The East, the West, and the In-Between in Music

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Introduction: Of Foreign Lands and Peoples

David Vondráček

1. National music and beyond

In November 2018, the musicological conference *The East/the West/the In-Between* took place at the LMU Munich, organised in cooperation with the Czech Academy of Sciences. Young academics were called upon to present their research on the Self and the Other in music, especially in East/West constellations. Music is not only capable of reflecting social realities, but also promotes the imagination of belonging through shared knowledge and identification. Adopting a confrontational perspective that focuses on the borders, fractures and the seemingly incompatible means admittedly playing with fire. For whoever asks about cultural difference, is likely to get cultural difference as an answer.

Although national music remains a point of departure – as has long been the case in historical musicology – in many contributions of this edited volume, here it is discussed in regard to transnational aspects. The character of 'the national' has often led to misunderstandings. Especially in the younger European national states, it has unwaveringly held the status of an emancipatory category, bringing the promise of (national) self-determination. On the other hand, especially after the achievement of sovereignty, there is a danger that the enemy within is increasingly sought, as Wolfgang Welsch long-sightedly warned.[1] In this case, nationally determined fantasies of homogeneity become not only excluding but also repressive forces. For this reason, supposedly universal categories such as the nation, which are believed to be among the constants of European thought, should always be questioned so as not to overlook specific colourings that they assume in different concrete contexts.[2] One might add that only a thin line separates emancipating and discriminating concepts.

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1 Cf. Wolfgang Welsch, "Transkulturalität. Die veränderte Verfassung heutiger Kulturen", in: *Sichtweisen. Die Vielheit in der Einheit*, ed. by Freimut Duve, Weimar 1994, pp. 83–122, here p. 91.

2 Cf. Wolfgang Bergsdorf, *Herrschaft und Sprache. Studie zur politischen Terminologie der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Pfullingen 1983, pp. 53–58.

Another source of misunderstanding could be 'the transnational'. With the interest in transnational aspects we do not aim to replace the study of the national Self in music, but instead to complement it. It is well known that the idea of German culture has been developed and sharpened in contrast to the French, and similarly, the Czech in contrast to the German, etc., so that (national) cultures can only be thought of in the plural. Historically, representatives of nations have maintained contact and observed each other in transnational spaces.[3] In this sense, the so-called western art music would be transnational: the interdependencies from which it has emerged are inscribed in it – otherwise it would probably be inconceivable. Ultimately, the foreign is not necessarily excluded, rather music in particular has an astonishing ability to absorb and to 'domesticate' the foreign in the most diverse forms and shades. The ongoing debates about which place the foreign should best occupy appear to be part and parcel of the search for one's own.

In some cases involving the artistic display of national specificities, their meaning is first fulfilled in the transnational space, or, to put it another way: one's view *on* the others virtually relies on the view *of* the others. However, it would be misleading to regard the actors in the cultural field as determined by nationality. Rather, it is necessary to place national interests within a set of different motivations and weigh their significance. In the following example, nationality serves as a means to an end, albeit in a playful way.

> In 1926, the journalist Kasimir Edschmid described such a scene, evidently amused: "Indeed, there are still people in Nice who live off the English, as did their grandfathers before them. They are constantly on the move with their violins, playing *God Save the King* no matter the place, which renders every Englishman helpless. These scoundrels lurk around the hotels on the Mediterranean coast. When the English smoke their Dunhills behind closed doors in the afternoons, they begin playing. The English, who are not inclined to show themselves but who are obliged to honour this song, throw them money out the windows onto the streets. The violinists then play jazz" – while

3 'There is, after all, an almost clear consensus on the following matters: the outlines of a transnational history can be determined by a more precise investigation of interdependencies and networks. For this, thinking in nation-state containers would have to be overcome. The cause of social change is not to be found solely, and perhaps not even primarily, in the dynamics of intra-societal processes and structures, but rather in the interactions of many societies that move within a transnational or even global frame of reference'; Frank Hadler and Matthias Middell, "Transnationalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs", in: *Handbuch einer transnationalen Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas, Band I Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. by idd., Göttingen 2017, pp. 13–36, here p. 22. [Translations from German by Julin Lee.]

> the English tourists, having demonstrated their patriotism, indulge themselves once again in their siesta.[4]

Now, in historical musicology, the works, music-making situations and social circumstances are usually more complex than those described in the anecdote, which so beautifully preserves the Aristotelian unities of place, time and action. Aesthetic positions and economic interests, which here so vividly emerge, or rather diverge, are in most cases more intricately interwoven. To make matters worse, geographical distance/proximity corresponds less than ever with the experience of familiarity. Presently, travelling to foreign countries is no longer a prerequisite for someone to occupy a position 'between cultures'. In our playlists the domestic and the foreign lie juxtaposed only a click away from each other. This raises the legitimate question of whether a categorical Other still exists. The confrontation and interaction with the Other, I would like to argue, have not disappeared, but have shifted to micro levels of everyday life, where they are difficult for researchers to access and demand higher degrees of differentiation.

Accordingly, some experts call for a scholarly normalisation of transnational constellations.[5] This would require a heightened sensitivity for cultural differences, interdependencies and differentiations, which is, at least according to my observations, not yet among the core competencies of musicologists.[6] On the one hand, Carl Dahlhaus's opinion on the confrontation between the Self and Other especially in 19th century opera is reasonable:

> What is decisive is not the degree to which an exoticism proves to be "authentic", but rather the function it fulfils as a legitimate deviation from an aesthetic-compositional norm of European music in the context of an opera or symphonic poem. It is less the original context from which it originates than the artificial one into which it is inserted that should be the object of analysis, an analysis that proceeds historiographically, hence pursing […] the aesthetic and compositional-historical significance of the phenomenon, instead of getting lost in applied ethnography, which is capable of nothing more than identifying various degrees of distortion of the cited structures or styles. Musical exoticism is, expressed in a formulaic way, primarily a concept of function, not

4 Wolfgang Kaschuba, *Einführung in die Europäische Ethnologie*, 4th edition, München 2012 [1st ed. 1999], p. 175.

5 Cf. Sabine Hess, "Transnationalisierung und die Demystifizierung des Lokalen", in: *Ethnizität und Migration. Einführung in Wissenschaft und Arbeitsfelder*, ed. by Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber, Berlin 2007, pp. 179–193, p. 185.

6 Cf. also Timothy D. Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism. Western Music and the World*, Durham and London 2007, p. 2: '[…] globalization as a long-term process has received more attention from ethnomusicologists than from musicologists, though there is no reason why this should be so, since composers of classical music are also subjects in social, cultural, and historical processes.'

> of substance. [...] Both exoticism and folklorism subsist on style quotations inserted into a polyphonic texture regulated by artistic principles, but also on an aesthetic fiction [...][7]

Dahlhaus's 'concept of function' can certainly be attributed to his interest in a structural history (Strukturgeschichte) which appears particularly close to structuralism here. On the other hand, it is obvious that the possibilities of generating knowledge this way quickly reach their limits. Three strategies can prove useful in escaping the methodological impasse and thus gaining access to new aspects. The first is to become aware of one's own preconceptions, the second is to think of an In-Between that emerges as a third space – an idea that Dahlhaus does not come up with, since he perceives only 'distortion' ('Verfälschung') – and the third is to dissolve the synchronic 'structuralist' perspective in favour of a processual diachronic one, i.e. not to accept things as they are presented, but to ask how they have developed historically.

It can be argued that the pursuit of understanding the Other (in the sense of Fremdverstehen in German) is contradictory in itself: as soon as I have understood something, it can no longer really be an unfamiliar Other to me. In the academic field, the greatest gain resulting from understanding the Other lies elsewhere, namely in the increased awareness of one's own preconceptions.

2. Recalcitrant Eastern Europe

The research on music that was sometimes deemed marginal or peripheral helps to sound out and expand the boundaries of the musicological canon anew. This may well be understood as an undertaking with emancipatory dimensions, since in doing so we allow ourselves to bring power structures to the fore. In this context, one might think of Edward W. Said, who highlighted the role of the West's imperialistic gaze in 'inventing' oriental strangers. In this respect, Said's Orientalism is as much an 'Occidentalism' as the sociologist Csaba Dupcsik has noted.[8] Those in power often positioned their imperialistic gaze as being rational, universally valid, objectively true and the like. As Paul Gilroy clearly summarised: 'Universality, reason and progress, modernity and enlightenment: these glorious ideas were once the sturdy cornerstones of an all-conquering Occidental mentality.'[9]

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7 Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (= Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 6), Wiesbaden and Laaber 1980, p. 252 and 255.

8 Csaba Dupcsik, "The West, the East, and the Border-Lining", in: *Social Science in Eastern Europe. Newsletter, Special Edition* (2001), pp. 31–39, p. 32.

9 Paul Gilroy, *Against Race. Imagining Political Culture beyond the Color Line*, Cambridge 2000, p. 68.

Some of the above irritations cannot be resolved, but they can be made aware of, if one considers the situation of Central and Eastern Europe. The countries on both sides of an imaginary line from Tallinn to Thessaloniki, including Russia, have traditions of art music which are not understood as coming from the outside; rather, the co-shaping of these traditions is claimed as a matter of course. Central and Eastern European composers assert their right to deal with the same compositional problems as their French, German or Italian counterparts. At the same time, they are confronted with the diametrically opposed expectation that their music should tell something specific about the region. Whether this music is perceived as part of or excluded from the Western canon ultimately depends on the observer, and several answers are possible. In any detailed analysis, the findings would certainly vary depending on the piece of music. Moreover, the changing historical conditions should not be overlooked. It must be noted that the repertoire from Central/Eastern Europe is subjected to heightened, and partially divergent expectations, which puts it in a quandary from which there is hardly any escape, since the expectations can hardly ever be met.

Csaba Dupcsik referred to Eastern Europe as '"the West's East", one part of a broader West', which should not be misunderstood as flattering.[10] As Dupcsik points out, this figure of thought caused many problems, even when it remained unspoken: 'paradoxically, nowadays this makes easier the pejorative connotations' in comparison to an idealised West.[11] This corresponds roughly with the aspect of Said's Orientalism, which Benedikt Köhler paraphrases as follows: 'In that the Orient is brought closer to the West, the intensity of the construction and generalization of differences increases'.[12] If a geographic area inhabited by millions is labelled with just a few catchwords, almost inevitably an inaccurate description results from it. A utopic idealisation is built up, compared to which reality turns out to resemble neither the Self nor the Other enough.

One of the central innovations of Said's theory is questioning the idea of cultural otherness as a given.[13] Returning to Dahlhaus's example of operatic exoticism, one can ponder the following: when a compositional engagement with foreign musical material has taken place and when audiences have listened to it for decades, then it should be expected that at some point there will be no more talk of foreignness. That this does not happen, however, makes it clear that just as there are strategies of incorporation/appropriation/assimilation, there are also strategies of 'othering'

10 Dupcsik, "The West, the East, and the Border-Lining", p. 33.

11 Ibid. p. 34.

12 Benedikt Köhler, "Edward W. Saids postkolonialer Kosmopolitismus", in: *Postkoloniale Soziologie. Empirische Befunde, theoretische Anschlüsse, politische Interventionen* (= Postcolonial Studies 2), ed. by Julia Reuter and Paula-Irene Villa, Bielefeld 2010, pp. 194–212, p. 201.

13 Cf. ibid., p. 199.

or perpetuation/reinforcement of foreignness, such as in the avoidance of a rule-conforming contrapuntal treatment. The recognition of foreign elements is thus by no means bound only to the characteristics of the thing itself but is the result of a processual construction of the foreign.[14]

The example of Eastern Europe is not an easy one in this respect. Perhaps for this very reason it can help to sharpen the above-mentioned capability of differentiation also with regard to the study of other regions, wherever the question of the Self and the Other is involved.

3. The contributions in this book

The present collection of texts is unique (not only) in the German research landscape so far. Its focus is on the 20th century, since the concept of East-West division was especially dominant during the Cold War, but some contributions also go beyond that. It turned out that the scope of meaning of the East and the West in cultural terms is by no means fixed, but has to be renegotiated each time. Because of this broad spectrum, I would like to elucidate the connections that run through our book.

The chapters *(De-)Constructing the Enemy [...]* by Moritz Kelber and *German Music in the Japanese Press [...]* by Minari Bochmann have in common the large geopolitical scope, admittedly in very different historical constellations: the early modern period in one case and the Second World War in the other. The fact that the West appears (for once) as the Other allows some familiar repertoire to be regarded in a new light.

Nikola Komatović brings his findings on *Octatonic Ambiguities* to light by employing music-analytical means (just as Hartmut Schick does later in the volume). In Komatović's contribution, the music of César Franck is central, while in the following by Emma Kavanagh it is that of Camille Saint-Saëns. With its focus on the operatic genre, her contribution *'Du paradis rêvé'* is linked to *Love Thy Enemy as Thyself?* by Sebastian Bolz on Alexander Zemlinsky. Although both Saint-Saëns' *La Princesse Jaune* and Zemlinsky's *Sarema* remain lesser-known works by the respective composers, they stand out noticeably from the familiar ways of dealing with the foreign and exotic in opera.

In *The 'Other' in Czech Music*, Lenka Křupková offers a historiographical overview of the preoccupation with the foreign in Czech music in its heyday from the

14 Only in exceptional cases can 'the processual' be adequately grasped through a 'structuralist' way by studying the score; rather, it is much more important to study the historical development and circumstances.

end of the 19th century up to Janáček. The following authors focus on individuals and their works, which certainly cannot be omitted in this context: Leoš Janáček (*as Seen by German Critics*) by Miloš Zapletal and Béla Bartók by Hartmut Schick (*Folklorism, Symmetry and Tritone*). Like Minari Bochmann, Miloš Zapletal deals with music journalism and its narratives in their relation to political camps. Finally, Dániel Nagy's *The Cults of Composers [...]*, like Schick's contribution, is about Bartók. The study of the cult of personality, as Nagy describes it, also allows for more general conclusions to be drawn beyond Bartók's case.

Another focus is the music of the former Yugoslavia. Since the idea of being between the political blocs was omnipresent in the Yugoslavian period, a critical review seems timely. While in *Contemporary Musicology in a Neither/Nor State* Bojana Radovanović develops a theoretical approach to situate the avant-garde in Serbia or rather Serbia in the avant-garde, Miloš Bralović follows with case studies from the years immediately following the Second World War in *Negating the West, Going East*.

While indirectly expressed in the other contributions, the interdisciplinary claim of this volume is most evident in the contributions of Ana Djordjević on *Music in War Films [...]* and Olga Stojanović Fréchette on *Popular Music in Intercultural Language Teaching*. Stojanović elucidates how music can be used to approach sociocultural phenomena.

Finally, Claire McGinn's *'Vanilla and Chilli' in Lithuanian Minimalism* opens up new perspectives by tracing the relatively recent efforts to overcome both East/West clichés and clichés of the Baltics in music.

Especially with regard to different methodological approaches, a broad panorama is offered here. As wide as the spectrum is, this collection is in no way exhaustive, neither is it meant to be prescriptive. I regret very much that no Polish, Russian or Croatian voices have been included, which I do not consider to be outside the topic. The selection of contributors was partly based on the networks established at the conference *Young Musicology Prague* in September 2016. In addition, three authors have already contributed to the Special Volume 1 of this publication series, providing a welcome continuity.[15]

It is the first volume of the *Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte* since 2003 to appear entirely in English.[16] This is not to be understood as a decision against German as an academic language – at most a temporary one – but rather as a pragmatic choice to address readers that otherwise would not be

15 *(Zu-)Hören interdisziplinär* (= Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte Sonderband 1), ed. by Magdalena Zorn and Ursula Lenker, München 2018.

16 After Marie Louise Göllner, *Essays on Music and Poetry in the Late Middle Ages* (= Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 61), Tutzing 2003.

reached. It should not be concealed that this posed particular challenges for those involved during the preparations for printing. Thus, I sincerely thank Julin Lee for assisting with the linguistic editing of the texts.

I would like to thank all the colleagues and students who generously helped with the conference organisation, the publication, or both. My special thanks go to Stefanie Strigl as the initiator of the whole project, Hartmut Schick as our 'host' at the Institute of Musicology at LMU, and Miloš Zapletal as co-organiser and cooperation partner (initially for the Czech Academy of Sciences, now for the Silesian University in Opava). I also thank Jarmila Gabrielová and Helmut Loos for their expertise and their scientific reviews.

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Translation: Julin Lee

(De-)Constructing the Enemy in Early Modern Music and Dance

Moritz Kelber

The war against the Ottoman Empire was one of the most important political issues in the German-speaking lands throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, the idea of an imminent threat from the Turks dates back to the fourteenth century and from that time was a vital element in the propaganda of the political and spiritual elites.[1] The fall of Constantinople in 1453 fueled that abstract fear, even in regions of the Holy Roman Empire where no political or military threat was imminent. One of the most severe events that drew everyone's attention to the military conflicts in the southeast of Europe was the siege of Vienna by Ottoman troops in 1529. Although the Turks had to retreat after three weeks of bloodshed, the advance of the enemy on one of the largest cities in central Europe was a shock for the political elites all over the continent. Military engagements continued until the early 1540s and flared up again throughout the whole century. Although the Ottoman troops posed a real threat, especially for the southeast of the Empire, the exaggerated depiction of the size of the Turkish army was a vital element of the propagandistic literature.[2]

This phenomenon has been discussed by various scholars both inside and outside the field of musicology. Reviewing some key sources from the mid-sixteenth century, the first chapter of this article underlines the role of music in the construction of an omnipresent anti-Turkish ideology. Yet polemic literature was not the only way western musical life encountered Turkish influences: Focusing on the late-sixteenth century, the second part of this paper investigates the curiosity of German aristocracy about cultural practices of their *heathen* enemies. This field has not received much scholarly attention since musicological literature

1 Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, "Türkengefahr (Spätmittelalter/Frühe Neuzeit)", in: *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns,* published 04.10.2016, http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Türkengefahr_(Spätmittelalter/Frühe Neuzeit) (22.08.2019).

2 Felix Konrad, "Von der 'Türkengefahr' zu Exotismus und Orientalismus: Der Islam als Antithese Europas (1453–1914)?", in: *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO),* ed. by Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), published 12.03.2010, http://www.ieg-ego.eu/konradf-2010-de (22.08.2019).

focuses mainly on the musical interactions between the Holy Roman and the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] The third and final chapter deals with the question of how Western Music was perceived by the Turkish elites – or better, how western contemporaries thought their music would be perceived in the East. What becomes visible is an odd tension between the massive promotion of anti-Ottoman stereotypes and the interest in foreign influences in early modern musical life and dance culture.[4]

1. Constructing the enemy

The development of printing in the mid-fifteenth century helped to transmit the pre-existent negative view of the Turks throughout the whole (literate) public.[5] German printers produced countless propagandistic pamphlets against the Turks, many of them containing songs. Some of these books were published with musical notation and thus were probably addressed to a musically literate audience. This, however, does not mean that the stereotypical depiction of the Turks was less pronounced: The title page of a pamphlet printed in 1542 Augsburg depicts Turkish soldiers killing children and raping women. The publication contains four songs, two of which are provided with musical notation (Fig. 1).[6]

An undated broadsheet publication by the Augsburg printer Melchior Kriegstein (c. 1500–1572) is of particular interest in this context (Fig. 2).[7] While most of the propagandistic pamphlets from that period only give a monophonic melody or

3 Ralf Martin Jäger, "Der türkische Orient in Musik und Musikforschung. Zu den Diskursen zwischen 1550 und 1740", in: *Repräsentationen der islamischen Welt im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Gabriele Haug-Moritz, Münster 2010, pp. 150–167; Edmund A. Bowles, "The Impact of Turkish Military Bands on European Court Festivals in the 17th and 18th Centuries", in: *Early Music* 34/4 (2006), pp. 533–559; Ralf Martin Jäger, "Türkische Musik und Musiker in Mitteleuropa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert", in: *Fremde Erfahrungen: Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz bis 1945*, ed. by Gehard Höpp (= Zentrum Moderner Orient, Studien 4), Berlin 1996, pp. 421–434.

4 For the following case studies, one should bear in mind the inconsistent terminology in sixteenth and early seventeenth century sources from western Europe about the Ottoman Empire; most authors used the term 'Turks' to describe various groups of people from the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire, regardless of their ethnicity.

5 Karoline Dominika Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert. Mit einem Katalog der Türkendrucke bis 1500* (= Historische Studien 503), Husum 2013; Carl Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, 1961–1968.

6 [N.N.], *Vier neuwe klägliche und zu Got rüffende Gesang oder Lieder*, Augsburg 1542, VD16 V 1027.

7 Ulrich Brätel, *Ain New Lied, wider den Türcken: Gemacht durch Huldrich Brätel*, [Augsburg 1542], vdm 1218.

Figure 1: Fols. A1^{r} and A4^{r} from *Vier neuwe klägliche und zu Got rüffende Gesang oder Lieder* (Augsburg 1542), D-B Hymn. 5926, picture: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (public domain).

a short remark on what tune a specific text must be sung with, this broadsheet comes with an elaborate four-part composition by the southern-German composer Ulrich Brätel (c. 1490–c. 1544). As the first strophe exemplifies, the broadsheet's text contains the anti-Ottoman stereotypes typical of that period.

> Wacht auf ihr Teutschen alle,
> die Zeit ist vor der Hannd,
> Der Türck will uberfallen
> zu ser der Christen Lannd,
> Ihr habt aus kurtzen Jahren,
> wes er sich hat erzaigt:
> Sein fleiß wirdt Er nit sparen,
> Kains andern ist er gnaigt.
>
> Wake up all Germans, it is time! The Turks have attacked the Christian realms. In the past years, they have proven that they will do everything in their power, they want nothing else [but to destroy us].

In the following strophes, the Turks are depicted as violent and barbaric, hence as servants of the devil himself.

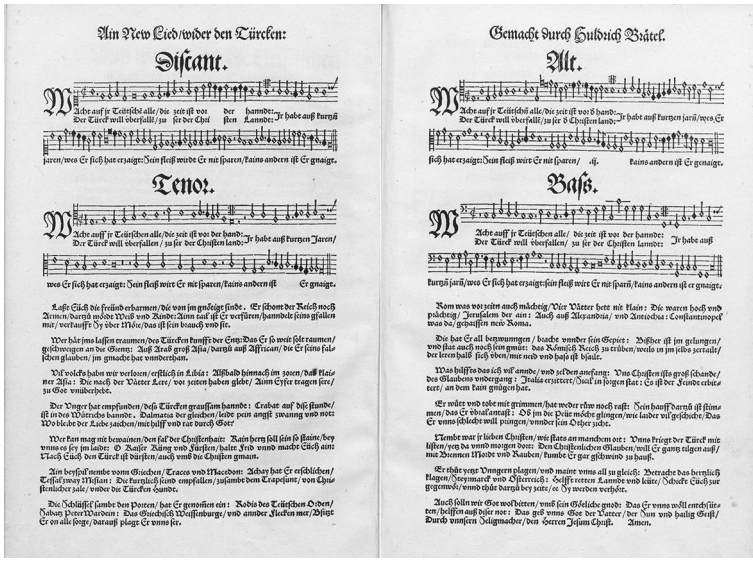

Figure 2: Ulrich Braetel, *Ain New Lied, wider den Türcken* [Augsburg 1542], D-As 2 Stw 169A, quoted after: Hans-Jörg Künast, "Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreibers Konrad Peutinger", in: *Augsburg die Bilderfabrik Europas. Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by John Roger Paas, Augsburg 2001, pp. 11–19, p. 15.

The music, which is printed in Kriegstein's elaborate single impression type, is quite sophisticated. Its structure is more reminiscent of a short motet than of a simple German song. The Tenor part has a pre-existing song melody as its cantus firmus. This is framed by the Discantus and Bassus parts that are rhythmically closely connected, and finally a rather free Altus part. The texture of the composition makes it quite difficult to find the right way to align syllables and notes, especially for those 13 strophes that are not set directly under the notation. Although the music and text seem strangely disconnected in this case, the mere existence of an anti-Turkish polyphonic broadsheet can tell us a lot about possible target audiences for that kind of propaganda: the aristocratic and bourgeois elites of the Empire.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) and his circle were a key factor in the transmission of anti-Turkish propaganda during the sixteenth century.[8] Protestant preachers and theologians not only presented the expansion of the Ottoman Empire as a sign for the approaching end of the world; they also held the Catholic Church directly responsible for the military successes of the Turks. Luther himself is considered as

8 Martin Brecht, "Luther und die Türken", in: *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. by Bodo Gutmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann, Tübingen 2000, pp. 9–28.

one of the most productive and influential commentators on the war against the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the sixteenth century. In sermons, polemics, and in songs the reformer and his followers painted a vivid picture of the *diabolic* Turks.[9]

> Therefore, take notice and be certain: The Turk is for sure the devil's last and most terrible wrath against Christ. For he spills all his Rage against the realm of Christ. As this becomes obvious through his [the Turks] cruelties: He strangles, impales, slaughters people, children, and women, young and old alike, although they did not do him any harm, acting as if he were the devil himself.[10]

Luther's song *Erhalt uns Herr bei Deinem Wort,* which was first published in 1542, is perhaps the most famous example of the influence of anti-Turkish ideas on the Protestant hymn repertoire.[11] It is still sung in many Lutheran and Catholic churches, although in a version that replaces 'Turks' with 'enemies'.[12] In a copy of the 1543 edition of *Erhalt uns Herr*, presently held in the Berlin State Library, there is an additional strophe added by hand, most likely written by the Wittenberg theologian Justus Jonas (1493–1555), who was very close to Luther.[13]

Ir Anschlag Herr zu nichte mach	Lord, shatter their attacks
Lass sie treffen die böse sach,	Let them be harmed by their wickedness
Und stürtzen sie in die grub hinein,	And cast them into the pit
Die sie machen den Christen dein.	Which they themselves are digging for Christendom.

The Berlin copy of this hymnbook documents a famous reformer's personal encounter with the propagandistic literature of the time, and it demonstrates that anti-Turkish ideas reached all parts of sixteenth-century society. The heading

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9 Damaris Grimmsmann, *Krieg mit dem Wort. Türkenpredigten des 16. Jahrhunderts im Alten Reich*, Berlin and Boston 2016, pp. 38–43.

10 'Darumm so halt feste, und sey sicher: Das der Türcke gewißlich sey, der letzte und ergeste zorn des Teuffels wider Christum, darmit er dem Faß den boden außstösset unnd seinen grimmen gantz außschüttet, wider Christus Reych. […] Und man sihets auch wol an der that, wie grewlich er die Leut, kind, Weyber, Jung und Alt erwürget spisset, zurhacket, die jm doch nichts gethan, und so handelt, als sey er der zornige Teufel selbs leibhaftig'; Martin Luther, *Eine Heerpredigt Wider den Türcken,* Augsburg 1542, VD16 L 4922, fol. A3^{r}.

11 Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music. Principles and Implications,* Grand Rapids, MI 2007, pp. 107–115.

12 Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Bayern (ed.), *Evangelisches Gesangbuch. Ausgabe für die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen in Bayern und Thürigen*, Munich n. d., p. 385.

13 Martin Luther, *Geistliche Lieder zu Wittemberg,* Wittenberg 1543/1544, vdm 1266, D-B Libri impr. rari oct. 183, fol. 65^{v}; for a more detailed description of that copy see the *Catalogue of early German printed music* (http://vdm.sbg.ac.at, accessed 14.12.2019).

of this song is of special interest for the question of performance practices: *Ein Kinderlied, zu singen, wider die zween Ertzfeinde Christi und seiner heiligen Kirchen, den Bapst und Türcken, etc.* These words possibly refer to the singing of this piece in school contexts, maybe even during the 'Kurendesingen': the practice of pupils singing in the streets, which had been established in many German cities during the first decades of the Reformation.[14] Thus, one might assume that in certain years, after a report of a defeat or a victory, the streets of a German town were filled with anti-Turkish songs.

Anti-Ottoman propaganda shaped the soundscape of many late medieval and early modern towns beyond the singing and reciting of polemic texts. There were countless services and processions throughout the entire Holy Roman Empire commemorating the defeats or victories in this endless conflict. A 1592 edict by Archduke Ferdinand codifies the already established tradition of the *Türkenglocke* for the county of Tirol. It instructs all churches to ring their largest bell every day at noon as a reminder for all people, no matter where, to pray for victory against the Turks.[15] One of the major purposes of this huge propagandistic effort in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was the legitimization of political acts, like the general taxation that the imperial court tried to establish in 1495.[16]

During the sixteenth century, the Turks were not the only foreigners targeted by propagandistic literature and music. Fueled by the military conflicts within the Empire around 1550 an increasingly negative picture of the Spanish began to prevail, especially in Protestant regions. At the end of the century, the 'legenda negra' had been disseminated throughout the entire European continent. The mechanisms of the polemic discourse were very similar: in songs, poems, pictures, and early newspapers the Spanish were stereotypically described as violent and murderous.[17]

14 Franz Krautwurst, "Kurrende", in: *MGG²*, Sachteil 5, Kassel 1996, col. 827–831.

15 Joseph Vochezer, "Das 12 Uhr-Läuten oder die Türkenglocke", in: *Diözesan-Archiv von Schwaben: Organ für Geschichte, Altertumskunde, Kunst und Kultur der Diözese Rottenburg und der angrenzenden Gebiete* 18 (1900), p. 160.

16 Peter Schmid, *Der gemeine Pfennig von 1495. Vorgeschichte und Entstehung, verfassungsgeschichtliche, politische und finanzielle Bedeutung*, Göttingen 1989.

17 Moritz Kelber, "'Jedes land fürt seinen eignen brauch und weise'. Musik, Tanz, Reichstag", in: *Handbuch der Musik in der Renaissance*, vol. 4, ed. by Wolfgang Fuhrmann, Laaber 2019, pp. 358–367; Annette Helmchen, *Die Entstehung der Nationen im Europa der frühen Neuzeit ein integraler Ansatz aus humanistischer Sicht* (= Freiburger Studien zur Frühen Neuzeit 10), Bern 2005, p. 327–366.

2. Deconstructing the enemy

Despite all the demonization and polemics, German intellectuals encountered the foreign on a more rational level as well. One driving force for the rising interest in the Ottoman culture were the conflicts themselves. By collecting information, one hoped to develop solutions against the military threats.[18] A famous example of a humanist trying to collect empirical evidence for his political activities as an imperial councilor is Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547), who assembled a considerable collection of Turcica during his lifetime and was furthermore responsible for the publication of various books from the Islamic world in his hometown Augsburg. A milestone on the way to a better understanding of the Islamic culture certainly was the 1543 publication of a Latin edition of the Qur'an by Theodor Bibliander (ca. 1504–1564), which came with several warnings, including one by Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560).[19] Certainly, the paratexts of this volume are filled with derogatory rhetoric, but nonetheless, it was an important step for a critical examination beyond pure rumors and prejudices.

Dance was one of the most interesting spaces for the reception of other cultures. Using foreign costumes for masquerades and 'exotic' instruments, early modern court culture encountered the 'other' in special ways.[20] One very famous example is the popularity of the Moresca all over Europe.[21] An early document pointing towards the central role of this form of dance in Germany, which has been largely neglected by musicological literature, is a report by Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) on a performance within the context of Maximilian's (1459–1519) election as Roman King in 1486.[22]

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18 Wolfgang E. J. Weber, "Uomo orientale. Konrad Peutingers Rolle in der Positionierung des Reiches gegen die osmanische Bedrohung. Eine Annhäherung", in: *Konrad Peutinger. Ein Universalgelehrter zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven*, ed. by Rolf Kießling and Gernot Michael Müller, pp. 67–83, p. 69.

19 Theodor Bibliander, *Machumetis saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran* […], Basel 1543; Mahmoud Haggag, *Die Deutschen Koranübersetzungen und ihr Beitrag zur Entstehung eines Islambildes beim deutschen Leser* (= Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft 22), Frankfurt a. M. 2011; Eckhard Leuscher und Thomas Wünsch (ed.), *Konstruktion von Antagonismen und Kulturtransfer im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege: Ostmitteleuropa, Italien und Osmanisches Reich*, Berlin 2013.

20 Marina Dimitrieva, "Türkenmummereien auf Festen und Turnieren im östlichen Europa im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in: *Das Bild des Feindes. Konstruktion von Antagonismen und Kulturtransfer im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege*, ed. by Eckhard Leuschner und Thomas Wünsch, Berlin 2013, pp. 321–335.

