violins I and II) and fifth movements (violins I, II, viola and cello). Indeed, Larsen's proficiency to make the *Theme* significant is evident; there is always something that can be related to the *Theme*. Through various musical ideas, such as intervals and the head and tail of the *Theme*, Larsen has provided in *EPR* underlying connections of the *Theme*, giving coherence to the music.

In addition, Larsen often applies different rhythmic patterns and values to the fragments of the *Royal Theme* to provide variety, though with the recognizable basic musical contour of the *Theme*. At times, she employs accents to stress the melodic line, catching the attention of the listeners. Musical characteristics and techniques often found in Baroque counterpoint, such as a leap followed by motion in the opposite direction, augmentation, and inversions, are also used throughout the music. Some imitations occur in unison or octave. These different presentations of the *Royal Theme* in the music suggest Larsen's creative methods, giving a unique musical character to *Evening in the Palace of Reason*.

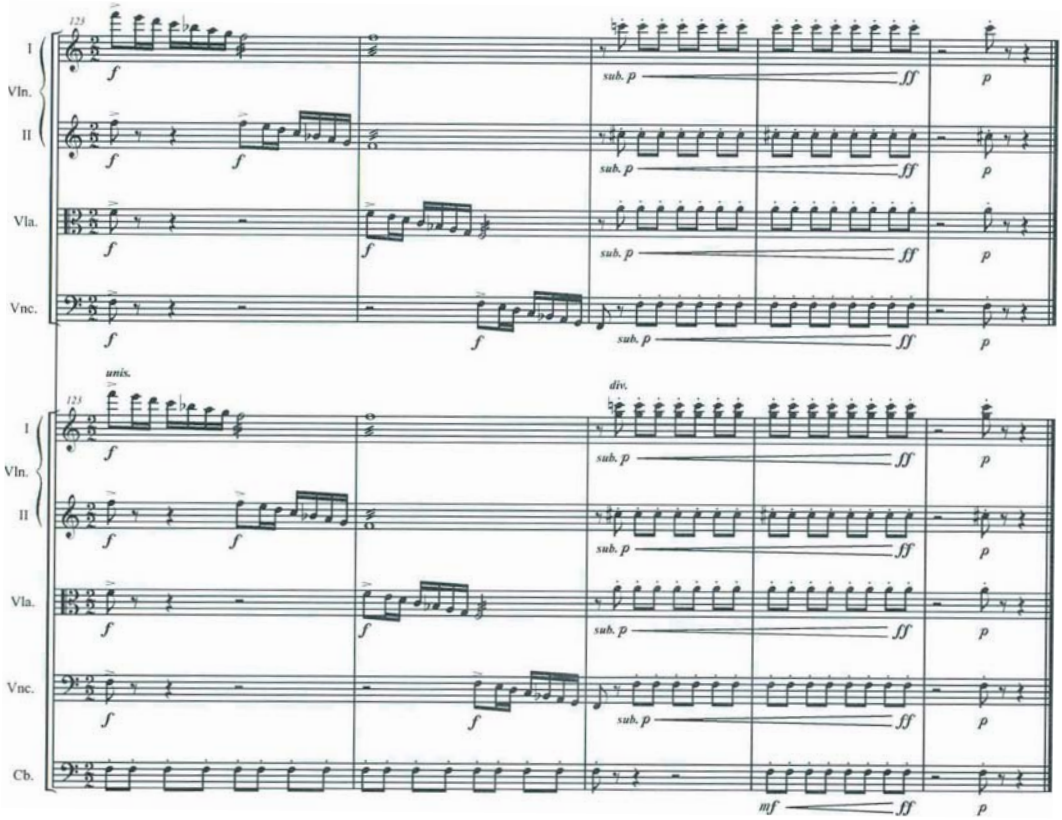
Apart from the use of musical ideas derived from the *Royal Theme* in the first movement, Larsen also shows her appreciation for Bach by employing his monograph *BACH*. Indeed, Larsen certainly knew that one possible, and perhaps the best, way to include Bach in the musical context is to use this four-note musical gesture in the composition. A clear example of the *BACH* musical figure is found at measure 35 in the second movement. Similarly, different transpositions and rhythms are introduced as building materials.

Lombardic rhythms, or Scotch snap, is also introduced in the music, giving it a Baroque flavor. This unequaled short-long rhythmic pattern that involves a dotted figure was often used during the Baroque and Classical periods. It is found in the works of Lully, Hasse and many others. The most commonly found Lombardic rhythmic pattern in the past was a sixteenth followed by a dotted eighth. This recognizable rhythmic pattern is also used in the second movement of Larsen's composition to imitate Baroque idioms. Larsen is not only attracted to conventional musical idioms, but also carefully incorporates them into her music. The manner in which this Lombardic rhythmic pattern is presented here varies by using different note-values such as a sixteenth-note followed by a dotted eighth-note, and a thirty-second note followed by a dotted sixteenth-note. She often employs accents on the short-note values to draw the listeners' attention to these rhythmic patterns of past eras.

As the title ("Ricercare: Divertimento") of the third movement indicates, there is an obvious emphatic move from Baroque to Classical musical idioms. Both the third and fourth movements in *EPR* present the musical characteristics that recall Classical musical idioms and manners. Larsen utilizes sudden dynamic contrasts and a gradual increase in dynamic levels that can be

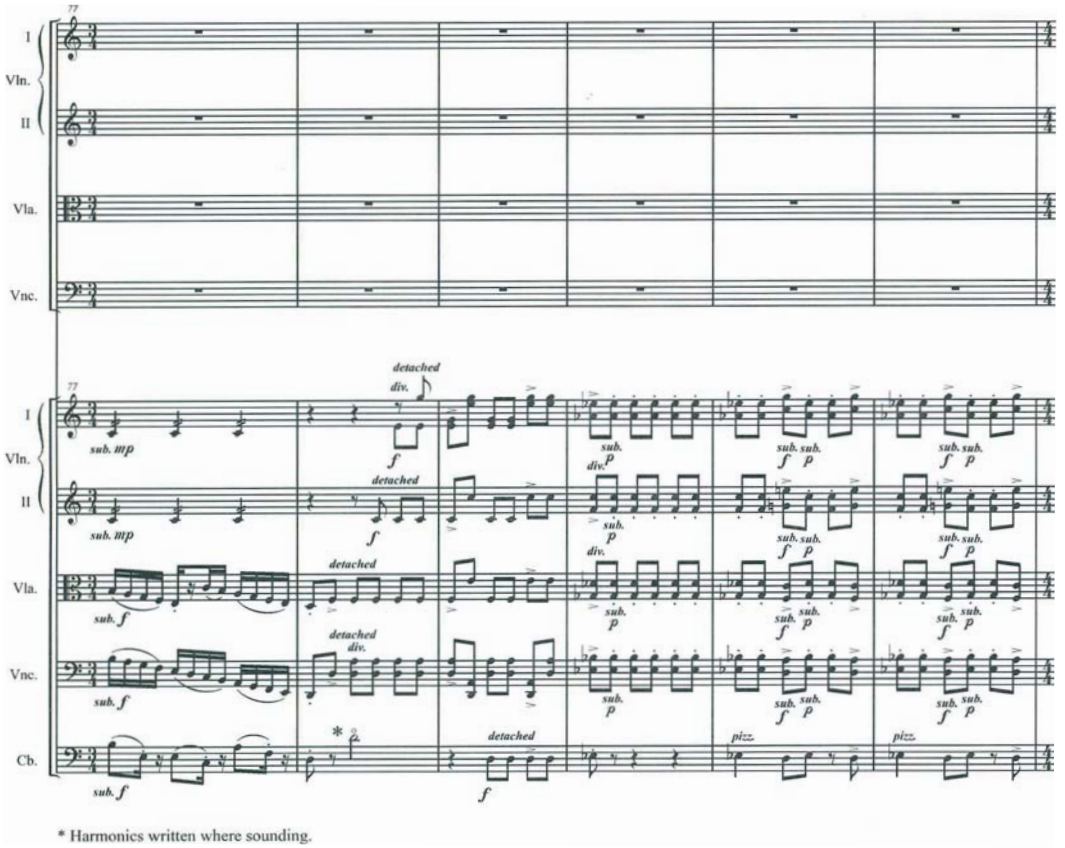
related to the Mannheim orchestra, which were renowned for the sound of the full orchestra doing a crescendo together and a sharp dynamic contrast. Indeed, Larsen's use of dynamics is far more characteristic of Classical and Romantic-period works than the Baroque. An example is at the conclusion of the third movement, in which the music not only shows a sudden dynamic contrast, but also a final statement of repeating notes where the dynamic markings gradually escalate from *piano* to *fortissimo* (Example 2).

Interestingly, here in the third movement, at measure 126, one would assume that the music ends with a loud and grand ending. A comic effect is created, however, which takes one by surprise. At measure 127, after a break of silence, Larsen introduces a twist by inserting a sudden drop of dynamic to *piano*. In fact, one also finds that Larsen inserts a playful effect at the end of the "Divide the Ring" in her *Barn Dances* (2001). Her playful musical treatment can be seen as a way in which she teases and communicates with her audience.



Example 2: Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (Mvt. III: mm. 123–127)

The use of dynamic contrast is also scattered throughout the third movement. One such example is the rapid contrasts of forte and piano dynamics in the staccato chordal-like passage (Example 3).



Example 3: Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (Mvt. III: mm. 78–82)

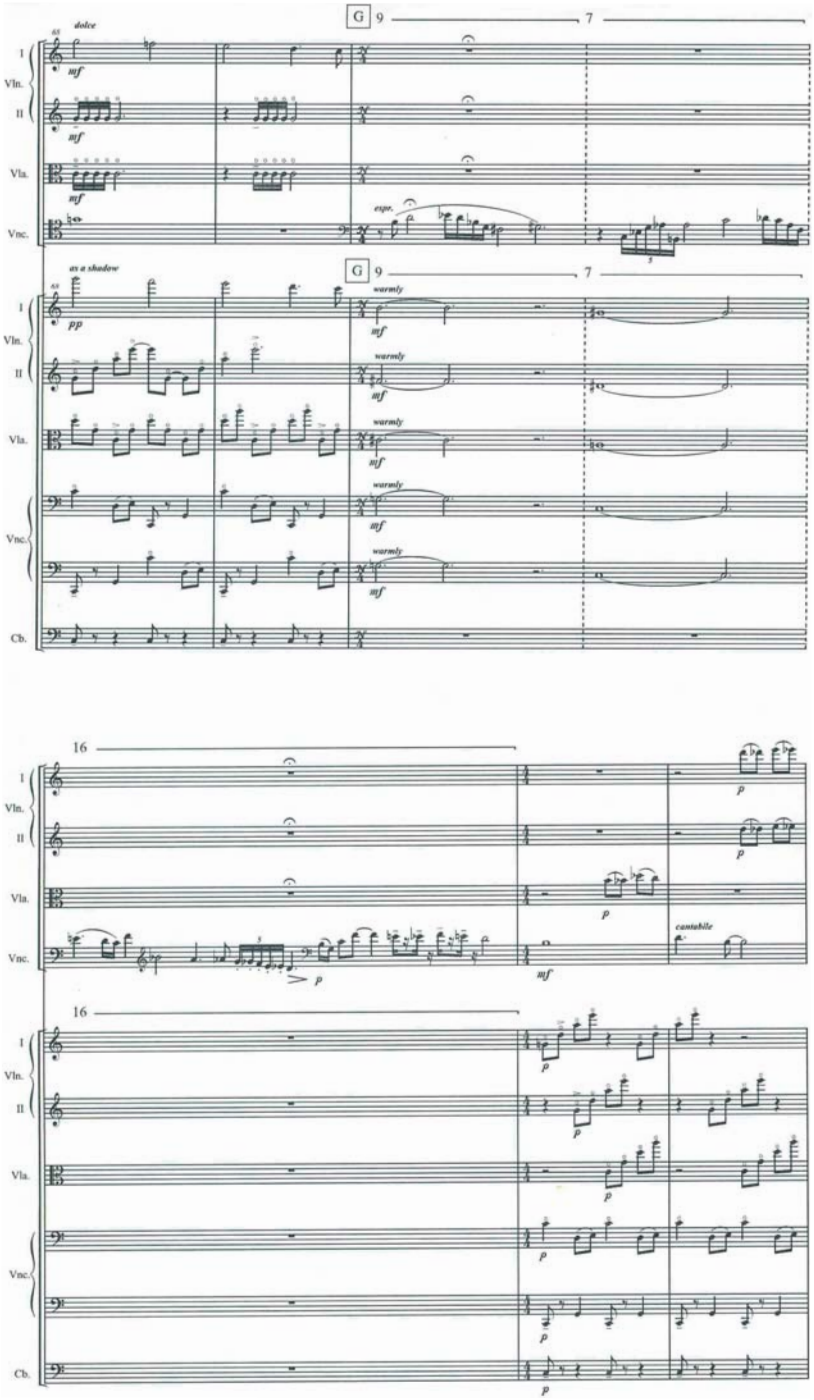
One other musical tradition that is adopted is a three-measure, meter-free cello cadenza-like passage that draws from the materials and ideas of themes in the fourth movement. Traditionally, an instrumental cadenza is a virtuoso passage that appears at the end of a movement. It is often found in eighteenth century solo concertos, and could either be invented or improvised by the performer, or written out ahead of time. It was improvised during C. P. E. Bach's time, but later composers, for example Mozart, wrote it out. Here, in Larsen's piece, without a fermata indicating the arrival of a cadenza passage in a traditional way, the passage is prepared through a long *trill* followed by a descending melodic line in the violin. Moreover, this cadenza-like passage begins on the weak-beat; a rest is inserted on the strong beat.