21 Monika Woitas, "Schwerttanz", in: *MGG²*, Sachteil 8 (1998), Kassel 1998, col. 1207–1216.

22 Moritz Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen im 16. Jahrhundert,* Munich 2018, p. 123 f.

> There was a Morris dance under a tent made of silk inside the hall with a tambour and a flute. First, a jester came out and danced back in, followed by a wooer and a moor, then a young boy disguised as an Indian girl with a spiky head and long hair. After that, two moors danced a Morris dance, as it is common in France. […] When another French dance started, the King came out of the tent wearing a pointy silver mask, formed like the beak of a stork. On his head, he was wearing a small hat with a white feather. He danced with a beautiful woman, who was able to dance in the Italian manner very well.[23]

The ball, which took place in the presence of the imperial estates, started with an act by professional Morris dancers. It mixed European, Ottoman, and African influences, resulting in a hybrid exotic dance. After some time, the young King entered the dance floor wearing a mask. He started performing a French dance. Seamlessly, the feast took a turn from a pseudo-Moorish performance towards a more familiar direction. Thus, this passage from Reuchlin's chronicle can be understood as an early document pertinent to the interaction of European court culture with foreign influences.

The fascination of Maximilian's court for exotic costumes and balls found its way into one of his book projects. In the extensive tournament book *Freydal* there are numerous depictions of Morris dances and masquerades (Fig. 3).[24] Some of the illustrations are evidently referencing Turkish influences. By putting on the costumes of Ottoman soldiers or dancing together with professional Morris dancers, the courtiers physically interacted with elements of their archenemy's culture. This kind of reception is obviously not free of stereotyping, and there is a clear hierarchy between the barbaric Moresca and the civilized European dances. Evidently 'othering', which means the self-assurance of a group by distinguishing itself from another, plays an important role.[25] Yet, such interactions (beyond that) document

23 'Da was ain moriscentanz zugericht under ainem syden zelt im sal und ain taborin mit ainer flöten. Zum ersten kam heraus der narr und danzt sich wider in die zelt, darnach der buler in ainem guldin antlitt, darnach der ain mor, darnach ain klainer knab als ain indianerjunkfrau mit ainem hohen spitzigen hut und langem har, darnach die andern zwen moren und danzten den moriscen nach gewonhait zu Frankrych. […] Item darnach fing man ain andern franzosischen tanz an und kam us dem gezelt gangen in ainer silberin schiemen mit ainer langen spitzen nasen, eber als ain storkenschnabel, und was der Kg. Hett uf sinem har ain klains barret mit aim wysen federlin und tanzt mit ainer schönen frowen, die die welschen tenz gar wol und höflich kunt tanzen'; Heinz Angermeier, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I. Reichstag zu Frankfurt 1486* (= Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Mittlere Reihe 1), Göttingen 1989, p. 835.

24 Moritz Kelber, "'Mit de pangeten und mumereyen wunder verpracht'. Tanz- und Festkultur zur Zeit Maximilians", in: *Maximilian I. 1459–1519. Kaiser. Ritter. Bürger zu Augsburg,* ed. by Heidrun Lange-Krach, Augsburg 2019, pp. 58–67, p. 60.

25 Lale Babaoğlu Balkış, "Defining the Turk: Construction of Meaning in Operatic Orientalism", in: *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 41 (2010), pp. 185–193.

a certain curiosity of late medieval and early modern aristocracy for foreign festive culture.

Figure 3: [N.N.], *Freydal*, 1512–1515, KHM-Museumsverband Wien, Inv. Nr. KK 5073, fol. 36r, quoted after: Kelber, "Mit de pangeten und mumereyen", p. 60.

But how deep did this curiosity really go, especially concerning foreign music? The tensions between the Holy Roman and the Ottoman Empires led not only to battles and military conflicts but also to diplomatic efforts. Among the intellectual elites, one can observe a growing interest not only for the politics of the Turks but also for their cultural practices. One indicator of that phenomenon is the large number of surviving sixteenth-century Turkish costume books (c. 120 editions across Europe).[26] A magnificent example from that group of sources is the costume book by Lambert de Vos who depicts – on 124 leaves – various kinds of people from Constantinople.[27] Towards the end of the 1574 collection the artist, who worked on the commission of the imperial ambassador Karel Rijm (1533–1584), depicts various kinds of musicians amongst them minstrels of the Sultan himself.[28] One illustration shows the player of a long-necked lute and a flute player (Fig. 4).[29]

26 Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600*, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 2003; Ulrike Ilg, "The Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth Century Europe", in: *Clothing Culture 1350–1650*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Aldershot 2004, pp. 29–47.

27 Lambert de Vos, *Türkisches Kostümbuch*, 1574, D-BMs msor 009 (http://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:46:1-5289).

28 D-BMs msor 009, fols. 58r, 65r, 71r, 74r.

29 Hans-Albrecht Koch (ed.), *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. or. 9 aus dem Besitz der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen,* vol. 2, Graz 1991.

Figure 4: De Vos, *Türkisches Kostümbuch*, 1574, fol. 58^{r} (picture: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen).

In 1577, the Lutheran theologian Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622) followed the delegation of the imperial ambassador Joachim von Sintzendorff (1544–1594) to Constantinople.[30] More than 30 years later, in 1608, he published a detailed report on that voyage, which had also led him to Jerusalem and Egypt. Schweigger dedicates more than three pages of his book to Turkish music.[31] The author chooses a systematic approach and gives detailed descriptions of many musical instruments. He even provides an indexed woodcut illustration (Fig. 5).

30 Salomon Schweigger, *Eine newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nuremberg 1608, http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-55847 (reprint in: *The Islamic World in Foreign Travel Accounts* 28, Frankfurt a. M. 1995). Schweigger's report was reissued four times in Nuremberg (1613, 1619, 1639, and 1664); Karl Teply (ed.), *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn* (= Bibliothek Klassischer Reiseberichte), Stuttgart 1968, pp. 29–30; Ulrike Ilg, "Bebilderte Reiseberichte aus dem Osmanischen Reich in Deutscher Srache (16. bis 17. Jahrhundert)", in: *Das Bild des Feindes. Konstruktion von Antagonismen und Kulturtransfer im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege*, ed. by Eckhard Leuschner and Thomas Wünsch, Berlin 2013, pp. 55–75, p. 70 f. (fn. 20).

31 Jäger, "Der türkische Orient", p. 156 f.

Figure 5: Salomon Schweigger, *Eine newe Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 208 (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, public domain).

While the string and wind instruments like trumpets and shawms were quite familiar to him, he is surprised by the strangeness of the small drums and cymbals. After a rather unbiased analysis of Ottoman instrumental music, he continues with an evaluation of the music he heard. His overall judgment is negative and generalizing, though it does not incorporate any of the demonizing rhetoric of the propagandistic literature. I disagree with Owen Wright, who claims that Schweigger does not display 'any nascent interest' in Turkish music because of his negativity.[32] On the contrary, Schweigger's criticism should be read as a document of an intellectual encounter. Twice he uses the term 'impetuous' ('ungestüm'), referring to the raw and wild impression the music made on him.[33] Turkish music, according to Schweigger, does not have 'anything sweet and fair but is impetuous and hostile'.[34] His other point of criticism is the lack of polyphony: He wonders about the disorganized unison playing of one single melody by more than

32 Owen Wright, "Turning a Deaf Ear", in: *Renaissance and the Ottoman World,* ed. by Anna Contadini and Claire Norton, Farnham et al. 2013, pp. 143–168, p. 149.

33 Schweigger, *Eine newe Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 209.

34 Ibid.

four different instruments, and he even provides a written example of a tune he supposedly remembers from his travels to Istanbul.

The beginning of Schweigger's chapter on music is a description of the dances he has seen on his travels. With some astonishment, he notices that mixed-gendered dances are uncommon in the Ottoman Empire since it is seen as morally inappropriate to dance with another man's woman.

> The women have their special music. In each hand, they hold two small pieces of wood, a little bigger than a knife handle. With outstretched arms, two or three of them grip, rattle and juggle these instruments. Moving their bodies in a frivolous manner, they sing disgraceful and obscene songs.[35]

At first glance, this description of a musical practice that combines singing, dancing and the playing of some kind of wooden percussion instrument seems quite odd. It appears less so when we compare it with an illustration from another beautifully illustrated manuscript from the Ottoman court, the manuscript Codex Vindobonensis 8626 (Fig. 6).[36] This account was commissioned for Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) by the imperial ambassador in Istanbul, and illustrated by the artist Hendrich Hiendrofsky. The codex contains a vast number of depictions from the court of the Sultan in Constantinople, including various pictures of musicians. Furthermore, we find something that at first glance looks like an almost exact depiction of Schweigger's description.[37] However, a handwritten description right under the illustration unveils that there might have been different forms of that dance practice. It says: 'Buben so Im Frauenzimer spillen und Tanzen', probably referring to boys dressed as dancing women. Maybe Schweigger – if he was an eyewitness of events like that at all – mistook the disguised boys for women. Looking at Salomon Schweigger's interest in the Ottoman culture, it does not come as a surprise that it was he, who in 1616 published the first translation of the Qur'an into German in Nuremberg.[38]

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35 'Die Weibßbilder haben ihre besondere Musicam, in jeder Hand zwey Hötzlein, ein jedes grösser dann ein Messerhefft, solche regieren sie mit greiffen und kleppern, gauklen im selbigen mit außgestreckten Armen, ihrer 2. oder 3. treten also gegen einander mit üppiger leichtfertiger bewegung des Leibs, singen schandbare unzüchtige Bulerliedlein darein.' Schweigger, *Eine newe Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 207 f.

36 Heinrich Hendrowski, *Bilder aus dem türkischen Volksleben*, 1575–1600, A-Wn Cod. 8626, http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/1003536E.

37 Bowles, "The Impact of Turkish Military Bands", p. 538 f.

38 Salomon Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus, Das ist: der Türcken Alcoran, Religion vnd Aberglauben […]*, Nuremberg 1616; his translation seems to have been rather influential since it was reissued three times after his death. Schweigger did not translate the Arabic version of the Qur'an but the first Italian translation from 1547 which itself was based on a Latin translation.

Figure 6: Hendrowski, *Bilder aus dem türkischen Volksleben*, 1575–1600, A-Wn Cod. 8626, fol. 118r.

These descriptions of Turkish dance and music are anything but free of negative prejudices. Nevertheless, they can be read as documents of curiosity about foreign social practices. This also applies to a passage from Johannes Kepler's treatise *Harmonice mundi*, which was published in Linz in 1619.[39] In the thirteenth chapter, Kepler reports in detail on the singing of a muezzin, which he had heard in Prague. Kepler's story is shaped by both curiosity and rejection: he praises the singer, who was part of the Ottoman ambassador's retinue at the imperial court, for his professionalism. At the same time, he condemns the melodies of the clergyman as unnatural and abhorrent.[40]

39 I am very grateful to Erika Supria Honish (@drcanonic) for drawing my attention to this source on Twitter.

40 Peter Pesic, "Earthly Music and Cosmic Harmony: Johannes Kepler's Interest in Practical Music, Especially Orlando di Lasso", in: *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 11/1 (2005), §2.7, §§3.9–3.14, sscm-jscm.org/v11/no1/pesic.html (accessed: 08.12.2019); Michael Dickreiter, *Der Musiktheoretiker Johannes Kepler*, Bern and Munich 1973, p. 134.

> I have been present in Prague at the prayers which the priest of the Turkish ambassador used to chant at fixed hours, kneeling and frequently hitting the ground with his forehead. It was easily seen that he sang from training, and had labored to acquire a practiced and fluent manner, for he did not hesitate at all; but he used remarkable, unusual, truncated, abhorrent intervals, so that it seems that nobody could with proper guidance from nature and voluntarily of his own accord ever regularly contemplate anything like it. I shall try to express something close to it by our musical notation.[41]

Due to its unnatural form, the music – according to Kepler – eludes attempts to put it into notes. Nevertheless, Kepler attempts to give a notation example, which is more reminiscent of a scale and thus describes a tonal space, rather than an actual melody.

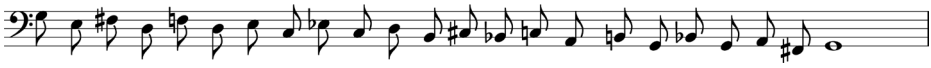

Figure 7: Melody from Kepler's *Harmonice mundi* (Linz 1619).

Turkish music is by no means the focus of this chapter on how to compose a well-formed melody. Kepler answers this question with the example of the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*. His excursus about the music of muezzin is above all a rhetorical means of contrasting the nobility of the Christian chant against the religious music of the Muslims.

The descriptions of the soundscape of the Ottoman court by Schweigger and Kepler are documents of peace since they were written when diplomatic solutions seemed possible. Furthermore, they indicate some kind of cultural appropriation between the East and the West. Some people from the West at least tried to listen to 'the enemy'. The sources most certainly served as an inspiration for European court culture and the re-enactment of Turkishness on the dance floors of the continent. One could even speculate if contemporary authors (maybe unintentionally) helped to de-demonize the Ottoman Empire a little bit by comparing European and Turkish music.

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41 Johannes Kepler, *The Harmony of the World*, ed. by E. J. Aiton, A. M. Duncan and J. V. Field, Philadelphia 1997, p. 217; 'Interfui Pragae precibus, quas Legati Turcici sacerdos horis statis ingeniculatus, terramque fronte crebrò feriens, decantare solebat: apparuit facile, ipsum ex disciplina canere, exercitationemque et promptitudinem labore comparasse, nihil enim haesitavit; at intervallis usus est miris, insolitis, concisis, abhorrentibus, ut nemo proprio naturae ductu et ex seipso ultrò simile quid constanter unquam meditari posse videatur. Conabor aliquid proximum illi per nostras notas Musicas exprimere'; Johannes Kepler, *Harmonice mundi* (= Gesammelte Werke 6), ed. by Max Caspar, Munich 1940, p. 157 f.

3. Western Music and the Turks

A vital element of the discourse about the Ottoman Empire was the depiction of the Muslim enemy as uneducated and 'kulturlos'. This debate also found its way into early seventeenth-century music theory. In 1619, Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) published the second volume of his *Syntagma musicum*, a comprehensive treatise on musical instruments, in which we find several passages on the Turks.[42] In the introduction, the director of the Wolfenbüttel court chapel describes Muslim music within the common derogatory rhetoric.[43] According to Praetorius, all music and culture were lost in the regions that were occupied by the Ottoman Empire. Even in Greece, the birthplace of Western Music, only the music of the wild remained. That harsh propagandistic language does not come as a surprise: in some parts, the *Syntagma* with its encyclopedic approach seems like a sponge that has absorbed all different kinds of literature, especially from late sixteenth-century Lutheran Germany.[44]

However, after a few paragraphs of what would presently be considered as hate speech, Praetorius writes the following:

> When a Christian has decided to become a Muslim and to be circumcised, he is mounted on a fine horse and led through the whole town to the sound of shawms and drums. Even today this wretched music is highly esteemed by the Turks, whereas our music is despised and worthless. This was well demonstrated in AD 1520 (926 in the Turkish *hegira*), when Francis I of France sent a special gift to the Turkish butcher Suleiman at the start of his tyrannical reign. It was a large and costly musical instrument, and with it, he sent enough men to carry it, and a number of selected performers – skilled players all of them. The Turks thought it altogether marvelous, and the Turkish king himself found its music very pleasant and agreeable. Soon afterwards, however, the people began to flock keenly – too keenly, as he thought – to Constantinople, in order to hear the delightful foreign music; they began to develop a remarkable affection for the new art and the Turkish king became afraid that his people on this account would lay aside their degraded barbarism and become civilized – soft

42 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia*, Wolfenbüttel 1619 (urn:nbn:de:bsz:25-digilib-1853).

43 Ibid., fol.):(4v.

44 Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann, "'Instar Bibliothecae instructissimae': Zum enzyklopädistischen Zugriff auf Musik im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert", in: *Musiktheorie* 31 (2016), pp. 78–90, p. 86 f.

> and effeminate, as he alleged – so he had the magnificent instrument smashed and burnt, and sent the musicians back to the French king.[45]

The story about Sultan Suleiman (1494–1566) and the French King has been largely neglected in musicological scholarship – possibly because of its anecdotal character. Praetorius, in any case, was fascinated by the narrative since he repeats it in the introduction to the chapter on organs.[46] He even gives a date, the Sultan's coronation in 1520. There might be some evidence that a musical encounter between the French and the Ottoman court actually happened – if not in 1520, then in the following years. In 1526, King Francis I (1494–1547) forged a military alliance with the Ottoman Empire against the Holy Roman Empire and Spain. In 1532, a French embassy visited Suleiman in Belgrade.[47] It seems plausible that singers or musicians could have traveled in the entourage of one of these various French diplomatic missions. According to Praetorius, both the Sultan and the people of Constantinople enjoyed Western Music and western musical instruments. In the narrative of the *Syntagma*, the Sultan's personal political and military ambitions led to his order that the instrument – in Praetorius' mind probably an organ – be destroyed and burned. Suleiman allegedly was afraid of the French musicians' influence on his subjects. One could even read this passage as a comment on the power of music, deeply influenced by colonial thought. In the eyes of the author, the right (western) music can soften the hearts of even the most barbaric enemies.

There is another report from the Ottoman court that indicates that Turkish elites were interested in music from central and western Europe. In 1599, Queen Elizabeth I sent a diplomatic mission to Constantinople.[48] The young organ builder Thomas Dallam (c. 1575–after 1629) was part of this endeavor; he was supposed to build a self-playing mechanical organ for Sultan Mehmet III (1566–1603) as a gift 'which will scandalize other nations'.[49] Dallam documented his travels in a diary that is a precious source not only for organological reasons but also as a document of an instrument builder encountering a foreign culture.[50] From the craftsman's report, one can get a fairly good impression of the size and the features of the wondrous machine.

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45 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II. De Organographia, Parts I and II*, translated and edited by David Z. Crookes (= Early Music Series 7), Oxford 1986, p. 6.

46 Praetorius, *Syntagma II*, p. 82.

47 Édith Garnier, *L'Alliance impie: François Ier et Soliman le Magnifique contre Charles Quint, 1529–1547*, Paris 2008.

48 Jennifer Linhart Wood, *Sounding Otherness in Early Modern Drama and Travel. Uncanny Vibrations in the English Archive*, Cham 2019, pp. 167–203.

49 Stephen Bicknell and Michel Cocheril, "Dallam family", in: *NewGrove²*, vol. 6, London 2001, p. 853.

50 J. Theodore Bent (ed.), *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, London 1893.

> The Grand Sinyor, beinge seated in his Chaire of estate, commanded silence. All being quiett, and no noyes at all, the presente began to salute the Grand Sinyor; for when I lefte it I did alow a quarter of an houre for his cominge thether. Firste the clocke strouke 22; than The chime of 16 bels went of, and played a songe of 4 partes. That beinge done, tow personagis which stood upon to corners of the seconde storie, houldinge tow silver trumpetes in there handes, did lifte them to theire heades, and sounded a tantarra [sic?]. Than the muzicke went of, and the orgon played a song of 5 partes twyse over. In the tope of the orgon, being 16 foute hie, did stande a holly bushe full of blacke birds and thrushis, which at the end of the musick did singe and shake theire wynges. Divers other motions thare was which the Grand Sinyor wondered at.[51]

For our purposes, it seems noteworthy that (according to Dallam) the Sultan received the instrument with great interest. He was not only fascinated by the technological marvels of the self-playing machine. He was also intrigued by the sound, and therefore ordered Dallam to play the instrument with the keys. For his service, the organ builder received a generous reward. Unlike Praetorius' story, Dallam's report does not end in the destruction or rejection of Western Music but instead – and especially for Dallam personally – has a happy ending. Because of their anecdotal character, one must be very careful not to over-interpret these narratives. However, both stories indicate that western rulers used music as a means of establishing diplomatic relations with the Ottoman court.

4. Conclusion

Encountering the unknown, the foreign, or the other, is always an adventure. It can be dangerous, as in the case of the confessional and religious conflicts where villages and cities were plundered and destroyed by hostile soldiers. It can be frightening, as is expressed in countless poems, songs and compositions in central and western Europe alike. It can be playful, like in European court and dance cultures that embodied various musical and visual elements from different parts of the world. Furthermore, it can be adventurous, as in the case of Thomas Dallam's travels to Constantinople. Fear and curiosity were both used as political tools. They could create unity within a group which was on the brink of falling apart, or they could legitimize an unpopular policy. Although history does not repeat itself, that observation might help us sharpen our view on today's problems.

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51 Bent, *Early Voyages,* p. 67 f.

German Music in the Japanese Press during the Nazi Era

Minari Bochmann

The reception of German music in Japan during the Pacific War has so far been the subject of remarkably little research, despite having been prevalent in literature and showing a surprisingly overt changing attitude of the Japanese despite the ostensible unity of Germany and Japan against the Allied nations.[1] The widespread perception that German music was featured widely due to the German-Japanese alliance, while French music was regarded as inappropriate, seems to have prevented researchers from asking how the reception of German music was hermeneutically adapted to the changes the war brought to Japanese society.[2] This paper aims to identify different contexts of Japanese society during the war which led to a profound reinterpretation of German music.

Premise: Tensions between German and French music in Japan up to the beginning of the German-Japanese alliance

Beginning with the Mukden incident in Manchuria in 1931, Japan entered its so-called Fifteen Years War. In terms of music history, however, the first half of the 1930s was extremely vibrant. The polarization in musical conceptions between French and German music, dating back to the beginning of the century in Europe, reached Japan and became noticeable when composition studies began to be universally accepted there around 1930.[3] Since composition was not a univer-

1 This study was first published in German: Minari Bochmann, "Zur Rezeption deutscher Musik in der japanischen Musikpublizistik während des Pazifischen Krieges – eine Zwischenbilanz", in: *Die Musikforschung* 73 (2020), No. 1, pp. 31–46. For easier readability, Japanese family names will be put in the final position, according to European norms.

2 Cf. Yukiko Sawabe, *Die Neue Musik in Japan von 1950 bis 1960. Stilrichtungen und Komponisten* (= Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 170), Regensburg 1992, p. 33.

3 This does not mean, however, that there were no composers in Japan before this time. The postgraduate course at the Music Academy in Tokyo, established in 1900, did include a course in composition, which essentially taught music theory and counterpoint. The course was led by professional musicians, but not by composers. Before composition was established as a

sity subject, some enrolled at the music department of the military school, which had a strong focus on the composition of military music.[4] In 1930, the private Imperial Music School (Teikoku ongaku gakkō) was founded in Tokyo. Its first chair for composition was held by Meirō Sugahara, one of the first Japanese supporters of modern French music.[5]

Sugahara's teachers had been part of the military band of the imperial army, which since its founding in 1872 fostered the adaptation of French military music. The state music academy in Tokyo established a department of composition in 1931, and Klaus Pringsheim, brother-in-law of the writer Thomas Mann, was appointed as a professor. While German classical music had been considered to be the epitome of European art music at the Tokyo Music Academy, especially after the appointment of August Junker in 1899, the beginning of the First World War had driven a number of Japanese to discover 'many pretty relations' between traditional Japanese music and French impressionism, as the poet Tōson Shimazaki put it in 1915.[6]

With the introduction of Western music during the Meiji era (1868–1912), traditional Japanese music had not been taken into account neither in music education in schools nor in art music and had been pushed out of day-to-day life. This led to several approaches to the establishment of a Japanese 'national music' (Kokumin ongaku). Directly after the First World War, a movement named New Japanese Music (Shin nihon ongaku) was established. Influenced by European principles of form and genres, a group of instrumentalists and composers of traditional Japanese music (Hōgaku) tried to compose pieces for Japanese instruments, also experimenting with modifications of those instruments. The main representative of this movement, the koto player Michio Miyagi, paid tribute to Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel, who 'with oriental elements of music tried to break through the deadlock of Western music'.[7] In the context of the 'future national music' of Japan, Kōsaku Yamada also admired Debussy for his 'very noble

subject within the foundation course in 1931, musicians generally arrived at composition training through instrumental studies. Cf. Stefan Menzel, *Hōgaku. Traditionelle japanische Musik im 20. Jahrhundert* (= Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft 87), Hildesheim et al. 2015, p. 111.

4 Cf. Akeo Okada, "Rezeption der französischen Musik in Japan der Vorkriegszeit als musikalisches Identitätsproblem", in: *Zinbun* 39 (2007), pp. 11–17, p. 12.

5 Cf. Kuniharu Akiyama, *Shōwa no sakkyokukatachi. Taiheiyō sensō to ongaku* [Composers of the Shōwa Era. The Pacific War and Music], Tokyo 2003, p. 49.

6 Cf. Minoru Nishihara, *"Gakusei" Bētōben no tanjō* [Beethoven. The Genesis of the "Holy Musician"], Tokyo 2000, p. 139. Shimazaki Tōson, "Heiwa no Pari" [Paris in Peace], in: *Tōson zenshū* [Complete Works of Tōson], vol. 6, Tokyo 1967, pp. 304–305, cited from Okada, "Rezeption der französischen Musik", p. 14.

7 Hitomi Sano, "A Study of the Relation between Two Types of Japanese Composer: Meiro

orchestration'.[8] A number of composers, musicians and music critics born around 1900, for whom the German system of composition was altogether too alien, took their discovery of French impressionism as a starting point for dealing with traditional Japanese music.

Together with 15 such young musicians, Shūkichi Mitsukuri founded the Federation of Emerging Composers (Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei) in 1930, with the aim of establishing their own 'Japanese' music despite the dominance of German music in the Japanese education system.[9] This association saw itself as a counterpart of the Greater Japan Association of Composers (Dainihon sakkyokuka renmei), which mainly included graduates of the state music academy in Tokyo who favoured classical-romantic music. Mitsukuri received crucial support from Russian composer and pianist Aleksandr Tcherepnin, who visited Japan several times between 1934 and 1937 and organized a composition contest, which he financed himself. Tcherepnin – who had been living in Paris since 1918 – declared himself in favour of the integration of Japanese elements into a moderate modern style, inspired by the folklorism of Béla Bartók and Russian composers.[10] Almost all the composers discovered by him – among them Yoritsume Matsudaira, Akira Ifukube etc. – belonged to the Federation of Emerging Composers. Their works were added to the *Collection Alexandre Tcherepnine*, which was published by Ryūginsha, the Japanese branch of the Viennese Universal Edition, and sent out into the world.[11] Thanks to Tcherepnin, the Federation also formed close ties with the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), and it started acting

Sugahara of the Western School, and Michio Miyagi of the Japanese School, Shin-Nihon Ongaku", in: *Memoirs of Kyoto Tachibana University* 40 (2013), pp. 63–84, p. 70 f.

8 Hitomi Sano, "Senzen nihon no sakkyokukai ni okeru furansu inshōha ongaku no juyō. Wasei ni tsuite no gensetsu wo chūshin ni" [On the reception of French Impressionism in Japanese compositions of the pre-war years. With a focus on the discourse on harmony], in: *Intercultural studies review* 11 (2004), pp. 21–36, p. 22. There were differing objectives, however, when it came to the establishment of a Japanese 'national music'. In the course of a normalization of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Japan after the signing of the Soviet-Japanese Convention (1925), some musicians, including Yamada, regarded the works of 'The Five' and their operas as models for 'national music'. Cf. Amane Kasai, "Chiikiōdanteki na 'kokumin gakuha' no giron ni mukete" [For the Cross-Regional Discussion on the 'National School'], in: *Kokumin ongaku no hikakukenkyū ni mukete* [For Comparative Research on National Music], ed. by Fukuda Hiroshi and Ikeda Aino (= CIAS Discussion Paper Series 49), Kyoto 2015, pp. 9–12, p. 11.

9 According to Yoritsune Matsudaira, it was modelled on the Italian Corporazione delle Nuove Musiche (CDNM), founded in 1924, which acted as the Italian section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). Cf. Akiyama, *Shōwa no sakkyokukatachi*, p. 283.

10 Cf. Christian Utz, *Komponieren im Kontext der Globalisierung. Perspektiven für eine Musikgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*, Bielefeld 2014, p. 121.

11 Cf. Keiko Hattori, "About 'Festival of Modern Music' by Alexandre Tcherepnin (1)", in: *Shizuoka University Repository* 67 (2017), p. 257–272, p. 266.

as the Japanese section of the ISCM in 1935. Germany had left the ISCM a year earlier. 1936 saw the foundation of the first society for musicology in Japan, The Society for Research in Asiatic Music (Tōyō ongaku gakkai), which exists to this day. Its goal was to 'historically and theoretically research the musical culture of Japan, and later that of all Asian countries, from a purely scientific point of view, in order to help establish the field of musicology in Japan'.[12] The music academy in Tokyo opened a department for traditional Japanese music in the same year.

The way towards research into traditional Japanese music had been paved by Helmholtz's student Shōhei Tanaka and his own student Hisao Tanabe, and bolstered by Mitsukuri's theory of 'Japanese harmony' (Nihonteki wasei). Mitsukuri's theory had been published in different versions since 1929. Although Mitsukuri based his theory on Hugo Riemann's function theory, he derived scales from symmetrically ordered fifths based on the Pythagorean system. While those scales differed from the European major-minor triad system, they closely resembled Japanese Gagaku music.[13] Pringsheim then postulated his theory of a 'Japanese harmonic', which was supposed to prove the applicability of the function theory to Japanese melodies, explicitly attacking Mitsukuri's theory.[14] His insistence on German academicism, however, was much criticized and interpreted as 'careerism, the inability to accept one's limitations, remaining in the past, renouncing ways other than one's own'.[15] The attack on Pringsheim, whose choice of demanding music had been quite taxing for his students at the academy, meant that the controversy surrounding the 'Japanese harmonic' eventually led to his dismissal from the academy.[16] His Jewish roots, as well as his past political activities as a member of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and as a music critic for the party's newspaper *Vorwärts* and the political weekly *Die Weltbühne* doubtlessly meant

12 Foundation manifesto of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music, 1937, cited from Hermann Gottschewski, "Die Entwicklung der modernen Musikforschung und des Faches Musikwissenschaft als nationale Disziplin in Japan", in: *Wege zur Musikwissenschaft. Gründungsphasen im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. by Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann and Stefan Keym, Stuttgart 2018, pp. 154–170, p. 165.

13 Cf. Christian Utz, "Paradoxa, Sackgassen und die 'geschichtliche Wirklichkeit' interkultureller Rezeption: Hugo Riemanns Auseinandersetzung mit der ostasiatischen Musik im Kontext der Diskussionen über eine 'japanische Harmonik' im Zeitraum 1900–1945", in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 72 (2015), No. 3, pp. 188–212, p. 204 f.

14 Cf. Akiyama, *Shōwa no sakkyokukatachi*, p. 540.

15 Irene Suchy, *Deutschsprachige Musiker in Japan. Eine Fallstudie eines Kulturtransfers am Beispiel der Rezeption abendländischer Kunstmusik*, Diss. University of Vienna 1992, p. 139, cited from Hans-Joachim Bieber, *SS und Samurai. Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945* (= Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien der Max Weber-Stiftung 55), Munich 2014, p. 500.

16 Cf. Minoru Nishihara, "Klaus Pringsheim and Theory of Japanese Harmony", in: *Toho Gakuen School of Music faculty bulletin* 18 (1992), pp. 19–37, p. 21.

that Pringsheim was a thorn in the National Socialists' side. It seems, however, that the conditions within the Japanese music business had a big influence on his dismissal. In his criticism of traditional Japanese music as a nationalist style, and his call on Japanese colleagues to 'completely and unreservedly delve into the European tradition'[17], the composer Shirō Fukai confirms that the boundaries between science and politics were blurred at the time. Pringsheim's discontentment derived from the fact that the so-called 'composition in the Japanese style' (Nihonteki sakkyoku) was often no more than an attempt to superficially copy the methods of French impressionism. This tendency remained part of the composition practice during the following decades and was further supported by war euphoria.

1. The beginning of the German-Japanese cultural diplomacy and its political background

When the poet Tōson Shimazaki, in 1915, described his Japanese compatriots as 'born impressionists'[18], Germany and Japan were at war with each other until the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. We know today that this treaty encouraged the alliance between Japan and the National Socialist German Worker's Party (NSDAP). Japan's call for the principle of equality of all 'races' to be included in the charter of the League of Nations met with opposition in Great Britain and the USA. While from a Japanese point of view, such equality was to be expressed mainly in terms of military equipment, the insistence of its former allies meant that Japan was forced to limit the size of its fleet to 60 % of that of the USA and Great Britain.[19] Against this background, and even before his takeover, Adolf Hitler declared in an interview with a Japanese newspaper that the NSDAP's position towards Japan was 'due to its degree of support […] for its struggle for the revision of the treaty of Versailles'.[20] When the Japanese expansion in Manchuria (1931–1932) was criticized by the League of Nations, the Japanese Empire left the League in March 1933. The NS state, also pushing for a revision of the treaty of Versailles, followed suit half a year later.

The political alliance between Germany and Japan started with the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936, which was joined by Italy a year later. The pact did not play a primary role in Japanese foreign policy, and as far as the Japanese music

17 Luciana Galliano, *Yogaku: Japanese Music in the 20th Century*, Lanham, MD 2002, p. 79.
18 Okada, "Rezeption der französischen Musik", p. 12.
19 Cf. Bieber, *SS und Samurai*, p. 78.
20 Hitler in an interview with the newspaper *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, 3.1.1932, cited from ibid., p. 156.

press was concerned, it was only relevant where foreign policy interests towards China were concerned. Even the Agreement for Cultural Cooperation between Japan and Germany, signed on 25th November 1938, did nothing to change the half-heartedness of the policy of alliances. The cultural cooperation with Germany was overseen by the cultural department of the foreign ministry, which had the decision-making powers. The department wanted to avoid constant and active intervention of the German authorities and advocated a 'healthy' German culture, but not the 'culture of National Socialism'.[21] The German-Japanese friendship was only superficial, and the Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939 led to a new low. Once again, the Japanese government resisted German pressure to isolate Germans of Jewish descent in Japanese society.[22] Only when Germany made military progress in the West did Japan once again turn to their partner, because the defeat of France and the German occupation of the Netherlands took away the protection of those countries' colonial estates in South East Asia. In late June 1940, Japan proclaimed the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' (Daitōa kyōeiken) that included the colonies of the Netherlands, France and Great Britain. In late September 1940, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy.

The year 1940 led to a break in the cultural policies of Japan because the country experienced a profound restructuring. In Germany, the 2600th Anniversary of the Japanese Empire was marked by Richard Strauss' composition Japanische Festmusik (Japanese Festival Music). For the formal delivery of his compository contribution, Strauss visited the Japanese embassy in Berlin in person on 11th June 1940, hoping that Japan would intervene in the National Socialists' persecution of his Jewish daughter-in-law and her 'half-Jewish' children.[23]

The nationalist atmosphere gripped the Japanese public, and led to a 'spontaneous' reorganization of the entire cultural world. In September, most big

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21 Masahiro Shimizu, "Japan's Cultural Foreign Policy toward Germany 1938–40. A Study of a Policy of the Foreign Ministry on the Committee for Enforcement of Japanese-German Cultural Agreement", in: *Gendai shikenkyū* [Journal of Modern and Contemporary History] 58 (2012), pp. 1–15, p. 8 f.

22 Japan's rejection of anti-Semitic measures against Jewish people living in Japan was not a humanitarian act, however, but rather based on a popular position in the Japanese foreign ministry that Japan could exploit Jews in political, economic and cultural ways without the help of the NSDAP. Moreover, the 'Jewish question' was 'an important factor' in the relations between Japan and the USA, which was regarded as 'one of few trump cards' in Japanese foreign policy until the signing of the tripartite pact. Cf. ibid., p. 8.

23 Cf. Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era. Eight Portraits*, New York 2000, p. 254; Bieber, *SS und Samurai*, p. 718; Detlev Schauwecker, "Musik und Politik, Tōkyō 1934–1944. Mit deutschen Beiträgen", in: *Formierung und Fall der Achse Berlin – Tōkyō*, ed. by Gerhard Krebs and Martin Bernd (= Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien der Philipp-Franz-von-Siebold-Stiftung 8), Munich 1994, pp. 211–253, p. 228 f.

associations of music critics, composers and musical performers started to get organized in entities 'below', with the aim of getting accepted 'at the top'.[24]

Thus began intensive negotiations with the interior ministry about the way in which musicians could participate in the 'new order'. This came after the political unity movement Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei Yokusankai), based on a national socialist template, was founded in October 1940 by Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe.[25] The culture department of the foreign ministry, which had until then been responsible for cultural cooperation with Germany, was merged with the department of censorship in December. It became the Information Bureau (Jōhō kyoku), which functioned like the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin.[26] The new Information Bureau, now overseen by the interior ministry, was responsible for the instruction and control of the press and the broadcasting service, propaganda abroad, and the cultural output in film, theatre, literature, art and music.[27] Previously, state propaganda and the dissemination of information had been split between five different ministries.[28] This reorganization of the controlling body sent Japanese music journalism into the final stages of censorship.

2. The first centralization of music journalism in October 1941

The Japanese music press was centralized twice in the first half of the 1940s. The first centralization process which took place in October 1941 was more heavily influenced by the long war with China rather than the anticipated Pacific War, which would start two months later with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. In the first step, the number of magazines on European music was reduced from 14 to 6.[29] For the control of musical culture alone, including the music press,

24 Cf. Tatsuya Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo. Tōsei to goraku no jūgonen sensō* [Mobilize Music! Fifteen-Year War of Control and Entertainment], Tōkyō 2008, p. 82.

25 His younger brother Konoe Hidemaro worked as a conductor in Germany from 1938 until the end of the war. Tomoyoshi Takatsuji, "Der Graf Hidemaro Konoye: Ein japanischer Dirigent im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland", in: *Das (Musik-)Theater in Exil und Diktatur. Vorträge und Gespräche des Salzburger Symposions 2003*, ed. by Peter Csobádi et al., Anif and Salzburg 2005, pp. 372–382.

26 Cf. Bieber, *SS und Samurai*, p. 705.

27 Cf. Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo*, p. 89.

28 Cf. Tatsuya Tonoshita, "Senjiki no ongaku wo gaikan suru" [Overview on Music of the War Years], in: *Zen-ya* [Last Night] 5 (2005), pp. 78–81, p. 79.

29 All those magazines were aimed at a wider public. The number of magazines is taken from the announcement of centralization, published in all magazines in September 1941. Cf. Tatsuya Tonoshita, "Shuppan tōsei to ongaku zasshi – Ongakubunka-shinbun to Ongakubunka-kyoukai-kaihō no jidai" [Publication Control and Music Magazines – the Time of the Newspaper for Music Culture and Announcements of the Cultural Association of Music],

the Japanese Cultural Association of Music (Nihon Ongaku Bunka Kyōkai) was founded in November 1941. It was overseen by the Information Bureau and the Ministry of Education. Mediated by the interior ministry and the Information Bureau, all music societies joined the Cultural Association. They had organized themselves from September 1940 onwards.

Relations between Germany and Japan reached a new low with the signing of the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact in April 1941 and the German attack on the Soviet Union in June. But the alliance was maintained when, four days after the Japanese declaration of war with the USA on December 7th 1941, Germany and Italy followed suit. A neutral view on musical developments in the USA, published in the January issue of the music magazine *Ongaku no tomo* (Music Friend) in 1942, vanished within a month.[30] In the next issue, the same author voiced his doubts about 'the content as well as the future of symphonic music in the USA, in which the Jews exercise the greatest influence'.[31] It is obvious that anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism had taken hold in Japanese music journalism. Japanese anti-Semitism, however, remained ambivalent. The Japanese translation of Paul Bekker's *Das deutsche Musikleben* (German Musical Life) was published in instalments in the same magazine until June 1942. In 1943 it was published as a book.[32] In this context, I must mention an interview with Arnold Schönberg, which was published in the October issue of the magazine *Ongaku kōron* (Public Music Discourse) in 1942.[33] Schönberg's veneration of Johann Sebastian Bach, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Gustav Mahler and Max Reger, as detailed in the article, suggests that Schönberg was still regarded as a German-Austrian musician and late Romanticist. His daring step towards atonality was not linked to 'indecent and sensual jazz music' from the USA.[34]

in: '*Tatakau ongakukai' – Ongakubunka-shinbun to sono jidai* ['Fighting Music World' – the Newspaper for Music Culture and its Time], ed. by id. and Yōgaku bunkashi kenkyūkai [the Research Association for the history of Western music culture], Kanazawa 2012, pp. 7–44, p. 25.

30 Cf. Tarō Matsumoto, "Kokusai ongaku jōhō. No. 2" [International Music Information. No. 2], in: *Ongaku no tomo* [Music Friend] 2 (1942), No. 1, pp. 114–116.

31 Tarō Matsumoto, "Kokusai ongaku jōhō. No. 3" [International Music Information. No. 3], in: *Ongaku no tomo* 2 (1942), No. 2, pp. 114–117, p. 117.

32 Paul Bekker, "Doitsu no ongaku seikatsu" [German Musical Life], translated by Hiromi Takekawa, in: *Ongaku no tomo* 1 (1941), No. 1–2 (1942), No. 6; id., *Doitsu no ongaku seikatsu. Shakai hen* [German Musical Life. Society], translated by Hiromi Takekawa, Tōkyō 1943.

33 Cf. Takatoshi Kyōgoku, "Shēnberuku hōmon ki" [Interview with Schönberg], in: *Ongaku kōron* [Public Music Discourse] 2 (1942), No. 10, pp. 56–62. The author, however, had written this essay directly after his visit to the composer in Berlin in 1930.

34 Shinjirō Noro, "Tekibei wa ikani ongaku wo dokushitaka: Hitsuji no gaitō" [How the Enemy, the USA, Poisoned Music: Sheep's Clothing], in: *Ongaku bunka* [Music Culture] 2 (1944), No. 11, pp. 10–13, p. 11.

While all three countries were immersed in their own wars, the Japanese music press increasingly aligned itself with the cultural policies of the NSDAP. The cultural department of the foreign ministry, as the predecessor of the Information Bureau, had avoided that step until its dissolution in October 1941.[35] Almost all articles on the European allies that were published before the capitulation of Italy in September 1943 dealt with the institutionalization of cultural policies. It was modelled on similar past acts in the axis countries: restructuring of the musical scene, consistent implementation of the national anthem, establishment of a national music, selection of music prizes, promotion of musical culture in rural areas, organization and control of musical scores, guidance and centralization of musical magazines, guidelines for record companies, charity concerts and concerts in companies, awards and recommendations for outstanding works by the Information Office, presentation of music from allied countries.[36] From February 1940 onwards, every artist was under police orders to carry their license for artists (Engeisha no shō) with them at all times.[37] Generally, the musical activities of the National Socialist organisation Kraft durch Freude (Strength Through Joy) gained importance in the discussion about a Japanese 'national music', because it served as an ideal model for social mobilization through music. On the one hand, the creation of a 'new Japanese music' by 'harmonically melding traditional Japanese music with Western music' was the goal, according to the 'musical guidelines' of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.[38] On the other hand, the creation of a 'national music' was more often connected to the promotion of music in recreational activities and factories, supported by the idea that music written for

35 There was a total of ten articles on the cultural policies of the NSDAP, and eight on that of the Italians. Almost all of the latter describe events from the 1930s, when the kingdom still maintained strong relations to the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) and celebrated its musical diversity at the Festival Internazionale di Musica Contemporanea in Venice.

36 Cf. Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo*, p. 89.

37 Cf. Tonoshita, "Senjiki no ongaku", p. 79.

38 Guidelines of music, announced in February 1941 by the Association for the support of Imperial Rule, cited from Takuya Terada, *Kōsei ongaku undō no kenkyū. Ajia-taiheiyō sensōki ni okeru ongakubunka no ichisokumen* [Research on Music for Welfare and Leisure Activities. A Profile of Music Culture during the Asia-Pacific War], Diss. University of Kōbe 2015, p. 82. According to a count by Kentarō Sakai, around 50 articles on the subject of 'national music' were written and published in magazines between the first centralization of music magazines on European music and the end of the war. Cf. Kentarō Sakai, "'Hōgaku' to 'Yōgaku'. Sen kyūhyaku yonjū nendai zenhan no nihon no ongakusenmonzasshi ni okeru 'kokumin ongaku' ron" [Japanese Traditional Music and the Western Music: Analysis of Articles Concerning 'National Music' in Japanese Musical Magazines in Early 1940s], in: *Bulletin of Showa Academia Musicae* (30) 2010, pp. 65–77, p. 66.

factory workers was able to appeal to society as a whole and thus had the potential to establish itself as a 'national music'.[39]

The Japanese forces' six-month success in the Pacific ended in the Battle of Midway in June 1942. It was clear that in times of failure, Japan would turn to their German ally for support, since nobody doubted its success at the time. As far as the tendency to turn to impressionist methods for the musical expression of 'Japanese' concepts was concerned, music critic Kōichi Nomura saw it as self-evident that 'We [the Japanese] value Beethoven higher than Debussy, because he is a greater personality'.[40] In his article *On the Character of German Music* in the 1942 October issue of the music magazine *Kokumin no ongaku* (National Music), the renowned critic Naoe Monma tried to describe German music according to the traditional North/South divide:

> German music is heavy and dense […]. The reason for this may be found in the geographical situation in Germany […]. Because it is cold and dark [in Germany], the locals should become honest and profound. Such people should not even be able to consider southern lightness or sensuality.[41]

In the following editions of the magazine, his interpretation showed further analogies to German music criticism in the second half of the 19th century. It is very likely that Monma himself took his inspiration from Tetsurō Watsuji's philosophical writing *Fūdo* (Wind and Earth) from 1935. Watsuji had come to Germany for a year in 1927 and had dedicated himself to Martin Heidegger's writing *Sein und Zeit*, which then influenced his own philosophical ideas. As opposed to Heidegger, who searched for an interpretation of human existence in connection with temporality, Watsuji focused on spatiality, and discussed the relationship between climate, national character and culture.[42] Striking qualities of stability were attributed to German music: reliability, orderliness, logic, solidity and structure. Southern music, as opposed to German music, was given the attributes of freedom and unboundedness:

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39 Cf. Terada, *Kōsei ongaku undō no kenkyū*, p. 82.

40 Kōichi Nomura, in: "Chōshū ron (Zadan kai)" [Audience Theory (Discussion)], in: *Ongaku kōron* 2 (1942), No. 10, pp. 28–54, p. 37.

41 Naoe Monma, "Doitsu ongaku ni tsuite. Doitsu ongaku no tokuchō. Sono ichi" [On German Music. On the Character of German Music. No. 1], in: *Kokumin no ongaku* [National Music] 2 (1942), No. 10, pp. 7-8, p. 8.

42 After WW2, his cultural theory was strongly criticized, as it was seen to have been conceived under the influence of militarism of the time. Cf. Kunitsugu Kosaka, "Watsuji Tetsurō to hikakubunka no mondai" [Watsuji Tetsurō and the Problems of Comparative Culture Studies], in: *Hikakushisō kenkyū* [Studies in Comparative Philosophy] 10 (1983), pp. 96–101, p. 100.

> Another characteristic of German music can be found in its rhythmic movements. The Germans, being dependable and logical and acting according to plans, barely know anything about unboundedness or freedom. This is why their rhythm is predictable, too. This becomes even more obvious when compared to French or Italian music. […] Yet another characteristic of German music is its solid structure. The reliability, rationality and structuredness of the dependable Germans are consistently realized. For Germans, music needs to be built according to the rules.[43]

Such characterization of European music apparently influenced the musical works of Japanese composers, which were supposed to propagate the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' and its 'legitimacy' on the level of cultural policies. One example is Kōsaku Yamada's cantata *Seisen sanka. Tairiku no renmei* (Hymn on the Holy War. The Dawn of the Continent, 1941), composed on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War. The five-part cantata experiences neither a threat to its tonicality nor any rhythmic delimitation. Its soundscape is composed according to traditional theories of tonal functions, promising an intended 'stability'.[44]

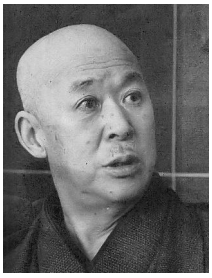

Fig. 1: Kōsaku Yamada (Wikimedia Commons)

The superiority of German music was soon made even clearer by a comparison with Russian music – possibly with the defensive strategy of the German Wehrmacht and its allies in Stalingrad in mind:

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43 Naoe Monma, "Doitsu ongaku ni tsuite. Doitsu ongaku no tokuchō. Sono ni" [On German Music. On the Character of German Music. No. 2], in: *Kokumin no ongaku* 2 (1942), No. 11, pp. 4–6, p. 4 f.

44 A counterexample to Yamada's cantata is Akira Ifukube's *Filipin kokumin ni okuru kangengaku jokyoku* [Concert Overture for the Filipino People] (1944), composed on the occasion of the foundation of the Second Filipino Republic in October 1943. This work is characterized by noticeably sparse solo cadences, repetition of simple motives from Japanese folk music (pentatonic) and an accentuation of rhythmic events, as well as percussive moments of piano and wind instruments, and is for the most part reminiscent of Igor Stravinsky's works from the 1910s. By doing this, Japan wanted to make a claim to leadership in Asian music.

> What strikes the listener of German music is its moderation. […] Of course, Germans also experience sadness and loneliness. They cry tears of sadness and suffer from loneliness. But when they express it, they don't do it as naively and openly as the Russians, but in moderation. When they cry, they don't become hysterical. […] Brahms's Academic Festival Overture is certainly the most enjoyable German work, but it is incredibly peaceful when compared to the noisy, crazy thing of the Russians. Russians immediately become enthusiastic and loud, but Germans rejoice gently. Russians go crazy, but Germans hold back in a docile way. […] The lyrical character of Germany is special. The lyrical character of Italy is largely sentimental, but that of Germany is atmospheric, with a quiet profoundness. That of Russia is generally gloomy and occasionally sensuous, but that of Germany is full of longing, and is emotive.[45]

In this scenario, the (re-)interpretation of German music is based on the comparison with the music of other European nations. In the months that followed, German music was more often contrasted with the pursued Japanese 'national music'.

3. The second centralization of the music press in October 1943

The second centralization took place in October 1943, following the Italian capitulation. Even before the second centralization, the state took steps that severely limited the people's daily musical life. In January 1943 the Information Bureau and the interior ministry issued a list of banned American and English records of light music. It affected a total of 1126 records from six record companies.[46] In August, the Information Bureau issued guidelines for concert planning. Playing music that was only known to a minority of music experts or music with content that was deemed 'unhealthy' at public musical events was prohibited.[47] This meant that modern music was no longer welcome. Mozart's *Don Giovanni* was placed on the list of banned works as a textbook example of 'unhealthy' music. For the first time, the state had extended its control to classical music.[48]

In October, the Cultural Association of Musicians limited cooperation with foreign musicians to those belonging to the 'axis partners'. According to a 'list

45 Naoe Monma, "Doitsu ongaku ni tsuite. Doitsu ongaku no tokuchō. Sono san" [On German music. On the character of German music. No. 3], in: *Kokumin no ongaku* 2 (1942), No. 12, pp. 6–8, p. 6 f.

46 Cf. Kōji Omura, *Tettei kenshō. Nihon no gunka. Sensō no jidai to ongaku* [Thorough examination. Japanese military songs. War times and music], Tōkyō 2011, p. 180.

47 Cf. Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo*, p. 103.

48 Cf. ibid.

of musicians working in Japan' discovered by Detlev Schauwecker, this excluded 'Jewish musicians that have been expatriated' and 'Jewish musicians or musicians married to Jews of German nationality'.[49] This regulation affected, among others, Franz Schreker's student Joseph Rosenstock, Ferruccio Busoni's student Leo Sirota, and Klaus Pringsheim.[50]

Despite this apparent endorsement of the national socialist's discrimination of Jews, the cultural collaboration did not go as planned. Italy capitulated in September 1943 and declared war on Germany in October, which was regarded as a betrayal by both Germany and Japan. Japanese foreign policy now turned completely chauvinistic. In the midst of the dissolution of the triangle between German, Italy and Japan and a historical break in Japanese foreign policy, the second centralization of the music press was carried out. Of the six music magazines on European music, only two remained.[51] It need not be mentioned that Italy disappeared from the picture completely. Japanese chauvinism centred on Asia, the leadership of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' and cultural relations with China and other countries in Southeast Asia. The predominance of German music was challenged more and more frequently, and no difference was made between northern and southern music.[52]

Anti-European tendencies had been apparent even before the second centralization: In the 1943 January issue of the magazine *Ongaku kōron*, the leader of the music department of the Information Bureau, Shirō Inoue, described the European concept of absolute music, which through its rationality was meant to exist as 'l'art pour l'art', unbound by nations and intellectual foundations of their people. He interpreted this purely as the opposite of Japanese national music.[53]

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49 Cf. Schauwecker, "Musik und Politik", p. 247.

50 This did not mean, however, that those musicians were immediately banned from performing. While the measures were implemented in the radio sector in December 1942, the concert sector only followed suit in March 1944. Cf. Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo*, p. 156. While Pringsheim and Sirota disappeared from public life afterwards, Rosenstock was allowed to continue conducting the rehearsals of the *New Symphony Orchestra*, until only a couple of months before the end of the war. Bieber, *SS und Samurai*, p. 1048 f.

51 Statement by Hitler, cited from Bieber, *SS und Samurai*, p. 445. However, the decision to further centralize the magazine sector had already been made in May 1943. Cf. Tonoshita, "Shuppan tōsei to ongaku zasshi", p. 35 f.

52 The 'purely scientific position' of the Asiatic Association for Music Research, founded in 1936, seems to have been completely discredited by that time, because its founder and president Tanabe Hisao started pushing for Japan to take on a leading position within the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" in 1942 at the latest. Cf. Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo*, p. 201. As mentioned by Gottschewski, the continued existence of the association until today was only made possible by the continued shedding of its imperialist character after WW2. Cf. Gottschewski, "Die Entwicklung der modernen Musikforschung", p. 165.

53 Cf. Shirō Inoue, "Ongaku no kokkasei" [Nationality of Music], in: *Ongaku kōron 3* (1943),

This attitude originated from the discourse about a national music and became more pronounced after the capitulation of Italy and the second press centralization.[54] Until then, Kōsaku Yamada, the vice president of the Cultural Association for Music, had told his Japanese colleagues to compose like Beethoven.[55] Yamada had studied composition with Max Bruch in Berlin and had established himself as a pioneer of the symphonic movement in Japan. Now he warned: 'The idea of raising Beethoven or Debussy to the highest ranks will never lead to the establishment of a contemporary, future and healthy national music of Japan.'[56]

In May 1944, the music magazine *Ongaku Bunka* (Music Culture) published an essay by music critic Sadao Tsuchida, titled Mission Statement for the Foundation of a National Music, which was recommended by the Cultural Association.[57] The author extended the cultural superiority of Japan from the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' towards Europe:

> In Europe, especially among the Anglo-Saxon and German peoples, who are less sensitive and lack intuition, artistic talent is seen as something like God's gift or a transcendental mystery. But for our people, cultivated over almost 3000 years in the tradition of emotional culture, artistic talent is not as unattainable as it is for the Europeans.[58]

This pits the Anglo-Saxons and Germanic people against the Japanese. Just as in Germany, the 'Aryan race' was considered superior, Japanese chauvinism is supported here by tales of Japanese superiority over Western and Anglo-Saxon culture.

In February 1944, the Programme for Emergency Measures During the Deciding Battle (Kessen Hijō Shochi Yōkō) was announced once more by premier and war minister Hideki Tōjō. It was supposed to strengthen the effectiveness of the National Mobilization Law of 1938. Theatres, cafés, bars and dance halls were closed and freedom of movement was severely limited. The motto 'for our

No. 1, pp. 30–34.

54 Eishi Kikkawa's text "Nihon ongaku bigaku no kensetsu" [Construction of a Japanase Music Aesthetic] is very interesting in this context. In: *Ongaku kōron* 2 (1942), No. 5, pp. 18–24.

55 Cf. Mattias Hirschfeld, *Beethoven in Japan: zur Einführung und Verbreitung westlicher Musik in der japanischen Gesellschaft*, Neumünster 2005, p. 88.

56 Kōsaku Yamada, "Kokumin ongaku sōzō no sekimu" [The Dduty to Create a National Music], in: *Ongaku bunka 1* (1943), No. 12, pp. 2–4, p. 3. Yamada saw the Pacific War, especially after Italy's surrender in 1943, as the ideal time for the establishment of a 'national music', which was to be sung by all Japanese whatever the international state of war and further have a general validity in the 'Great East Asian Prosperity Sphere'. Cf. ibid.

57 Sadao Tsuchida, "Kokumin ongaku sōsei no rinenteki kiso" [Mission Statement for the Foundation of a National Music], in: *Ongaku bunka 2* (1944), No. 5, pp. 3–11.

58 Ibid., p. 4.

country' was taken up by the music press, which rejected German Romanticism for its self-assertion:

> Wagner, in his depiction of the adultery committed by Tristan and Wesendonck, leaves the audience to dwell on the grief and indulgence of the adulterers for a moment. But it has to be said that the attitude of the romanticists to pull the audience close with such sweet nectar has nothing to do with the concept of a true national music, as we envision it. A Spanish philosopher said about Beethoven, "the musician raised a strong building of sound and tried to let his autobiography live in it". Knowing the restraint of our people, we cannot say that such a method of forcing sympathy for a sad story or happiness for a stranger is a sign of high intellect. […] The discontent we feel with regards to romanticism is due to a lack of transcendental clarity based on self-sacrifice.[59]

Renouncing the self was a valued characteristic, surprisingly with Bach and German Pietism acting as a prime example:

> In the era of Bach, when self-denial without self-assertion led to the highest realization of oneself, as well as in the time of Pietism, in which "death was longed for", as in current times, where we consider how to die, we see the model [of the spirit of self-renunciation]. Early on, the music illustrating such temper has become a part of everyday life and can exist self-sufficiently, by protecting itself from inferiority and thereby no longer frightening reality.[60]

The Japanese policy of dismissing the emotional world of Romanticism and deliberately distorting the German history of reformation by putting death on the same level as self-renunciation indicates that their strategy in the war was now simply one of collective self-destruction of its people, as illustrated by the idea of Kamikaze pilots (Shimpū Tokkōtai). The easy manipulation of the music press in those years is illustrated by the mixing of political statements with music analysis or theory:

> The instrumental scale in Western music knows seven notes. In this aspect, it resembles Chinese music. The West and China are similar in that instruments are played while sitting down, and also in their compositional structures. […] China is a strange country. Its face and stature is Asian, but its life has

59 Ibid., p. 7.

60 Ibid., p. 9. Thomas Cressy has studied the reception of Bach in Japan based on Japanese music magazines published between 1926 and 1945, and summarized his findings in his work "Bach in early Shōwa period Japan (1926–1945): the first performances of large scale works, and the perceptions of Bach as a German national icon". The publication of this book, *Transcultural Music History*, is currently in preparation.

> something European in it. The sad stupidity of Chiang Kai-shek blindly following the Americans and the British and thus preventing the independence of Greater East Asia seems no coincidence.[61]

Japanese chauvinism led to a decline in interest in the European allies and propagated the 'introspective' and 'spiritual' music of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' instead of the 'external' and 'scientific' music of the West.[62] It also included clear visions of a Japan-dominated Greater East Asia. Where culture policies were concerned, only Japanese composers and their works were promoted.[63]

Naoe Monma's positive views of German music in the 1944 October issue of *Ongaku chishiki* (Music Knowledge) marked a sudden turnaround:

> In Germany today, not a single person can be called musically illiterate. The ear of the nation has developed in incredible ways, and according to recent reports, even the works of Bruckner and Reger, once regarded as too difficult, are now met with enthusiasm. In most countries, a popularization of music means its vulgarization. But in Germany, it leads to refinement.[64]

The discussion about the establishment of a 'national music' did not lead to one definite, unified movement during the war. The only common characteristic in this discussion was the idea that a 'national music' was to benefit all people and overcome the cultural ambivalence in Japanese society. In art music, this was expressed in the idea that a 'music for all citizens' could be achieved through the approximation of popular music (Taishū ongaku) to art music.[65] This meant that it was no coincidence that until then, reports about the musical activities of the National Socialist Kraft durch Freude in Japanese magazines focused on instances of German factory workers being exposed to the music of Beethoven or Joseph Haydn with the help of first-rate symphonic orchestras. The magazines also mentioned the workers' visits to opera houses, the waltzes by Johann Strauß, Joseph Lanner and Franz Lehár, and the songs of Albert Methfessel, Friedrich Heinrich Himmel and others.[66]

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61 Takatomo Kurosawa, "Daitōa minzoku ongaku bunka no seikaku" [Character of the Music Culture of the Great East Asian People], in: *Ongaku bunka* 2 (1944), No. 9, pp. 1–7, p. 4.

62 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

63 Cf. Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo*, p. 156.

64 Naoe Monma, "Tatakau doitsu no ongaku" [Fighting Music of Germany], in: *Ongaku chishiki* [Music Knowledge] 2 (1944), No. 10, pp. 9–11, p. 10 f.

65 Cf. Terada, *Kōsei ongaku undō no kenkyū*, p. 89.

66 The following magazine articles on the cultural policies of the NSDAP are of interest here: Haruo Kondō, "Senjika doitsu no ongaku katsudō" [Musical Activities in Germany during the War], in: *Ongaku no tomo* 2 (1942), No. 2, pp. 36–39; Tsugawa Shuichi, "Doitsu kokka wa naze ongaku wo omonzuruka" [Why Germany Values Music], in: *Kokumin no ongaku*

The realities of Japanese military politics meant that the practical use of music to increase efficiency of the 'industrial warriors' (Sangyō senshi) became more important.[67] Based on the maxims 'group exercises', 'selflessness', 'strength through harmony' and 'economic virtue', there was a demand for choir pieces that could be sung easily and were not artistically demanding, but rather based on the technical skills of amateurs.[68] Such choir pieces, which were distributed under the name Choir of the Nation (*Kokumin gasshō*) after February 1942, deliberately incorporated elements from pop music in order to appeal to the public.[69] However, such 'vulgarization' of music often incurred negative reviews in magazines on European music.[70] Monma's positive view of the music of Romanticism, 'receiving thunderous applause' in German factories, was apparently meant to be read in this context.[71]

Shortly before its suspension, the music press focused only on a very distorted view of American jazz music. Yamada is no exception:

> Jazz […] is a music that only stimulates the body, and not the mind. If art music is for the heart, jazz must be for the flesh. Because man could not endure living with the mind alone, he was overcome by carnal music for a while, and the world rode on a wave of jazz. First Germany and France, even the Soviet Union were poisoned by this bad influence. The USA, in their prominent political and economic role after the last World War, spread jazz as a corollary or as a display of their power all over the world. But it was not spread by the healthy citizens of each country, but by the Jews, always racing around the globe with demonic intent.[72]

Anti-Semitism in Japanese music journalism was a corollary of its anti-Americanism, but it also served to rehabilitate allied NS Germany. This becomes clear

2 (1942), No. 4, pp. 2 f.; ibid., "Doitsu kinrō sensen to kōseidan no ongaku katsudō" [The German Work Front and Musical Activities of Welfare Agencies], in: *Ongaku no tomo* 2 (1942), No. 6, pp. 47–51; ibid., "Kotenteki na doitsu aikokuka oboegaki" [Notes on Classical Patriotic Songs from Germany], in: *Ongaku no tomo* 3 (1943), No. 4, pp. 35–37. All of these articles were written before the capitulation of Italy and Japan's turn to complete chauvinism.

67 Cf. Terada, *Kōsei ongaku undō no kenkyū*, p. 46.

68 Hisayasu Yoshida, "Gasshō no hachitoku" [Eight Virtues of the Choir], in: *Ongaku bunka* 1 (1943), No. 1, p. 43. The previous radio programme of the JOAK, Songs of the Nation was replaced by the new radio programme Choir of the Nation. Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo*, p. 132.