Badura-Skoda and Jones claim that "the 'true' cadenza was characterized not only by its placing (within a structural cadence), but also by its clear articulation (often by means of a fermata), and by its rhapsodic, improvisatory character."[15] Also, "under normal circumstances [during the classical period] no soloist could afford to leave out a cadenza when a fermata appeared in a recognized context."[16] Larsen is certainly aware of the traditional placing of a fermata before a cadenza passage in the Classical period. Nevertheless, she humorously employs a fermata in the solo cello. In other words, instead of using a fermata to indicate the arrival of a cadenza passage, Larsen uses it at the sec-

[15] Eva Badura-Skoda and Andrew V. Jones, "Baroque Period: Cadenza," *Oxford Music Online*, accessed July 10, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43023?q=cadenza&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

[16] Eva Badura-Skoda, and William Drabkin, "Classical Period: Cadenza," *Oxford Music Online*, accessed July 10, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43023?q=cadenza&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

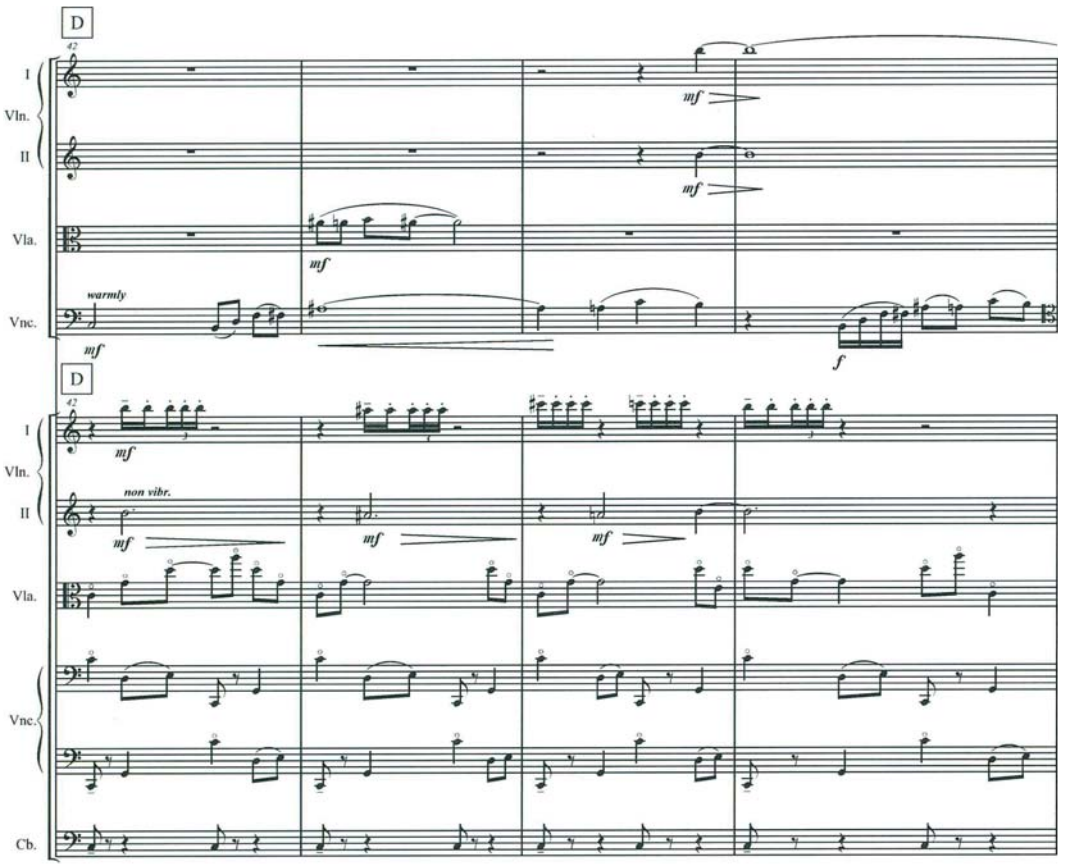
ond beat of the cadenza-like passage to emphasize the melodic line (Example 4). Indeed, a cadenza passage is often loosely and creatively introduced in the music of the twentieth century, for instance, the written-out cadenza-like passage at the end of the second movement in Zwilich's *Millennium Fantasy* (2000) and the short one measure quasi cadenza in Viktor Suslin's *Sonata Capricciosa* (1986).



Example 4: Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (Mvt. IV: mm. 70–72)

Larsen also employs musical elements of *style galant*, such as incessant short trills and grace notes in the second movement. In addition, expressive themes are often presented homophonically in the fourth movement, creating a theme-and-accompaniment texture. Melody-dominated homophonic texture is generally a musical characteristic of the Classical period. This is yet another example of how Larsen creatively relates her compositional writings to musical characteristics of the historical past.

Larsen also introduces in the fourth movement a homophonically continuous, repetitive, perpetual motion figure and rhythmic pattern (Example 5). Such compositional writing is a characteristic signature of Larsen, and can readily be found in her vocal works such as *The Moabit Sonnets* (2011), *Center Field Girl* (2007), *A Pig in the House* (2004), *Late in the Day* (1998), *Chanting to Paradise* (1997), and others.



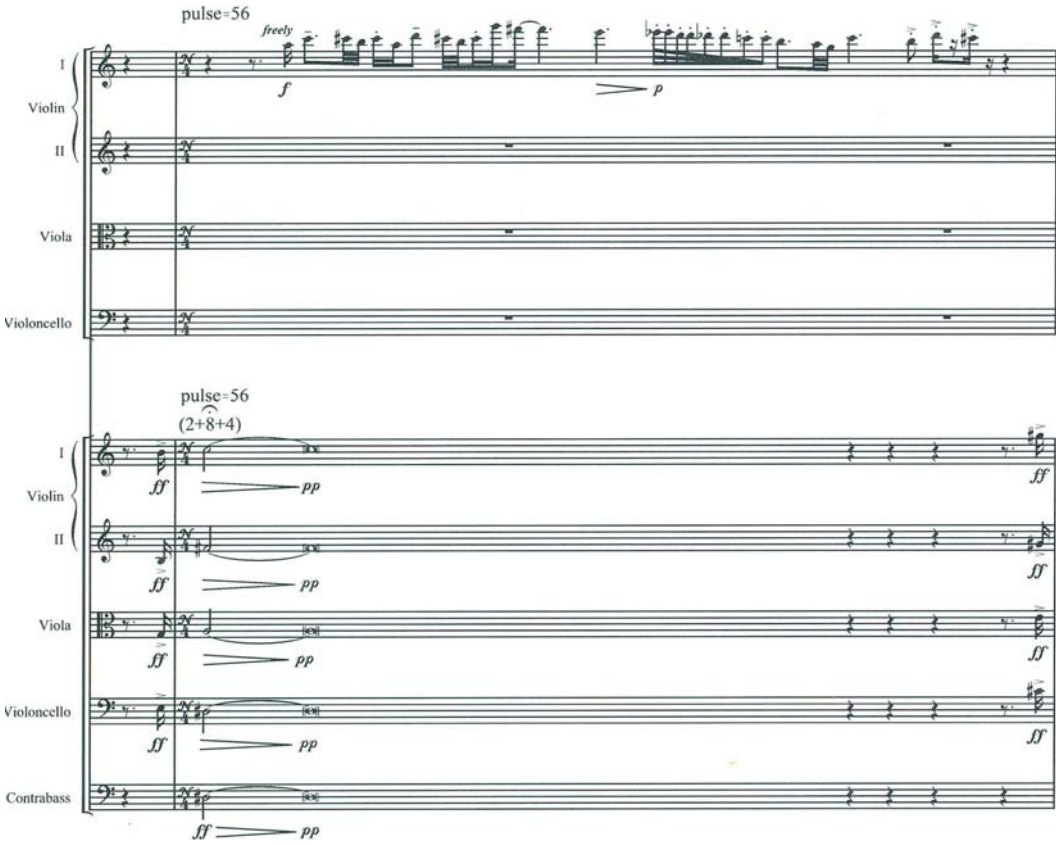
Example 5: Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (Mvt. IV: mm. 42–45)

Themes with memorable melodic profiles, reminiscent of an aria, are one of the fascinating developments in the early eighteenth century. Indeed, Richard L. Crocker argues that one of the aims of music for this period was to flatter the ears of listeners.[17] In Frederick's music one often witnesses the influence of operatic aria singing, and examples can be seen in his "Recitativo" (1st movement) from *Flute Sonata No. 84 in C minor* and in *Flute Sonata No. 126 in A minor*.

[17] "One of the most fascinating developments of the new style [in the 18th century] was the treatment of themes. Themes with memorable melodic profiles had been essential to the full-blown aria of the early 1700s. […] Similar themes could also be found in the tuttis of concertos […]" in Richard L. Crocker, *A History of Musical Style* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 358.

To capture the prevailing vocal operatic singing style in the early eighteenth century, Larsen often presents themes in a simple homophonic texture, although she adds no ornamentation. On certain occasions, she employs repeating pitches in the accompaniment to support the themes. The result bears much resemblance to the compositional writing that is commonly found in the music of Classical composers such as Haydn, Mozart and Frederick; suffice to mention Frederick's Sinfonia. Although Frederick wrote music in fugal style, such as in his "Alla breve" (3rd movement) for *Flute Sonata No. 84 in C minor*, he generally and passionately desired a musical language characterized by the simple, logical new *style galant*. In other words, Frederick's music is simple, with clear phrasing, straightforward structures and instrumental interactions that are pleasant to play and hear.

There are times when Larsen introduces themes in a recitative style, catching the attention of listeners; suffice to mention the opening of *EPR* where a theme in the violin of *concertino* is accompanied by chord-like long-note values in the "larger" instrumental group (Example 6). It is not surprising, then, that Larsen treats the violin theme as a vocal melody.

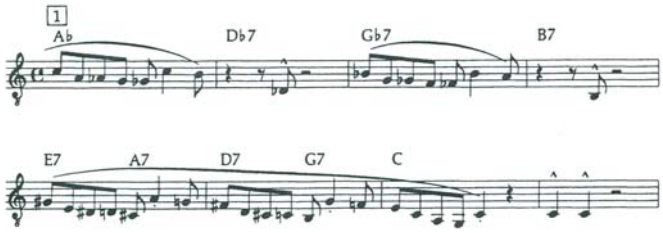


Example 6: Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (Mvt. I: m.1)

Larsen's instrumental accompaniment to the voice-like recitative in the violin also brings to mind certain works by Allessandro Scarlatti and his contemporaries, in which arias were often accompanied by a string ensemble of two violins, viola and bass in a recitative way.

Throughout her composition, Larsen continues to present intriguing musical ideas. She often fuses traditional musical idioms with jazz-like rhythmic patterns in her work. Beginning at measures 73–87 in the second movement, for example, the music demonstrates imitative texture

in a simple rhythmic pattern followed by a lively, strongly syncopated, forward moving imitative texture. Off-beats in the syncopated passage are spontaneously accented, breaking up the regular sense of the rhythmic pattern. Although there is a contrast between the two musical ideas (simple rhythmic pattern and syncopation), a musical gesture such as a leap of the third followed by chromatic steps and a leap at measures 73–77, bring to mind one of the bebop styles (Example 7).



Example 7: Coleman Hawkins' "Bu-Dee-Daht" (1944) (mm. 1–8)

Larsen is often viewed as one of the influential composers who employs vernacular idioms in her music. The development of her personal style can be recognized as a synthesis of art and American vernacular music. She often includes American elements such as jazz, gospel, rock-and-roll, and sometimes ragtime in her compositions, all of which she regards as a bridge between the American and European forms. "I try to study the culture I live in and use the rhythms and the phrasing of the culture in my music," she said.[18]

As a composer, Larsen also believes that music springs from the language of the people. "I am intensely interested in how music can be derived from the rhythms and pitches of spoken American English."[19] She comments that "American lyricism is much more rhythmically based than it is pitch based. Much more defined by its rhythmic curve than its pitch curve."[20] To some extent, Larsen's concept of music was influenced by Virgil Thomson. For her, Thomson "was a man of words, extraordinarily gifted with words. Quite naturally the music that came out of him came through the developing languages of the culture and therefore has its own lyricism about it."[21]

Larsen often references the characteristic sounds of the twentieth century in her works. One example is her use of a series of natural harmonics, a consecutive fifth apart, in the accompaniment of the "larger" instrumental group in the fourth movement of the *EPR*. These string "tuning" sounds are reminiscent of the strings of the violin in the opening of Berg's Violin Concerto. Similarly, in this movement, Larsen introduces passages of natural harmonics in the accompaniment to generate a contemporary sound-palette and a lively musical character. What one encounters in this composition is various musical fashions from different musical pasts coming into one.

Apart from using the constant changing meters throughout the *EPR*, Larsen also introduces repeating groups of pitches within a time frame at measures 42–43 in the first movement. Such musical handling can also be seen in the works of many modernist composers, such as John Cage's *Music for More* (1984–1987) and Sofia Gubaidulina's *String Quartet No. 3* (1987). Larsen shows a greater freedom in musical presentation in the fourth movement, such as at the opening, where the music moves alternatively between non-meter and meter indicated (Example 8).

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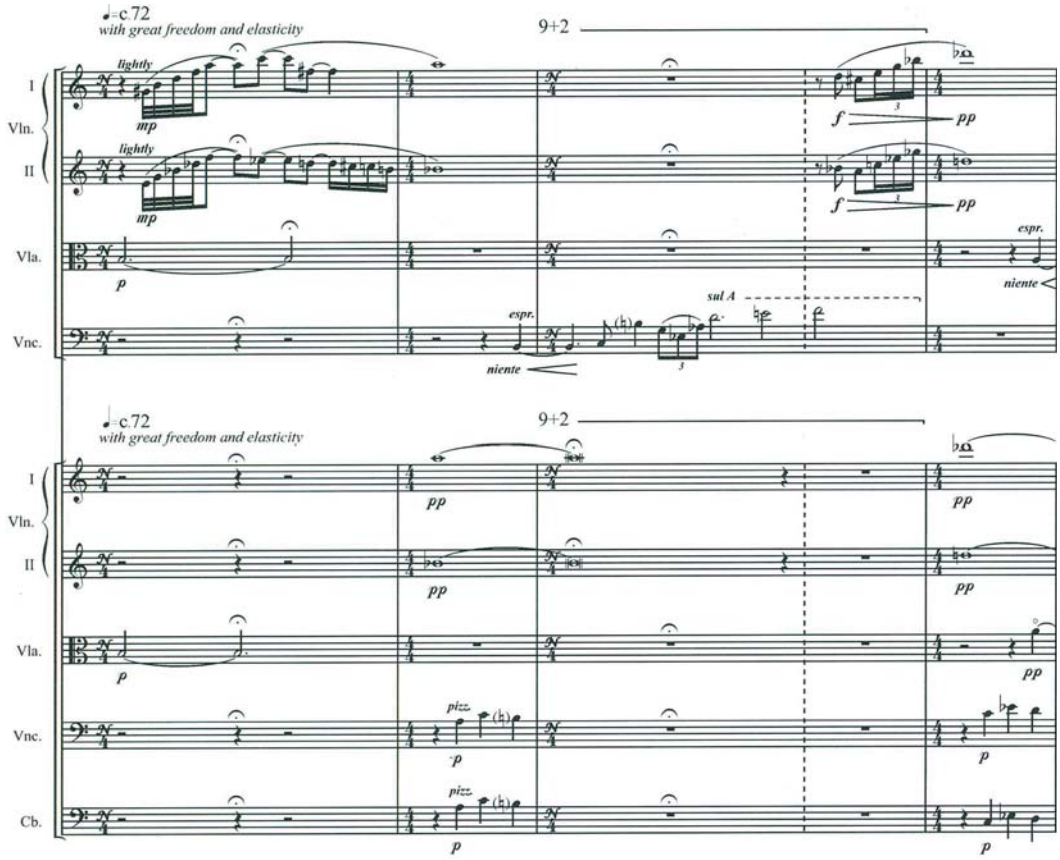
[18] Timothy Mangan, "She Works on Full Commission," *Los Angeles Times*, December 10, 1995.

[19] Lynn Heinemann, "Composer Libby Larsen Visits the Library," *Teck Talk*, March 1, 2000, accessed March 14, 2014, http://libraries.mit.edu/music/activities/larsen.html.

[20] Karren Alenier, "The Beauty of Art as Process: Interview with Renowned Composer, Libby Larsen," *International Magazine of Theatre, Film & Media*, March 2004, accessed March 17, 2014, http://www.archives.scene4.com/mar-2004/html/focusmar2004.htm.