69 Cf. ibid., p. 135.

70 Terada, *Kōsei ongaku undō no kenkyū*, p. 46. Tonoshita, *Ongaku wo dōin seyo*, p. 135 f.

71 Cf. Monma, "Tatakau doitsu no ongaku", p. 10.

72 Kōsaku Yamada, "Teki bēkoku no ongakukan to warera no shingeki" [Musical Perspectives of the Enemy, the USA, and Our Attack], in: *Ongaku bunka* 2 (1944), No. 11, pp. 1–4, p. 3.

in the penultimate issue of *Ongaku chishiki* in November 1944. Here, Yoshitaka Sakamoto, who claimed to be a student of Paul Hindemith, explains the necessity for anti-Semitism:[73]

> I have heard that our enemy Roosevelt is a Jew, and that the current leaders of the USA and Great Britain are part of the Jewish industry. Hitler must have foreseen the current events ten years ago, so he roused the spirit of the German people and faced this war: Our friend, always fighting for the rise or fall of his people. We will not stop praying for the good fight of our ally Germany.[74]

At this point, the defeat of the two allies was unavoidable. The bombings on German cities were no longer kept secret in the Japanese music press. Still, the last two issues of the music magazines were full of morale-boosting slogans, which by then seemed unreal and grotesque.

Conclusion

The analysis has shown that German music was re-interpreted several times within a short period to suit the military and political needs of the Japanese public. At least three distinct tendencies can be seen in this timeframe. With the end of its own military progress, Japan granted German music absolute supremacy. This was due to its predictability, compared to French, Italian and Russian music. With the discussion about a Japanese national music after the capitulation of Italy and break-up of the alliance, the situation changed. Accompanied by the slogan 'For our country', Beethoven and Romanticism were rejected for their focus on the self. Bach, however, was revered for his self-renunciation. This was due to the material limitations in public life and the propaganda of a willingness to sacrifice. However, there were two moments that rehabilitated the reputation of German music: its contrast to American Jazz music on the one hand, and to the 'vulgarization' of Japanese music on the other. While the situation after WW2 is not part of this paper, it is certainly a worthwhile topic for further research, since it shows a clear turning point in the reception of German music.

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73 Yoshitaka Sakamoto, "Doitsu ongakuka no yudaya kan" [The Views of German Musicians on Judaism], in: *Ongaku chishiki* 2 (1944), No. 11, pp. 15–17, p. 15.

74 Ibid., p. 17.

Octatonic Ambiguities

Nikola Komatović

Working on my Ph.D. dissertation, one of the methods of analysis I used to examine the harmonic language of César Franck (1822–1890) was the theory of tonal fields – a method developed by the Hungarian conductor Albert Simon (1926–2000), originally named 'Theorie der Tonfelder' – which offered insightful opportunities indeed: by grouping tones into sets (i.e. fields) below the surface layer of chromatics, altered chords and enharmonic modulations, it allows an analyst to observe other distinctive and often non-tonal regularities that might go unnoticed if he or she were to rely on traditional harmonic analysis.[1] In some of Franck's works, one of three possible tonal fields appeared with remarkable frequency: the one known as function (Ger. Funktion). More specifically, when the tones are arranged from the lowest to the highest pitch, this tonal field always results in an octatonic collection. In the composer's opus, this was primarily the case in his symphonic poem *Le Chasseur Maudit* (The Accursed Huntsman) and an earlier organ work called *Grande Pièce Symphonique*.

Over the following months, this detail would have probably become no more than a passing reference in my research had I not started to notice a wider statistical pattern. Besides Franck's works, the octatonic implicitly or explicitly appears almost exclusively in the works of two seemingly independent groups of composers. The first group includes French composers of almost all stylistic affiliations from Romanticism to modern times. The other group is a bit more diverse, but there is a common denominator connecting its members. The octatonic found another fertile ground among Russian and Polish composers of different generations, as well as in the folk music of some Yugoslav nations. In this moment it appears to be associated with the Slavic geographic area. I am not alone in pursuing this line of thought: there is the research of the theorist Jean-Michel Boulay, who divides appearances of the octatonic into decorative and structural, with the first being

1 Michael Polth, "Tonalität der Tonfelder. Anmerkungen zu Bernhard Haas, *Die neue Tonalität von Schubert bis Webern. Hören und Analysieren nach Albert Simon*", in: *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie* [ZGMTH] 3 (2006), No. 1, pp. 167–178, pp. 171–172.

more characteristic of Russian composers, while the second emerged in the West, according to this author maybe even independently of any Russian influence, with Beethoven's Ninth Symphony being an example.[2] Over the following months, I realized that I had become part of a remarkably heated discourse.[3]

I. Theoretical considerations. Origins.

The importance, reach and status of the octatonicism have been a point of contention between music theorists for decades. Although no two scholars hold identical views on this matter, the divergent opinions seem to be split along the lines of the proponents of a *contextualism* of sorts among music scholars and the other faction whose members can be provisionally described as *analysts*. It is important to note that the analysts do not exclude the need for contextualization, while the 'contextualists' do not necessarily oppose analysis, the core of their differences is what should be given precedence.

On the other hand, the analysts believe that the other faction needlessly treats all 'too chromatic' passages as octatonic, claiming that other solutions – such as highly chromaticized passages, bi-tonality, etc. – make much more sense (with Dmitry Tymoczko being the most vocal among them).[4]

Since I remain unconvinced that the *true* acceptance of the octatonic in the West – first of all in the French sphere – occurred before direct contacts with Slavic composers, I proposed an analytic classification, somewhat reminiscent of Boulay's, with the system manifesting itself in two different forms: explicitly and implicitly. The explicit use of the octatonic can be discerned in two ways: by the appearance of the octatonic series, either partially or in its entirety; and the group of tones in a specific harmonic-structural ensemble which results in the octatonic.

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2 Jean-Michel Boulay, "Octatonicism and Chromatic Harmony", in: *Canadian Music Review* 17 (1996), No. 1, pp. 40–56, pp. 41–45.

3 This study was first presented at a congress held in November 2018. From that time to writing the final version of this text in the summer of 2019, I've had the honour of having contacts with several very active and relevant participants in the debate surrounding the octatonicism, who have offered sound arguments that contradict some of the claims proposed in my original paper, particularly those pertaining to the possible folk origin of the octatonic. My views on this matter in no way suggest "a single possible answer" to the mystery of the origin of this scale but rather propose certain aspects which I believe are worth considering. Similarly, it is by no means my intention to suggest that the octatonic has a single historical source; rather, it seems to have originated from several different ones. In regard to this, I am indebted to Professor Richard Taruskin and Professor Cheong Wai Ling for their suggestions.

4 Dmitry Tymoczko, "Stravinsky and the Octatonic: A Reconsideration", in: *Music Theory Spectrum* 24 (2011) No. 1, pp. 69–82.

This system has different names in different traditions and practices while being identical in structure: the Rimsky-Korsakov scale, Pijper scale, Messiaen's second mode, diminished scale (in jazz practice), step-half-step scale, half-step-step scale. The last two – together with the 'main name' – convey the essence of this system: a scale of eight notes with alternating intervals of a whole step and a half step. There are only two types of the scale, and the only difference between them is the starting interval, which can be a half step or a whole step. Its origin has yet to be reliably ascertained. Some analysts recognized the octatonic in the works of Domenico Scarlatti,[5] J. S. Bach and Ludwig van Beethoven,[6] and there are even treatises from the late 18th century offering figured bass with octatonic passages.[7]

However, in terms of quantity, the use of the octatonic underwent a sudden rise after its implementation in the works of 'The Five': for example, in his memoir My Musical Life, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov mentions that he deliberately uses it as a reference system, although (according to Richard Taruskin) he does this in emulation of Franz Liszt's symphonic poem *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne*.[8]

It is unclear when the octatonic began to appear in the works of Western – primarily French – composers, although this can be assumed to have occurred in the mid-19th century. In Olivier Messiaen's seminal theoretic treatise The Technique of My Musical Language (*Technique de mon langage musical*), he notes that his second mode – which is in fact octatonic in structure – was most manifest in the works of Russian artists: Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Aleksandr Scriabin, Maurice Ravel, and Igor Stravinsky.[9] Of course, as we have already shown, the octatonic had already been used in earlier French works.

Cultural and artistic ties between France and Russia are well-documented.[10] In the 1850s Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka visited Western Europe on several occasions and often stayed in Paris, where he met Hector Berlioz as early as in the 1830s. Berlioz even conducted a few of his works in the 1840s.[11]

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5 Eytan Agmon, "Equal Divisions of the Octave in a Scarlatti Sonata" in: *Theory Only 11* (1990), No. 5, pp. 1–8.

6 Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, Oxford and New York 1996, p. 266, p. 269.

7 Honoré François Marie Langlé, *Traité d'harmonie et de modulation*, Paris 1797, p. 72.

8 Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov, *Ma vie musicale*, Paris 1914; Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* pp. 255–72.

9 Olivier Messiaen, *The Technique of My Musical Language*, translated by John Satterfield, Paris 1956, p. 59.

10 Irina Ivanovna Khmel'nitskaya, "Russko-frantsuzskie kul'turnye svyazi kontsa XIX nachala XX veka i nachalo Parizhskikh sezonov S. P. Dyagileva", in: *Trudy Sankt-Peterburskogo gosudarstvennogo instituta kul'tury* (2010), pp. 420–427.

11 [N.N.], "Berlioz and Russia: friends and acquaintances", in: *The Hector Berlioz Website,* http://www.hberlioz.com/Russia/russiafriends.htm (05.12.2019).

Exotic inspiration and the use of non-Western musical scales and systems was famously one of the main features of the Impressionist artistic language. In addition to their fascination with the musical heritage of the Far East, Russian composers – above all 'The Five' – played an important role in the formation of Claude Debussy's musical language. It is therefore unsurprising that this composer openly and extensively used the octatonic in his works, for example in his Préludes for piano.

One of the most important uses of the octatonicism in Yugoslav literature is found in the second movement of Josip Slavenski's *Simfonija Orijenta* (Symphony of the Orient, 1934–46). Each movement in this programmatic symphony illustrates a specific period in the history of religion and civilization of different peoples, and hence the composer strove to express this through the use of musical languages that can be identified with specific ethnicities. In this case, for reasons to be hopefully clarified in future research, Slavenski associates the octatonic with the Jewish tradition – a fact that would make them the third group which uses this system, in addition to the French and the Slavic groups.

However, it is worth noting that the difference between Debussy and, for example, Franck lies in the former's rather explicit use of the octatonic, probably due to being exposed to direct Russian influence. This also brings me to the question of the analytic approach in this system.

II. Analytical examination

I will examine an example from The Accursed Huntsman (see Figure No. 1). In this programmatic work, this very segment takes on a leitmotif role of sorts (the moment when the unfortunate hunter becomes cursed) and appears twice in a relatively short period of time, although in the second appearance it is transposed and maintains its harmonic structure. I will demonstrate below how octatonicism can be analyzed by applying both the theory of pitch fields (Tonfelder) and the neo-Riemannian method.

The theory of pitch fields was first proposed in the works of the Hungarian conductor Albert Simon; Michael Polth and Bernhard Haas are seen as its present-day proponents.[12] This practice means that first all tones need to be isolated from segments in order to distinguish one of three possible tonal fields: Konstrukt, Quintreihe or Funktion (Ger.). Then we need to add fifths above all tones and, according to the principle of set theory analysis, organize the tones from the lowest to the highest.

12 Polth, "Tonalität der Tonfelder", pp. 167–178.

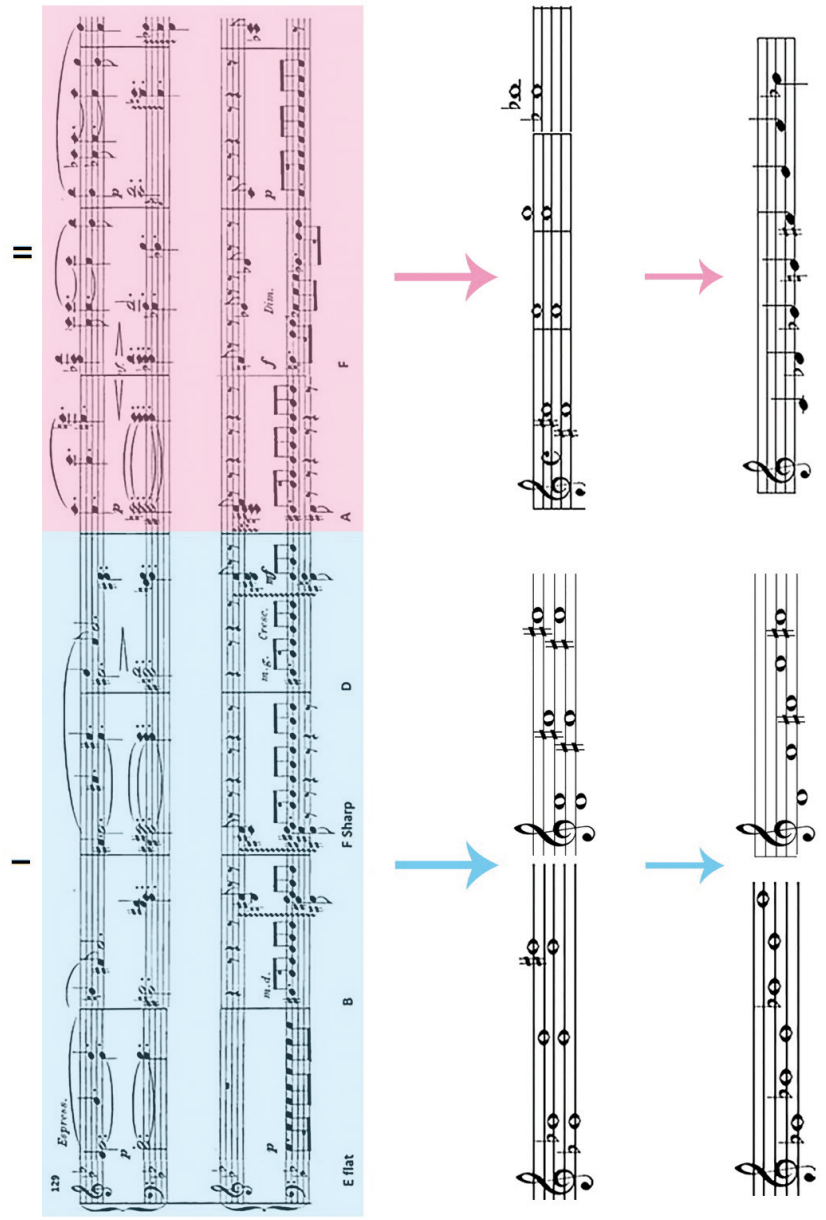

Figure No. 1: César Franck, Le Chasseur Maudit (1882), mm. 129–136, excerpt for two pianos and Tonfelder analysis of that segment[13]

13 César Franck, *Le Chasseur Maudit*, reduction for two pianos by Pierre de Bréville, Paris: Le Grus & Cie 1911, pp. 10–11. Analytical examples by the author of this paper.

In this particular case (Figure No. 1), what we have is a transition of sorts from two constructs (Konstrukt) to one function (Funktion). The constructs are marked in blue and the Roman numeral I. The first begins with the tone *e flat* and, in accordance with Simon's theory, forms a sequence of six notes with alternating intervals minor second – minor third. The same also happens with the second construct, which begins with the tone *d* (this is in fact a transposition of the first a minor second down). On the other hand, the function (marked in red and the Roman numeral II) and the sequence it forms make up the octatonic scale, which begins with the tone *c*.

Regarding the possibility of applying the neo-Riemannian Theory (NRT) Fabian Moss writes: 'Notably, (transformations) P (for parallel) and R (for relative) generate an octatonic scale containing eight major and minor triads which are claimed to be functionally equivalent.'[14] It is interesting to note that the application of this analysis yields somewhat different results than the theory of pitch fields, suggesting the alternation of two octatonic sequences (see Figure No. 2).

The example seems to correspond to multiple transformations PL–PLP–LP, which interestingly represents a symmetrical sequence of operations.[15] Also, PL–PLP transformations correspond to the segment marked by the Roman numeral I in Figure 2, while transformations LP correspond to segment II. However, when it comes to octatonic scale analysis, I must admit I prefer the theory of tonal fields for one reason at least: namely, while NRT focuses on chord transformations themselves, the theory of tonal fields considers all tones in a particular harmonic-structural unit, including the often ignored non-chord tones. Of course, this is very easy to criticize: if we consider the ways in which both theories are realized, there is a possibility that the octatonic scale remains merely implied and therefore many analysts could (and do) conclude that it has not appeared at all.

There are many reasons to ask why the octatonic remained only implied in the works of these composers. First, bearing in mind the historical context, they worked in the second half of the 19th century, before the emergence of more serious theoretical debates about this system. For example, one could speculate that French composers, fascinated by Russian influences, tried to emulate some harmonic elements of Russian national music, without a more in-depth analysis of octatonicism. Historical documents on Berlioz and Liszt do indeed confirm their interest in the study of Russian music, but there is little evidence to suggest in-depth

14 Fabian Moss, "Tonality and Functional Equivalence: A Multi-Level Model for the Cognition of Triadic Progressions in 19th century music", in: *Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of Students of Systematic Musicology (SysMus14)*, ed. by K. Jakubowski et al., London 2014, pp. 1–8, p. 1.

15 According to usual NRT analytical practice, letter P stands for parallel, L for leading-tone exchange, and R for relative. Those operations are following English-speaking chord relations.

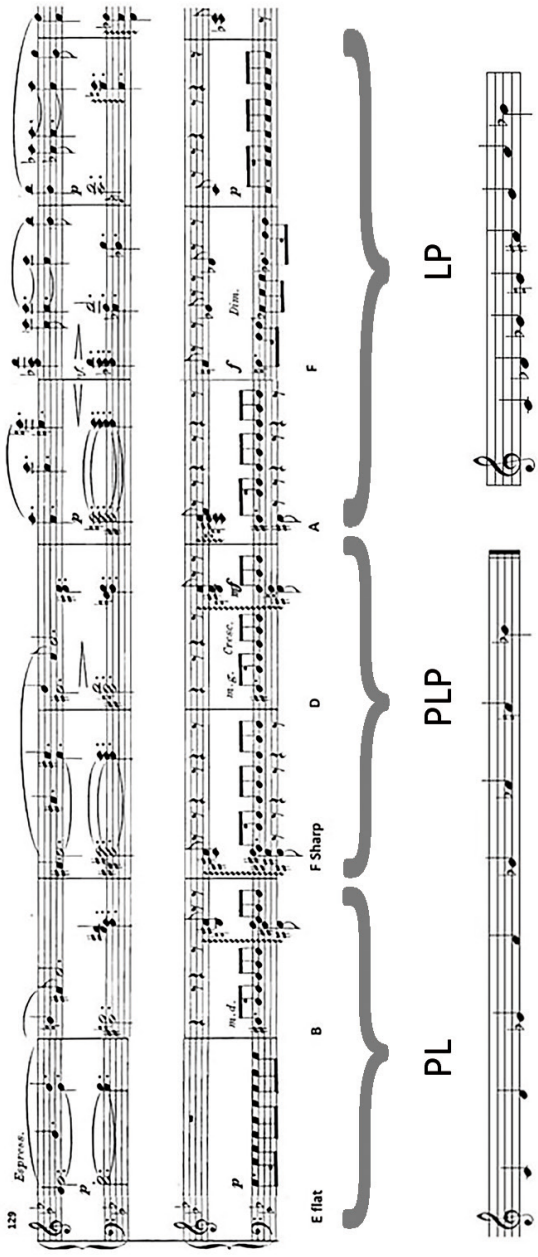

Figure No. 2: César Franck, Le Chasseur Maudit (1882), mm. 129–136
excerpt for two pianos and NRT analysis of that segment[16]

16 Ibid.; analytical examples by the author of this paper.

studying of these systems. However, the intense theoretical interest of Impressionist composers (Debussy and, above all, Ravel) in Russian national music and their systems might lead us to an explanation as to why the octatonic began to be used more explicitly in the 20th century both in the works of French composers and globally.

III. What next?

The octatonic scale hardly belongs among the systems neglected by music theorists, but many unresolved questions remain and pave the way for further studies. My future research will attempt to find answers to some of the following questions:

Firstly, where does the octatonic come from and, generally, how many sources does it have? This is a question that has often been ignored by the academic community, because it seems to have little significance for the analysis, which is only partially true. I am certain that more in-depth research on the evolution of the history of octatonicism would benefit any future study of this system.

Secondly, when did the octatonic become fully accepted in the West? Many theorists have speculated about how and when the octatonic reached the West. Several sources cite examples in the works of Bach, Scarlatti or Beethoven. However, I have some reservations regarding this, as there are no sources (as of yet) to suggest that any of these composers knew the technical principles of this scale. Of course, the fact that some elements of the octatonic do appear in their works is certainly worthy of further research.

Thirdly, when did the octatonic appear in its implicit form and when in its explicit form? As noted above, the octatonic appears in its explicit form in the works of many composers from the second half of the 19th and throughout the 20th century. On the other hand, in the works of composers from the second half of the 19th century (as seen in Franck's example), it could be merely implied or used in its implicit form – possibly because French composers were already familiar with it but had yet to master its guiding principles.

This paper could perhaps open some other questions that do not directly pertain to music theory or musicology. For example, if we managed to resolve the question of the origin of the octatonic, we could perhaps answer some unresolved questions of general and cultural history, such as those pertaining to inter-influences during the Migration Period in the early Middle Ages.

'Du paradis rêvé': The Orient in the Male Imagination in Saint-Saëns's *La Princesse Jaune*

Emma Kavanagh

Critical discussion of Camille Saint-Saëns's operatic œuvre is frequently dominated by *Samson et Dalila*, a work in which he handles issues of exoticism.[1] Exotic subjects were a staple of his output prior to this work, however: the first of his operas to be performed was the one-act work *La Princesse Jaune*, which hit the stage at the Opéra-Comique in 1872. Despite a playful storyline and colourful oriental costumes designed by Camille du Locle,[2] the work was received by critics with what Saint-Saëns would later describe as 'ferocious hostility'.[3] Their objections were largely to the music rather than the subject matter. One reporter commented on 'the great wealth of effects but no melody',[4] and another on his inability to distinguish a key or even a time signature in the overture.[5] The run extended to just five performances, after which the opera was consigned to obscurity. Consequently, *La Princesse Jaune* is often conspicuously absent from assessments of Saint-Saëns's work, and is generally regarded by musicologists and critics as an inconsequential flop.[6] Yet it makes for a fascinating case study in operatic

1 Lynne Johnson, "Camille Saint-Saëns's Changing Exoticism and the Interesting Case of *La Foi*", in: *Journal of Musicological Research* 25 (2006), No. 1, pp. 79–80.

2 Brian Rees, *Camille Saint-Saëns: A Life*, London 1999, p. 169.

3 'Comme il n'était plus temps d'en chercher une autre pour la saison, Du Locle, pour me faire prendre patience, me fit écrire avec Louis Gallet la Princesse Jaune, qui fut mon début au théâtre; j'avais atteint trente-cinq ans. Cet innocent petit ouvrage fut accueilli avec l'hostilité la plus féroce.' Camille Saint-Saëns, *École buissonnière*, Paris 1913, p. 27. All translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

4 Quoted in Christopher Reed, *Bachelor Japanists: Japanese Aesthetics and Western Masculinities*, New York 2017, p. 73.

5 Quoted in ibid., p. 73.

6 This trend began even within Saint-Saëns's own lifetime. For example, there is no mention of *La Princesse Jaune* in D. C. Parker's 1919 overview of Saint-Saëns's work, which focuses instead on *Samson et Dalila* and Bizet's *Djamileh*. D. C. Parker, "Camille Saint-Saëns: A Critical Estimate", in: *The Musical Quarterly* 5 (1919), No. 4, pp. 561–577. More recently, *La Princesse Jaune* only receives a passing mention in scholarly work on the composer, such as Stephen

Orientalism, particularly in the light of the increasing popularity of *japonisme* in France from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

The opera presents only two characters – Kornélis, a tenor, and his cousin, Léna, a soprano – and is set in nineteenth-century Holland. Kornélis is fascinated by all things Japanese; the focus of his affections is Ming, an image of a Japanese woman – sometimes a portrait, sometimes a figurine, sometimes a design on a piece of lacquered furniture. Léna, herself in love with Kornélis, despairs at his infatuation with Ming; they argue. Kornélis then drinks a potion laced with opium and is transported in his imagination to the Orient. At first, he is delighted with the Japan of his dreams. He passionately declares his love to a woman he believes to be Ming, who is in fact Léna in a kimono. Recovering from his drugged state, he realises his true feelings for his cousin and renounces his interest in Ming forever.

Though *La Princesse Jaune* seems to conform to expectations of exoticism in nineteenth-century opera, it differs from many better-known works in one crucial way: its onstage experience of the Orient is entirely imagined. Kornélis and Léna never actually leave the comfort of their home in the Netherlands: their Orient is just an idealised version that Kornélis has dreamt up. In this paper, I examine this intriguing approach to Orientalism in the light of changing attitudes towards the Other in France in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. First, I will explore how the work reflects Saint-Saëns's own relationship to the exotic and to the increasing popularity of japonisme in visual art and literature.[7] I will then analyse the work's musical and theatrical approaches to Orientalism, concluding with a detailed discussion of Kornélis's dream sequence and the implications it has for the notion of the exotic in opera.

Saint-Saëns and Orientalism

Saint-Saëns's life spanned much of the period in which exoticism flourished in France. His birth in 1835 was a few years before the premiere of Félicien David's symphonic ode, *Le Désert* (1844), and his death in 1921 coincided with exoticism's cultural decline.[8] Orientalist tropes began to appear in French visual art in the

Studd's *Saint-Saëns: A Critical Biography*, London 1999 and *Camille Saint-Saëns and His World*, ed. by Jann Pasler, Princeton and Oxford 2012.

7 Key examples of japonisme in visual art include Claude Monet's *La Japonaise* (1876) and Vincent van Gogh's *La courtisane* (1887). Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* (1888) is a particularly notable example of literary japonisme.

8 Tekla Babyak, *Nietzsche, Debussy and the Shadow of Wagner*, Diss. Cornell University 2014, p. xii.

wake of the colonisation of Algeria in 1830, and, through this, art came to represent the Orient as a fantasy that was increasingly sexualised and, more significantly, feminised.

While notions of the exotic were becoming ever more divorced from reality in visual culture, French foreign policy left its mark on colonised lands. As Tekla Babyak observes, colonisation meant that exotic countries – once seen as backward and primitive – were becoming Westernised, as France's national identity became increasingly intertwined with that of peoples living in its colonies.[9] Thus, the Orient as presented in culture, including opera, began to represent a fantasy.

A number of musicologists have extended this understanding of the Orient into the realm of opera. Various operatic heroines who had previously been understood in two-dimensional terms – that is, as dangerous, exotic Others – have been the subjects of significant scholarly reassessment, spearheaded by the rise of feminist musicology.[10] Such studies have analysed the popularity of exoticism in opera in nineteenth-century France, suggesting that it provided an outlet for audiences to explore unexpressed (and often repressed) feelings on taboo subjects at a safe distance, while also providing a canvas onto which opinions about French colonial activities could be projected.[11] Among the problematic narratives that emerged in nineteenth-century discourse is one that would become what James Parakilas describes as 'The Soldier and the Exotic': a Western man is tempted by a dangerous and seductive exotic woman, sometimes even to his death.[12]

Saint-Saëns certainly indulged these tropes and stereotypes throughout his career; although, unlike many composers who wrote on exotic subjects, he travelled extensively. Over the course of 179 trips, he visited 27 countries, both within Europe and later further afield in North Africa and the Middle East.[13] *La Princesse Jaune* predates his first trip outside Europe, during what Lynne Johnson describes as his 'Fantasy' period.[14] At this point, Saint-Saëns was dismissive of non-Western music, as outlined in his 1873 essay, Harmony and Melody;[15] as he travelled more widely, he changed his views, revealing a keen interest in the music of other

9 Ibid., p. 89.

10 This feminist wave of scholarship begins with Catherine Clément's *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. by Betsy Wing, Minneapolis 1988, closely followed by Susan McClary, *Georges Bizet: Carmen*, Cambridge 1992. More recently, see *Siren Songs*, ed. by Mary Ann Smart, Princeton and Oxford 2000.

11 Susan McClary, *Georges Bizet: Carmen*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 1–3.

12 James Parakilas, "The Soldier and the Exotic: Operatic Variations on a Theme of Racial Encounter, Part I", in: *The Opera Quarterly* 10 (1993), No. 2, p. 35.

13 Stéphane Leteuré, "Saint-Saëns: The Traveling Musician", trans. by Jann Pasler, in: *Camille Saint-Saëns and His World*, p. 135.

14 Johnson, "Saint-Saëns's Changing Exoticism", p. 79.

15 Camille Saint-Saëns, *Harmonie et mélodie*, Paris 1885, especially pp. 13–14.

cultures. Saint-Saëns's own relationship with exoticism therefore evolved throughout his life, and so it is crucial to place *La Princesse Jaune* in its proper context.

Besides his travels, Saint-Saëns would equally have been influenced by the japonisme movement flourishing in France at the time. There had been a fascination with the Far East in visual art across Europe since the various World Fairs and Exhibitions of the 1860s and 1870s, which had made the Orient more tangible. Japan held particular allure, as it had only recently ended its sakoku ('closed country') period, opening itself to the West in the 1850s.[16] In France, this new contact prompted a strong interest in Japanese art and culture; impressionist painters were inspired by the techniques of traditional woodblock printing, and much like chinoiserie, japonaiserie became popular in furniture design.[17] This influence of Japan on French art became known as japonisme.

La Princesse Jaune – which premiered in the same year the term japonisme was coined[18] – has been cited as 'the first japoniste opera', followed by Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* (1885) and Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904).[19] But what differentiates *La Princesse Jaune* is that one of the main characters – the beautiful Ming – is a japoniste product herself. She is not a cast role, but an image: she never speaks or sings for herself. When considered alongside Deborah Root's reading of Madame Butterfly – both in Puccini's opera and in other manifestations – as an aestheticised object, it is clear that Ming is part of the same cultural consumerism.[20] Like so much japoniste art, she is constructed for decorative beauty rather than utility. That Ming represents the growing commodification of Japanese culture reveals prevailing attitudes towards exotic cultures at a time when opera itself was becoming increasingly commercialised.[21]

16 Richard Sims, *French Policy Towards the Bakufu and Meiji Japan, 1854–95*, Richmond, Surrey 1998.

17 Elwood Hartman, "Japonisme and Nineteenth-Century French Literature", in: *Comparative Literature Studies* 18 (1981), No. 2, p. 161.

18 The term itself was coined by French author and collector, Philippe Burty, in his discussion of Japan's growing influence on French cultural life. Philippe Burty, "Japonisme I", in: *La Renaissance littéraire et artistique* (May 1872), p.25.

19 Reed, *Bachelor Japanists*, p. 62.

20 Deborah Root, *Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation and the Commodification of Difference,* Boulder, Colorado 1996, p. 27.

21 Peter Modelli, "Parisian Opera between Commons and Commodity, ca. 1830", in: *Consuming Music: Individuals, Institutions, Communities, 1730–1830*, ed. by Emily H. Green and Catherine Mayes, Woodbridge, Suffolk 2017, pp. 222–240.

La Princesse Jaune and operatic Orientalism

Presentations of the Orient changed significantly between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; while the Orient was still portrayed using negative stereotypes, it was also a place of fascination and seductive wonder. In this space, the audience could find solace, and in the immediate aftermath of the Paris Commune in 1871 – which had provoked turmoil in the capital's cultural and political life – the escapism offered by Orientalist and exotic opera proved to be of particular appeal. In light of this cultural context, Saint-Saëns's decision to set the opera in the Netherlands (rather than in France or the Orient itself) is intriguing. Perhaps this was a gesture to the significant trading relationship the Netherlands had maintained with Japan during the sakoku period, or an attempt to place the action at a further remove from the tumult of the Commune, as even the Western setting of protestant Holland is remote from the Parisian audiences at the Opéra-Comique.[22]

The Orient in *La Princesse Jaune* is evoked using fairly broad strokes. Elements of individual cultures are blurred to create a general sense of the Far East. Saint-Saëns's techniques in developing this musical atmosphere have been extensively assessed by Jeremy Day-O'Connell in his study of pentatonicism in Western music.[23] Saint-Saëns's use of the pentatonic scale is part of the tradition of the 'pastoral exotic pentatonic', deployed by a broad range of composers from Weber to Debussy.[24] Saint-Saëns's music makes heavy use of the pentatonic scale, both in the overture as well as in the dream sequence's off-stage chorus. Unseen, the chorus creates an ethereal, intangible effect – a sense that the Orient is just out of reach. This could be read as a musical and dramatic symbol of the workings of Kornélis's imagination: his Orient is uninhabited (except for the vision of Ming – who is, in reality, Léna) and no non-European gets to speak or sing.

To expand Day-O'Connell's reading, it is worthwhile taking the understanding of the opera's pentatonicism briefly out of the European sphere and into East Asian music theory. Throughout the opera, Saint-Saëns makes wide use of the scale; this is commonly found in Chinese music as the *gong* mode, a near-analogue to the major pentatonic scale in Western musicology and the *ryo* scale in Japanese music.

22 It is worth noting that more recent productions of *La Princesse Jaune*, such as that at the 2013 Buxton Festival, set the opera in Paris, rather than in the Netherlands.

23 Jeremy Day-O'Connell, *Pentatonicism from the Eighteenth Century to Debussy*, Rochester, New York 2007, pp. 58–60 and pp. 213–18.

24 Ibid., pp. 47–91.

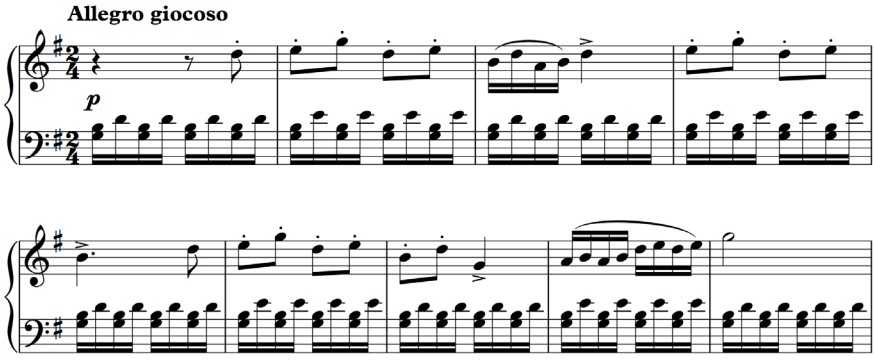

Fig. 1: Overture, bars 76–84

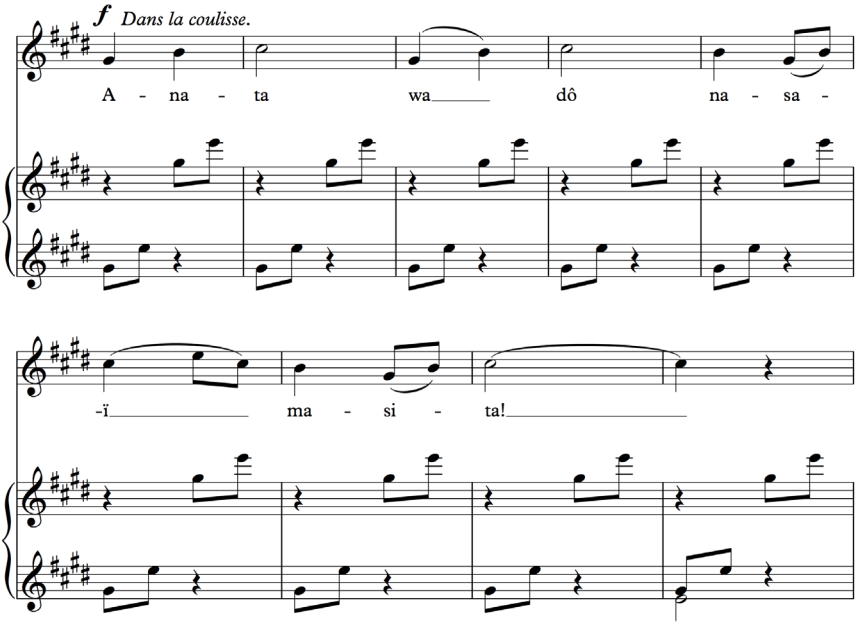

Fig. 2: Scene 5, bars 20–25

Occasionally, the scale, known in Chinese music as the *shang* mode and in Japanese music as the *yo* scale, makes an appearance.[25]

25 I owe thanks to Matthew Haywood for clarifying the details of East Asian music theory.

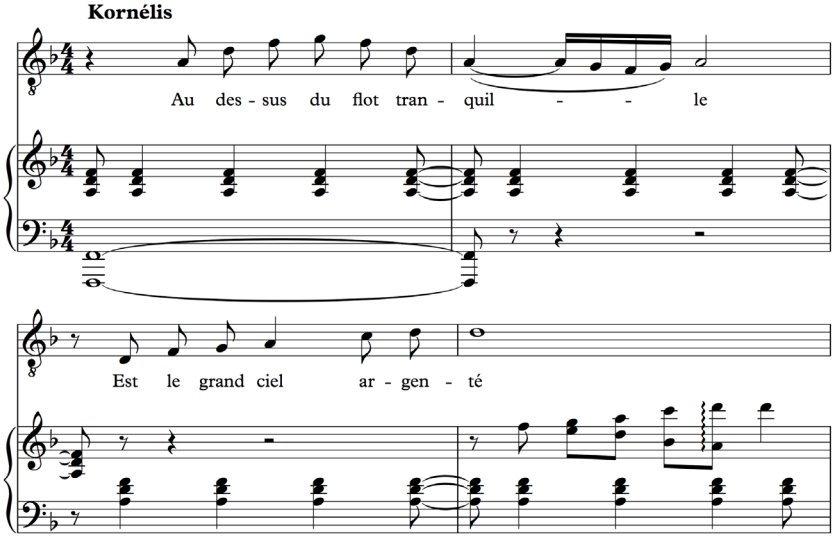

Fig. 3: Scene 5, bars 291–294

From these examples, we can infer Saint-Saëns's awareness of the principal elements of East Asian music – or, at least, of Western ways of representing them. While it has been argued by Yayoi Uno Everett that these melodies were directly lifted from ethnographic studies of Japanese music, their precise origins are unclear.[26]

Saint-Saëns's generalised portrayal of the Far East extended to aspects of the plot and staging. For example, the use of drugs – more specifically an opiate potion supposedly from Japan – to transport Kornélis to the Orient is problematic. In the nineteenth century, though used by many Europeans for medicinal purposes, opium was associated with pejorative stereotypes of addiction and Oriental decadence.[27] That opium is a drug more often linked with China than Japan seems of little importance in the libretto of this opera.

The title character, Ming, is also problematic in this regard. It is never established exactly who or what she is; as Christopher Reed points out, she may be 'a statuette or […] a painting on a panel, cabinet door, folding screen, or fan – such is the interchangeability of japonaiseries'.[28] In addition, the name Kornélis chooses for the object of his fascination is a linguistic impossibility in Japanese: Ming's

26 Yayoi Uno Everett, "Intercultural Synthesis in Postwar Western Art Music: Historical Contexts, Perspectives, and Taxonomy", in: *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, ed. by Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau, Middletown, CN 2004, p. 223, fn. 3.

27 Mike Jay, *Emperors of Dreams: Drugs in the Nineteenth Century*, Sawtry 2000, p. 29.

28 Reed, *Bachelor Japanists*, p. 62.

name – again more historically associated with China – is unpronounceable in her own language.

It is questionable whether cultural specificity was really that important to Saint-Saëns as he composed this opera. He cast aside any sense of cultural authenticity to create a homogeneous Far East which would ring true to his audience. This approach is in keeping with his views in his 'Fantasy' period, when he was far more concerned with imaginative license than ethnographic fidelity. But, unlike Saint-Saëns, Kornélis never travels beyond his own drug-altered consciousness. Through Kornélis, Saint-Saëns has placed – however unconsciously – the Orientalism of nineteenth-century France on the stage.

Orient en abyme: Kornélis's dream

The exotic as presented in the opera is, by definition, artificial. The Orient the audience sees on stage has been presented by Westerners for Westerners, and was never intended to be an accurate reflection of reality. Yet in *La Princesse Jaune*, we encounter the Orient through many layers of idealisation: through Saint-Saëns, the opera's production team and the perceptions of the audience, but also through the eyes of Kornélis himself.

The framework set out by William Cheng in his study of Korngold's *Die tote Stadt* provides a useful starting point for an analysis of this form. Cheng's analysis of Korngold's opera examines the notion of opera *en abyme*[29] – that is, structuring an opera based on the artistic technique of placing a copy of an image within itself to create multiple layers of mediated 'reality' onstage. *Die tote Stadt*, Cheng argues, can be broken down into four layers of diegesis;[30] but *La Princesse Jaune* is less complex, with only two: the opera's 'real' world and the drug-induced haze in which Kornélis travels to the Orient. These two layers enact the opera's own Orientalising within itself – Kornélis's Orient is explicitly a hazy fantasy, divorced from any sense of reality – putting the very act of Orientalism onstage.

There is scope for many different dramatic realisations of the dream sequence; while it would be feasible for the Orient to remain entirely unseen, it is also possible – as in the premiere – that it is as 'visible to the spectator' as it is for Kornélis.[31] Regardless of staging, however, the layers of diegesis as described here are not

29 William Cheng, "Opera *en abyme*: The Prodigious Ritual of Korngold's *Die tote Stadt*", in: *Cambridge Opera Journal* 22 (2011), No. 2, pp. 115–146.

30 Ibid., pp. 117–118.

31 'Ce rêve, visible pour le spectateur, est très-adroitement mis en scène et se déroule au milieu d'un décor vraiment magique'. Albert de Lasalle, Review of *La Princesse Jaune*, *Le monde illustré*, 22 June 1872, p. 390.

stable: they exist both separately and simultaneously. While the opera begins and ends with an established diegetic realm – that of the 'real world' of the opera – the dream sequence is more complex. Kornélis drinks the potion and is transported to the Orient, thus entering the second layer of reality, but when Léna discovers him in a drugged haze, she is still in the first. But this is complicated further by Kornélis, who, believing that Léna is Ming come alive, passionately declares his love; Léna has intruded on the second layer of reality while also remaining in the first. As Reed proposes:

> [Léna] destroys the fantasy of the masculine dream featured on posters for the opera. Her presence locates japonisme solidly in the bourgeois domestic sphere, shattering its escapist effects by returning Kornélis to a conventional romance plot that binds him to middle-class hearth and home.[32]

This suggests that Léna somehow represents a Western intervention into Orientalist fantasies, and her intrusion into the second layer of diegesis represents a warning against Orientalism as a whole. That Léna herself transforms into a vision of Ming for Kornélis is problematic. Despite Ming being an inanimate object, we witness her powerful ability to enchant Kornélis. His apparent change of heart towards Léna seems to be far more convincingly linked to her wearing a kimono than to any particular aspect of her character.

Tropes of the seductive but dangerous femme fatale are very common in exotic opera narratives, but Kornélis does not follow Ming to an unfortunate end. Instead, he returns to reality and to Léna. This ending has many uneasy implications for modern audiences. In avoiding the denouement of Kornélis being led to his doom by the exotic woman, the opera instead indulges in a redemption narrative. Kornélis, it would seem, realises his transgression and returns to the safety of the West. This not only suggests that the Orient can be dismissed as a passing fantasy, but also reinforces the normativity of white, European, heterosexual coupling. The threat of the Orient can be neutralised if one is willing to return to the 'real world', one in which whiteness is offered as the solution to a threatening Other.

Kornélis and Léna model two differing attitudes towards the Orient: as a charming fantasy or as a potential threat, both of which are realised in Ming. As Thomas Cooper argues, the plot of *La Princesse Jaune* 'underlines the essentially fictive nature of orientalism by making the Japanese element entirely a figment of the hero's imagination'.[33] To put it more emphatically, the plot of *La Princesse Jaune*

32 Reed, *Bachelor Japanists*, pp. 63–64.

33 Thomas Cooper, "Nineteenth-Century Spectacle", in: *French Music Since Berlioz*, ed. by Caroline Potter, Abingdon 2017, p. 27.

puts the act of Orientalism onstage. The plot is centred around the idealisation of the Orient by an individual, and the audience sees this consciously enacted. This is not to suggest that Saint-Saëns meant *La Princesse Jaune* to make a political point; he almost certainly did not construct the opera to demonstrate the contrived nature of Orientalism per se. But *La Princesse Jaune* presents an idealised and demonised version of the Orient entirely dictated by Westerners, thus mirroring the Orientalist discourse taking place within nineteenth-century French society.

Conclusions

When placed in the context of Saint-Saëns's own life and views on music, *La Princesse Jaune* dates from a time when his judgement of other cultures was relatively dismissive or just superficial. This attitude is reflected in the music and narrative of this opera; his portrayal of the Far East is combined with stereotypes of seductive Oriental women. But Saint-Saëns has complicated our reading by making his Orient an overtly imagined onstage experience, modelling the discourse about Otherness that was prevalent at that time. In addition to putting the act of Orientalising on the stage, Saint-Saëns's imagined exotic setting also achieves another goal: in making the Orient an overt representation of a Western view, he places it even further away. Not only is the plot of *La Princesse Jaune* set in the Netherlands – already at a slight remove from bourgeois Paris – but the Orient is further distanced by a depiction indulging more in fantasy than accuracy.

While *La Princesse Jaune* does not follow the narrative tropes of much exotic opera – Kornélis is saved from being led astray by the foreign and unfamiliar – its comfortable conclusion still reinforces the pervasive white heteronormativity of the period, itself a fragile construct. In addition to the disdain towards the opera's music, criticism of *La Princesse Jaune* occasionally drew upon notions of what Reed describes as 'anxious masculinity'; the opera was dismissed as 'an emasculated Gounod' and as 'infantile puerility'.[34] Much as this critical rebuke could be attributed to nervousness about Saint-Saëns's own sexuality – he was approaching forty and was still a bachelor[35] – many condemned Kornélis as weak, with

34 '[…] j'en dirai autant du long, trop long duo, qui occupe la moitié de l'acte, et encore est-ce du Gounod emasculé, sans relief et sans couleur. […] Passons au poëme. Il est d'une puérilité enfantine'. L.D., Review of *La Princesse Jaune*. *Le Gaulois*, 14 June 1872, p. 3.

35 Saint-Saëns's eventual marriage in 1875 to Marie-Laure Truffot would be beset with misfortune. In 1878, they lost both their infant sons within weeks of one another: their eldest, André, fell from a fourth-storey window, and their youngest, Jean-François, caught pneumonia a month and a half later. Saint-Saëns blamed André's accident on his wife, and never forgave her. They eventually separated in 1881. There is some speculation among biographers that

his obsessive fascination with Japanese culture and temptation by Ming's image. Therefore, exotic opera can embody problematic stereotypes not only for women – as the dangerous and seductive femme fatale – but also for men.

If we are to move beyond the stereotypes established in exotic opera – both in the works themselves and in scholarship and criticism more generally – further analytical attention is required. Deconstructing these works – even those considered a flop like *La Princesse Jaune* – is key to understanding further how these stereotypes developed and were perpetuated. Situating *La Princesse Jaune* in the context of French colonialism, as well as the artistic craze of japonisme, prompts us to consider the work in new ways. Despite nominally satisfying the prevailing interest in Japan – and indulging in the well-established tropes of exotic opera – the work was not musically or dramatically pleasing to critics or audiences. While *La Princesse Jaune* has often been ignored due to its unsuccessful premiere, it provides one of the most interesting and complex parsings of Orientalist discourse in the operatic world.

Saint-Saëns was attracted to men, although there is no firm evidence; see Rees, *Camille Saint-Saëns: A Life*, pp. 198–201.

Love Thy Enemy as Thyself? Poetics of the 'Other' in Rudolf von Gottschall's *Rose vom Kaukasus* and Alexander Zemlinsky's *Sarema*

Sebastian Bolz

When Horst Weber's monograph on Alexander Zemlinsky's life and work was published in 1977, it was the first of its kind, its subject being an insider tip for music scholars and audiences alike.[1] Things have changed since then: operas like *Der Zwerg* appear on stage on a regular basis, while there is also a growing number of contributions to scholarship, the most comprehensive and substantial of which is Anthony Beaumont's biography.[2] What can be considered true for some works in Zemlinsky's œuvre, however, does not apply to his first opera, *Sarema*, which was composed between 1893 and 1895. Hitherto, the piece has not stimulated any detailed studies, nor is there a modern edition. Apart from a vocal score that was printed in 1899, for research purposes one has to make do with the manuscripts that were produced for the 1897 premiere in Munich.

The 'in-between' provides a viable perspective for *Sarema*, for both the opera's content and its context deal with attributions of 'the self' and 'the other' and their intersections, that is the relation to and affiliation with different groups. Notions of 'the East' and 'the West' are brought up as categories that shape identities and complicate them at the same time. Categories like 'East' and 'West' or 'self' and 'other' do not represent absolute descriptions, but rather narrative functions that help to dramatise conflicts that cannot be resolved into a simple either/or structure.[3] In the context of *Sarema*, as I will argue, this distinction is not restricted to national or cultural communities, but serves as a figure of thought in the debates on musical aesthetics prevailing in fin-de-siècle Vienna. Here, *Sarema* likewise suggests an 'in-between' situation.

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1 Horst Weber, *Alexander Zemlinsky* (= Österreichische Komponisten des 20. Jahrhunderts 23), Vienna 1977.

2 Anthony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, Ithaca 2000.

3 Gunther Gebhard et al., "Das 'Prinzip Osten' – einleitende Bemerkungen", in: *Das Prinzip "Osten": Geschichte und Gegenwart eines symbolischen Raums*, ed. by Gunther Gebhard et al. (= Edition Kulturwissenschaft 3), Bielefeld 2010, pp. 9–20, here p. 11.

This chapter proceeds in three steps: in the first section, I will present a reading of the drama that was the model for *Sarema* and its adaption as a libretto, focusing on how identity is constructed and complicated. I will then link this plot and its operatic adaptation to the cultural and biographical context of Zemlinsky's Vienna of the 1890s. Finally, I will argue that the conflicts of identity as outlined in *Sarema* can be understood as a reflection of the opera's own relation to music history.

I. 'Self' and 'Other' in *Rose vom Kaukasus* and *Sarema*

Sarema is based on the historical drama *Die Rose vom Kaukasus* (The Rose of Caucasus) by the Wrocław-born writer Rudolf Gottschall. Since neither the drama nor its operatic adaptations are generally renowned, a brief plot summary – temporarily ignoring their respective idiosyncrasies – would be in order: in both versions, the setting is a Russian military camp in the Caucasus in 1841 during the Russian invasion in the Circassian area. The plot covers a historical episode in which the Circassian army actually (albeit only temporarily) gained the upper hand against the Tsar. Sarema is a member of the Circassian people, but stays in the Russian camp. She suffers from what might today be called a Stockholm syndrome: Sarema is in love with the Russian colonel Dscherikoff who rescued her from an attack on her village und took her with him. Asslan, a fellow Circassian who is in love with Sarema, enters the Russian camp in disguise to warn Sarema about an imminent Circassian attack. In the moment in which he learns of Sarema's relationship with the enemy, Asslan is exposed and sentenced to death. In order to save his life, Sarema rushes to the Circassians. Being treated as a traitor at first, she manages to win her people's trust and launches the attack on the camp, but imposes the condition that Dscherikoff's life must be spared. While the venture is successful and Asslan is freed, Sarema despairs over her double betrayal (to Dscherikoff and the Circassians) and stabs herself to death.

Two slightly differing versions of Gottschall's play exist in two separate publications: a first version was printed in 1852, only 11 years ahead of the fictional plot and during which the political process it is situated in was still underway.[4] Hence, the piece suggested a certain topicality through the use of a non-fictional dramatis persona: its main protagonist 'Schamyl' was Shamil, the imam of Dagestan who lead the temporarily successful resistance against the Russian imperial conquest of Caucasia – and who was still in power when Gottschall's play was published.[5]

4 Rudolph Gottschall, *Rose vom Kaukasus. Dramatisches Gedicht in 1 Aufzug*, Berlin 1852.

5 See Clemens P. Sidorko, *Dschihad im Kaukasus. Antikolonialer Widerstand der Dagestaner*

Even the setting seems to evoke a historical background: Kerstin Jobst has pointed out that one element of the 'inclusive demographic policy' of Russian colonialism was indeed Russian soldiers marrying Circassian women.[6] A revised edition of *Die Rose* was published around 1870, several years after Shamil's reign had ended and the Russian empire had taken control of the area. It presented a more undisclosed story that did not fully specify its historical models, keeping only a general environment: the character of Schamyl was now called 'the prophet', the place changed from the actual 'Russian camp in Dargo' to 'a Russian fort and its surroundings'.[7] The parts of the plot that are of interest with regards to *Sarema*, however, remained mostly unchanged, as did 1841 as the temporal setting of dramatic action.

The libretto for Zemlinsky's opera, which leaves the general plot unaltered, is based on the later version. Its authorship remains a recurring and possibly unsolvable conundrum. As Anthony Beaumont has argued, a collaboration of the composer himself with his father and his friend Arnold Schönberg seems most likely, with the younger Zemlinsky being responsible for the major part.[8] In his reading of *Sarema*, Beaumont suggests that the libretto mellowed Gottschall's depiction of the Russian's aggression and alcoholism due to improved relations with the Tsar during the 1890s.[9] The resulting approximation of Russians and Circassians refers to a quality in Zemlinsky's opera that we will return to at a later point: for if differences between the enemies become less visible and thus less of a problem, their similarities gain the potential for conflict all the more.

On a level more concerned with literary than with political history, the context implies an intricate set of imaginations of an Eastern 'Other': the literary scholar Susan Layton has highlighted a certain tendency in Russian literature of

und Tschetschenen gegen das Zarenreich (18. Jahrhundert bis 1859) (= Kaukasienstudien 10), Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 183–265, esp. 212–240.

6 Kerstin S. Jobst, "Orientalism, E. W. Said und die Osteuropäische Geschichte", in: *Saeculum* 51 (2000), No. 2, pp. 250–266, here p. 259 f.

7 Rudolf Gottschall, *Die Rose vom Kaukasus. Dramatisches Gedicht in zwei Aufzügen*, Leipzig [1872]; due to the lack of up-to-date research on Gottschall's life and works, the reasons and the exact date of the revision remain unclear. Moritz Brasch's 1893 portrait does not mention *Die Rose* at all, while Alfred Stroedel's even expresses his doubts on the publication date of the first version; cf. Moritz Brasch, *Rudolf von Gottschall. Ein literarisches Portrait*, Leipzig 1893; Alfred Stroedel, *Die geschichtlichen Versdramen Rudolf v. Gottschalls*, Dresden 1921, pp. 21–23. Beaumont (2000, p. 41) dates the revision to 1862, unfortunately without providing evidence, and suggests 1874 as the publication date of the new Reclam edition. The 1876 edition of *Hinrichs' fünfjähriger Bücher-Catalog. 1871–1875* (ed. by Richart Haupt, Leipzig 1876), states 1871 (p. 513), although the book itself contains on its halftitle an overview of Reclam's *Universal-Bibliothek* that covers publications up to 'Januar 1872'.

8 Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 42.

9 Ibid., p. 43.

the 1820s and 1830s to characterise the Circassian people as an 'oriental Other', that is to depict them with attributes of an alleged Asian wildness. Layton states that Aleksandr Pushkin and Mikhail Lermontov, two of the main protagonists of Russian Romantic literature, have contributed to these clichés and have thus 'allowed Russian readers to conceptualise an orient satisfying to the imperfectly westernised national self'; yet, their writings have charged these depictions with ambivalence by either suggesting the possibility of a peaceful co-existence between Russian and Caucasian people or ironising the binary structure of a Russian 'Self' and a Circassian 'Other' in general.[10] Gottschall is likely to have modelled his drama upon the works of Pushkin and Lermontov, since some of their novels deal not only with the cultural-political context in general, but also with the relations between Circassian women and Russian men specifically.[11] Anthony Beaumont has already pointed to a 'palpable influence' namely of Pushkin's *Kavkazskiy plennik* (Prisoner of the Caucasus, 1822, not to be confused with Lev Tolstoy's novella of the same title).[12] The link is strengthened by the fact that in his polemics against the 'Ausländerei auf deutschen Bühnen' (foreigners on German stages), Gottschall, who was also a productive literary critic, excludes contemporary Russian literature from his criticism, albeit with a constraint: while Russian playwrights had justifiably entered German stages with their dramatic 'Panzer- und Admiralschiffen' (armoured vessels and admiral's ships) earlier in the nineteenth century, they – and namely the gifted Pushkin – had only been capable of understanding Western literature in the manner of epigones.[13]

When Gottschall claims that Pushkin had drawn mainly from Lord Byron, 'amalgamating the grand Lord's weltschmerz with Russian culture and lack of culture',[14] he points to the very context that shaped his own *Die Rose vom Kaukasus*:

10 Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire. Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 87–109, 133–155, 214–222, quotation p. 87; Kerstin S. Jobst, "Wo liegt das russische Morgenland? Orient-Diskurs und imperiale Herrschaft im Zarenreich", in: *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. by Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (= Postcolonial Studies 19), Bielefeld 2014, pp. 65–84, here p. 78.

11 Some of the aforementioned writer's works also found their way into music: the Caucasian composer Aleksandr Alyab'ev not only set a 'Circassian song' by Lermontov to music, but also composed a melodrama based on Pushkin's Prisoner of the Caucasus (1828). It certainly seems unlikely that Zemlinsky had access to these compositions; see Layton, *Russian Literature*, p. 85.

12 Cf. Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 41.

13 Rudolf von Gottschall, *Zur Kritik des modernen Dramas. Vergleichende Studien*, Berlin ²1900, p. 195–222, quotation p. 217.

14 Ibid., German original: 'selbst ein so begabter Dichter wie Puschkin galt nur für einen Nachfolger Lord Byrons, der den Weltschmerz des großen Lords mit russischer Kultur und Unkultur amalgamierte'.

it is exactly Pushkin's *Prisoner* that marks the latter's turning to Byron, just as there is also a notable Byronism in the writings of Lermontov.[15] What is more, it was Byron's writings that substantially influenced literary Orientalism in the first half of the nineteenth century.[16] Gottschall's and, as we will see, also Zemlinsky's borrowings complicate this constellation even further, since Gottschall adds the perspective of his 1850s Prussian context, while Zemlinsky's environment of fin-de-siècle Vienna may count as even more complex in terms of situatedness and identity.[17] Not only do they each place their work in an environment that is open to imaginations of 'the East', but they draw on a story that itself focusses on 'Otherness' – on an 'East's East'.

Attributions of cultural and personal identity inevitably touch on aspects of an Orientalist discourse. It is remarkable that these attributes are voiced by characters on both sides as descriptions of identity and difference, that is of self- and foreign-identification, but these turn out to be fluid. It comes as no surprise that Gottschall's drama (more so than the libretto that omitted several paragraphs) undermines the simplistic components that permeate the binary structure of classical Oriental topoi from the beginning. Not only does Dscherikoff as a protagonist of Russian intrusion receive some distinction in the written drama, e.g. when he rebukes a soldier's predatory behaviour towards his beloved: 'Du bist nicht auf dem Sklavenmarkt – Sarema | ist keine Waare, die den Käufer sucht!'[18] On a more general level, the metaphor that provides the title for the whole drama implies a blurring of different spheres of Orientalism. The meaning of the 'rose of Caucasus' is explained through a song that Sarema had sung when she was captured by the Russians, beginning with 'Die Rosen Schiras' blühen auf vor mir, | und Gottes Odem weht aus ihren Düften.'[19] This episode seems awry from the beginning: Dscherikoff quotes this song (Sarema enters the stage only later in the scene) and thus provides a foreign perspective on this music from the start. What is more, he remembers that the captive admired him 'as a minister of Allah, her god'.[20] The text itself, of course, speaks of God, using a Western term for a Western concept in

15 See Klaus Städtke, "Vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Krimkrieg (1853)", in: *Russische Literaturgeschichte*, ed. by Klaus Städtke, Stuttgart and Weimar ²2011, p. 114–163, here p. 134, 154.

16 Monika Greenleaf, *Pushkin and Romantic Fashion. Fragment, Elegy, Orient, Irony*, Stanford 1994, pp. 114–125.

17 Cf. Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 43.

18 'You are not at a slave market – Sarema | is not a commodity looking for a buyer!'; Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 8. The libretto, however, cut the whole passage. Unless otherwise noted, the translations are my own. Line endings are marked with a vertical bar.

19 'The roses of Shiraz blossom before me | and the breath of God breezes from their haze'; ibid.

20 Alexander Zemlinsky, *Sarema. Oper in 3 Abtheilungen (nach Gottschall's* Die Rose von Kaukasus*)*, piano score, Leipzig 1899, p. 11.

direct contrast. Then again, 'Schira' does not refer to the Caucasian area which is the site of the drama, but to the Persian city of Shiraz. The place is not only famous for its roses, but also for the poet Hafiz, a fourteenth century poet who had become German readers' prototype of Eastern literature in his role as the inspiration and subject of Goethe's *Westöstlicher Divan*. Thus, a major text of Orientalism and its implications for a European view of the 'other' (and its irresolvable entanglement with the 'self') shape the whole project. Accordingly and somewhat parodistically, the Russian soldier Godunoff celebrates the situation with the imagery that outlines this situation and enriches it with further unrelated exoticisms: 'Um meinen Becher duften Schiras Rosen – | Hafifens Lieder oder was der Weise | von Tiflis, Mirza-Schaffy singt – ein Hoch | dem Wein, der Liebe!'[21]

Although the attribution seems complicated on a metaphorical level, some of the major topoi of the Oriental 'other' come across more straightforwardly in the rather conventional descriptions of the Circassian people. First and foremost, the people that are referred to as Russia's enemy are related to nature in a way that implies not only pre-individuality, but also pre-civilisation. Dscherikoff's characterisation of the imminent threat once more mirrors what Susan Layton has found to be a 'Byronic' aspect in Pushkin's rendering of 'untamed nature's violence' that comes with the description of the Caucasian environment:[22] 'Vielleicht schon heut begräbt uns die Lawine, | Die von dem Elborus hernieder stürzt, | Ob sie der Sturm geballt aus Schneeesmassen, | Ob aus den Schwärmen des Tscherkessen-Volks.'[23] The closeness to nature, being one with it, appears as a Circassian self-reference as well. When Asslan threatens Dscherikoff, the metaphorical quality of his people's force suggests an analogy to the uncontrollable forces of nature:

> So lang' ihr nicht die Ungewitter zwingt,
> Sich zu des Kaisers Füßen zahm zu legen,
> So lang ihr den Lavinen nicht gebietet,
> In ihrem Donnerlaufe still zu stehn:
> So lang bezwingt ihr nicht ein Heldenvolk,
> Das mit den Adlern wohnt im freien Horst,
> Und in die Thäler stürzt mit den Lavinen![24]

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21 'Around my cup the haze of Shira's roses – | the songs of Hafiz or what Mirza Shafi, the wiseman | of Tiflis sings – hail to wine and to love!'; Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 44 f.

22 Layton, *Russian Literature*, p. 45; see also p. 91.

23 'Today, perhaps, the avalanche will bury us | Tumbling down from Elbrus, | Be it the storm of bulks of snow, | Be it the swarm of Circassians.'; Gottschall, *Rose* (1852), p. 2.

24 'As long as you don't subdue the violent storms | to tamely rest at the emperor's feet, | as long as you don't command the avalanches | to stop their thunderous course: | You will not subjugate a nation of heroes, | That lives with eagles in the free eyrie | And tumbles down with avalanches!'; Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 27; see also p. 16.

Strongly connected to the notion of uncontrollable forces, sexualisation is a common topic in depictions of an imagined 'Orient'.[25] It is therefore hardly surprising that Sarema as the main character is addressed in a way that intertwines her femininity and her cultural identity. Again, Gottschall's rendering of a Caucasian 'other' resembles a tendency in Russian literature to feminise the very region as something to be conquered or, on a more violent level, raped.[26] In the 1852 version of the play, Dscherikoff reacts to Sarema's plea for Asslan's life with an entanglement of eroticism, Orientalism, and music that was partly omitted in the later version:

> Ein schönes Weib wird schöner noch im Zorn –
> O spare für ein bräutliches Erglühn
> Die Flammen, welche deine Augen sprühn!
> Dies Feuerwort, Musik der Janitscharen,
> Magst Du für wilden Rausch der Liebe sparen![27]

While such language meets certain expectations of the time in the characterisation of an Oriental woman by a non-Oriental man, it is by no means restricted to a cultural 'Other'. When Dscherikoff is summoned to St. Petersburg, he faces the prospect of seeing a former Russian lover with a rather similar attitude: 'Sieh', sieh'! Der Stern im kalten Norden winkt – | Scheherezade [sic] an der Newa Ufer, | Langweilig waren Deine Märchen nicht!'[28] In addressing the Russian woman as Scheherazade, the main figure of *One Thousand and One Nights*, the 'others' become interconnected by way of their interchangeability: while the 'Oriental' is being charged with qualities of femininity, the feminine gains features of the 'Oriental' as well. When religiously connotated language (in this context almost exclusively motifs of Islam) is brought up, it appears as an appropriation. Except for brief invocations of Allah by the Circassians, only Russian characters use terms or concepts connected to or associated with Islam as a cipher that contains multiple aspects of a mystical, yet admired strangeness:

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25 E.g. Nina Berman, *Orientalismus, Kolonialismus und Moderne. Zum Bild des Orients in der deutschsprachigen Kultur um 1900*, Stuttgart 1997; Achim Rohde, "Der Innere Orient. Orientalismus, Antisemitismus und Geschlecht im Deutschland des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts", in: *Die Welt des Islams* 45 (2005), No. 3, pp. 370–411, here p. 374.