[21] Ibid.



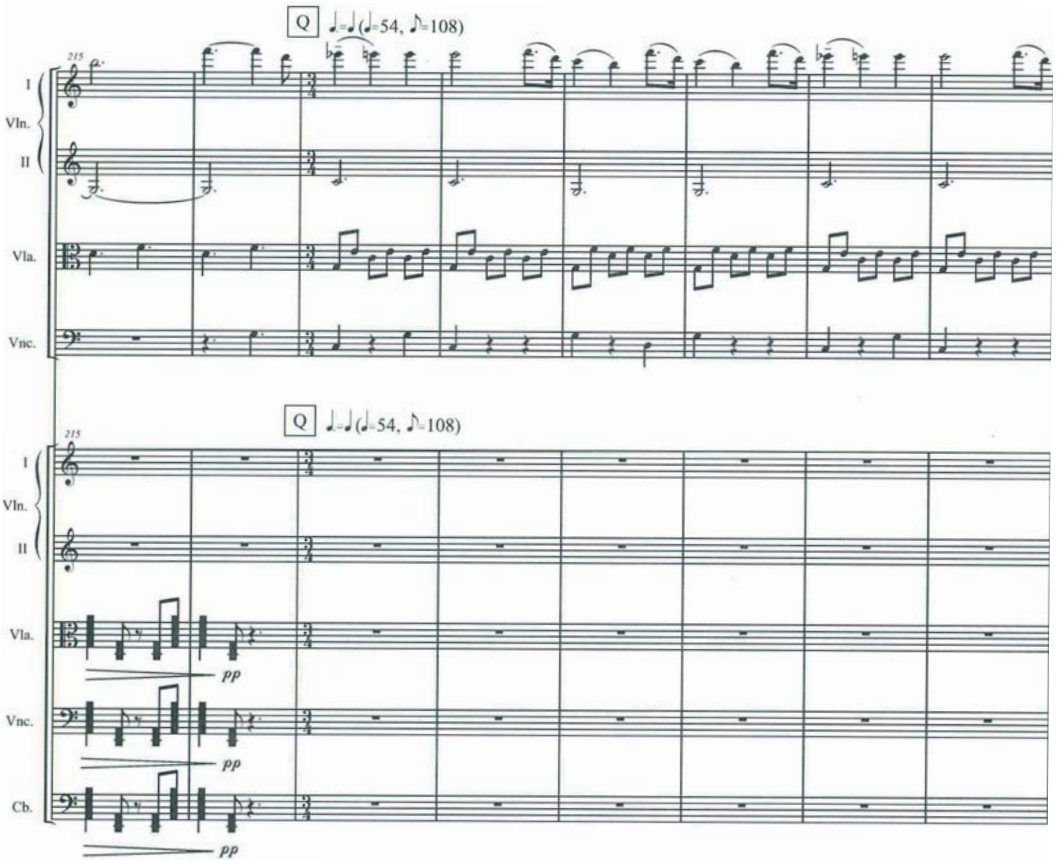
Example 8: Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (Mvt. IV: mm. 1–4)

Larsen concludes *EPR* with musical languages that derive from both the Classical period and her own musical idioms. Not only does Larsen stress the off-beats with Bartók snaps, accents and dynamic markings, but also inserts a quasi-*bodhrán* sound in the movement beginning at measure 139, providing the work with a unique percussion timbre. Larsen's search for the Romantic spirit in the music is demonstrated through this sense of spontaneity. Without using a *bodhrán*,[22] Larsen captures and imitates the sound by using strings.

Indeed, the music demonstrates Larsen's imaginative power, and for a moment, one is introduced to the sound of the twentieth century. This musical presentation does not persist, however, until the end of the composition. A sudden shift of texture and sound color appears at measure 218, bringing the audience back to the music of the Classical period.

Larsen introduces a pattern in Example 9 which consists of a series of alternating thirds. This accompaniment pattern is reminiscent of the *galant* musical styles of *Alberti bass*, which are commonly found in the music of Mozart. Although it is a style of keyboard writing in a series of broken octaves, Larsen employs it in viola in broken thirds.

[22] This is a single-reed frame drum of Ireland and has gained popularity in the Celtic music world, especially in Scotland and Cape Breton. It has become increasingly popular in the performance of Irish traditional music and with most traditional groups since the late twentieth century.



Example 9: Larsen's *Evening in the Palace of Reason* (Mvt. V: mm. 215–222)

Conclusion

Women can now become professionals equal to men, although gender barriers still remain. Their musical characters and styles are valued and accepted by audiences, and many have also established a permanent place in the development of music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Indeed, women have become more visible as professional composers and the number of them who have succeeded in their careers has increased. The achievements and recognition of women composers should not only be through performances, but also by means of scholarly journals, reviews and other publications. By analyzing their work we can better understand their music, as this study of Larsen illustrates.

Evening in the Palace of Reason displays Larsen's strong interest in the musical styles of the past. The handling of the music in the work demonstrates her careful study, not only of the musical styles of Bach's time, but also the musical idioms of the Classical period. It is apparent from listening to her music that she enjoys the creative challenge of different musical styles. Larsen not only created fascinating sound textures which drew from different periods, but also convincingly integrated them into the music. Her music certainly speaks with confidence to the musical characters of the past.

Familiar musical trends of the Classical period such as *Manheim crescendo*, melody-dominated homophonic texture, *Alberti basses* and a sharp dynamic contrast are also quite apparent

in the music. Although these musical characteristics from other periods are quite distinct from one another, Larsen has skillfully incorporated them into one composition, allowing their juxtaposition to coalesce into a thoroughly contemporary sound.

In her music one also witnesses how Larsen successfully reconciles musical ideas of the old and the new. She often relates music to her own native Americanness; the use of vernacular music rhythms represents one of Larsen's prime stylistic criteria. Indeed, Larsen always has been interested in every form of vernacular/popular-like musical style, producing a fusion of various musical languages. In the *EPR*, she has engaged her own musical language and Western contemporary musical writing, along with the musical practices of the "Age of Faith" of J. S. Bach, and the "Age of Enlightenment" of Frederick the Great. This fusion of musical styles certainly challenges Larsen in her compositional writings.

To some extent, Larsen's musical handling also shows a Romantic spirit. It is often claimed that the essence of Romanticism embraces individuality, originality and imagination, and focuses on expression of the self, expressing intense emotion and emphasizing the artist as creator. As a music creator, Larsen's spontaneity and use of diverse musical ideas, such as quasi-*bodhrán* sound, lively pop rhythms in a "traditional" musical context and her clever incorporation of various musical styles provides a flash of the Romantic spirit.

Larsen's ongoing interest in new ideas has inspired her experimentation in fusion styles. *Evening in the Palace of Reason* certainly demonstrates Larsen's musical individuality and great musical imagination, providing a new view of Larsen's musical writings. In general, Larsen's work demonstrates a traditional style of music with a corresponding movement towards expression of new aspects of musical language.

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A Different Popularity, a New Beginning: Mozart at the Freihaus (1791)

Abstract | Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* premiered at auf der Wieden, a Viennese theatre with a popular, vernacular repertory in the German language, which had one of its strong points in the Kasperliade, the popular farce with dialectal and fantastic traits. This repositioning by Mozart in Viennese theatrical geography is explained by one reason: after Joseph II's death in February 1790, and still at war with the Ottoman Empire, Vienna could not afford to host the subscription concerts the artist had held in the previous years. Due to the absence of the young noble heirs and the wealthiest bourgeoisie, the composer needed a different kind of popularity.

Keywords | Mozart – Popularity – The Magic Flute – Theatre – Geography – Freihaus

> But what always gives me most pleasure is the *silent approval*.
> You can see how this opera is becoming more and more popular. […]
> Well, they have all heard already about the splendid reception of my German opera.
>
> Mozart to his Wife
> (Vienna, 7–8 October 1791)

1. Music and Popularity: The "Silent Approval"

In this paper, I would like to propose a reading of the relationship between "music" and "popularity", with references to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Emanuel Schikaneder's *Zauberflöte*. My aim is to study this relationship from a geographical point of view, which considers, among other things, the peculiar configuration of the theatrical geography of the city of Vienna in the second half of the eighteenth century. In that same period when Mozart and Schikaneder were working on their *Grosse Oper*, Vienna could count on at least 5 (out of 7) theatres which were able to provide a constant and regular programme. Most importantly, they offered very different shows, linguistically (in Italian and in German), musically (Singspiel and Italian Opera) and also qualitatively. Only taking into account this musical geography, we will be able to understand correctly the value the *Zauberflöte* – the work that in the ten years after Mozart's death, held the first place in the number of reductions for voice and piano over all his other theatrical compositions – assumed in the composer's career. In order to do so, I will use the instruments provided by human and cultural geography. I am convinced that they will be useful in acquiring a new perspective and enriching our understanding of the phenomena we are examining. There will be an attempt to understand if the geographical quality of a place can play a central role in determining the success of a work of art, outlining certain possible conditions for the actions, but wary of not falling back into the old geographical determinism of the nineteenth century. I think this risk can be avoided

only by conceiving territory as the result of a process of transformation and organization (both symbolic and material) of the physical space, as well as the condition, that is, the foundation, on which choices are made and future actions are planned. What I would like to do, in other words, is to understand how geography also made its contribution in making the *Zauberflöte* what it is, intervening directly in its construction, and contributing to its popularity – an unstoppable and ever-growing success, a "splendid reception," as Mozart himself defined it in one of his last letters.

2. Mozart at the Freihaus

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* premiered in Vienna on 30 September 1791 at the Theater auf der Wieden. As the name suggests, this theatre was located in the Wiedner, a Vienna suburb, separated from the city by the *Glacis*, the great unedified esplanade which lined its walls, and which will be replaced in the nineteenth century by the *Ringstrasse*: "At half past five", Mozart wrote to his wife on the first days of October 1791, "I left my room and took my favourite walk by the Glacis to the theatre."[1] More precisely, the theatre stood in the courtyard of the Freihaus, a large residential and commercial complex which was built between 1785 and 1793, and which enjoyed a special legal status, since it lied in an area the Emperor Ferdinand III had given to Conrad Balthasar Starhemberg, with a perpetual exemption from all property taxes. It contained an olive-press, restaurants, a chapel dedicated to Saint Rosalia, fountains, gardens, factories and even a small mill. The Freihaus contained over 220 flats, most of them of little value, destined for the lower class, but also some flats for wealthier residents (merchants, civil servants, artists, etc.).

The Wiedner Theater was built in 1787, after a design by the architect Andreas Zach, and opened that same year. With wooden interiors, brick walls and a pitched roof, the building was connected to the Freihaus by a series of narrow passages. 30 metres deep and 15 metres wide. The theatre had a stage which occupied almost half of the entire surface of the building, and included three trapdoors for appearances and scenic effects typical of the *Maschinen–Komödie*. Ten years after Mozart's death, in 1801, and after 14 years of respectable service, the Wiedner Theater was closed and replaced by a new residential building. Prince Starhemberg, owner of the building, gave heed to the complaints of the Freihaus residents concerning disturbance caused by the audience after the shows, and decided not to renew the Mietvertrag, the rental contract for Schikaneder's company, which directed the theatre.[2] After 1848, the tax exemption for the Starhemberg was revoked and the complex was sold. In 1913, in connection with a future requalification of the area, partial demolition work began, only to be momentarily interrupted during the First World War, and then started again after its end, up until 1937. During the last months of the Second World War, what remained of the Freihaus was severely damaged by the bombing. In 1946, the Austrian Railways temporarily occupied it and ten years later, the *Staadtbaudirektion*, the city planning of the Municipality of Vienna set the dates for the definitive demolition of the rest (the removal was realized at the end of the 1960s and completed in 1970). New residential and office buildings appeared in the new free spaces, as well as a branch of the *Technische Universität*. As Michael Lorenz reminds us, since the Wiedner Theater stood diagonally across from what is now the Operngasse, the traffic currently flows directly over the area where the pavement of the theatre was during Mozart's day.[3]

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[1] W. A Mozart, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family. Chronologically Arranged, Translated and Edited with an Introduction, Notes and Indices by Emily Anderson* (London: Macmillan, 1938), 1438.

[2] Michael Lorenz, "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zum Theater auf der Wieden und Emanuel Schikaneder," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 4 (2008): 15–36.

[3] Ibid., 9.

The elements we have recalled so far offer a first glance of the spatial components of the *Zauberflöte*, but do not say anything about the role geography held in the construction of the work and in its "splendid reception." They tell us *where*, but they do not tell us *how* or *why* the spatial relationships involving, like in a dynamic field, the Theater auf der Wieden, Mozart, Schikaneder, Vienna, the Freihaus, etc. contributed to making it so popular. We must expand our perspective and use a more complex and articulated idea of geography, capable of exploring what I would call the theatrical geography of eighteenth century Vienna. By theatrical geography I mean the activation, development and dissolution of social, power and cultural relationships that were performed through theatre.

The Wiedner was one of the 5 theatres which could assure a regular, and qualitatively constant, programme. This was a relevant number for a city like Vienna, which had about 270,000 inhabitants at the time. Based on their location, we can distinguish between urban and suburban theatres. Among the first we can mention the Burgtheater and the Kärntnertortheater; among the latter, apart from the Wiedner, we can count the Leopoldstädter and the Josepstädter.[4] The distinction *inter/extra muros*, with the theatrical geography it draws, also has implications of a social, cultural and political nature. The Burgtheater and the Kärntnertortheater, in fact, were court theatres; the Burgtheater stood next to the Imperial palace, while the Kärntnertortheater could boast the title of *Kaiserliches und Königliches Hoftheater zu Wien,* Imperial and Court Theatre of Vienna. The other three theatres –Leopoldstädter, Wiedner and Josephstädter – located in the city suburbs, were private and commercial theatres, and owed their existence to the *Spektakel Freiheit*, "freedom of theatre," granted by Joseph II in 1776. This edict responded to at least 3 main reasons:

> First, the development of an educated bourgeoisie had produced a need for permanent theaters in the big towns, which could appeal to the whole community (unlike court theaters which supported foreign companies) while also offering fare superior to the crude entertainment of the touring companies. Secondly, the perceived need was for non-commercial (that is, subsidized) theaters, in keeping with the Enlightenment aim of cultural education. And thirdly, this cultural intention had a political subtext, in the spirit of cultural nationalism, namely, the improvement of the German *Kulturnation* by the promotion of German plays, and also by the systematic training of actors, improving their conduct and raising the status of the acting profession.[5]

In turn, even though with their own differences, the popular theatres – spatially localized outside the city walls – shared the proposal of a vernacular theatre in the German language, which had one of its strong points in the *Kasperliade*, the popular farce with dialectal and fantastic traits (the so-called *Zauberoper* which enjoyed the public's favors far into the nineteenth century). In terms of their status, their public and their language, the two were opposites: the Italian opera represented the theatre of educated people and the élite, while the Singspiel was a popular, vernacular genre. The Italian opera was entirely sung, the Singspiel was a hybrid, a compromise which alternated recited scenes and musical numbers. The interpreter of the opera was a singer who played a part, while the interpreter of the Singspiel was an actor who sang. Moreover, one should add that, in spite of the rhetoric and the sublime emotions of the serious opera, the Singspiel was based on a simple and direct language void of virtuosities. In Eugene Timpe's words, "it was

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[4] Apart from these 5 theatres, we also must mention the theatre in Landstraße, south-east of the centre of the city, which had a short life. It opened in 1791 in the garden of a monastery abandoned by the Augustinians, and closed down after three years (replaced by a residential building). The Theater zum weißen Fasan was the first private and commercial theatre of the city. It opened in 1776 and survived with a hiatus, and discontinuous and qualitatively inhomogeneous programmes, for almost twenty years. See William Edgar Yates, *Theatre in Vienna. A Critical History 1776–1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 16ff.