26 Layton, *Russian Literature*, p. 185–211; on the topic of Orientalism and sexual difference see also Meyda Yegenoglu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*, Cambridge 1998.

27 'Female beauty is fuelled by wrath – | O save for a bridal glowing | The flames that sparkle in your eyes! | This word of fire, music of the Janissaries, | Save it for love's wild ecstasy!'; Gottschall, *Rose* (1852), p. 23; see also Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 29.

28 'My, my! The star is waving in the cold North – | Scheherazade at the banks of Neva, | Your tales were never boring!'; Gottschall, *Rose* (1852), p. 10.

Wie bist Du schön! O schlag' Dein Auge auf –
Es ist ein Koran, wo die Weisheit wohnt,
Die höchste, die Propheten je verkündet –
Des Lebens Lust und Glück! […]
Du, schönste Houri, bringst die sieben Himmel
von Mahomet mir auf die Erde nieder;
Und dieser Offenbarung Glanz erfüllt
Mit dauernder Verzückung meine Seele![29]

The possibility of actual assertions about a culture's character that literature could make is denied by the obvious perspectivity that lies in these utterances. Yet, distinctions become even more problematic when Sarema herself, as a border crosser, tries to identify as a member of a collective. At the centre of her self-references lies a notion of multi-faceted rootlessness. On the one hand, there is estrangement from home: 'ich habe keine Ruh' | Bei Tag und Nacht – es jagt mich auf vom Lager! | Ich bin die Fremde, bin die Ausgestoß'ne, | Die ihres Volkes bösem Feind gefolgt!'[30] On the other hand, there is a fear of foreignness that would result from being taken to St. Petersburg by Dscherikoff: 'In deines Kaisers Stadt – | Wo mit den Fingern Alle auf mich zeigen | Die Tochter der Rebellen aus dem Süden!'[31] As a result, Sarema insists on distinctions between collectives and certain individuals, dismissing the concept of cultural identity as a whole. In a conversation with Dscherikoff, she explicitly excludes him from any hostile agenda:

Sarema. Der große Czaar, der Feind doch unsres Volkes –
[…] Der seine Schaaren sendet
In unser armes Land uns zu bekämpfen,
Der seine Hand ausstreckt, von Ost nach West,
Von Nord nach Süd, um überall die Saaten
Des Todes auszustreuen –
Dscherikoff. *Sieh' Dich um,*
Sarema, und besinn' Dich, wo Du bist.
Sarema. Im Lager unsrer Feinde – […]

29 'How beautiful you are! O open your eye – | It is a Quran where wisdom resides, | The highest that the prophets have announced – | Life's passion and happiness! […] You, most beautiful houri, bring the seven Heavens of Mahomet on earth to me; | And this revelation's glance fills | With lasting ecstasy my soul!'; Gottschall, *Rose* (1852), p. 8; cf. Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 8.

30 'I cannot rest | By day or night – I'm haunted from my bed! | I am the alien, am the outcast | Who followed her people's vicious enemy!'; Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 11.

31 'In your emperor's city – | where everyone will point their finger at me, | the rebels' daughter from the South'; ibid, p. 14.

Dscherikoff. *Bin ich Dein Feind?*
Sarema. Du nicht – o nein – Du nicht![32]

The only stable and reliable concept seems to be a notion of regional belonging. Sarema praises the beauties of her homeland's nature, claiming that it is the main thing that keeps her from joining him. Moreover, she continues her dismissal of going to Russia with a plea to Dscherikoff to stay – that is to stay in the Russian camp within the Circassian area – in an extensive paragraph that became Sarema's solo scene and main aria in the first act of Zemlinsky's opera. In doing so, she produces an almost Foucauldian, yet peculiar heterotopia.[33] For it is precisely this 'counter-sit[e], a kind of effectively enacted utopia' that she demands, even if it means keeping the conqueror close.[34]

Sarema remains a character that is defined ex negativo, she is after all referenced as non-pertaining to a collective, as a member neither of 'us' nor 'them'. And yet, Gottschall's text subtly embeds her in a classical European narrative of freedom. While she embarks on the Circassian's attack against the Russians, a stage direction links the scene to the French July Revolution as portrayed in Eugène Delacroix's famous painting Liberty Leading the People (fig. 1): 'Die Fahne in der einen, das Schwert in der andern Hand auf den Felsen tretend.'[35] This associations seems particularly remarkable since the latter version of Gottschall's drama may have responded to the changing political landscape around 1870 in a terminological detail that touches upon the relation to France. In the 1852 version of the paragraph quoted above, the Tsar is not only an 'enemy', but the 'Erbfeind', the 'sworn enemy' of the Circassian people. By the time Gottschall remodelled his text, this term was inevitably linked to France in popular discourse.[36] Although the reasons for this neutralisation remains in the realm of speculation, the terminological neutralisation of the 'enemy' maintains a certain tendency of 'othering'.

32 'The great Tsar, our people's enemy | […] Who sends his regiments | to fight our poor country, | Who reaches out from East to West, | From North to South, everywhere the seeds | Of death are cast – *Look around you,* | *Sarema*, *remember where you are.* | In our enemy's camp – […] *Am I your enemy?* Not you – o no – not you!'; Gottschall, *Rose* (1852), p. 9; cf. Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 13 f.

33 Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 15–17; Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, p. 30–33.

34 Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces", transl. by Jay Miskowiec, in: *Diacritics* 16 (1986), No. 1, pp. 22–27, here p. 24.

35 'The banner in one hand, the sword in the other, stepping on a rock.'; Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 44.

36 Martin Wrede, "Erbfeind", in: *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 3, ed. by Friedrich Jaeger, Stuttgart and Weimar 2006, col. 396–400; Regina Hartmann, "Von 'Bruderkrieg', 'Erbfeind' und Reichsgründung in der Lyrik der Gartenlaube zwischen 1867 und 1871", in: *Literatur und Nation. Die Gründung des Deutschen Reiches 1871 in der deutschsprachigen Literatur*, ed. by Klaus Amann (= Literatur in der Geschichte, Geschichte in der Literatur 36), Vienna 1996, pp. 93–105.

After all, Gottschall kept the French façade of his heroine, and, with the erasure of the 'Erbfeind', ruled out the possibility of associating the colonial aggressor Russia with France. (This link would not even have been too far-fetched due to the intensifying ties between French and Russian culture during the second half of the nineteenth century.)[37] Instead, the text offers the (German) reader a rather confusing identification with a heroine who is fitted with everything other than German attributes, in a sense blurring categories of self and other for the audience as well.

Figure 1: Eugène Delacroix, Liberty Leading the People, 1830, Musée de Louvre, Paris

Setting this scene to music, Zemlinsky subtly mirrored the allusion to the French civil movement: Sarema's words that accompany her stepping on the rock are presented in the characteristic dotted rhythm and initial fourth interval of the *Marseillaise* (fig. 2a and 2b).

37 See Inga Mai Groote, *Östliche Ouvertüren. Russische Musik in Paris 1870–1913* (= Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikforschung 19), Kassel 2014.

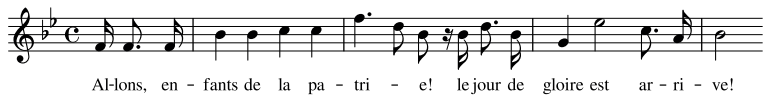

Figure 2a: The Marseillaise[38]

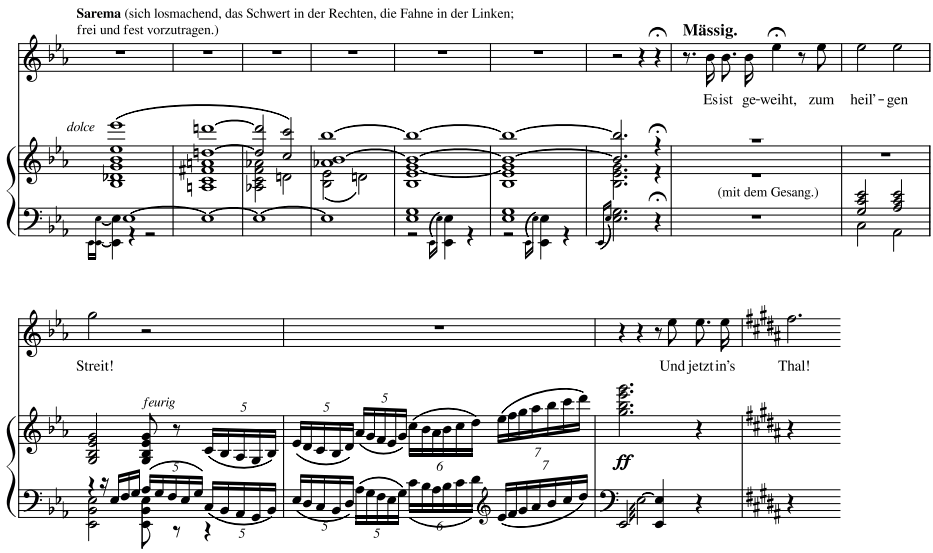

Figure 2b: Zemlinsky, Sarema, Act II, second scene[39]

Regarding the question of distinction, it is striking that in the later version Gottschall eliminated most of the bold 'orientalisms', thus mellowing the distinctions between the two spheres.[40] Instead, he inserted genuinely political dimensions and with them, a remarkable perspective of the 'in-between'. Dscherikoff summarises the Tsar's power in terms of his position between a far East and a weakening Europe:

> Der Moskowiter Banner weht gebietend
> Durch alle Zonen – seinem Machtspruch beugt
> Sich Frankistan und China's Mauern zittern;
> Er winkt – und der Gedanke schweigt im Westen,
> Er winkt, und auf den Knien liegt der Ost.
> Das wankende Europa hält sein Arm.[41]

38 Cited from *La Marseillaise. Air national pour chant et piano*, Mainz and Leipzig [1900?].
39 Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, p. 118.
40 See e.g. Gottschall, *Rose* (1852), p. 8 (cf. 1872, p. 13), p. 22 f. (cf. 1872, p. 28 f.).
41 'Moscow's banner waves commanding | through all areas – to his call bow | Frankistan and

Gottschall's text denies simple distinctions between a Western 'self' and an Eastern 'other'. Instead, it incorporates motives that recollect this distinction and consequently blurs their distinctive potential, while letting the main character exclude herself from every group within the plot and probably from collectivism in general. Thus, the text shifts from a binary structure to a drama of precarious self-attribution that problematises the very possibility of differentiation.

II. Zemlinsky, the East and the West

The performance materials that have survived from the 1897 Munich premiere of *Sarema* provide evidence that Zemlinsky's operatic adaptation kept the intricacies of an East/West discourse in focus: Gottschall's drama starts with a stage direction that placed the first act inside a tent, a setting that suggests seclusiveness, a microcosm in its own right.[42] The opera's vocal score already suggests the possibility of opening up as an interference of both worlds. The stage direction is expanded accordingly: 'Der ganze Hintergrund durch einen Vorhang abgeschlossen, welcher sich in der Mitte theilen lässt.'[43] Sketches for the operatic stage in one of the directorial scores from the Bavarian court opera, on the other hand, explicitly demand an opening in the tent through which the audience could witness a sunset during the first act.[44] This scenery makes it evident that the Russian camp is the site of the Occident, 'das Abendland', while the point in time is that of a transition, with dusk as the prototypical in-between. Consequently, according to the stage sketches the second act was then to take place under the light of the full moon, a common topic in Orientalist literature.[45] In its overall setting, the Munich premiere seems to have ignored some of the plot's subtleties in the first place, possibly lacking the sensitivity for cultural hybridity that characterised the Viennese context in which the work had been composed.

China's walls do tremble; | He waves – and thought falls silent in the West, | He waves, and on its knees the East lies. | His arm holds the stumbling Europe.'; Gottschall, *Rose* [1872], p. 27.

42 Ibid., p. 5.

43 'The entire background closed with a curtain, which can be divided in half.'; Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, p. 5.

44 Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, performance material from the Munich premiere, promptbook, D-Mbs St. th. 12327; the directions in the manuscript score read: 'Sonnen-Beleuchtung' (after p. 2); 'Langsam Sonnen-Untergang' (before p. 5 and before p. 23), 'Abendröthe!' (after p. [38]); 'Sonnen-Untergang' (before p. [47]); 'Die letzten Strahlen der untergehenden Sonne fallen in's Zelt' (after p. [48]).

45 The staging even turns the situation around, as a Western (that is German) symbol now appears in an 'eastern' light: 'Langsam Vollmond auf die Eiche zu unter welche Sarema zu

Public expectations regarding a musical couleur locale were not matched despite the orientalist layout, as a review in the *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* shows: 'Unfortunately the composer almost entirely misses the chance – which would have been an obvious task in setting the subject to music – to adapt a musical idiom that effectively characterises that Russian and Circassian element;'[46] Zemlinsky's music was therefore accused of lacking an obligatory exotic coating, despite the insertion of a choral prayer: the Circassians' invocation of Allah at the beginning of the second act not only provided the piece with a classical operatic scene that had no textual model in Gottschall's drama, it would have also given the composer an opportunity to contribute an exoticist divertissement along the conventional lines as for instance coined in the choruses of Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida* – a piece that had caused similar 'disappointments' with audiences as *Sarema*.[47] It might not be merely coincidental that *Aida*, too, had its *Marseillaise* moment which provided the Egyptians with a European touch.[48] Even if there is some resemblance to this precursor, not least in the harp accompaniment of the Egyptian prayers, the musical material of the Circassian prayer suggests that notions of 'self' and 'other' are blurred and implausible (fig. 3).

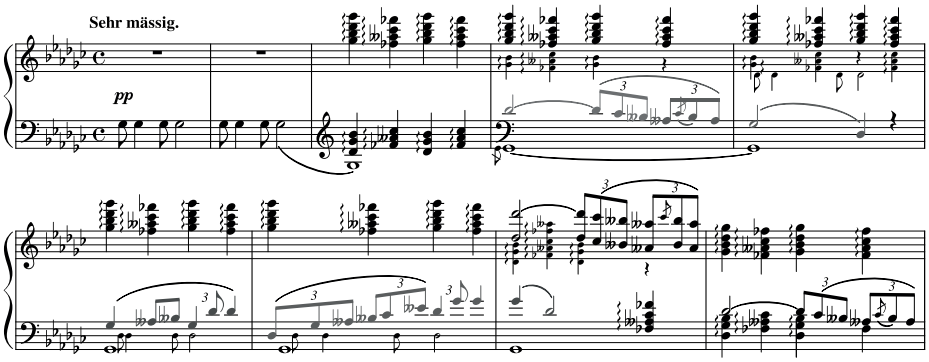

Figure 3: Zemlinsky, Sarema, Act II, first scene[49]

stehen kommt!'; ibid., after p. [58]; see Ulrich Marzolph and Richard van Leeuwen, "Beauty", in: *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, ed. by id., vol. 1, Santa Barbara, CA 2004, pp. 493–495.

46 'Leider läßt der Komponist es sich fast gänzlich entgehen – was doch bei der musikalischen Außgestaltung des Stoffes eine nahe liegende Aufgabe gewesen wäre, eine Tonsprache zu verwenden, die in wirkungsvoller Weise das russische und tscherkessische Element charakterisiert hätte;' *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*, 22.10.1897, p. 624.

47 Cf. Ralph P. Locke, "Beyond the Exotic: How 'Eastern' Is Aida?", in: *Cambridge Opera Journal* 17 (2005), No. 2, pp. 105–139.

48 Uwe Schweikert, "Aida", in: *Verdi-Handbuch*, ed. by Anselm Gerhard and Uwe Schweikert, Stuttgart ²2013, pp. 517–532, here p. 524, 526; Paul Robinson, "Is *Aida* an Orientalist Opera?", in: *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5 (1993), No. 2, pp. 133–140, here p. 136.

49 Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, p. 70.

The passage's harmonic design somewhat deceives the ear. The chord shifts between G flat major and F flat minor are not only relatively 'far off' and mark a high solemnity in the context of 19th century musical semantics (as in Elisabeth's prayer 'Allmächt'ge Jungfrau' in Wagner's *Tannhäuser*), but they certainly do not lack a coloristic quality. The melody that pervades the whole setting, however, is exotic only at first glance: it draws its character not from a pentatonic structure notorious for its Oriental tinge, but from the Phrygian scale on the root of *g flat.* Its modal quality from a late 19th century perspective must, as a 'Gregorian mode', again have invoked a Western, yet alienated music of the past.[50] This 'Other' appears to be an 'other Self', suggesting what has been called an 'inner Orient'.[51] Since this music of colourful shifting between two unrelated chords is presented for the first time not on this occasion, but in the first act when Dscherikoff tells of his first encounter with Sarema, therefore during a belligerent colonial enterprise, it is coined as a manifestation of an 'Other' (fig. 4).[52] When this section is followed by a chorus of the Circassian people worshiping Allah, the alien colour vanishes in favour of a traditional chorale (fig. 5).

Regarding the question of exoticism in Zemlinsky's music – a topic that musicological scholarship has commonly linked to his 1924 Lyric Symphony – it must be noted that he had turned his attention to subjects connected to the East as early as the 1890s. The song *Oriental Sonnet* (and with it, the better known *Der Liebe Leid* from op. 2) suggests a particular interest in the musical means of 'othering'.[53] Composed in late 1895 only to the stage of a sketch and published only a century later, the *Sonnet* bears resemblances to some aspects of *Sarema*. While this poem's final line addresses a 'woman of Circassia' and is thereby closely linked to the opera, the song's musical texture notably differs from *Sarema*: as Lorraine Gorrell has already pointed out, the opening bars play with elements connected to notions of the 'exotic' in their use of the harmonic minor scale with its augmented second (fig. 6). Although the harp-like accompaniment is very close to Sarema's song, the

50 See e.g. the article "Kirchentöne", in: Hugo Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon*, Leipzig ⁵1900, pp. 563–565.

51 See *Translatio Babylonis. Unsere orientalische Moderne*, ed. by Barbara Vinken, Paderborn 2015; this scene shares certain similarities with the muezzin scene in the first act of Antonín Dvořák's opera *Armida* (1904) – a piece that in a related way deals with an 'inner orient'; see Martin Nedbal, "Dvořák's *Armida* and the Czech Oriental 'Self'", in: *Current Musicology* (2007), No. 84, pp. 25–51.

52 Gernot Gruber, "Klangkomposition in den Opern Zemlinskys", in: *Alexander Zemlinsky. Tradition im Umkreis der Wiener Schule*, ed. by Otto Kolleritsch, Graz 1976, pp. 93–100, here p. 97.

53 Cf. Lorraine Gorrell, *Discordant Melody. Alexander Zemlinsky, His Songs, and the Second Viennese School*, Westport, CT 2002, p. 156; Alexander Zemlinsky: *Posthumous Songs*, ed. by Anthony Beaumont, Munich 1995, p. 12.

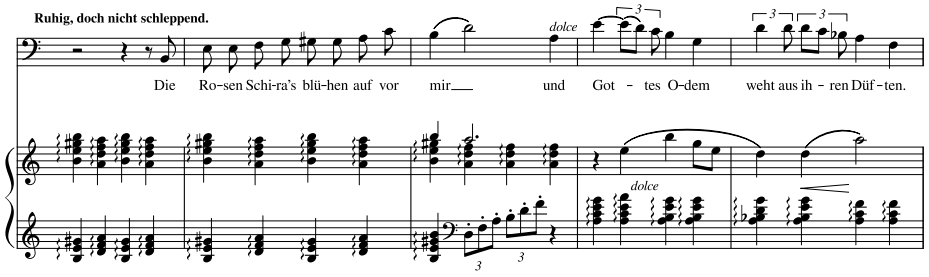

Figure 4: Zemlinsky, Sarema, Act I, first scene[54]

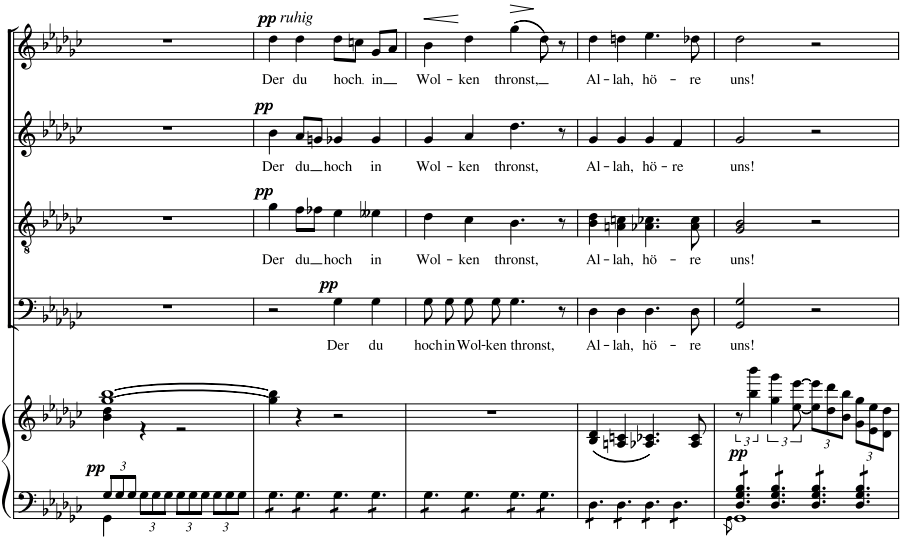

Figure 5: Zemlinsky, Sarema, Act II, first scene[55]

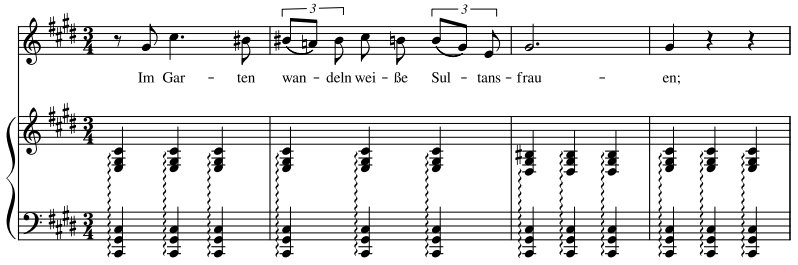

Figure 6: Zemlinsky, Orientalisches Sonett, bars 1–4[56]

54 Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, p. 11.
55 Ibid., p. 73.
56 Zemlinsky, *Posthumous Songs*, pp. 85–89, here p. 85.

song is distinctively more clichéd than the opera. And since it demonstrates that Zemlinsky was well capable of adopting this particular tone especially in connection with the Circassian woman, the lack of Sarema's musical characterisation in these terms becomes all the more apparent and in need of explanation.

When Horst Weber states that the passage quoted in figure 4 with its unpaired harmonies and concise motives forms the 'prototype' of Zemlinsky's later style, the musical paradigm seems even more ambiguous.[57] It is precisely in the context of the issue of 'self' and 'other' that the referential qualities of musical topoi become inconclusive, referring not to distinctive groups, parties or cultural entities, but to undecidability itself. For what it is worth, the music shows no particular interest in the possibility of a Russian exoticism: Anthony Beaumont's remark on an occasional 'Slavic cantilena' that was reminiscent of Tchaikovsky articulates another notion of 'easternness', but there is hardly any of the folklorism the German music culture so eagerly appropriated throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.[58]

Contemporary reviewers showed little interest in dealing with the intricacies of the plot. Max Graf compared its aesthetic value to an 'Indianerbüchel', an 'Indian booklet' (incidentally resounding Richard Strauss's derogatory term for *Aida*: 'Indianermusik').[59] At the same time, he attributed naivety and primitivism to the opera and its composer: 'In it [the opera *Sarema*] I recognise the first attempt of a determined talent of the stage without artistic cultivation, but with strong instincts, passion and energy, who satisfies his ambition in a musically sanguinary way. He still mistakes vigour for brutality, passion for fanaticism, inwardness for exuberance.'[60] It is no surprise that Zemlinsky as a person became part of the work's interpretation, not least with regards to his biographical background that comprised different environments: his paternal catholic grandfather had come to Vienna from a then Hungarian village, his father however joined the Sephardic community for the sake of Zemlinsky's mother. She was the daughter

57 Horst Weber, "Der retrospektive Komponist: Alexander Zemlinsky", in: Kolleritsch, *Zemlinsky*, pp. 7–12, here p. 11.

58 Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 44; see also Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism. From Glinka to Stalin*, New Haven 2007, pp. 1–51.

59 Anselm Gerhard, "Verdi-Bilder", in: Schweikert/Gerhard, *Verdi-Handbuch*, pp. 2–27, here p. 12.

60 'Ich sehe darin den ersten Versuch eines entschiedenen Bühnentalentes ohne künstlerische Zucht, aber mit starken Instincten, Leidenschaft und Energie, welches in musikalisch-blutrünstiger Weise seinen Ehrgeiz befriedigt. Noch verwechselt er Kraft mit Roheit, Leidenschaft mit Fanatismus, Innerlichkeit mit Ueberschwenglichkeit.' Max Graf, "'Es war einmal! …' Oper von Alexander v. Zemlinsky", in: Max Graf, *Wagner-Probleme und andere Studien*, Vienna 1900, pp. 135–145, here p. 138.

of a Sephardic father born in Turkey and a Bosnian Muslim mother.[61] Zemlinsky himself was raised Jewish, but left the Sephardic community in 1899 and converted to Protestantism in 1906.[62] However common this constellation might have been for the Viennese environment of the late 19th century, reviewers of *Sarema* were not always fully able to cope with the complexity of the composer's family history: a critic of the Munich premiere labelled Zemlinsky a 'Polish composer',[63] illustrating just another 'Eastern collective Othering'.

In any discussion of the implications of identity in *Sarema*, it is imperative to bear in mind that Vienna as its original environment itself can be thought of as a complex 'in-between' situation that has been called a 'centrifuge' of modernism, and, besides that, Zemlinsky himself embodied multiple cultural facets.[64] Adopting Gottschall's drama of 'in-betweenness' in fin-de-siècle Vienna arguably added a layer of cultural intersections, be it in terms of coexistence, pervasion or conflict.

While Zemlinsky scholarship has pointed out that later operas such as *Die Florentinische Tragödie* or *Der Zwerg* feature strong biographical dimensions, *Sarema*, too, seems open to a reading in these terms.[65] As Anthony Beaumont has already suggested, the composer's dedication of the *Sarema* score to his parents might point in this direction. In contrast to such a biographical reading, Kevin Karnes focuses on the political dimension when he states that the opera's major conflict were the 'national struggles that had rocked the Habsburg Empire', namely the austro-slavic tensions.[66] Both perspectives do not necessarily exclude each other, as Horst Weber has suggested earlier in his assumption that Zemlinsky's biography 'impressively documented the mixture of peoples of the Danubian monarchy'.[67] By all means, Zemlinsky emphatically self-identified with Vienna as his hometown as late as 1921 and put a certain emphasis on this circumstance.

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61 Hartmut Krones, "Zemlinsky, Alexander" (2007), in: *MGG Online*, ed. by Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel et al. 2016.

62 Hartmut Krones, "Alexander Zemlinsky", in: *Lexikon verfolgter Musikerinnen und Musiker*, ed. by Claudia Maurer Zenck and Peter Petersen, Hamburg 2017, https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002693 (19.10.2019).

63 *Münchener Post- und Augsburger Volkszeitung*, 13.10.1897.

64 Sabine Haupt and Stefan Bodo Würffel, "Geistige Zentren des Fin de Siècle", in: *Handbuch Fin de Siècle*, ed. by id., Stuttgart 2008, pp. 159–194, here p. 165; cf. Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen, "Einleitende Überlegungen zu Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa", in: Born/Lemmen, *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa*, pp. 9–28; see also the introduction to Carl E. Schorske, *Wien. Geist und Gesellschaft im Fin de Siècle*, Munich 1994, pp. VII–XVIII.

65 Cf. Krones, "Zemlinsky" (2007); Gorrell, *Distant Melody*, p. 18; Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 41.

66 Kevin Karnes, *A Kingdom Not of This World: Wagner, the Arts, and Utopian Visions in Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*, Oxford 2013, p. 22.

67 Weber, *Zemlinsky*, p. 10.

When his name did not appear in Richard Specht's portrayal of music in Vienna, Zemlinsky, who cherished a hope of returning from his Prague post, complained to the author in reference to his major compositions: 'Am I not Viennese? Not a most authentic in every aspect?'[68]

III. Between musical mainstreams

The cultural climate of Vienna during the time *Sarema* was composed, however, was not dominated by quarrels of national and political identity alone. From a musicological perspective, debates in the field of music aesthetics such as the classic subject of 'New Germans' against 'Traditionalists' (Wagnerians against Brahmsians) have obtained greater attention so far. Some time ago, Horst Weber already suggested that those two fields were entangled, as Wagner was imagined as the prototypical German composer and Brahms as his supranational counterpart. The latter's anchorage in the apolitical realm was, as Weber has further suggested, strengthened not least by Eduard Hanslick whose aesthetics of autonomy could well be understood against the background of the multiethnic state of Austria-Hungary.[69] As Moritz Csáky and Martina Nußbaumer have convincingly argued, it is precisely this narrative of multiculturality that defined Vienna's image as a musical capital in the long term.[70] The need to make ambivalence and in-betweenness discursively accessible brought forth polyphony in places that seemed rather surprising: while monument editions have generally been considered as nationalistic endeavours, Hanslick and Guido Adler with the foundation of the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* initially projected a European scope that was only trimmed

68 'Bin ich kein Wiener? Nicht einer der echtesten in jeder Beziehung?'; cit. from: *Alexander Zemlinsky. Bin ich kein Wiener?*, ed. by Otto Biba, Vienna 1992, p. 76; the publication Zemlinsky refers to is probably Specht's contribution to a special issue of the *Anbruch* entirely given over to Vienna: Richard Specht, "Neue Musik in Wien", in: *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 3 (1921), No. 13/14, pp. 245–256; while Specht does not mention Zemlinsky among the composers and musicians working in Vienna, he is praised as a 'genius capellmeister' in Paul Stefan, "Wiener Opernspiel", ibid., pp. 260–262, here p. 262; see also Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 281–295.

69 Weber, *Zemlinsky*, p. 11; see also James Deaville, "'Die Wacht an der Donau'?!? The Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein, Wiener Moderne and Pan-Germanism", in: *Wien 1897. Kulturgeschichtliches Profil eines Epochenjahres*, ed. by Christian Glanz, Frankfurt 1999.

70 Moritz Csáky, "Eine Welt von Gegensätzen: Wien und Zentraleuropa zur Zeit von Bruckner und Brahms 'Musikstadt Wien'?", in: *Bruckner – Brahms. Urbanes Milieu als kompositorische Lebensweit im Wien der Gründerzeit*, ed. by Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen and Laurenz Lütteken (= Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikforschung 5), Kassel 2006, pp. 10–26; Martina Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien. Die Konstruktion eines Images*, Freiburg im Breisgau 2007, pp. 355–364.

to be strictly Austrian due to a ministerial intervention.[71] It is in this environment that *Sarema* takes up matters of identity.