[5] Yates, *Theatre in Vienna,* 10–11.

not a creative art form which took itself very seriously."[6] German companies formed by related families, integrated here and there by external support, worked there; the Schikaneder, which had made their residence at the Freihaus since 1789, were one of those. The artists in these companies were polyvalent and versatile. They could act and sing, improvise and deal with different genres and roles. Franz Xaver Gerl and Benedikt Schack, for example, respectively the first interpreters of Sarastro and Tamino, along with Johan Baptist Henneberg, were also the composers of the music of the shows that were played at the auf der Wieden (Shack was also an excellent flautist). The texts of the comedies were written by Schikaneder, by his wife Eleonore and by Carl Ludwig Giesecke.[7] Schikaneder was often the main interpreter, rising to success in Vienna in 1789 thanks to the musical farce, *Der dumme Gärtner*, where he played the part of Anton the simpleton. The musical executions were of high quality and called for the systematic use of a chorus.

The Schikaneder company was therefore well established and working in harmony when Mozart began collaborating with it in his last year of his life. Its works were the result of an intense collaboration of various authors. An example of this team work was *Der Stein der Weisen oder die Zauberinsel* (*The Philosopher's Stone, or the Enchanted Isle*), a two-act singspiel jointly composed by Johann Baptist Henneberg, Benedikt Schack, Franz Xaver Gerl, Emanuel Schikaneder, and Mozart himself in 1790, exactly one year before the *Magic Flute*, with a *libretto* by Schikaneder (whose source of inspiration was Wieland's collection of tales *Dschinnistan*, which would later also inspire the *Zauberflöte*), and music by Gerl, Henneberg, Schack and Mozart himself. For the latter, this was a kind of "apprenticeship," a way to make an acquaintance with a consolidated and successful genre, tuning in with the unique style developed by Wiedner's team of authors. The main interpreters of *Der Stein der Weisen* also later participated in *Die Zauberflöte*.

3. A "Popular" Play

The world of *The Magic Flute* is characterized by the exceptionality of its spatio-temporal coordinates. We are not in the world of Greek mythology, as in *Idomeneo*, nor in the world of Roman history, as in *La Clemenza di Tito*; we are not in the Turkish palace of Pasha Selim from *Die Entführung aus dem Serail,* nor in the contemporary world depicted in *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*. We are in a completely new, temporally indefinite, region: the beginning of the first act opens on an anonymous rocky landscape (*eine felsige Gegend* in German) dotted by trees and completed, as the stage direction notes, by steep crags and an austere temple. The Italian musicologist Massimo Mila has observed on this aspect:

> Never before has an opera by Mozart, and hardly ever a XVIII century one, been set in the wilderness. Mozart's operas are generally set in houses, villas, palaces or city streets; sometimes the scene can be set in the countryside […] more frequently in gardens and parks […]. When a natural element appears, it is the sea […] much more common to XVIII century imaginary than mountains. The *Zauberoper*, the fantastic opera, was needed to present a scenario made of rocks and mountains, as unreal and imaginary elements as any, before J. J. Rousseau's word spread in the culture of the time.[8]

[6] Eugene Timpe, *American Literature in Germany, 1861–1872* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 55.

[7] Giesecke was the author of several booklets and adaptations of foreign works for the Wiedner theatre, and interpreted the role of the First Slave in the *Zauberflöte*. According to an nineteenth century testimony, Giesecke, who ended his days as a mineralogy professor in Dublin, was the real author of the Singspiel booklet.

[8] Massimo Mila, *Lettura del Flauto magico* (Torina: Einaudi, 1989), 70.

The choice of such a landscape, so unusual but also so specific, had a precise function: to introduce the viewer, as of the first lines, to a completely exotic, thoroughly different region – a *fabula* one, where everything is possible, where languages and geographies can mix freely, as in a heterotopy.[9] This element of "eccentricity" is in accord with the character of the Austrian Singspiel, which took its inspiration from the intermezzos and the Italian *commedia dell'arte*. Vernacular comedy in Vienna, with all its masks and foolish characters (Hans Wurst, Kasperl, etc.) was contaminated with the "magic play," giving life to the Zauberoper or Zaubersingspiel: *Oberon, or The Elf King* (1789), the already mentioned *The Philosopher's Stone, or the Enchanted Isle* (1790), *The Beneficent Dervish* (1793), *The Magic Arrow or The Cabinet of Truth* (1796), *The Pyramids of Babylon* (1797), are the titles of certain pieces that preceded or followed the representation of the *Zauberflöte* at the Wiedner. Among the most recurrent elements in these plays can be found: monstrous animals, evil and beneficial gods, exotic surroundings,[10] a mixture of serious and comical characters and episodes, an adventurous plot, magic, trials the lovers have to endure, musical invention based on simple diatonic melodies exempt of vocalisms, etc.[11] None of these elements are absent in the Singspiel of Mozart.

If we try to trace a map of the cultural geography of this work of art, we realize that it is a very difficult exercise. The space of the *Zauberflöte* is twisted, out of phase and without a centre: for example, the protagonist, Tamino, is a Japanese prince who gets lost in Egypt during a hunting expedition! The tale Schikaneder took inspiration from, August J. Liebeskind's *Lulu, or the Magic Flute*, is set in the kingdom of Khorasan, which can be identified with contemporary North-East Iran, or Afghanistan. Not surprisingly, the mental maps of the time did not distinguish between a Far and a Middle East: transferring from the tale to the Singspiel, Khorasan can become Tamino's Japan quite easily. The chronicles of the time tell that the (pseudo)-Egyptian setting was not accidental: the Vienna correspondents of the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* (4 October 1791) and of the *Münchner Zeitung* (7 October) refer to Schikaneder and Mozart's work with the title *Die egyptischen Geheimnisse*, that is, "The Egyptian Mysteries." This passion for ancient Egypt was widespread in Europe at the time (Masonry, for example, also took advantage of it). For a man of the eighteenth century, Egypt evoked, with its monuments and forms and architectures, the signs and the rituals of a land of imagery, arcane and sacred, a ancient and mysterious space.[12]

Another exotic element is conveyed through the figure of Monostato, *ein Mohr*, a Moor, from the *libretto*, a controversial character which brings a Turkish nuance to a typically Egyptian work. Just like Osmino in the *Entführung*, Monostato is a gaoler, a warden who African slaves obey. He represents, from the start, immoral and despicable traits, typical of a villain: he is "savage, barbaric, inferior, sensual, irrational and corrupt."[13] His aria *Alles fühlt der Liebe*

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[9] As Michel Foucault wrote: "The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. […] We do not live inside a void that could be coloured with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another." Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1986): 23.

[10] Exoticism is frequent in the Singspiel booklets of the time. The same source Schikaneder relies on, Wieland's collection of tales *Dschinnistan*, refers with its title to an imaginary Eastern country. In *Oberon, or The Elf King*, we find among the various characters: Mahmud, Egyptian sultan; Almansor, Pasha of Tunis; Osmin, a eunuch; a chorus of dervish; fairies, janitzers, moors, guards and slaves.

[11] Marco Marica, "Die Zauberflöte: libretto e guida all'opera," *La Fenice prima dell'opera, 2005–2006. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Die Zauberflöte* 4 (2006): 58.

[12] Kerry Muhlenstein, "European Views of Egyptian Magic and Mystery: A Cultural Context for *The Magic Flute*," *BYU Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2004): 137–148.

[13] Lale Babaoğlu Balkiş, "Defining the Turk: Construction of Meaning in Operatic Orientalism," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2010): 187.

Freuden "All feel the joys of love" is characterized by a quick, light style, in the Turkish vogue, which means – "not real Turkish music, the music of Turkey, but rather a musical style introduced to the Austrian musical culture."[14] Detested by the slaves, who intimately favour Pamina, the fugitive who eluded his surveillance and escaped (I, 6); despised by Sarastro, who rewards him for his behavior with 77 whiplashes on his soles (I, 18) Monostato eventually receives from him a racial stigmatization that sounds like a definitive condemnation: "I know that your soul is as black as your face" (II, 11).

A third exotic element of the Singspiel is represented by The Queen of the Night. She is a high ranking character who moves around in scenarios which take advantage of the magnificence of the *Maschinen-Komödie*, and who gets introduced on stage with an accompanied recitative, typical of the *tragédie en musique*, retaken and refined by Gluck. More importantly, the Queen is an "Italian mother-in-law," speaking a language light years distant from the one of the Singspiel, and closer to serious opera (a genre Mozart will return to only in the last year of his life with *The Clemency of Titus*, written for the coronation of Leopold II as King of Bohemia): coloraturas, vocal agilities, ornaments and vocalisms qualify her as a character ideologically alien from the others and from the audience who frequented the auf der Wieden.

The Magic Flute is configured as a magical and popular show, rich in "special effects," which surely had to appeal to the audience gathered on the benches at the auf der Wieden, amusing and teaching them at the same time.[15]

4. A New Beginning?

The temptation to interpret Mozart's departure from the *Altstadt* towards the suburbs as a withdrawal, an artistic relegation, a humiliating professional replacement is strong, but nevertheless wrong. The reasons for this are held in the social and theatrical geography of Vienna, with which Mozart interacted in the last year of his life, when he started frequenting the Freihaus and Schikaneder's company.

First of all, it should be made clear that after Joseph II's death in February 1790, and while still at war with the Ottoman Empire, Vienna could not afford to host the subscription concerts the artist had held in the previous years. This was due to the absence of the young noble heirs and the wealthiest bourgeoisie, busy at the front, and because of the monetary crisis (peace with the Ottoman Empire would only come about in August 1791, four months before his death). Leopold II, unlike his predecessor, was not greatly interested in music, nor did he have time to be

[14] Ibid., 189.

[15] In David Buch's words: "A discussion of the psychological element should also take into account the middle-class values presented in popular German fairy tales. This has yet to be fully examined in regard to *Die Zauberflote*. Values of hard work, the renunciation of impulses, delayed gratification, and success through discipline and obedience are prevalent in the librettos used in singspiels. (It is not surprising to find these virtues also admired in the Masonic lodges, where members of the middle classes freely mixed with the more 'progressive' aristocracy.) Failure in life is associated with acting upon base (and basic) impulses – lust, hunger, sexual desire, addiction to alcohol, idle chatter, lying, laziness, etc. Such themes appeal to German bourgeois sensibilities and myths, as do some of the racial and gender stereotypes also prevalent in these classes. […] The more extreme example of vice is found in Monostatos, a primitive, non-Caucasian character whose attributes conform to racial stereotypes. He must be punished like an animal (with lashes on the soles of his feet), and his self-control is even less developed than Papageno's. His motivation is strictly the sensual gratification of his impulses. He is the most repugnant character in the opera and he represents those dangerous inner forces that the middle-class believed most threatening for its tenuous position on the social ladder. These forces were what Europeans feared in themselves and thus projected on to the 'foreign' race." David Buch, "Fairy-Tale Literature and *Die Zauberflöte*," *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (1994): 45.

We should also bear in mind Tamino's words in front of Sarastro's temple: "These portals, these columns prove / that skill, industry and art reside here. / Where action rules and idleness is banned, / vice cannot easily retain control" (I, 8). "Skill, industry and art" (*Klugheit, und Arbeit, und Künste*) as bourgeois values.

enthralled by it. He did not remove Mozart from his official appointment of *Kammermusikus* – as happened to Salieri and Da Ponte before him – but assuredly was not intending on entrusting him with an opera for the court theatre any time soon.

Which kind of popularity could Mozart aspire to under these circumstances? To the scenario we have outlined, we must add another set of factors:

> In the *Marriage of Figaro*, in *Don Giovanni*, in *Così fan tutte*, Mozart had completed the fusion of the genres, unified the language, realized in the musical theater a new sentimental *contrappunto*, making emotions and action proceed evenly. Yet, these too were elevated and difficult concepts, and his popularity had shrunk to two small islands, as different and distant as they could be; the claustrophobic circles of social snobbery and courtesan scandal, and the devout but limited ranks of connoisseurs. For all the others, even the amateurs, his music had become difficult, out of reach, complex, and tens of journal critiques could confirm that. […] Mozart was anxious to get back on track. He needed a different popularity, as well as money.[16]

It is evident here that Mozart managed to take advantage of these circumstances, at first glance negative, turning them into a trampoline in order to get back on track in the Viennese cultural market: he made of them, intelligently, possibility conditions for his actions. The new course he inaugurated in the last year of his life, which his untimely death truncated, is the answer to the need to "take his audience back," the same audience he had snubbed in the previous years, but which he could not ignore any longer. The audience of the suburban theatres rejected Italian for acting and singing, it being the language of the erudite and aristocrats. They instead expressed a longing for the wonderful, with mysterious voices, solemn scenes and enchanted trials to be conveyed in their everyday language:

> I have this moment returned from the opera, which was as full as ever. As usual the duet "Mann und Weib" and Papageno's glockenspiel in Act I had to be repeated and also the trio of the boys in Act II. But what always gives me most pleasure is the *silent approval*. You can see how this opera is becoming more and more popular. […] I have had a letter which Stadler has sent me from Prague. All the Duscheks are well. I really think that she cannot have received a single one of your letters – and yet I can hardly believe it. Well, they have all heard already about the splendid reception of my German opera.[17]

Die Zauberflöte is the instrument through which Mozart wanted to conquer once again the favours of the popular and bourgeois audience. It worked: with *Die Zauberflöte*, Mozart seized the opportunity which Vienna's theatrical geography offered him: *a different popularity*, unprecedented fields of interest, new narratives models and diversified spaces of action, alternative or complementary to the state stages. It was a context full of opportunities, open to novelty and at the same time unstable, fragile and extremely risky. We are not dealing therefore with a relegation, but rather, with a new beginning.

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[16] Piero Buscaroli, *Al servizio dell'Imperatore: come Giuseppe II spinse Mozart alla rovina* (Genova: Marietti 1820, 2006), 156–157.
[17] Mozart, *The Letters of Mozart*, 1436–1437.

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Musical Preferences amongst Older School Age Youth

Abstract | The contribution provided information about the kind of music listened to by today's school youth 11–15 years of age, the way they obtain recordings, and the role of their family with regard to their musical preferences. The data presented are derived from a large-scale research project performed in June 2016 with a sample of 841 participants living in smaller as well as larger towns in four regions of the Czech Republic. The investigation followed up on similarly conducted surveys of musical preferences performed in the Czech Republic with adolescents and adults. The investigation included a listening survey. The preferences and the tolerance for music genres were also evaluated depending on the age and gender of the students, attendance of a primary art school and the influence of peers.

Keywords | Musicality – Musical Preferences – Musical Genre – Listening to Music – Youth – 11–15 Years of Age

I. Introduction

Musical testing of youth has a relatively long tradition in Europe and North America.[1] Its aim has been to detect **musicality**, that is to objectively express the level of a person's interest in music. This term, in a narrower sense corresponding to a musical aptitude or talent and the level of musical skill development, has become a central concept of music pedagogy and psychology.[2] Since the beginning, however, there has been a lack of agreement as to whether musicality is only determined biologically (genetically), or whether it is also the result of upbringing and education. Carl Emir Seashore, an American, or Géza Révész, a Hungarian working in the Netherlands, have, for example, only worked with detection of innate musical dispositions (musical hearing) in their testing sets and thus did not take into account the musical development of an individual without the disposition. In contrast, Boris Mikhailovich Teplov in Russia or Arthur Kaufmann in Germany regarded musicality in a much more complex way. Apart from musical hearing, they also investigated the emotional ability to react to music.[3]

In the Czech Republic, musicality has been treated most comprehensively by Vladimír Helfert. In his work *Základy hudební výchovy na nehudebních školách* "The Basics of Music Education Outside Schools of Music" he distinguished, among other things, between active (evident)

[1] The study was supported by MŠMT, grant IGA_FF_2017_xxx *Theory, History and Edition of 19th to 21st Century Music*.

[2] For more information, see Ivan Poledňák, *Stručný slovník hudební psychologie* (Praha: Editio Supraphon 1984), 159–162; or Marek Franěk, *Hudební psychologie* (Praha: Karolinum 2005), 142–157.

[3] For more information, see e.g., František Sedlák et al., *Didaktika hudební výchovy 2* (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1984); or Milan Holas, *Hudební pedagogika* (Praha: Akademie múzických umění, Hudební fakulta, Katedra teorie a dějin umění, 2004).

musicality and receptive (latent) musicality.[4] Individuals possessing the former type are artists and composers, while the latter type is possessed by music listeners. Musicality amongst children and school youth was tested in the Czech Republic for the first time in the 1930s–1950s by František Lýsek.[5]

After the "re-establishment" of music sociology in totalitarian Czechoslovakia, the main focus of socio-psychologically focused authors was drawn to the investigation of musical taste, or **musical preferences**.[6] Empirical sociological and socio-psychological research projects, focused on individuals over 15 years of age, were performed in the years 1963, 1965 and 1969 by Vladimír Karbusický and Jaroslav Kasan.[7] The testing was then built upon by a number of other Czech sociologists, most recently by Mikuláš Bek.[8]

Several research projects, focused solely on the investigation of musical preferences amongst teenagers aged 15–20/22 years, have also been performed in the Czech environment.[9] Sociologists and psychologists acknowledge that the period of adolescence is the most important for the shaping of an individual. Musical genres preferred in this period therefore also remain the individual's favorites for the rest of his/her life.[10] Testing of teenagers performed at the end of the 1990s was carried out by Petr Sak.[11] The same was done by Pavel Mužík at the beginning of the twenty-first century.[12] Jana Horáčková performed research with youth aged 12–18 years attending primary and secondary schools.[13] No music-sociological research has been performed thus far investigating children 11–15 years of age attending only primary school. This fact became the main reason for the implementation of the research discussed in this text.

II. Topic and Aims of the Research

The reason for investigating the age category of 11–15 years of age was that its music attitudes are not fully defined and can be influenced during the processes of upbringing and education.

The older school age includes prepubescents and pubescents as well as early and middle adolescents.[14] Puberty, i.e., the psychosomatic transformation of a child into a man or a woman, is

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[4] Vladimír Helfert, *Základy hudební výchovy na nehudebních školách* (Praha: SPN, 1930, 1956).

[5] František Lýsek, *Hudebnost a zpěvnost mládeže ve světle výzkumů* (Praha: SPN, 1956).

[6] Due to ambiguity and ideological implications, the term "musical taste" has been replaced in more recent Czech psychological and sociological literature by the term "musical preference." Musical taste and musical preference are defined in general as the stable long-term preference for a particular kind of music, an author, a singer or an artist. In the following text, musical preference is regarded as the definition of a person's attitude towards music. For more information, see Mikuláš Bek, *Konzervatoř Evropy? K sociologii české hudebnosti* (Praha: KLP, 2003), 30–31; or Franěk, *Hudební psychologie*, 206–211.

[7] Vladimír Karbusický and Jaroslav Kasan, *Výzkum současné hudebnosti I, II* (Praha: Svoboda, 1969); Jaroslav Kasan, *Výzkum hudebnosti* (Praha: Výzkumné oddělení Českého rozhlasu, 1991).

[8] Adolescents were part of the sample in the research projects by Ladislav Hrdý, Vladimír Hepner and Iva Maříková, Martin Cejp and Iva Maříková, Jaroslav Košťál, Pavla Jančarová and Eva Šedová. For more information, see Josef Kotek, *O české populární hudbě a jejích posluchačích* (Praha: Panton, 1990), 381–458; Bek, *Konzervatoř Evropy,* 122–125.

[9] Petr Macek, *Adolescence* (Praha: Portál, 2003), 9.

[10] Philip Russel, "Musical Taste and Society," in *The Social Psychology of Music*, ed. David Hargreaves and Adrian North (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 141–157.

[11] Petr Sak, *Proměny české mládeže. Česká mládež v pohledu sociologických výzkumů* (Praha: Petrklíč, 2000).

[12] Pavel Mužík, "Hudba v životě dospívajících: pilotní sonda," *Acta musicologica* 2 (2007), accessed May 17, 2017, http://acta.musicologica.cz/07-02/0702s04.html; Pavel Mužík, "Hudba v životě adolescentů. Hudební preference v souvislostech" (PhD diss., Palacký University, 2009).

[13] Jana Horáčková, "Hudební preference adolescentů a možnosti jejich ovlivnění" (PhD diss., Jan Evangelista Purkyně University, 2011).

[14] Pubescence is defined as the age of 11–15 years; it is commonly divided into pre-puberty and puberty. As P. Macek notes, pubescence is part of adolescence, which is commonly divided into three phases: early adolescence (10/11–13 years), middle adolescence (14–16 years) and late adolescence (17–21 years). While prepubescents' relationships to adults are trouble-free,

considered the most complex period of an individual's development. The maturation process, accompanied by anatomical-physiological changes, the shaping of the psyche and the development of social bonds, is naturally reflected in a child's musical activities and abilities. The voice undergoes mutation, while practical skills as well as theoretical music knowledge develop rapidly. Students begin to understand genre and differences between individual music styles and are able to create art. They tend to listen to loud music, prefer contrast in sound and dynamics and expressive rhythms which they accompany with physical movements.

Piaget's concept of the cognitive development of an individual states that the age delimitation of the research sample is crossed by the boundary between two developmental stages: the stage of concrete operations (7/8–11/12 years) and the stage of formal operations (11/12 years and up).[15]

According to the theory of musicality ontogenesis, youth of a particular age belong to two categories: the third category (age 7–12) and the fourth (age 13–18).[16] Also, according to the theory of music tolerance,[17] this period is internally ambivalent; the tolerance level is highest among prepubescents, and the lowest, in contrast, among adolescents.[18]

For the reasons stated above, only students of the sixth and the ninth grades were part of the research sample, as exactly this age category includes both boundaries of the above-mentioned age spectrum. It is therefore to be expected that differences among them will be the most significant. In order to ensure the sample representativeness, students of eight-year and six-year secondary schools were eliminated from the selection.

Three research aims were defined; to determine 1) what kind of music youth listen to, 2) how they obtain the recordings and 3) what role their family plays with regard to their musical preferences. These are not only the product of psychological and physiological factors, but also the result of social attributes and cognitive processes. Their assessment therefore takes into account the age and sex of the children, attendance of a primary art school (Základní umělecká škola – ZUŠ) and the influence of peers.[19]

The survey consisted of 21 questions and the authors were inspired by a survey created by M. Bek.[20] A listening survey is also part of the research.

The results of the research can serve a musically educational purpose in both the functional aspect (within a family or a social environment) and the intentional aspect (at primary schools or at primary art schools).

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an important psycho-social moment for pubescents and adolescents is the negation of parental example and the enforcement of their relationship to peers. For more information, see Petr Macek, *Adolescence* (Praha: Portál, 2003), 9–10, 53–59ff.

[15] For more information, see Jean Piaget, *Psychologie dítěte* (Praha: Portál, 2014).

[16] The ontogenesis of musicality amongst children and youth was already investigated by J. A. Comenius, who distinguished in his Great Didactic between the baby age (0–6 years), the infant age (7–12), the boy age (13–18) and the man age (18 years and up). For more information, see Jan Amos Comenius, *Didaktika velká* (Brno: Komenium, 1948). The Czech environment usually uses the definition by F. Sedlák, refined e.g., by Milan Holas: 0–3 years, 4–6 years, 7–12 years, 13–18 years. For more information, see Sedlák, *Didaktika*, 25–28, Holas, *Hudební pedagogika,* 50–53.

[17] Musical tolerance is a neutral or positive attitude on the part of an individual towards music.

[18] Arthur LeBlanc, "The Effect of Maturation/Aging on Music Listening Preference: A Review of the Literature" (paper presented at the Ninth National Symposium on Research in Music Behavior, School of Music, Michigan State University, Cannon Beach, Oregon, March 7–9, 1991).

[19] J. Horáčková investigated musical preferences of adolescents related to five aspects: family, peers, the media, the individual's personality and the situation/context of listening. See Horáčková, *Hudební preference,* 15. Due to unstable musical preferences at the particular age group, no psychological conditionality of musical preferences was investigated; that is, the features of the individual genres with regard to the typology of their listeners and their personality structure. The motivation to listen to the music or the circumstances/context were not investigated either.

[20] Bek, *Konzervatoř Evropy*, appendix 1–8. The survey is the result of the Eva Vičarová led seminar *Didaktika hudební výchovy*, co-worked by Kristýna Baborová, Eva Balcárková, Kateřina Janíčková and Sandra Tichá.

III. Characteristics of the Research Sample

Out of the total amount of 841 students, 464 attended the sixth grade (55%) and 377 attended the ninth grade (45%). The research comprised twelve schools.

The structure of students according to regions, schools and grades

Region	Primary school	6th grade	9th grade	Total
South Moravian Region	PS Smíškova Tišnov	54	41	95
	PS Tišnov nám. 28. října	21	23	44
	PS and NS Dolní Loučky	21	5	26
	Total	**96**	**69**	**165**
Moravian-Silesian Region	4th PS Frýdek-Místek	27	38	65
	8th PS Frýdek-Místek	93	92	185
	Total	**120**	**130**	**250**
Olomouc Region	PS Vítězná Litovel	39	25	64
	PS and SGS of Konice	27	17	44
	PS Olomouc, Stupkova 16	34	25	66
	Total	**100**	**67**	**167**
Zlín Region	3th PS Holešov	22	42	64
	PS Slovan Kroměříž	50	36	86
	PS Hulín	43	14	57
	PS Zašová	33	19	52
	Total	**148**	**111**	**259**
TOTAL		**464**	**377**	**841**

PS = primary school, NS = nursery school, SGS = secondary grammar school

The date of birth of the students corresponds to the grade they attend. While most ninth graders were born in the years 2000 or 2001 (44%), the sixth graders were born in 2003 or 2004 (52%). A small proportion of students were born in 1999 or 2002 (4%).

The amount of boys and girls in the sample is equal. 414 of the students were boys (50.2%) and 411 were girls (49.8%). 16 other students did not specify their gender.

IV. Hypotheses and Results of the Research

The research was performed in June 2016.[21]

1. What kind of music do youth listen to?

Musical preferences and their conditionality were investigated in six questions. In the listening survey, (question 1: Express your attitude towards the following music samples.) students rated genres by assigning one of five options to an item (I deeply dislike / I quite dislike / I am indifferent / I quite like / I really like.) The individual samples (a total of 26) had the same length of

[21] The survey investigation was implemented by the authors of the survey in cooperation with the author of this study. The sociological processing and evaluation of the data was performed by Lukáš Zmeškal, who is also the author of the figures and tables included in the study.

approximately 20 seconds. The selection of genres was intended to cover all main categories of classical and popular music. The main purpose of the listening survey was to eliminate the fact that each participant may imagine something different under the label of a particular genre. A sample chosen to characterize the particular genre was intended to be its typical representation, including all characteristic features of its musical discourse. The chosen sample was not intended, however, as a "hit," as it might "earn points" based on its popularity, not the genre it represents. This was one of the reasons for choosing part of a verse, not a chorus. With regard to the present hegemony of Anglo-Saxon music, some particular works from the Czech music scene were selected. The band Kabát, Karel Zich, Michal Tučný, Karel Kryl and Hana Hegerová were also chosen on the basis of the affinity of the parents of the students. A similar reason underlies the choice of Modern Talking and L. Bernstein.

The students listened to parts of 26 works of the following musical genres:

1. "Western Boogie," Kabát (album *Do pekla* / *do nebe* "To Hell / To Heaven"), rock
2. "Vídeňská krev op. 354 [Vienna Blood Waltz Op. 354]," Johann Strauss jun., Andre Rieu's version, standard dance music
3. "You're My Heart, You're My Soul," Modern Talking, oldies of the 1980s
4. "Rež, rež, rež [Rye, Rye, Rye]," Dulcimer Music Group Záduha, traditional folk
5. "My style," Monkey Business (album *The Black Eyed Peas*), modern dance music (hip hop / rap / R and B / disco)
6. "Lascia Ch'io Pianga," Georg Friedrich Händel (Rinaldo), from the film *Farinelli*, vocal Derek Lee Ragin, Ewa Mallas Godlewska, opera
7. "Corazon," Lazaro Herrera (album *Cha cha cha music*), Latin American dance music
8. "Král a Klaun [The King and the Clown]," Karel Kryl (album *Bratříčku, zavírej vrátka* "Keep the Gate Closed, Little Brother"), folk
9. "Tabula rasa," Arvo Pärt, post-modernist music
10. Traditional African music, ethnic music
11. "Za to může rock'n'roll [Blame It On The Rock'n'Roll]," Karel Zich (album *Nejde zapomenout* "Impossible to Forget"), rock & roll
12. "Kdyby ty muziky nebyly [If the music wasn't]," (album *To nejlepší z české dechovky – směs* "The Best Of the Czech Brass Bands Collection"), Brass Band Music
13. "Chronochromie," Olivier Messiaen, avant-garde of the 1960s
14. "Rovnou tady rovnou [Roll On, Buddy, Roll On]," Michal Tučný (album *Kosmickej vandr* "The Cosmic Roam"), country & western Music
15. "Psychosocial," Slipknot (album *All Hope Is Gone*), heavy metal
16. "Veni, veni, venias," Carl Orff (*Carmina Burana*), neo-classicism
17. "Drum and Bass Heavy Neurofunk Techstep 2015," electronic dance music (techno / D & B / hard core)
18. "America," Leonard Bernstein (*West Side Story*), musical
19. "Vana plná fialek [The Bath Full of Violets]," Hana Hegerová (album *Potměšilý host* "A Conniving Guest"), chanson
20. "Saturday Night is Over," Monkey Business (album *Why Be In When You Could Be Out*), funk
21. "Three Little Birds," Bob Marley (album *Legend*), reggae
22. "Star Trek," Michael Giacchino, film soundtrack
23. "Nikdy nic nikdo nemá [Noone Ever Has Anything]," Jaroslav Ježek, Jiří Voskovec, Jan Werich (*Pudr a benzín* "Powder and Petrol"), swing
24. "Anarchy In The U.K.," Sex Pistols, punk rock

25. "Koncert pro klavír a moll op. 16 [Piano Concerto A minor Op. 16]," Edvard H. Grieg, classical music
26. "Softly As In The Morning Sunrise," Modern Jazz Quartet (album *The Modern Jazz Quartet*), be-bop

Question 2 (What kind of music or which singer or group do you like the most?) was an open one. Its aim was, among other things, to determine whether the participants' answers differ from the results of the listening survey. Question 4 (Do you play/did you used to play any musical instrument? Do you/did you used to study singing?) investigated the correlation between a higher tolerance for a wider range of genres and attendance of a primary art school. The students selected one of three options and partially filled in the answers: a) I don't play any musical instrument and I've never played or sang, b) I played … for … years. I sang for … years, c) Yes, I have played … for … years. Yes, I have sung for … years. Question 12 (Is your choice of music influenced by the suggestions of your friends on social networks, e.g., on Facebook, Twitter, etc.?) was aimed at revealing the influence of peers on students' musical preferences. The participants could select one of three options: a) Yes, always. b) Sometimes. c) Never. To answer question 13 (Which kind of music do you prefer?), they had to choose from two options: a) Czech music, b) Foreign music.