In terms of his musical biography, Zemlinsky witnessed this aesthetic disputes without fully belonging to one of the parties.[72] His education at the Viennese conservatoire was rather traditional in nature, he was heavily supported by Hanslick in the early stages of his career and acknowledged as Brahms's protégé in public.[73] The score of *Sarema* was finished by virtue of a grant awarded to Zemlinsky by Brahms and Hanslick and eventually won a prize awarded by the Bavarian prince regent Luitpold in Munich.[74] However, Arnold Schönberg who became acquainted with Zemlinsky in 1893/94, around the time the composition of *Sarema* began, later remembered that his friend 'loved Brahms and Wagner alike'.[75] It should of course be noted that Zemlinsky followed the lines of public discourse in this respect. Schönberg later also recalled that by the end of the century, the former partisanship had widely dissolved in favour of a more heterogeneous musical culture and that 'what in 1883 seemed an impassable gulf was in 1897 no longer a problem.'[76] Egon Wellesz, yet another contemporary witness, reports of the Wagnerian craze that permeated Viennese artist circles by that time, leaving no doubt that Zemlinsky was part of them.[77] Zemlinsky's 'divided loyalties', as Anthony Beaumont puts it, was reflected in his compositions of the 1890s: his chamber music, especially the Clarinet Trio op. 3 of 1896, but also his 1897 Symphony in B flat major adopted a traditional, at times heavily Brahmsian idiom, whereas in the first operas, *Sarema* and *Es war einmal*, a Wagnerian tone was thought to prevail.[78]

Sarema, however, does not only draw from the role model of Wagner,[79] but embodies in itself a certain 'in-betweenness', as its music is somewhat dependent on the harmonic and melodic language of Brahms as well. In a similar manner,

71 Cf. Axel Beer, "Denkmäler und Gesamtausgaben" (2018), in: *MGG Online*, ed. by Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel et al. 2016; Kevin Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History. Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna*, Oxford 2008, pp. 175–180.

72 Horst Weber, "Zemlinsky in Wien 1871–1911", in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 28 (1971), No. 2, pp. 77–96, here p. 85 f.

73 Weber, "Zemlinsky in Wien", p. 80, 83; Gorrell, *Distant Melody*, p. xvi; Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 35.

74 Gorrell, *Distant Melody*, p. 22.

75 Cit. from Weber, "Zemlinsky in Wien", p. 85.

76 Arnold Schönberg, "Brahms the Progressive", in: ibid., S*tyle and Idea. Selected Writings*, ed. by Leonard Stein, Berkeley 1984, pp. 398–441, here p. 399; cf. David Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna. 1700, 1800, 1900*, Woodbridge 2016, p. 182.

77 Weber, "Zemlinsky in Wien", p. 85.

78 Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 35.

79 Weber, *Zemlinsky*, p. 42; Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, p. 44.

Gernot Gruber describes two musical spheres as basic construction principle of *Sarema*, one being transparent and direct and one being stagnant and rich in sound.[80] With the first lines sung in the opera, even a Mozartian tone enters: the form of the echoes between instruments and voice and the numbers in the text that coincide with downward intervals in the Russian soldiers' game of dice seem to mirror the opening duet of *Le nozze di Figaro* (fig. 7).[81]

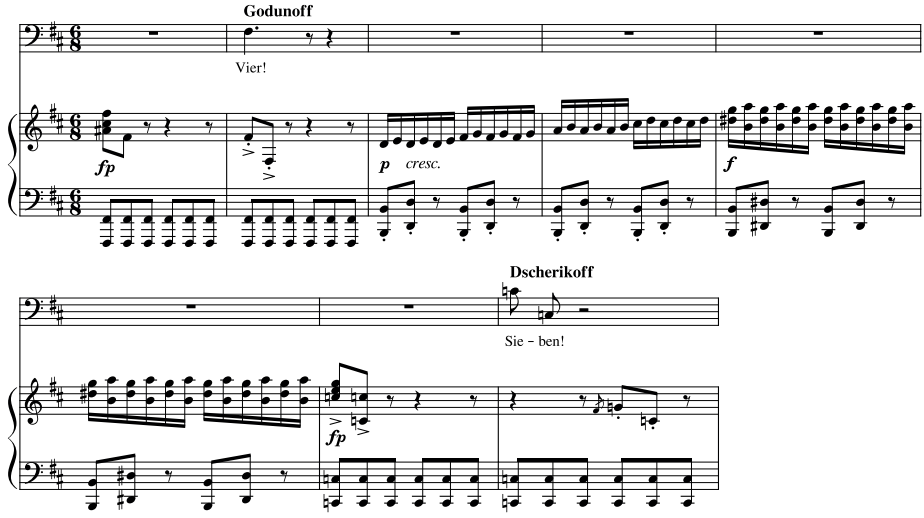

Figure 7: Zemlinsky, Sarema, first act, first scene[82]

No simple dichotomy of musical spheres is to be derived from this stylistic indebtedness, as can be concluded from Kevin Karnes' analysis of Sarema's confrontation with Asslan. This scene, as Karnes argues, is rather obviously based on references to the musical motifs of longing from Wagner's *Tristan*, that, however, do not work out in the way this reference may suggest. While Asslan approaches Sarema accompanied by allusions to the chromatic style of the *Tristan* score (fig. 8), she keeps her answers in a relatively diatonic way, denying her lover the Tristan-like redemption he is looking for.[83] Her final death, then, is by no means an Isolde-like 'Liebestod', but rather highly ambiguous in its combination of steadfast love and double treason.

80 Gruber, "Klangkomposition", p. 96.
81 W. A. Mozart, *Die Hochzeit des Figaro. Opera buffa in 4 Akten*, piano score by Gustav F. Kogel, Leipzig [ca. 1900], p. 11.
82 Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, p. 5.
83 Kevin Karnes, *A Kingdom Not of This World*, pp. 141–144.

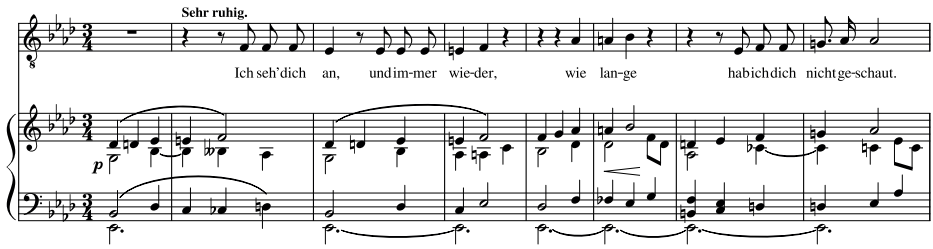

Figure 8: Zemlinsky, Sarema, Act I, fourth scene[84]

As early as 1977, Horst Weber has identified a characteristic trait of the *Sarema* overture that can be linked to the topic of plurality: not only does this overture combine a traditional – perhaps even anti-Wagnerian – microstructure of four- and eight-bar-periodisation with Wagnerian plagal cadences.[85] As Weber has shown, Zemlinsky also interweaves different tonal centres, thus creating a harmonic texture that hovers between widely separated areas of the circle of fifths.[86] What Weber considers 'bizarre', could well be understood in terms of a semantic agenda: this music is denied a stable centre and a clear point of reference, as is the opera's protagonist. Taken with a pinch of salt, Sarema's problem is set in analogy with the crisis of late nineteenth-century music itself: as far-flung and inconclusive – even marginal – as their respective tonalities might be, each of them relies on a referential system. Remoteness and strangeness are only expressed in this system, in a 'self', so to speak. Maybe this aporetic structure, which bears some proximity to Bernhard Waldenfels's theory of the 'alien', is the specific quality of Zemlinsky's first opera.[87]

Sarema, as we may conclude, is a metaphor of a musically problematic identity. Such a reading might be encouraged by recurring passages in which Sarema refers to herself using musical comparisons. She recounts her first encounter with Dscherikoff as follows:

> Mußt ich Dir nicht folgen?
> Wie konnt' ich anders, als ich Dich erblickt!
> Die Welle folgt der Welle unaufhaltsam,
> Und der Kuban muß in das Meer sich stürzen.
> Dem Ton der Flöte folgt der Wiederhall,

84 Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, p. 39.
85 Ibid., pp. 2–4.
86 Weber, *Zemlinsky*, p. 42 f.
87 See e.g. the brief introduction Bernhard Waldenfels, "Das Fremde denken", in: *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 4 (2007), No. 3, pp. 361–368.

Er darf nicht länger in den Bergen schlummern!
Was Fluth und Töne treibt, das treibt auch mich.[88]

In the light of the connotations of the multiple identities, Sarema's suicide in the final scene does not necessarily follow mere convention as it has been criticised for.[89] It might instead be read as a dramatic metaphor for the disqualification of binary solutions: an aporetic situation in which no decisions for one side or the other can be made.[90] While Sarema escapes not only from the conflict, but from the very structure of friend and foe, Zemlinsky himself was involved in an environment that exceeded the notions of 'us' and 'them'. Thus, *Sarema* proposes a merging on different levels, and thereby a rejection of resolutions of an 'in-between', maybe even for a constellation that contemporaries acknowledged as a 'crisis of opera', a debate that incessantly problematised possibilities for stylistic reconciliation 'after Wagner'. Rethinking this debate as a topological discourse might provide some fresh insights for the historiography of the European operatic landscape around 1900.

88 'Did I not have to follow you? | What else could I do when I first saw you! | Wave follows wave relentlessly, | And Kuban has to fall into the sea. | The flute's sound is followed by an echo, | Which mustn't slumber in the mountains! | I'm driven by what tide and sounds are by.'; Gottschall, *Rose* (1872), p. 11; Zemlinsky, *Sarema*, p. 16 f.

89 Gruber, "Klangkomposition", p. 98.

90 From this perspective, the ending of *Sarema* is not as '[u]topian' as Kevin Karnes's argument suggests; Karnes, *A Kingdom Not of This World*, p. 21; this is also true from a historical point of view, given the temporary successes of the Circassian army during the 1840s in which the piece is situated; see Sidorko, *Dschihad im Kaukasus*, pp. 212–240.

The 'Other' in Czech Music – Between Attraction and Aversion

Lenka Křupková

Introduction

There are two complementary factors which codetermine the cultural profile of the Czech nation, and each of them has to be explained in relation to each other: firstly, the Czechs' fears concerning the decisions of those who are more powerful and to which the country has to submit, secondly the relatively little experience of Czechs with other cultures outside Europe or with people of a different cultural orientation or religion.[1] The key to explaining the first factor is to be found mainly in Czech history which is rich in moments and epochs of national failures, humiliation and frustrations. One of the most famous of such moments is the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 where the estates' uprising of the Bohemian Protestant aristocracy was defeated by Catholic forces. As a result, the almost complete extermination of the old Bohemian aristocracy took place as well as the consequent recatholisation of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. For the following 300 years, Bohemia and Moravia were integrated into the Austrian state and degraded to a political province. Czech writer Alois Jirásek calls this 'a period of darkness'. This event became the source of many myths about brave Bohemians and Moravians, who were crushed by evil foreigners, and which can be heard also in later Czech literary output. A quote from the revivalist writer Václav Beneš-Třebízský can serve as an illustration: 'Here the glory of Czechs was broken, here the Czech nation was repressed, here the mother tongue was spurned, here Germans began to rule.'[2] The 'curse' of White Mountain was also revived during the turning points in Czech history in the twentieth century.

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1 This is the second, revised version of the study, which was published in German: Lenka Křupková, "Präsentationen des Fremden in der tschechischen Musik zwischen Anziehung und Abstoßung. Eine Studie tschechischer Fremd- und Selbstbilder", in: *Studia Musicologica* Vol. 59 (2018), issue 3–4 (Dec. 2018), pp. 439–452.

2 'Zde zlomena byla sláva Čechů, zde potlačen byl národ český, zde zavržen byl jazyk mateřský,

The encounters with the outer world beyond the political and language borders did not always, however, bring danger or even destruction to the Czech nation. Similar to the cases of other nations, meeting with different cultures also helped Czechs moderate their egocentrism or ethnocentrism and hold a mirror up to themselves.[3] This did not merely involve foreigners coming to Bohemia. It is possible to find fascination towards the foreign or curiosity about exotica already in the travel diaries of the first Bohemian travellers. The travel diaries provide evidence that, during his travels, the Medieval author watches [dívá se] his surroundings and wonders [diví se] at the same time; he is curious, open to the new and is fascinated. There is the same etymological base in the Czech language for 'watch' and 'wonder' as well as for a third word which is frequent in the travel diaries – 'weird' [divný]:[4] A person arriving in far places is watching, wondering at the weird [dívá se a diví divným], i.e. the unknown and therefore suspicious things.

The Other, new and unknown attracts observers but also repulses them at the same time. I will therefore attempt to find examples from Czech music concerning how the ambivalence of perceiving the Other becomes a theme: a fascination, but also a sense of danger from the Other.

The Other we know

The concern about culturally different and exotic looking foreigners is connected with the prejudice that foreign cultures lack the ability of civilised self-control. This relates especially to the category of the 'unknown' foreign. For centuries, however, it was the fear of the 'known' foreigners who scared Czechs; or more precisely a fear of those whom Czechs knew well and considered them as foreigners within their territory – that is a fear of Germans, their Western neighbours.

Already in the early times of the Czech-German coexistence, Czechs fought their own insecurity and inferiority complex towards their neighbours, since they were aware that the more developed skills of Germans could pose a threat to them, for the position of an imitator is always a subordinate one. A growing xenophobia in Czech-German relations is already illustrated in the rhymed notes of the so-called Dalimil, the author of the oldest Czech chronicle: 'Everyone invites advisors

zde domohli se nadvlády Němci.' Cited according to: Josef Braun, *Vácslav Beneš-Třebízský*, Praha 1890, p. 54 [English translation by Terezie Lípová].

3 Zdeněk Hrbata, "Území exotiky" [The Land of Exotics], in: *Cizí, jiné, exotické v české kultuře 19. století* [Foreign, Other, Exotic in the Czech Culture of the 19th Century], ed. by Kateřina Bláhová and Václav Petrbok, Praha 2008, pp. 9–18, pp. 9–10.

4 Ibid., p. 12.

to their rule, | who would invite foreigners is a traitor and a fool.'[5] Or in a different part of the Chronicle: 'Avoid Germans, although they talk sweet, | or one day the gallows will you only meet.'[6]

The next milestone in Czech-German relations is the era of the Hussite movement: as of the Czech rebellion against the Catholic Church, a long-standing chain of intrigues, treason, anger and mutual aggression developed. One of the consequences of Hussitism was also the stirring up of the Reformation in Germany a hundred years later. This is also related to the great influx of German Protestants to Bohemia which caused a significant aversion among Czechs.[7] The statements of future intellectual elites also indicate this: 'Germans, as soon as they are allowed somewhere and settle down, they can never be expelled or rooted out', writes the Czech Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín in his work *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica, praecipue Bohemica*.[8] The Czech historian František Palacký develops a theory in his History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia, with the first part published in 1848,[9] of a constant conflict and mutual delimitation between Teutons and Slavs, or more precisely between Germans and Czechs. In contrast, fears of Czechs and their alleged efforts to establish a Great Slavic Empire, where Germans would completely perish, could also be heard from the German side in the revolutionary year of 1848.[10] The opposition of Czechs to Germans seemed from the German point of view a rebellion against nature.[11] One must not forget the fact, however, that Czechs paradoxically drew their courage and encouragement for their emancipation process from a German source. Johann Gottfried Herder writes in his chapter on Slavic nations in his major work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*:

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5 'Každý k vládě zve si rádce, | cizince jen hňup a zrádce.' *Kronika tak řečeného Dalimila* [The Chronicle of the so-called Dalimil], ed. by Hana Vrbová, Marie Krčmová and Marie Bláhová, Praha and Litomyšl 2005, p. 17 [English translation by Terezie Lípová].

6 'Vyhněte se Němcům, i když mluví sladce, | nechcete-li viset jednou na oprátce.' *Kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, p. 192.

7 See e.g. Ferdinand Seibt, *Deutschland und die Tschechen. Geschichte einer Nachbarschaft in der Mitte Europas*, München 1997, p. 165.

8 'Němci, jakmile byli někde připuštěni a někde se usadili, nikdy nedají se vypuditi neb vykořeniti.' Cit. according to Bohuslav Balbín, *Rozprava na obranu jazyka slovanského, zvláště pak českého* [The Defence of the Slavic Language, of Czech in Particular], translated from Latin by Emanuel Tonner, Praha 1869, p. 31.

9 František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého w Čechách a w Moravě* [History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia], Praha 1848.

10 Alfred Payrleitner, *Österreicher und Tschechen. Alter Streit und neue Hoffnung*, Wien ²2003, p. 113.

11 Ibid.

> [The Slavs] were liberal, hospitable to excess, lovers of pastoral freedom, but submissive and obedient, enemies to spoil and rapine. […] Is it to be wondered, that, after this nation had born [sic] the yoke for centuries, and cherished the bitterest animosity against their Christian lords and robbers, it's [sic] gentle character should have sunk into the artful, cruel indolence of a slave?[12]

Herder's words also became, however, a source of many later prejudices against Czechs: They are diligent, flexible, sensitive, but at the same time servile, cunning and cheeky. In towns where both nationalities lived, their members were isolated from one another, they had their own institutions and defined territories. A typical example is the city of Olomouc/Olmütz, where a German-speking majority ruled until 1918. Whereas in the 1860s, the city theatre was still commonly rented to Czech theatre companies, in the 1880s Czech plays were not permitted in the German theatre any longer, and were banished by the German speaking city council to provisional facilities outside the city walls.[13] In other cities where there was, in contrast, a Czech majority, as in Prague, similar injustices happened in turn to German inhabitants. Even in the twentieth century, in the inter-war period, Czechs and Germans had their reserved promenade, their own Christmas tree, and the like.[14] Most of the three-million German population living in the northern and southern regions did not want to live in the newly established Czechoslovak Republic and demanded the creation of four provinces which would join Germany or Austria.[15] German efforts to assert their own right of self-determination were, however, useless. The German inhabited areas were

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12 Johann Gottfried Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, translated by T. Churchill, New York, first published London 1800, p. 483. 'Sie [die Slawen] waren mildtätig, bis zur Verschwendung gastfrei, Liebhaber der ländlichen Freiheit, aber unterwürfig und gehorsam, des Raubens und Plünderns Feinde. […] Ist es ein Wunder, daß nach Jahrhunderten der Unterjochung und der tiefsten Erbitterung dieser Nation gegen ihre christlichen Herren und Räuber ihr weicher Charakter zur arglistigen, grausamen Knechtsträgheit herabgesunken wäre?' Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, Berlin 2013, pp. 516–517.

13 Jiří Kopecký and Lenka Křupková, *Das Olmützer Stadttheater und seine Oper. 'Wer in Olmütz gefällt, gefällt in der ganzen Welt'*, Regensburg 2017, p. 134.

14 According to the unpublished memoirs of Dr. Friz Czermak (born June 4, 1925 in Olomouc, died May 1, 2019 in Munich), who was a visiting professor at Palacký University in 1995.

15 These provinces, where according to the pre-war census only 140,000 Czech inhabitants lived, were supposed to become part of the so-called Republic of German-Austria. It was apparent that German politicians from the Czech Lands did not want to be part of Czechoslovakia even at the price of geographical and economical inconveniences and that German people should never become a subordinate national minority in a state of the ruling traditional adversary (Ladislav Josef Beran, *Odepřená integrace. Systémová analýza sudetoněmecké politiky v Československé republice 1918 – 1938* [Integration Denied. A Systematic Analysis of Sudeten German Politics in the Czechoslovak Republic 1918–38], Praha 2009, p. 76).

gradually taken over by the Czech armed forces as of the middle of November 1918. German demonstrations for self-determination were suppressed the following spring and the irredentist claims of the Czech Germans were also eventually denied by the western powers.[16] The demand by Germans to separate from Czechs was only fulfilled in 1938. The path to the separation was prepared by the Munich Agreement of four foreign powers – Italy, Great Britain, France, and Germany; Czechoslovakia was left out of the decision-making process about its own future. The multiculturality of the young Czechoslovak Republic is viewed today as its weakness.[17] The later post-war homogenisation of the country happened as a result of the displacement of Germans and the Communist isolation from the West. In summary, these historical events form the basis for current Czech collective memory and may be present when Czechs think about Germans.

Bedřich Smetana: The Brandenburgers in Bohemia

Bedřich Smetana's first opera *Braniboři v Čechách* (The Brandenburgers in Bohemia) is a condensation of traditional Czech fears of Germans – of German expansionism, of violent plundering of the Czech Lands, of the destruction of the Czech nation together with its language, including fears of betrayal from their midst. The theme of the opera, which was created in 1863, is closely connected to the ideological orientation of the composer as Smetana was an ardent supporter of the so-called Young Czechs, who split from the National Party, i.e. the so-called Old Czechs in 1863. In contrast to the Old Czechs, led by František Palacký, who promoted the idea of Austro-Slavism, that is a development of Slavic nations within Austria, the Young Czechs strived for a radical separation of Bohemia from the bond of the monarchy and for their liberation from the rule of the Emperor and German influence. The librettist Karel Sabina set the story of the opera in the period in which King Václav/Wenceslaus II was growing up and his guardian Otto, Margrave of Brandenburg, ruled in the Czech Lands (Wenceslaus II ascended the throne when he was seven years old).[18]

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16 The irredentist claims of Germans in the newly created Czechoslovakia have been recently studied by Richard Jašš in his work *Pokus o geografické vymezení německé iredentitty v českých zemích na podzim roku 1918 (s důrazem na oblast Moravy, Slezska a východních Čech)* [An Attempt at Geographical Demarcation of German Irredentism in the Czech Lands in the Fall of 1918 (with the Emphasis on Moravia, Silesia and Eastern Bohemia Regions)], Dissertation, Masaryk University, Brno 2007.

17 This opinion is held, for example, by the Bulgarian political scientist Ivan Krastev (* 1965).

18 Václav II. (1271–1305), King of Bohemia and of Poland from the Přemyslid dynasty, ruled 1278/83–1305.

At the beginning of the first act, after a short prelude, the knight Oldřich Rokycanský is talking about the ravaging of the Brandenburgers in the country at the homestead of Volfram Olbramovič:

OLDŘICH
But I say this: we can no longer
tolerate foreign hordes here.
We must now take up arms
and drive the Brandenburgers from our homeland.
They are destroying our country, blunting our language
and under their sword the nation suffers![19]

The Brandenburgers attacked Prague, plundered the city and dragged off little Wenceslaus and his mother. The German townsman Jan Tausendmark, a rejected admirer of Volfram's daughter Ludiše, becomes a traitor and helper of the Brandenburgers and makes them kidnap three of Volfram's daughters, including Ludiše. A popular uprising against the Brandenburgers arises, however, and the Brandenburgers are forced to retreat. Tausendmark ransoms his sisters from captivity and wants to leave with the Brandenburgers for abroad. However, defending the Brandenburgers' honour, their captain Varneman despises the traitor to his own homeland and refuses to take him along:

VARNEMAN
Go, you scoundrel! So it is that not a thousand outlanders
harm the Czech Land as much as
one such villain for whom this country a homeland is called
and who with his every step tramples on it and betrays it.[20]

After many twists and turns the sisters are saved, the traitor Tausendmark is brought to justice and the Brandenburgers are driven out from the country.

The rather pseudo-historical, but ideologically anti-German theme of the opera made it naturally impossible for the opera to find its way into German theatres. The opera was staged in Germany for the first time in Bautzen only in 1994, 14 years after its British premiere.

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19 OLDŘICH Já ale pravím: Nelze dále | tu trpěti cizácké sbory. | Už potřebí se chopit zbraně | a vyhnat z vlasti Branibory, | již hubí zem, náš jazyk tupí, | pod jejichž mečem národ úpí! [English translation by John Tyrrel.]

20 VARNEMAN Jdi, bídáku! Ba, ani tisíce cizáků | té zemi české tolik neškodí, | co jeden padouch takový, | jemuž zem tato vlastí sluje | a který každým krokem svým | ji zašlapává a zrazuje. [English translation by Terezie Lípová.]

Antonín Dvořák: The Jacobin

In this respect, a better fate awaited Dvořák's *Jakobín* (The Jacobin), another essential work of Czech opera repertoire, where it is also possible to find evidence of deeply rooted distrust of the foreign which is distant from Czech experience. The symbolic expression of such distrust is quite distinct, however, from Smetana's radicalism. Unlike Bedřich Smetana, Dvořák's ideology was closely aligned to that of the Old Czechs – one of the leading representatives was also the co-author of The Jacobin's libretto. The original version of the opera was composed in 1887–1888; it was revised when Dvořák returned from his two and a half year stay in the USA in 1897. The libretto was written by Marie Červinková-Riegrová, the text changes were then written into the revised version of the opera after her death by her father, the important Czech politician František Rieger.[21] Dvořák ventured to carry out the composition of the opera only five years after Červinková wrote the libretto (in 1882). His hesitation was mainly caused by doubting whether it made sense to write an opera on a purely Czech subject, because at this time Dvořák had begun to achieve international successes (especially in England). It is the Czechness of the theme and its musical adaptation with melodies that sound typically Czech (recitatives are almost absent in the opera) that are characteristic of The Jacobin: In the spirit of the nationally moderate Old Czechs, Dvořák fights here for Czech interests with a song. This later led to the stigmatisation of this work as a 'folk opera' both in the good and bad sense. It is a known fact that Smetana's *Prodaná nevěsta* (The Bartered Bride) was an exceptionally popular opera in Nazi Germany. The Jacobin with its ideology of folksiness and emotionality also found considerable reception, however, in Germany of the same era. The reviews after its premiere in Dresden praised Dvořák's 'musicianship from the bottom of a musician's heart'.[22] At the same time, Dvořák was regarded by a certain part of German music science as a representative of simple Czech musicianship. In his musician's invention they saw proof of a limitedness of a racial affiliation – his music was 'only water, and never wine' we read in a text by the musicologist Hans Joachim Moser from 1944.[23] Although these reviews cannot be taken seriously today in any aspect, the theme of The Jacobin does display a certain limitedness of a closed Czech environment.

The story is set in a small Czech town at the time of the French Revolution. One of the main plot devices of the opera becomes the motif of Czech musicianship – a Czech song is a symbol of national strength and the patriotism of the inhabitants

21 Marie Červinková-Riegrová's untimely death came about in 1895 when she was 41 years old.

22 [N.N.], in: *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten,* 7 February 1943, p. 3. Cit. according to Klaus Döge, *Antonín Dvořák. Leben. Werke. Dokumente*, Zürich und Mainz ²1997, pp. 427–428.

23 H. J. Moser, "Anton Dvorak", in: *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 2 May 1944. Cit. according to Döge, *Antonín Dvořák*, p. 428.

of the small town. It also strengthens the exiles Bohuš and Julie on their long journey abroad, as we can hear in their well-known duet in the second act:

BOHUŠ
We've lived in foreign lands
for a long time, and for long years
tears dimmed our eyes
and longing filled our hearts.
Who could understand the sorrow of lost exiles?
From our souls we sang a loved Czech song to ourselves,
and sadness left our gloomy hearts.[24]

But to the townspeople, Bohuš and Julie are suspicious foreigners who came from far away and moreover, are perhaps Jacobins, declarers of dangerous freethinking and advocates of chaos. Therefore, the count's steward does not want to let them into the city until they prove their identity:

THE COUNT'S STEWARD
Those are dangerous people!
Wait a minute!
What do you want here in our town?
Tell us what you've come for![25]

In the final catharsis, when a great reconciliation between the Count, Bohuš's father and his lost and once cursed son takes place, it also comes out, to the general satisfaction, that the main characters are not Jacobins but, quite on the contrary, had to flee from the 'Reign of Terror' back to the country. Thus, everything returns to its proper order – foreigners become countrymen and old customs are not violated from the outside.

24 BOHUŠ My cizinou jsme bloudili, | ach dlouhá léta dlouhá, | zrak slzy stesku kalily | a v srdci vřela touha. | Kdož čítal naše povzdechy, | kdož vyhnanci dá útěchy? | Tu z hloubi duše zapěli jsme sobě českou píseň | a z duše chmury zmizely, | ze srdce prchla tíseň.

25 PURKRABÍ Toť lidé nebezpeční! | Hej, posečkejte! | V našem městě, co tu chcete? | Vykažte se, odkud jdete? | Vykažte se nám!

Antonín Dvořák: Rusalka

In the libretto of Dvořák's *Rusalka* by Jaroslav Kvapil there are foreign elements in two characters – the Foreign Princess (who is presumably German) and Rusalka. At the same time, they both represent two opposite worlds: on the one side there is the human world with all the flaws of human nature, and on the other there is the ideal, pure world of a fairy tale. Rusalka is not welcomed by the locals, she is a suspicious being who was brought by the Prince from somewhere in the woods. Her otherness raises aversion and fear at the same time:

> THE PANTRYBOY
> The Prince found in the forest
> a strange creature,
> and it seems – can you believe it? –
> he might marry it!
> They say he found her in your woods,
> in your deep forest.[26]

The Princess is a strongly negative character throughout the story. She does not love the Prince, but she wants to win him for herself and lure him away from Rusalka; to achieve this she uses his fickleness. When she gets her way, she leaves the Prince. The consequences of her actions are tragic.

> THE FOREIGN PRINCESS
> No, it's not love, it's a feeling of rage,
> that another dwells where I wanted to be,
> and that I was not destined to have him.
> Let happiness die completely for both of them!
> Will the prince remember for a moment, after all,
> that the lover is also a host?
> This happiness the world bestows on you:
> should a guest only gaze on it silently?[27]

The antipathy towards the Princess is amplified already by accenting her origin – she is a 'foreign princess', the foreign and evil become synonymous here.

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26 KUCHTÍK Princ tu našel v lese | divné stvoření, | a s ním, podivme se, | snad se ožení! | Našel prý ji v lesích tvých, | ve tvých lesích hlubokých.

27 Cizí kněžna Ne, není to láska, hněvivý je to cit, | že jiná dlí, kde já jsem chtěla být, | a že jsem jeho míti neměla, | ať štěstí obou zhyne docela! | Zda na chvíli princ vzpomene si přec, | že hostitelem též je milenec? | Má na to štěstí, jímž vás blaží svět, | též cizí host jen němě pohlížet? [English translation by David R. Beveridge.]

The exotic Other

Similar to other musical cultures in the Romantic period, Czech composers also used exoticisms as themes for their works and their musical adaptations. In the following part of my paper I would therefore like to discuss some of those works in which the use of exotic motifs is relevant.

In art of the nineteenth century, the primary interest of its authors was not to demonstrate authentic exoticisms; the duty to study with an almost scientific methodology the art of remote nations or the original folk culture of one's own nation only became the concern of artists with the arrival of the twentieth century. Music of the Romantic period was interested in the 'reception of certain moments as exotic',[28] these were a kind of quoted styles which were adjusted to the period's image of musical structure, not disrupting it in any way. The composers drew inspiration from the repertoire of established clichés and stereotypes.[29]

Vítězslav Novák: The Storm

A rich motif of exoticism for landlocked Czechs is traditionally the sea, particularly the image of a raging element of nature. This theme was developed by the Czech poet Svatopluk Čech in his sea fantasy *Bouře* (The Storm) which later inspired the composer Vítězslav Novák to a composition of an extensive, more than an hour lasting, cantata of the same name which was completed in 1910. In order to make the work sufficiently authentic, the composer did not hesitate to travel for inspiration to Norway to the North Sea where he almost drowned in its powerful waves.

Novák set the eight chapters of the extensive poem to music in a series of choirs which take turns in their vocal solos linked by extensive orchestra interludes which onomatopoeically depict the roaring of the raging sea. In sharp contrast to the culminating move of the waves sounds, there is the lullaby of an African slave in the 5th part *In the cabin*. The connection between the distant sea and the figure of a black man are again popular elements of exoticism which had in Czech Lands, or more precisely in the then Austro-Hungarian monarchy that did not have any colonies, a particularly strong effect. As mentioned before, in the case of the cantata The Storm the composer strived for maximum authenticity, and

28 '[R]ecepce určitých momentů jako exotických' Marta Ottlová and Milan Pospíšil, "K repertoáru exotismů v české hudbě 19. století" [The Repertoire of Exoticisms in the Czech Music of the 19th Century], in: *Cizí, jiné, exotické v české kultuře 19. století*, pp. 339–353, p. 339.