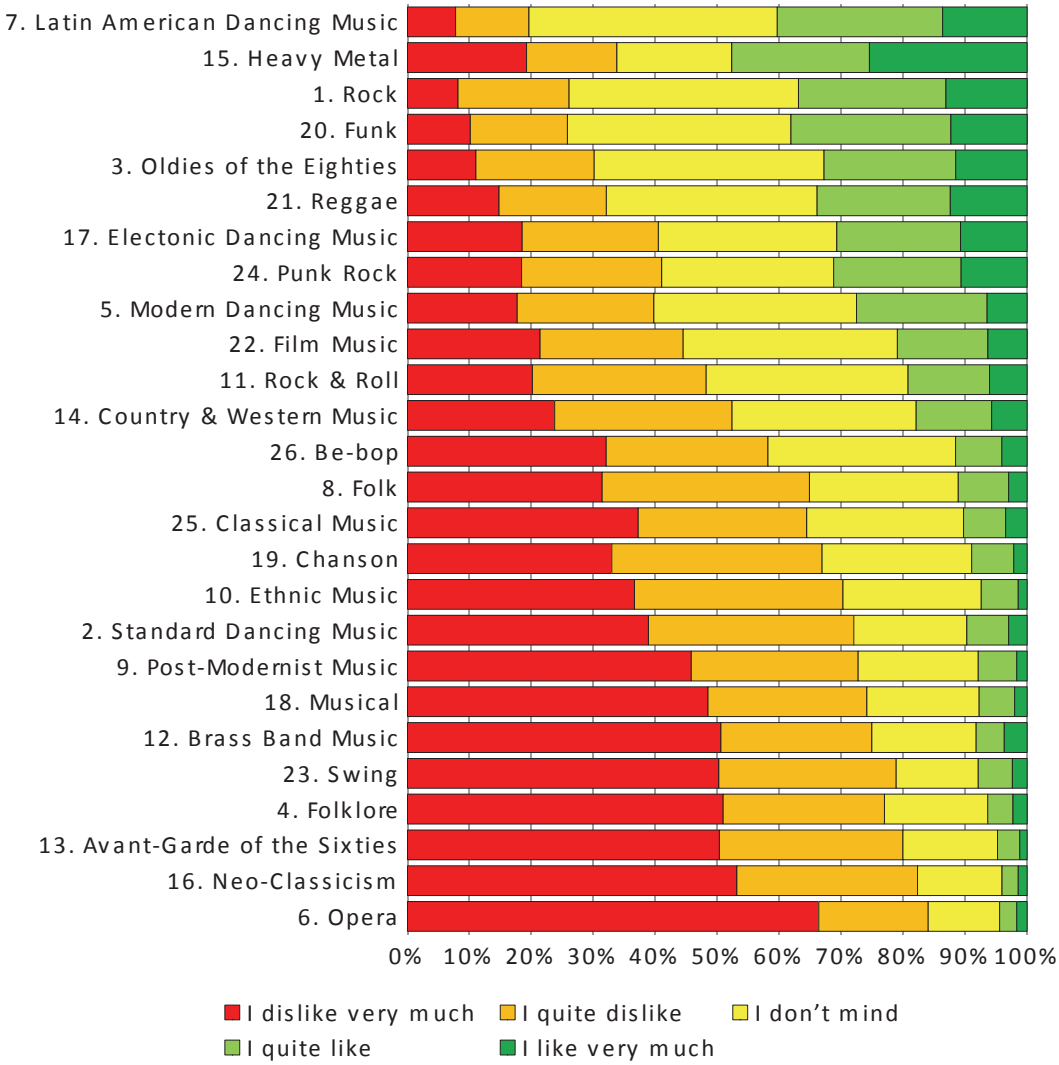
Hypotheses: The sixth grade students are more tolerant and open to a wider range of music genres. Conversely, pubescents and adolescents, (the ninth grade) in particular, manifest a strong preference for certain musical genres. Adolescents tend to show an inclination toward rock music, while classical music and jazz are not popular with them.[22] The musical preferences of boys and girls differ. Similarly to adults, boys prefer "hard" music (heavy metal, punk), whereas girls are inclined to pop, dance music, etc.[23] Students attending a primary art school show a higher tolerance for classical music. The influence of peers on musical preferences is clearly predominant at the particular age category, as it strengthens their group identification and coherence.[24] School youth prefer listening to foreign music (American, or English-sung music) as a result of the uniform taste promoted by mass media.

[22] Adrian North and David Hargreaves, "Social Categorization, Self-Esteem, and Estimated Musical Preferences of Male Adolescents," *Psychomusicology* 15 (1996): 30–45. The same conclusion was made by J. Horáčková. The most popular genre among the adolescents investigated was rock (60%), followed by pop, hip hop, metal and electronic music. A negative attitude was recorded with traditional folk, folk, country, blues, classical music and jazz. Horáčková, *Hudební preference*, 178.

[23] Russel, *Musical Taste*; Horáčková, *Hudební preference*, 16, 179.

[24] The rate of influence of the musical preferences by peers decreases with the age of the adolescents. For instance, in the research of J. Horáčková it was 30% of respondents. Horáčková, *Hudební preference*, 179.

Preferences in musical genres



The rating by students was transformed into a five-point scale (1 – I deeply dislike, 2 – I quite dislike, 3 – I am indifferent, 4 – I quite like / 5 – I really like). It became apparent that there is a greater agreement in relation to negatively rated samples, where the students did not hesitate to evaluate the sample very critically. In contrast, a positive evaluation was rare. It follows that students agree on what is bad and what they dislike, rather than what is good and what they like.

The following are the top three rated samples:

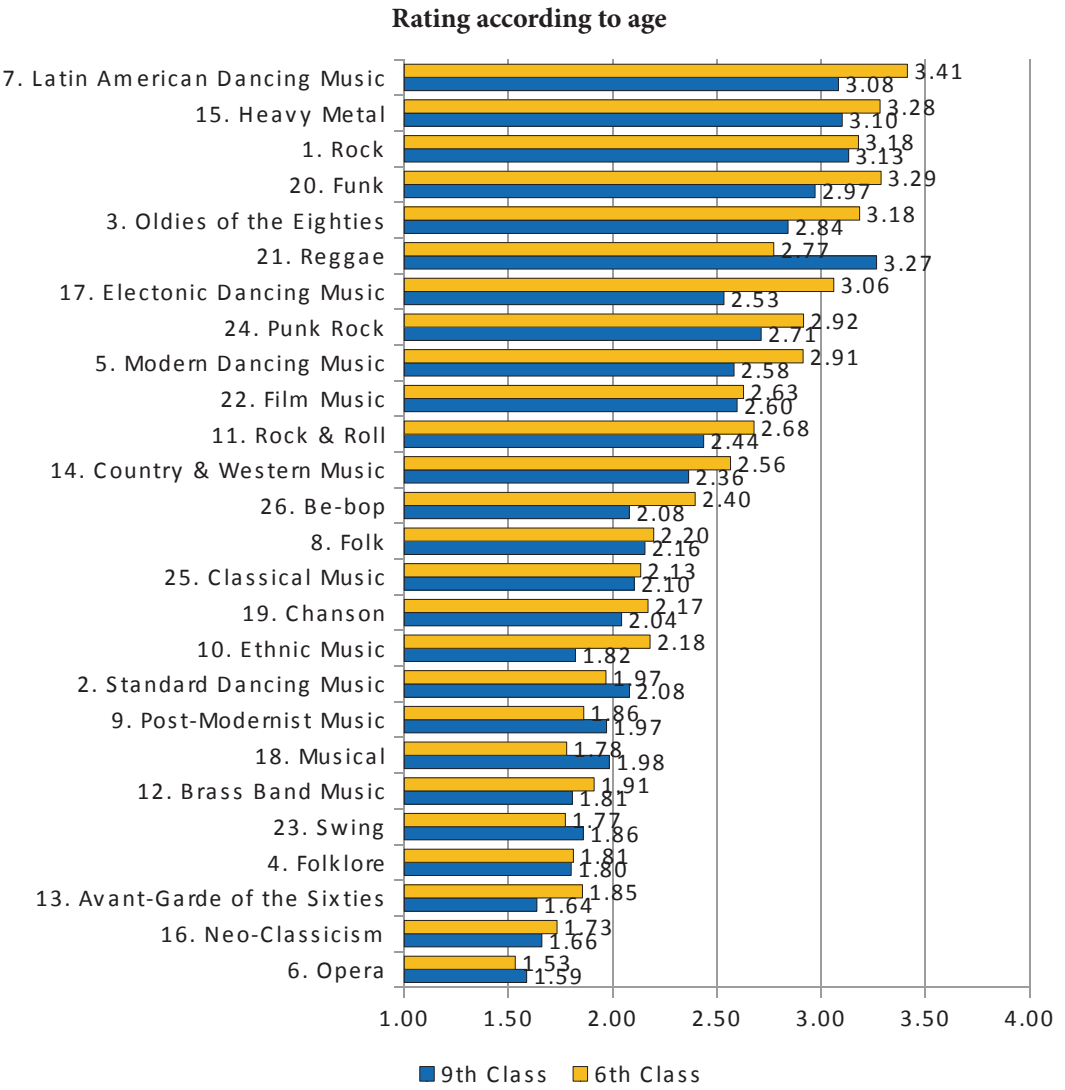
- 3.27 – Latin American dance music
- 3.20 – heavy metal
- 3.16 – rock

These scores are, however, rather low and far from the maximum available, so even these top rated works only rank in the medium score range corresponding to the category of the neutral position.

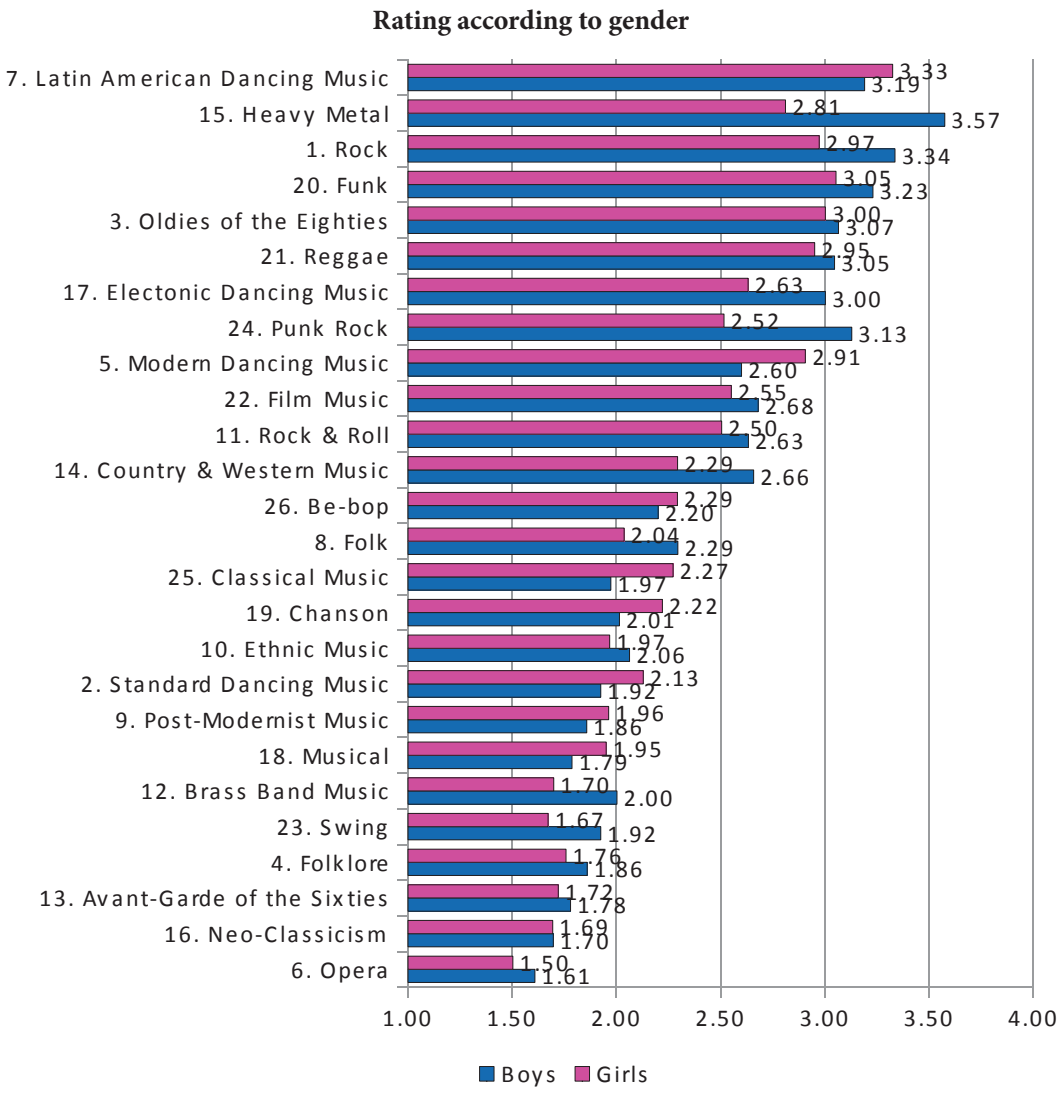
The opposite end of the list consists of the following three samples:

- 1.56 – opera
- 1.70 – neo-classicism
- 1.76 – avant-garde of the 1960s

The score for these three was very negative.

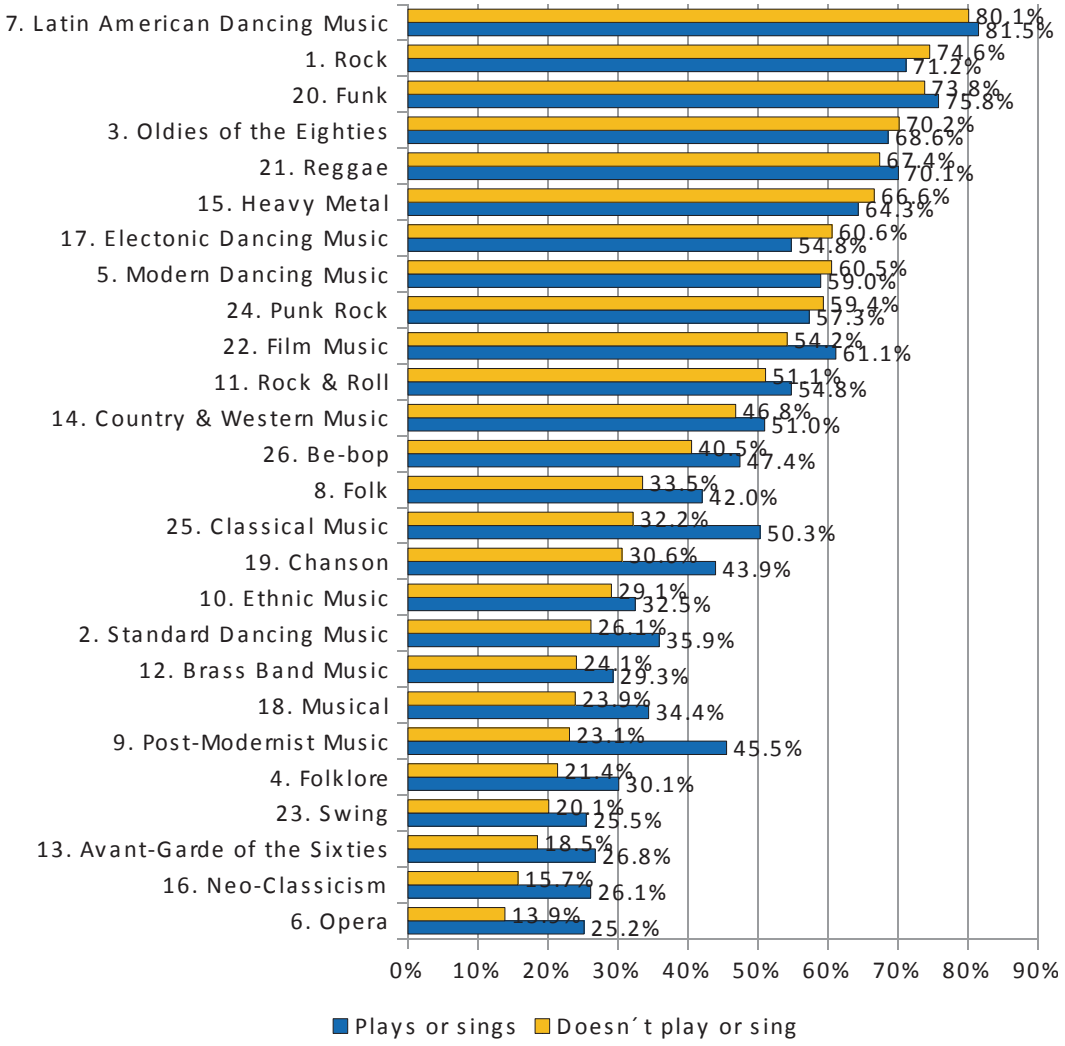


There are mostly minimal differences between students of the sixth and the ninth grades. Musical preferences for both groups of students are almost identical in this respect. A difference of half a point is only present for reggae. This genre achieved a rating of 2.77 points with students of the sixth grade, while students of the ninth grade rated it with 3.27 points. In the case of the ninth graders, this work achieved the top rating.



The differences in ratings between boys and girls was not significant either. The greatest difference can be found for the rating of heavy metal, which was rated much more positively by boys than by girls. This was the top rated sample amongst boys. The second biggest difference can be seen with punk rock once again preferred by boys. Girls had the greatest preference for Latin-American dancing music. As predicted, the second best score was achieved with oldies of the 1980s.

Based on attending a primary art school



Those students who attended a primary art school showed a slightly higher level of music tolerance compared to the rest of the students. This was shown especially in the rating of classical music. For instance, post-modernist music of the twentieth century was tolerated by 46% of the pupils attending a primary art school, compared to 23% of the other pupils. A similarly substantial difference was observed in the case of classical music and opera.

Favorite bands and artists

The most popular genre was pop, chosen by 196 students, followed by rock and rap. As for particular artists, the highest rating was achieved by the band Slza, chosen by 80 students, followed by Kabát and the singer Ben Cristovao.

Rating	Genre, artist	Amount
1	Pop	196
2	Rock	121
3	Slza	80
4	Rap	72
5	Hip Hop	53
6	Kabát	53
7	Ben Cristovao	49
8	Dubstep	38
9	Elektro	30
10	Metal	30
11	Kryštof	29
12	Chinaski	27
13	Imagine Dragons	26
14	Justin Bieber	25
15	AC/DC	23
16	Adele	22
17	Eminem	20
18	Classical Music	20
19	Avicii	19
20	Majk Spirit	18
21	Ektor	17
22	Coldplay	16
23	Heavy Metal	16
24	Punk	16
25	Sabaton	16
26	Linkin Park	15
27	Sia	15
28	Modern Music	14
29	Pink	14
30	Sebastian	14

The influence of peers

57% of students stated being influenced by their peers sometimes, while only 2% chose the option always. In contrast, 41% believe that their choice was not influenced by their friends from social networks. It should be emphasized that the 41% also included students who do not have any social network profile.

Czech or foreign music?

The vast majority of students prefer foreign music to Czech. While 87% of students favored foreign music, Czech music was only favored by 13%.

2. How do youth obtain recordings?

This investigation was performed in the form of six questions. To answer question 5 (Have you bought/got from parents (or family friends) any original recordings on audio media (vinyl, CD, DVD, MP3) or in an electronic form in the last 12 months?), four options were available: a) No, b) Yes, 1–2 items, c) Yes, 3–5 items, 4) Yes, 6 or more items. For question 6 (Do you make copies of borrowed recordings?), students selected a) Yes or b) No. Question 7 (If you download recordings yourself, what resources do you use?) was an open one. For question 8 (When you decide to listen to some music, what do you do?), it was possible to choose more than one option from the following set, or write a different one: a) You use the Internet, b) You play music on your mobile or PC, c) You play a CD, MP3, etc., d) You turn on the radio, e) You watch a music program/channel on TV (e.g., Óčko etc.), f) You choose a different source – which one? Question 9 (How much time a day do you spend listening to music?) was also an open one. For question 11 (Do you choose only individual songs, or are you satisfied with a play list offered e.g., by YouTube, the entire album, etc.?), the following options were provided: a) I choose individual songs, b) I choose a song or an album and then I let the album/playlist play, c) I use both alternatives.

Hypotheses:

The Internet is the main source for music. Its use resulted in a decrease in the purchase of traditional media. Original/legal recordings are bought or only rarely obtained by students. They do not make copies. For listening to music, they specifically use YouTube. TV programmes do not compete with the Internet, although students do use them as a source of music more often than the radio. School youth spend a significant part of their free time listening to music. For instance, P. Mužík discovered that an average adolescent spends up to 5 hours a day listening to music.[25] The investigation performed by J. Horáčková also showed that listening to music grows continuously from the age of 12 to the age of 14 and reaches a peak at the age of 16, when 92% of teenagers listen to music daily.[26] This age group is not yet capable, however, of reflecting on the amount of time realistically. They do not realize that apart from "active" listening they encounter music "functionally" as well, for example in PC games, on TV or radio broadcasting, etc. Most students do not yet have such a specific taste in music so as to choose an individual song. They tend to use play lists already available. This fact provides Internet servers with a great scope of influence, as they can "bring up" their future customers.

The number of recordings purchased or obtained in the last 12 months

69% of the participants did not buy or obtain any original recording on audio media or in an electronic form. One or two items were obtained by almost one quarter of the students, while only 8% of them obtained more original media.

Copying of borrowed recordings

Even fewer students stated that they make copies of borrowed recordings. Only 22% answered positively, while the remaining 78% answered negatively.

[25] Mužík, *Hudba v životě adolescentů*, 30.

[26] Horáčková, *Hudební preference*, 178.

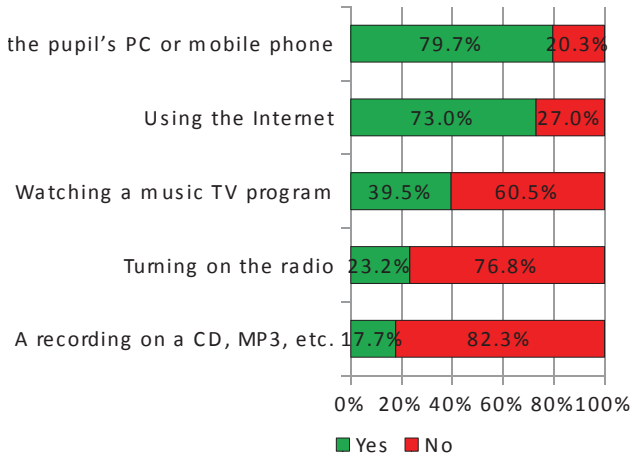
Downloading music

Approximately 13% of the students did not answer this question. This, however, cannot be interpreted to mean that these students do not download music, but rather that they do not know it is possible, as there were, in contrast, 4% of the students, who explicitly stated that they do not download music.

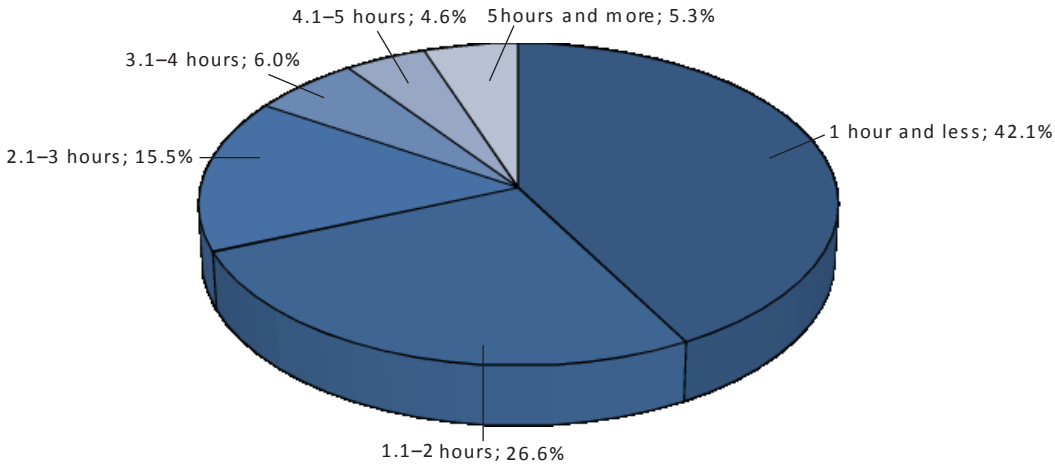
The most prevalent source listed by the students is clearly Ulož.to, mentioned by almost 60% of them. Approximately 20% also mentioned YouTube. Apart from these two sources, nothing was listed more than a few times.

The source of music

If the students decided to listen to music, they mostly used the recordings in their mobile phone or PC. This option was specified by 80% of the students. Another very frequent source was the Internet, mentioned by 73% of them. This was followed by TV, radio and audio media.



The amount of time students spend listening to music per day



The majority of students listen to music for quite a short time on average. 42% listen to music for no more than one hour; 27% for no more than two hours. The data are not, however, all that precise. More than one hundred students provided a verbal answer. With approximately 70 participants, it was apparent that they spent a great deal of time listening to music, as they answered in the following way:

- Music mostly plays all the time, when I am studying, etc.
- I have no idea, but all the time, when possible, at least a bit. Even at school. Almost all day.
- Music is playing most of the time when I am at home.

Selecting the music

When selecting the music to listen to, 37% of students had a preference for individual songs. 11% of them, in contrast, tended to listen to an entire album or a play list from YouTube, etc. Over half of the students (52%) used both alternatives.

3. What is the role of family with regard to school youth's musical preferences?

Three questions were dedicated to the investigation of this issue. In question 3 (Have you attended any of these culture events in the last 12 months?), the participants selected one option for the following events: a rock concert/a pop concert/a folk concert/a country music concert/a classical music performance/a jazz concert/an opera performance/a musical. The options to select from were the following: No, Yes (1–2 times), Yes (3–5 times), Yes (more than 5 times) or I don't remember. Question 14 (What kind of music do your parents listen to?) was an open one. For question 15 (Do you like the music your parents listen to?), the options were a) Yes, b) No; the Yes option provided the opportunity for an open answer.

Hypotheses:

If school youth attend cultural events, these are mostly rock or pop concerts and musicals. Sociologists normally observe a positive correlation between higher social class (and participants with university education) and "high culture." It is also normally the case that the higher education the parents possess, the more they encourage their children to attend a primary art school. Furthermore, income level correlates with frequency in attendance of a musical. With regard to the fact that in the age category under investigation most students were unable to answer the question on their parents' occupation precisely, the issue of attending culture events is only evaluated in view of the participant's age and place of residence. It is expected that the interest in culture is higher amongst children living in towns, where music events are more varied and frequent. Although children know what kind of music their parents listen to, it is questionable whether they are able to label the particular genre. The attitude to parents' favorite music is expected to differ. It is presumed that sixth grade students are more satisfied with their parents' choice than students of the ninth grade, who tend to negate the parental example.

Attendance of a cultural event

Event	No	1–2 times	3–5 times	More than 5 times
Rock/Pop	65.8%	27.8%	2.4%	4.1%
Folk	90.0%	8.8%	0.7%	0.5%
Country	92.2%	7.0%	0.4%	0.5%
Classical music	90.7%	7.3%	1.0%	1.0%
Jazz	94.8%	3.6%	0.6%	1.0%
Opera	92.1%	6.3%	0.7%	0.8%
Musical	73.9%	21.9%	1.8%	2.4%

After merging the data for all the events, it indicates that 44% of the students did not attend any cultural event in the last 12 months. The highest attendance was recorded for concerts of rock and pop music. At least one concert of these genres was attended by 34% of the students. These were followed by a musical, attended by 26%. The attendance of the other events was 5–10%. Out of those students who attended some event, the majority did so only once or twice a year. The group of students who attended cultural events more frequently represents a small percent.

According to age

A significant difference can be observed in the attendance of cultural events by students of the sixth and the ninth grades, especially in the case of rock and pop concerts. While concerts of these genres were attended at least once by 29% of the sixth graders, the amount of the ninth graders equaled 42%. To a lesser extent, a shift is apparent in the case of musicals as well. They were attended at least once by 23% of the sixth graders, compared to 30% of the ninth graders. In contrast, concerts of country music and opera performances were attended more frequently by the younger students.

Event	Class	No	1–2×	3–5×	More times
Rock/Pop	6th class	71.4%	22.6%	2.0%	4.%
	9th class	58.2%	34.7%	3.0%	4.1%
Folk	6th class	90.0%	8.9%	0.4%	0.7%
	9th class	91.0%	7.9%	0.8%	0.3%
Country	6th class	89.9%	8.7%	0.7%	0.7%
	9th class	94.8%	4.9%	0.0%	0.3%
Classical music	6th class	90.4%	7.3%	1.1%	1.1%
	9th class	90.9%	7.4%	0.8%	0.8%
Jazz	6th class	95.3%	3.1%	0.4%	1.1%
	9th class	94.5%	3.8%	0.8%	0.8%
Opera	6th class	90.6%	7.6%	0.9%	0.9%
	9th class	93.8%	4.8%	0.5%	0.8%
Musical	6th class	77.0%	17.9%	2.0%	3.1%
	9th class	70.2%	26.6%	1.6%	1.6%

According to the size of the municipality

It was demonstrated that students living in large municipalities attend cultural events the most often.

Event	Municipality	No	1–2×	3–5×	More times
Rock/Pop	small municipalities	67.5%	21.4%	3.4%	7.7%
	medium municipalities	69.4%	26.8%	1.9%	1.9%
	large municipalities	61.6%	31.1%	2.6%	4.7%
Folk	small municipalities	97.5%	1.7%	0.0%	0.8%
	medium municipalities	94.7%	4.7%	0.6%	0.0%
	large municipalities	84.7%	13.7%	0.8%	0.8%
Country	small municipalities	88.1%	8.5%	0.8%	2.5%
	medium municipalities	92.1%	7.6%	0.3%	0.0%
	large municipalities	93.4%	6.1%	0.3%	0.3%
Classical music	small municipalities	89.7%	8.6%	0.9%	0.9%
	medium municipalities	93.6%	5.1%	0.3%	1.0%
	large municipalities	88.5%	8.9%	1.6%	1.0%
Jazz	small municipalities	95.7%	3.4%	0.9%	0.0%
	medium municipalities	95.3%	3.5%	0.6%	0.6%
	large municipalities	94.5%	3.4%	0.5%	1.6%
Opera	small municipalities	93.9%	5.2%	0.0%	0.9%
	medium municipalities	94.0%	4.4%	0.9%	0.6%
	large municipalities	89.9%	8.3%	0.8%	1.0%
Musicals	small municipalities	67.2%	29.3%	0.9%	2.6%
	medium municipalities	74.3%	21.3%	2.5%	1.9%
	large municipalities	75.7%	19.9%	1.6%	2.9%

Music listened to by parents

The students listed rock, pop and metal most frequently. The band Kabát was the only specific band that achieved a top-ten rating. Otherwise, only musical genres were mentioned.

Genre, performer	Frequency
Rock	171
Pop	131
Metal	63
1980s	47
Czech	44
Kabát	38
Modern	35
Rock & Roll	29
Heavy Metal	27
Brass Band	26

Affinity with parents' favourite music

Most of the students (57%) stated that they liked the music their parents listened to. The parents' favorite music had a positive influence on 55% of the sixth grade students and 61% of the ninth graders.

V. Conclusions

The research has introduced a number of findings, some of which were predicted, while others were surprising to the authors. With regard to the music youth listen to, a surprising fact was discovered concerning music tolerance. While a substantial difference in the rating of the listening questions was expected between the sixth graders and the ninth graders, it was discovered that the difference was negligible. No essential difference between the musical preferences of youth at the beginning and the end of upper primary school attendance was thus proven. The research also demonstrated a difference between girls and boys and a higher tolerance for classical music amongst students attending a primary art school. Concerning the influence of peers on students' musical preferences, the research indicated that it is not as obvious as it may seem, as the influence of friends from social networks was "only" stated by slightly more than half of the participants.

The biggest surprise, however, was the listening survey, where the highest rating was achieved by Latin-American dance music, closely followed by heavy metal. Although the characteristic features of these genres are obviously very different, both genres have the qualities sought after by the particular age group most often; i.e., an expressive rhythm. With regard to this fact, it is not surprising that a high rating was also achieved by funk and modern dance music. The preference for electronic dance music is inferable as well. Apart from an expressive rhythm, another aspect that speaks for this genre is that youth come across electronic music especially via PC games.

It may also be concluded that the musical genres or performers listed by the students as their favourites usually correlate with the findings from the listening survey. The most frequently listed

were pop, rock, rap, hip hop, electronic music and metal, these being the genres that achieved a high rating in the listening survey. The particular performers also correspond to the music genres listed by the students, such as Justin Bieber, Adele, Eminem, Majk Spirit, Ektor, Pink, Sebastian or the bands Imagine Dragons, Coldplay and Sabaton. All of these represent contemporary music production. A special case in this context is the legendary hard rock band AC/DC. It is also worth noting that the first four bands/artists mentioned are Czech ones (Kabát, Ben Cristovao, Kryštof, Chinaski), although the majority of the participants stated that they preferred foreign music. It is paradoxical that pop, which achieved the highest rating in the popularity list, only reached the fifth place in the listening survey. This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the students are not yet familiar with the labels and the characteristics of the individual genres.

It is also not surprising that classical music was rated the least favorite. Although the samples represented different stylistic periods, the bottom places achieved speak for themselves. If we were to distinguish the most acceptable type of classical music for the students, it was a romantic piano concerto which reached the 15th place, and post-modernist music represented by A. Pärt reaching the 19th place. This fact reflects the negative correlation between an attitude to classical music, jazz and blues on the one hand and heavy metal or electronic music on the other hand, as can be observed in the majority population. Maturity is needed to understand classical music and there is a need to lead children to it systematically. In this regard, institutional and functional music education is considerably insufficient in our upbringing and educational system. Additional genres with a low popularity are traditional folk music, brass band music or standard dance music. It is apparent that these kinds of music are not appreciated by school youth, or by the majority of adolescents.

The answers to those questions, aimed at discovering how youth obtain recordings, were mostly less than surprising. One of the current trends is that we buy original recordings less frequently than the previous generation. The hypothesis that school children do not fully realize what role music plays in their lives, or that they encounter music more often than they think, was also proven.

The main sources for listening were music downloaded from the Internet and music played from a PC or mobile phone. Another assumption was that TV is a more popular medium than the radio, which proved to be correct. A pleasing discovery is that only 11% of the youth are satisfied with pre-selected play lists and more than 50% use them as an alternative to their own selection. In view of this fact, there is some hope that at least part of the upcoming generation of music recipients will not allow the media to impose a particular kind of music on them and will be able to resist the commercialization of music and the ubiquitous so-called mainstream.

A sad finding is that almost half of the interviewed students of the upper primary school have not attended any music event in the last year. This fact reflects negative societal trends, where aesthetic education only plays a complementary role. Research has confirmed that families living in larger towns seek out culture more often than people in the countryside. It is not surprising, of course, that the frequency of attending a musical event rises with age. The majority of events are rock or pop concerts and musicals. The theory of music tolerance was confirmed by a comparison of the sixth and the ninth grades. Attendance of less popular kinds of music, especially country music and opera, was prevalent in the sixth grade.

The most common music genres for the participants' parents were rock, pop and metal. This correlates with the musical preferences of the children. In contrast, electronic music is missing in the top ten genres/artists, which demonstrates that this kind of music does not appeal to the productive-age generations and is therefore the domain of younger recipients. Another quite surprising fact is the high rating for brass band music. It should be noted that the band connecting school youth with their parents is Kabát. The greatest surprise in this part of the research was the

satisfaction of most students with the music listened to by their parents. While it was assumed that the ninth graders would tend to disassociate themselves from their parent's preferences, the opposite proved true. In addition, students of the ninth grade assessed the music listened to by their parents positively in more cases (61%) than the students of the sixth grade (55%).

Research has indicated that youth 11–15 years of age have not yet developed a specific taste in musical genres, and their preferences can still be influenced to a large extent. In this context, schools and especially families, have a greater potential than they possibly realize. One can only hope that they will use all the resources available to ensure the most harmonious upbringing and education for school youth possible. They will undoubtedly also need high-quality music in order to do so.

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Reviews, Conference News |

Conference:

Popular Music in Communist and Post-Communist Europe: State of Research, Perspectives

Department of Musicology, Faculty of Arts, Palacky University Olomouc,
28–29 March 2017

The Czech musicologists, Jiří Fukač and Ivan Poledňák, attended the third conference of the young at the time International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) in 1985. Shortly after returning home, the former reported on the event in the journal Opus Musicum in an article entitled "Montreal '85, or the World Revolves around Popular Music."

The title aptly referred to the reality of music culture at the end of the twentieth century, in contrast, of course, with the interests of traditional (European and non-European) musicology institutions. This only led very slowly to organized and systematic research of popular music. Czech institutions still have not managed to do so, despite having a solid foundation in the work of the two aforementioned academics and primarily in the lifetime output of the "popular" musicologist Josef Kotek (1928–2009). The reintroduction of popular music into the context of Czech musicology was one of the principal goals of the conference "Popular Music in Communist and Post-communist Europe: State of Research and Perspectives," held on 28 and 29 March 2017 at the Department of Musicology of Palacky University Olomouc.

The exceptional nature of the Olomouc conference is apparent from the fact that the last time a similar symposium, with a comparable content and of international importance, was held in the Czech Republic was twenty-five years ago, namely July 1992. The Prague conference on "Central European Popular Music," organized by Aleš Opekar, was then the first major project of the newly founded Czech branch of IASPM (based at Brno university, open for a few years only). It was attended by thirty-two experts including twenty-one guests from abroad. Both in terms of its content and the mere fact of its existence, the conference was based on the unique historical circumstances at the turn of the 1990s, accompanied by a heightened interest in the music and culture of former socialist European countries and a convinced belief in the political function of popular music (rock in particular) and its potential influence on the fall of the Iron Curtain. It was also a kind of culmination of Czech research on popular music, which began with the founding of a special centre for the given type of music within the newly established Institute for Musicology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in February 1962. The efforts of the above-mentioned musicologists resulted in a broader synthesis, such as, in particular, the *Encyclopaedia of Jazz and Modern Popular Music* published in four volumes between 1980 and 1990. Although Opekar's final evaluation of the conference, in the sense that "Prague has found its place in the continuum of global research efforts," has proved false, the end of the Communist repression of popular music and the new unlimited access to foreign information resources may have convinced many of the opposite. These facts were also discussed, twenty-five years later, at the Olomouc conference last March.

The two parallel sections of the two-day conference at the Olomouc Department of Musicology had a total of two hundred and fifty speakers. Apart from seven Czech scholars and two guests from Slovakia, there were academics from Belarus, Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, Holland, Ireland, Hungary, Germany, Croatia, Italy, Poland, Austria, Romania, Russia, Great Britain, Slovenia, the United States of America, Serbia, Ukraine and Macedonia. The speakers represented a number of leading universities or other research institutions including the University of California Los Angeles, University of Bristol, University of Central Lancashire, Trinity College Dublin,

University of Cologne, Institut d'Etudes Transtextuelles et Transculturelles, Lyon, Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and many others.

The disciplinary and thematic range of the speakers appropriately illustrated what today's Popular Music Studies involves. Regional (national) panels offered perspectives on musicology, music technology, history, cultural history, sociology, literary science, film science, cultural studies, theory of media and communication, ethnology and cultural anthropology, ethnomusicology, political science, economics, Slavonic studies or philosophy. The boundaries of the approaches employed were unorthodox and vague, while the authors applied them to frequent topics such as sub-cultures, the opposite functions of varied popular music genres, their ideological, gender, cultural-industrial, institutional-intermediate, and other contexts. The relatively higher number of musicological contributions was due to the concept of the organizers and to the progress made in the field itself, which has only recently begun to rival, in research on popular music, traditionally strong sociology and also ethnomusicology, which has also been expanding in this direction. In this respect, interesting contributions (including music-analytical approaches) were delivered by Jakub Kasperski (Stylistic Synthesis in Czesław Niemen's Selected Works), Anna Piotrowska (The Phenomenon of Marek Grechuta. Not only Poet and Composer), Wolf George Zaddach (Metal Militia Behind the Iron Curtain. Heavy and Extreme Metal in the 1980s German Democratic Republic), Klaus Näumann (A Case of Glocalization: Reggae in Belarus) and Richard Duckworth (Laibach, The Beatles and the Propagation of the Laibachian Message to Europe and the West).

A number of the surveys and case studies were supplemented, in line with the orginal concept of the conference, with synthesizing views – Leonardo Masi discussed the situation in Popular Music Studies in Poland, Michael Rauhut summarized developments in Germany, and in one of the keynote addresses Anna Szemere lectured on the state of research on popular music in Hungary. The Czech tradition – specifically the "golden era" of Czech 'popular musicology' (Dorůžka, Poledňák, Fukač, Kotek) – was described by Aleš Opekar. The dynamic turn of the 1990s was the subject of the introductory keynote paper delivered by the American historian Timothy Ryback, who spoke about the background of his research, which led to the first "world" literary synthesis of the issue – *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, 1954–1988* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). Ryback's contribution has, of course, prompted discussion of the long-standing problem of exploring popular music in Communist and Post-Communist Europe, namely the dominance of "outside" authors, specifically from the Anglo-American sphere. In this respect, many participants expressed the need for closer cooperation between "inside" researchers, researchers who have immediate contact with the source base, where forces could be combined to build future authoritative syntheses. This was after all one of the objectives of the Olomouc conference.

The structure of the Czech speakers served to reveal the character of the domestic research on popular music. Two representatives of musicology (Blüml, Opekar) were joined by the literary scientist Petr Bílek, the Bohemist Zuzana Zemanová, the political scientist Jan Charvát, the cultural theorist Jakub Machek and the sociologist Marta Kolářová. Czech popular music (namely the rock underground) was also described by the American historian of the Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, Martin Tharp. Developments within Czech studies of popular music over the last twenty-five years were addressed by Jan Blüml. He discussed the transfer of the music genre as an object of research from the original domain of musicology to the sphere of interest of historians of contemporary history. He futher analysed the predominant focus on the opposition streams of rock under the influence of the immediate effort of dealing with the criminal or totalitarian past, which can turn into an artistic ("post-normalization") ideology, and in this sense also the inappropriate confusion of artistic values with ethical values by music

critics or other authors and commentators swayed by authorities similar to Václav Havel. The general interpretative tendencies reflected throughout the presentations included a shift from the "ideology of rockism" towards recognition of pop music; an excellent paper in this respect was given by Dean Vuletic (Communist Europe and the Eurovision Song Contest). The question of finding an alternative interpretation of recent popular music history to the one offered by the dominant rock-centric academic view of the last two decades was addressed by Marko Zubak through "crate digging" (In Search of the Lost Socialist Groove: Crate Digging in Eastern Europe).

Hopefully, the wishes of all the participants of the Olomouc conference, namely to develop the Central European tradition of interdisciplinary meetings and discussions about local and world-class popular music, will be fulfilled.

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