29 Ibid., p. 341.

therefore began studying ethnographic song collections from Madagascar. Not having found satisfying material there, he constructed – in his own words – his own 'quasi exotic scale' which is the source of the 'exotic' motif that recurs in the orchestra flow. Specifically, it is a sequence of 8 tones resembling an octatonic scale where a whole tone and a semitone alternate, however, there an augmented second is inserted between the third and the fourth degree of the scale (*c–d–e flat–f sharp–g–a–b flat–c*).[30] The exotic character and the impression of 'primitive music' should also be evoked by the accompanying empty fifths in the bass and the instrumentation of the ostinato in the English horn.[31]

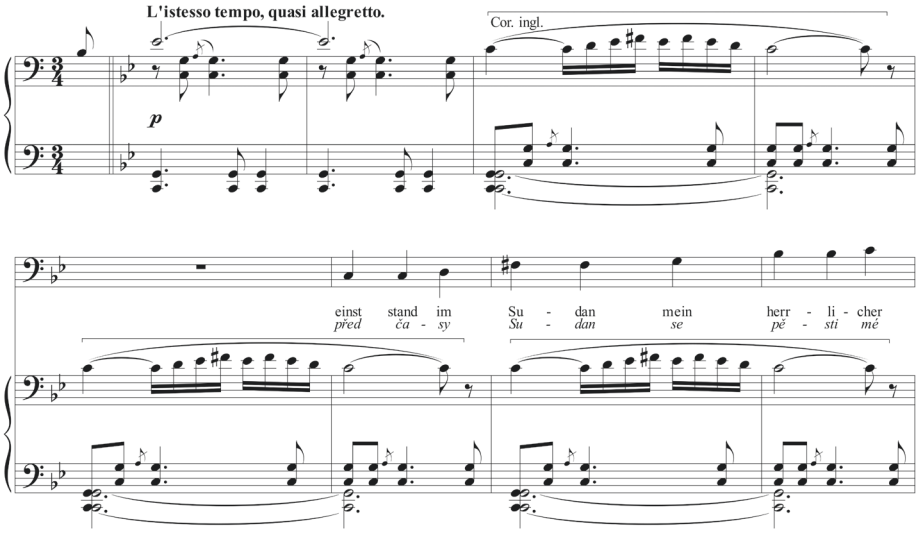

Fig. 1: Vítězslav Novák *Bouře*, from No. 84

The peace of the Slave's lullaby, with which he sings his mistress to sleep, is nevertheless only imaginary. Just as the ship in the storm is heading for disaster, an instinctive passion breaks out gradually in the black man and he swoops on the defenceless young girl. Thus another cliché about a primitive man who is smouldering with aggression is fulfilled. In limiting situations, he becomes 'a slave drunk with a violent passion',[32] who is a sexual assailant and rapist of white women.

30 Olivier Messiaen included the octatonic mode among the modes of limited transpositions as a second mode. Its usage was not extraordinary even in Novák's time. It can be found again it e.g. in Rimsky-Korsakov, Janáček, young Stravinsky, and others.

31 Václav Štěpán, "Symfonická tvorba" [Symphonic Work], in: *Vítězslav Novák, Studie a vzpomínky* [Vítězslav Novák, Studies and Memories], ed. by Antonín Srba, Praha 1932, p. 265.

32 Ibid., p. 248.

GIRL
I'm afraid of you, my slave!
There's madness in your eyes!

SLAVE
Sleep my young, sleep my lady,
in the palm of the Great Spirit,
sleep, my lady, sleep!
I am black and you are white,
muslin cloth lay all around
as haze's wing,
sleep, my lady, sleep! […]
Do not sleep, my dear,

GIRL
Leave me, evil in your eye,

SLAVE
I'll kiss your cheeks white,

GIRL
You'll smother me,

SLAVE
Coral lips,

GIRL
Water's running
through the side,

SLAVE
Dear,

GIRL
We'll perish in the flood,

SLAVE
Dear, don't fall asleep!

GIRL
For Christ's sake, my slave![33]

33 DÍVKA Bojím se tě, můj otroku! | Šílenství ti hárá v oku! OTROK Spi má mladá, spi má paní | ve velkého ducha dlani, | spi má paní, spi! | Já jsem černý, ty jsi bílá, | mušelín tě

Novák claimed that he met Franz Schreker in Vienna in 1914 who was interested in setting to music The Storm, however, under the condition that this 'shocking' scene in the cabin would be removed.[34]

Leoš Janáček: The Diary of One Who Disappeared

A popular exoticism in the nineteenth century was 'gypsyism'. In opera, dance or dramatic theatre 'gypsy' acts were an effective means to add variety, from the musical perspective often interchangeable with Spanish or Hungarian colour. A stereotypical image of Romani men involved people from circuses, travelling dancers or jugglers, animal tamers (the character of Esmeralda Salamanka from Smetana's The Bartered Bride was also a tamer); frequent types of Romani women were fortune tellers, who could be either young and beautiful or old and ugly, and last but not least a type of dangerously erotic Romani woman. In Czech music, we can also find 'gypsy exoticism' within vocal music outside works of opera – e.g. the cycles of poems by Adolf Heyduk *Cikánské a nové cikánské melodie* (Gypsy and New Gypsy Melodies) were set to music by Karel Bendl, Antonín Dvořák and Vítězslav Novák. The musical stereotypes included using the so-called gypsy scale with two augmented second intervals, stylisation of cimbalom, and the like.[35]

We will not find any of these musical clichés in the song cycle *Zápisník zmizelého* (The Diary of One Who Disappeared) by Leoš Janáček, which was composed during 1917–1919 to anonymous poems published in May 1916 in *Lidové noviny* (The People's Newspaper) under the title *Z pera samoukova* (From the Pen of a Self-Taught Writer). The song cycle belongs to modern music of the twentieth century, however, similarly as in other works by the composer, the original composition structure does not correspond with the storyline, which remains in the spirit of the poetics of Romanticism of the nineteenth century which Janáček is essentially bound to. Janáček's Zefka embodies the above described stereotype of a Romani woman as dangerously seductive, wild and in fact uncivilised, a foreigner from somewhere and taking Janíček to the unknown, an honourable young boy who abandons the conventions, safety and order of his home community forever.

The cycle consists of 22 songs where the young boy Janíček (a tenor) tells his love story. In the middle of the cycle, however, in the 9th – 11th part, the dynamic element of the story – a Romani girl named Zefka enters this monologic flow and

obestýlá | jako peruť mhy, | spi má paní, spi! […] Nespi, drahá moje, DÍVKA Nech mne, Satan ve tvém oku, OTROK zulíbám ti bílé čílko, DÍVKA udusíš mne, OTROK korálové rty, DÍVKA z lodi boku | voda vplývá, OTROK milko, DÍVKA zhynem v toku, OTROK milko, neusni! DÍVKA pro Ježíše, můj otroku! [English translation by Terezie Lípová.]

34 See Vítězslav Novák, *O sobě a o jiných* [About Myself and about Others], Praha 1970, p. 209.

35 Ottlová and Pospíšil, "K repertoáru exotismů v české hudbě", pp. 248–249.

in the 10th song a choir of three commenting women enters as well. In the 11th song which begins with the line 'From the rip'ning cornfield oh what sweet odours creep' a fundamental turning point in the existing events takes place – up to this moment the innocent and naïve village boy Janíček is seduced by the sensual Romani girl Zefka:

XI

TENOR
From the rip'ning cornfield
oh what sweet odours creep.

ALT
Will you let me show you
how Gypsy people sleep?

TENOR
She brushed some twigs away,
threw some pebbles after;
Behold my bed' she said,
then she shook with laughter.

ALT
Earth is my pillow
and heaven my covering,
I warm my fingers in my lap
when they're shivering.

TENOR
In her tattered skirt,
there on the ground she lies,
and for my virtue's sake tears
spring to my sad eyes.[36]

In the final song the protagonist of the story faces the consequences of Zefka's seduction. He follows his 'gypsy girl' and their son and sets off for far away leaving his home forever.

36 TENOR Tahne vůňa k lesu z rozkvetlé pohanky. ALT Chceš-li Janku vidět, | jak spija cigánky? TENOR Halúzku zlomila, kámeň odhodila; | Tož už mám ustlané, v smíchu prohodila. ALT Zem je mi za polštář, | nebem sa přikrývám, | a rosú schladlé ruce | v klíně si zahřívám. TENOR V jedné sukénce | na zemi ležala | a moja poctivost' | pláčem usedala.

XXII

Then farewell, dearest land,
then farewell from my heart,
all that's left for me now
is to say we must part.

So goodbye, father dear,
and to you, mother dear,
and goodbye, sister sweet,
you with your eyes so clear!

See my hands raised to you,
please forgive ev'rything.
There can be no return
from the life I'm beginning.

No escape can there be,
fate's bidding must be done.
Zeffka waits for me there,
in her arms, my own son.[37]

Leoš Janáček: The Makropulos Affair

Emilia Marty, the protagonist of the opera *Věc Makropulos* (The Makropulos Affair) embodied a similarly unrestrained type of Romani woman in one of her past lives. Leoš Janáček composed the libretto of The Makropulos Affair using Karel Čapek's play of the same name. The story with a criminal plot develops on stage as the characters treat an inheritance lawsuit and the theft of a testament with a recipe for a longevity potion which Emilia desperately needs to take once again. Towards the end, the story leads to a discussion of the ultimate question if it is even good to live forever. In the middle of the events, Hauk Šendorf, a crazy old man, appears on stage all of a sudden; 50 years ago, he was seduced and driven crazy by a Romani singer: Eugenia Montez, alias Emilia Marty. Even in his insanity he recognizes the famous opera diva:

37 S Bohem, rodný kraju, | s Bohem, má dědino! | Navždy sa rozlúčit, | zbývá mi jedino. || S Bohem, můj tatíčku, | a i Vy, maměnko, | s Bohem, má sestřičko, | mých očí pomněnko! || Ruce Vám obtúlám, | žádám odpuštění, | už pro mne návratu | žádnou cestou není! || Chci všecko podniknút, | co osud poručí! | Zefka na mne čeká, | se synem v náručí! [English translation by Bernard Keefe.]

HAUK
She was a gypsy. They called her chula negra.
Down there in Andalusia.
How the whole world was maddened!
Vaya Gitana!
I left everything there, everything with her!
And then I remained silly all my life, pray, you understand![38]

Chula negra is a Spanish sexist and racist insult for women of dark skin and dark hair. A Romani woman is thus a construct of men's erotic fantasy; here it also becomes a projection board for men's anger and feelings of failure.

Conclusion

For Czech music historically, the foreign is fascinating and repulsive at the same time. On the one hand, foreigners are the oppressors and conquerors, however, they can also be bearers of happiness from exotic worlds. The experience with the ambivalence of the Other is certainly not unique only to the Czech environment or Czech music. Around the world, the Other is a projection board for dreams and concerns, an object of fantasy and oppression. Similar motifs can be found in many other works of art of different provenances. Especially, in the case of small nations, however, the problem of the Other is addressed in the light of specific historical situations and from the perspective of traditional interpretations. The virulent traumas of one nation come to the surface in a certain political atmosphere and gain their topicality. It seems, however, that distrust of the 'foreign' constitutes the national culture and identity of Czechs to a significant extent. And it does not matter whether they come from the West or the East.

38 HAUK Ona byla cigánka, říkali jí chula negra. | Totiž tam dole, v Anadalusii. | Jak se bláznil celý svět! Vaya, Gitána! | Jak se bláznil celý svět! Vaya, Gitána! | Já všecko tam zanechal, všecko u ní! | Já pak zůstal po celý život pitomý, račte rozumět? [English translation by Hilda and John Hearne.]

Early Janáček as Seen by German Critics

Miloš Zapletal

To deal with the critical reception of Central European composers after 1860 means, almost inevitably, to jump into researching the national aspects of contemporary debates on music. What is more, it seems that the reception of any of these composers is not conceivable without nationalism as its ideological substrate. The early reception of Leoš Janáček represents a specific example of this tendency. However, as I will show in the present study, even in ethnically polarized societies the reception of a nationally determined (and nationalist) composer and musician did not have to be purely in black and white.[1]

The period in question begins with Janáček's entry into the public musical life in 1872 and ends in 1888, with the turn of his interests towards folklorism. During these sixteen years, Janáček evolved from an unknown choir singer to the main figure of Czech music in Moravia, glorified by the Czech, mainly nationalistic, press as a leader in a cultural war against the Germans. Yet in this study, I will focus on the other side of the barricade: I will try to describe and understand how the 'Resurrectionist' of Czech-Moravian music was perceived by the German critics.

Leoš Janáček entered public musical life as an independent artist in 1872. This occurred in Brno, the capital of Moravia, one of the Czech Lands, then a part of the Habsburg Monarchy. Until 1888, Janáček's artistic activities took place almost exclusively there. While the 'battle over Smetana' was raging in Prague, and in nearby Vienna, the proponents of the Wagnerian and the Brahmsian musical languages were contending with each other, Brno was spared such disputes. That may be how the situation appeared from the perspective of the two great cultural centres, but not from the perspective of Brno itself: Moravia's largest city was going through a musical struggle of its own.

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1 Cf. Eva Hahn, "Der Mythos der tschechisch-deutschen Konflikte als ethnischer Konflikte", in: *Zwischen Brücken und Gräben: Deutsch-Tschechische Musikbeziehungen in der ČSR der Zwischenkriegszeit*, ed. by Jitka Bajgarová and Andreas Wehrmeyer, Prague 2014, esp. pp. 13–14.

From the beginning of the 1860s, the city's musical culture – primarily related to the choral movement – was becoming more deeply divided into Czech and German factions. The position of the Czech minority in Brno was weak from a demographic perspective as well as from social, political, and cultural standpoints. Brno's Czechs were also worse off in comparison with Prague's Czechs, who constituted the majority in their city. It was, however, in the strength of their national consciousness that Brno's Czechs were dominant over the Germans; German nationalism in Moravia came into being later than its Czech counterpart and as a defensive reaction.[2] The 1870s in Brno were characterised by a growing nationalist movement. It was 'marked by the assertion of the demands of Czech nationalists', which 'had the aims of gaining equal status for the Czech language at schools and before the authorities, reforming election laws, and achieving recognition of the historical rights of the state by incorporating them into a constitution'.[3] The Czech-German national conflicts intensified during the 1880s. After the impulses ushered in by the 1860s, the Czech minority in Brno attempted to emancipate itself further, and it believed that musical culture might be the main arena in which it could win. From 1873, Janáček stood at the forefront of this nationalistic cultural struggle, in which the Czechs did not emerge as definitive victors until 1945.

During his early career, Janáček presented himself as a composer, conductor, pianist, organist and musical critic, however, his performances as a conductor were crucial. After 1873, he spent three years as a choirmaster of the vocal society Svatopluk, which was regarded at the time as the best choir in Brno. From 1876 to 1888, he was a conductor and artistic director of Beseda brněnská, which soon became, under his leadership, the major Czech musical society in Moravia.

Under the baton of Janáček, Beseda brněnská performed many remarkable compositions, some of which belong to the major works of German music. These performances were significant events in the whole – neither only musical, nor only Czech – culture of Brno. The compositions included, among others the works by Antonín Dvořák (Serenade for Strings in E major, Slavonic Rhapsody No. 1 in D major, Stabat mater, Symphony No. 6 in D major, *Domov můj* [My Homeland], Legends No. 1–4, Nocturne B 47, *Hymnus: Dědicové Bílé hory* [Hymn: The Heirs of the White Mountain], Symphony No. 7 in D minor, Legends No. 6–10, *Svatební košile* [The Spectre's Bride]), Johannes Brahms (Serenade [No. ?], *Schicksalslied*, Hungarian Dances No. 1 and 2), Joseph Haydn (Symphony No. 7 in C major), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (Requiem), Ludwig van Beethoven (Missa solemnis,

2 Milan Řepa, *Moravané, Němci, Rakušané. Vlasti moravských Němců v 19. století*, Prague 2014, pp. 174–175.

3 Jaromír Kubíček, *Dějiny žurnalistiky na Moravě: první století českých časopisů 1848–1948*, Brno 2013, p. 44. [Trans. M.Z.]

Piano Concerto No. 1 in C major), Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Psalm 95, Capriccio brilliant), Franz Liszt (*Mazeppa*), Bedřich Smetana (*Vltava* [Moldau], *Vyšehrad*), Max Bruch (Violin Concerto No. 1 in G minor), Camille Saint-Saëns (Piano Concerto No. 2 in G minor, *Danse macabre*), and Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (Serenade for Strings in C major, Violin Concerto No. 1 in G minor).

The most significant events and the greatest achievements of Janáček as a conductor of the Beseda were the performances of four oratorios and masses, respectively: Mozart's Requiem in 1878,[4] Beethoven's Missa solemnis a year later,[5] and two compositions by Dvořák, Stabat mater in 1882[6] and The Spectre's Bride in 1888.[7] Also, in terms of critical reception, one of the most successful concerts of Beseda brněnská took place on 18 March 1883, during which Janáček conducted

4 [Berthold Žalud], "Prvý koncert Besedy 14. března [sic!] 1878", in: *Moravská orlice* 16 (1878), No. 88 (16 Apr.), p. 1. Fr[antišek] Prav[oslav] Hnilička, "Prvé čtvrtstoletí: Stručný nástin o pětadvacetileté činnosti filharmonického spolku 'Besedy Brněnské'", in: *Moravská orlice* 24 (1886), No. 13 (17 Jan.), p. 1. "Po koncertu Besedy Brněnské", in: *Hlas* 40 (1888), No. 101 (1 May), p. 3.

5 "Missa solenais od Beethovena", in: *Moravská orlice* 17 (1879), No. 70 (25 Mar.), p. 3. "Beethovenova Missa solemnis", in: *Moravská orlice* 17 (1879), No. 78 (4 Apr.), p. 3. –a– [Berthold Žalud], "I. koncert Besedy", in: *Moravská orlice* 17 (1879), No. 80 (6 Apr.), pp. 3–4. –x. "Brno", in: *Dalibor* 1 (1879), No. 11, pp. 86–87. "Vyznamenání", in: *Čech* 11 (1879), No. 82, p. 3. Karel Sázavský, *Dějiny Filharmonického Spolku 'Besedy Brněnské' od r. 1860–1900*, Brno 1900, pp. 50–51.

6 –t– [František Kretz], "Dvořákovo 'Stabat mater' v Brně", in: *Dalibor* 4 (1882), No. 10, p. 79. Hnilička, "Prvé čtvrtstoletí", pp. 1, 72. L. J. [Leoš Janáček], "'Stabat mater' od Antonína Dvořáka, op. 58", in: *Moravská orlice* 20 (1882), No. 70 (25 Mar.), p. 1. "Koncert filharmonického spolku 'Besedy Brněnské'", in: *Moravská orlice* 20 (1882), No. 77 (4 Apr.), p. 3. B. Ž–d [Berthold Žalud], "Koncert besedy brněnské", in: *Moravská orlice* 20 (1882), No. 78 (5 Apr.), p. 3. "Koncert filharmonického spolku 'Besedy Brněnské'", in: *Hlas* 3 April 1882, in: Janáček's clippings, BmJA, inv. no. 1169/4. "Koncert 'Besedy brněnské'", in: *Moravská orlice* 23 (1885), No. 74 (1 Apr.), p. 3. Ský [Karel Sázavský], "Dopisy z Brna", in: *Dalibor* 8 (1886), No. 4, pp. 35–36. "Po koncertu Besedy Brněnské", in: *Hlas* 40 (1888), No. 101 (1 May), p. 3. K. S. [Karel Sázavský], "Dvořákovo 'Stabat Mater'", in: *Moravská orlice* 49 (1911), No. 69 (24 Mar.), p. 5. Al[ois] Mrštík. "Chodníčkem života", in: *Lidové noviny* 22 (1914), No. 181 (3 Jul.), pp. 1–2.

7 František Mareš, "K sedmdesátinám Leoše Janáčka", in: *Hudební rozhledy* 1 (1924/1925), p. 32 ff. Reprinted in: *Leoš Janáček: Vzpomínky, dokumenty, korespondence a studie*, ed. by Bohumír Štědroň, Prague 1986, pp. 38–39. Red [Leoš Janáček], "Pohodlí v invenci", in: *Hudební listy* 4 (1888), No. 6, pp. 81–82. "Koncert filharmon. spolku 'Beseda brněnská'", in: *Moravská orlice* 26 (1888), No. 101 (1 May), p. 2. y [Jan Tiray], "Koncert Besedy Brněnské", in: *Moravská orlice* 26 (1888), No. 101 (1 May), p. 5. "Filh. spolek Beseda brněnská", in: *Hudební listy* 4 (1888), No. 8, p. 128. "Dvořákova 'Svatební košile'", in: *Hlas* 40 (1888), No. 101 (1 May), p. 2. K[arel] Eichler, "Svatební košile", in: *Hlas* 40 (1888), No. 107 (8 May), p. 1; No. 108 (9 May), pp. 1–2. "Po koncertu Besedy Brněnské", in: *Hlas* 40 (1888), No. 101 (1 May), p. 3. *Moravské noviny* 9 (1888), No. 100 (30 Apr.), p. 3. "Dvořákova 'Svatební košile' v Brně", in: *Národní listy* 28 (1888), No. 122 (2 May), p. 5. "Brno", in: *Dalibor* 10 (1888), No. 22, p. 173. Vratislav Vycpálek, "Její pastorkyňa", in: *Česká hudba* 22 (1916), pp. 10–12.

Dvořák's Symphony No. 6 in D major, *Schicksalslied* by Brahms and *Vltava* (The Moldau) by Smetana.[8] Even many years later, these concerts were remembered in the Czech press as victories of the Czech culture in Brno over the German one.[9]

Speaking about Janáček the composer, it should be pointed out that during the period in question, 27 of his compositions were performed one or more times. As far as the genre is concerned, twenty choral compositions predominate, followed by four chamber compositions (three of which are lost and one uncertain).[10] Furthermore, Janáček composed and performed three liturgical compositions, two pieces for organ and one for piano. Then, important are also his two compositions for string orchestra, Suite and Idyll, and a lost concert melodrama titled *Smrt* (The Death), after Mikhail Yuryevich Lermontov. Except for a few performances in Prague, Vienna, and Leipzig, which apparently did not establish any local reception tradition there, Janáček's works were performed almost exclusively in Brno and its immediate vicinity. Besides, Janáček earned a reputation as Cecilian-oriented church musician, both choirmaster and organist. Last but not least, he was one of the leading Czech music critics.

It is fundamental that, between 1876 and 1879, Janáček attempted a carrier as a piano virtuoso, and wherefore he organized several chamber concerts with the well-known female piano virtuoso Amalia Wickenhauser-Neruda (1834–1890). Twenty years older, Wickenhauser-Neruda was not only a piano teacher of his, but also a mentor, a guardian, and, possibly, an intimate friend.[11] The chamber concerts raised the attention of and met with positive response from both Czech and – remarkably enough – German audience and critics, since they brought modern repertoire by composers like Friedrich Gernsheim, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Anton Rubinstein[12] which was otherwise inaccessible in Brno (although chamber

8 "První koncert Filharmonické besedy", in: *Moravská orlice* 21 (1883), No. 65 (19 Mar.), p. 2. B[erthold] Žalud, "První koncert (1883) Besedy Brněnské", in: *Moravská orlice* 21 (1883), No. 67 (22 Mar.), pp. 1–2. –á. "Z Brna", in: *Národní listy* 23 (1883), No. 67 (19 Mar.), p. 3.

9 In addition to the articles mentioned elsewhere in the present study, see esp. –x [Karel Sázavský], "Brno", in: *Dalibor* 1 (1879), No. 11, pp. 86–87. Hubert Doležil, *Památník Filharmonického spolku Besedy Brněnské 1860–1910*, Brno 1910. Jan Kunz, "Leoš Janáček", in: *Hudební revue* 4 (1911), No. 3, pp. 121–134.

10 The chamber compositions are as follows: *Dumka* JW X/4 for piano, *Romanzen* JW X/8 for violin and piano, *Menuetto a Scherzo* JW X/19 for piano and clarinet, 'Sonata for violin and piano' – either JW X/12, or JW X/16.

11 The course of their relationship is documented in particular by Janáček's letters to his fiancé Zdenka Schulz, the critical edition of which was prepared by Jakob Knaus: Leoš Janáček, *'Intime Briefe' 1879/1880 aus Leipzig und Wien*, Zürich 1985. See also Vojtěch Kyas, "Janáček se neměl o koho opřít? Amálie Wickenhauserová-Nerudová, Leoš Janáček a léta sedmdesátá", in: *Opus musicum* 25 (1993), No. 2, pp. 33–42. Vojtěch Kyas, "Slavná rodina Nerudů: K hudební historii Brna v 19. století", in: *Opus musicum* 25 (1993), No. 8, pp. 229–241.

12 Cf. Leoš Janáček: *Pohled do života a díla*, ed. by Adolf Veselý, Prague 1924, p. 29. Vladimír

music was practised by Brünner Kammerusikverein at that time). One can see an excerpt of the repertoire – more precisely, those compositions which Janáček performed as a pianist – in the following table.[13]

Date	(co)performed by Janáček
6 January 1877	Felix Mendelssohn: Piano Trio in C minor, op. 66
14 January 1877	Ludwig van Beethoven: Violin Sonata in F major, op. 24
7 October 1877	Robert Schumann: Andante con variazioni, op. 46, for two pianos
6 January 1878	Anton Rubinstein: Piano Trio in F major, op. 15, No. 1
13 January 1878	Camille Saint-Saëns: Piano Trio in F major, op. 18; Carl Reinecke: Impromptu in A major [on a theme from Schumann's *Manfred*], op. 66, for two pianos
5 January 1879	Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sonata in F, MF 10 for two pianos;
12 January 1879	Woldemar Bargiel: Piano Trio in B major, op. 37; Carl Reinecke: Impromptu in A major, op. 66

Tab. 1: Chamber concerts by Janáček and Wickenhauser-Neruda

Concerning the history of Janáček reception, it is noteworthy that this series of concerts was the first event which considerably attracted attention of German audience and critics. To a certain extent, this attention is attributable to the fact that a large part of the repertoire – and most of the compositions interpreted by Janáček – consisted of music by German composers. Striking is the predominance of Leipzig-related composers (W. F. Bach, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Schumann's disciple Carl Reinecke, and Clara Schumann's half-brother Woldemar Bargiel) in the repertoire, most likely influenced by Wickenhauser-Neruda. The advertisements for these concerts clearly indicate that Amalia Wickenhauser-Neruda was the star, the one who attracted attention, and therefore, in this respect, her fame and reputation must be taken into account. In addition, the reputation of the entire Neruda music family was considerable at that time: 'The concerts on whose programs this name appears gather a large audience', one of the German critics wrote.[14] Although she identified with the Czech nation to some extent until

Helfert, *Leoš Janáček: Obraz životního a uměleckého boje. I. V poutech tradice*, Brno 1939, p. 257.

13 These concerts were mainly held in the salon of the Slavonic Literary Society (Slovanský čtenářský spolek) in the Beseda House (Besední dům).

14 'Der Name Neruda hat in Brünn sowohl in musikalischen als auch gesellschaftlichen Kreisen einen so ausgezeichneten Klang, daß es selbstverständlich ist, daß Concerte, auf deren Programme dieser Name erscheint, ein zahlreiches Publicum versammeln.' Δ, "Concert der Frau Wickenhauser-Neruda", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 230 (8 Oct.), p. 921.

1880,[15] Amalia Wickenhauser-Neruda rather belonged to the German community of Brno,[16] and Brno-based German press often wrote about her as 'our' or 'our familiar' (unsere heimische) virtuoso or artist. It is difficult, nowadays, to determine whether this adjective meant German, or Brno-based, or Moravian, that is to say, that local patriotism and national appropriation could have mingled in this case; most likely, it was meant as an expression denoting the Germans of the Czech Lands.[17] Wickenhauser-Neruda was recognized by both Czechs and Germans in Brno, and so she was connecting the two worlds, which were otherwise quite disconnected.

A significant role in the early Janáček reception was played by German periodicals. At that time, German press in Moravia neither represented a unified political line, nor was involved in building a unified national identity and related ideology.[18] The early Janáček reception was particularly affected by two German periodicals published in Brno, *Brünner Zeitung* (and its abundantly read morning issue *Brünner Morgenpost*),[19] and *Mährischer Correspondent*.

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15 Kyas, "Janáček se neměl o koho opřít", p. 41.

16 John Tyrrell, *Janáček, I: Osiřelý kos, 1854–1914*, Brno 2018, p. 146.

17 *Brünner Zeitung* used the same phrase – unsere heimische Künstlerin/Claviervirtuosin/Compositeurin/Dichterin/Pianistin – to describe also Agnes Tyrrell (by the way another female musician who connected Czech and German cultures of Brno), Brno-German pianist Maria Brentner, Prague-German poet Osipp Schubin (Aloisia Kirschner), who was apparently unrelated to Brno, or Brno-German actress Hermine Jules. On the other hand, *Brünner Zeitung* used the same phrase in the case of a prominent Brno painter Josef Zelený, who was unambiguously Czech, and, on top of that, active in Czech societies and referred to as 'one of the oldest and most honourable patriots of Brno' by Czech nationalists. See: Δ, "Zweites Concert des Brünner Männergesangs-Vereins", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1880), No. 268 (22 Nov.), p. 1089. Δ, "Concert des Brünner Männergesang-Vereins", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1876), No. 227 (4 Dec.), p. 1111. H. P., "Sonntags-Plandereien", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1885), No. 275 (29 Nov.), p. 1. "Rosegger's Heimgarten", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1888), No. 195 (25 Aug.), p. 3. "Brünner Stadttheater", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1890), No. 60 (13 Mar.), p. 3. "Fräulein Hermine Jules", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1890), No. 59 (12 Mar.), p. 3. "Heimische Kunst", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1882), No. 172 (31 Jul.), p. 3. "Josef Zelený", in: *Moravská orlice* 24 (1886), No. 102 (5 May), pp. 2–3. In the following article, however, the word 'heimische' is clearly used as a synonym for 'mährische' (Moravian), see: "Mährischer Kunstverein", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1883), No. 115 (22 May), p. 3. Such an issue could be well investigated using the method of concept maps, cf. e.g. Nella Mlsová and Karel Mls, "The Use of Concept Maps in Culture Interactions Research", in: *Concept Maps: Theory, Methodology, Technology*, ed. by Joseph D. Novak et al., San José 2006, pp. 248–249.

18 According to Řepa, 'even at the end of the 19th century, the collective consciousness of Moravian Germans represented a motley amalgam of social connections which made it difficult to create a uniform, homogeneous collective identity'. Řepa, *Moravané, Němci, Rakušané*, p. 237. [Trans. M.Z.]

19 By way of comparison, in 1885 *Brünner Morgenpost* sold 20 000 and *Brünner Zeitung* 1200 copies per day, whereas in 1870s, *Moravská orlice*, the main Czech daily newspaper in Moravia,

In addition to the two major German newspapers, I ought to only mention the independent Brno-based magazine *Brünner Beobachter*, which also rated Janáček as an excellent conductor.[20] Almost all of the aforementioned chamber productions were advertised and promoted by the prominent Brno-based liberal daily newspaper *Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien*, too, which otherwise did not write about Janáček at all.[21]

Brünner Zeitung was a governmental, politically conservative daily newspaper that brought news from both Vienna and Moravia and tried to 'promote peace between the Moravian nations'.[22] Between the years 1876 and 1880, a critic hidden under the triangle cypher (Δ) wrote about Janáček regularly and positively for *Brünner Zeitung*. He was one of the eminent early-period critics of Janáček, in terms of both frequency and influence. Most likely, it could have been Ludwig Goldhann (1823–1893), the newspaper's regular cultural reporter. Raised in Vienna, Goldhann was a financial officer, probably of a Jewish descent, who was also active as a novelist, poet and composer; he 'stood at the birth of Brünner Musikverein' (the German antipode of Beseda brněnská) and 'worked in its management'.[23] He contributed to *Mährischer Correspondent* and Viennese periodicals as well.[24] ***Brünner Morgenpost***, the morning issue of *Brünner Zeitung*, wrote about Janáček less and irregularly than the evening issue, which is understandable, given its focus on political matters.

The attitude of *Brünner Zeitung* and *Morgenpost* towards Janáček was, overall, very favourable. Until 1877 the German press in Moravia, generally, did not pay much attention to his compositions (largely scored for male choir), whereas these works elicited enthusiastic responses from Czech critics. The situation changed after the premiere of Janáček's Suite for String Orchestra, which took place on 2 December 1877 in Brno and received serious attention in the German press.

During the early period, *Brünner Zeitung* reflected mainly positively on Janáček's compositions, specifically on his male choruses *Orání* (Ploughing), *Osamělá bez*

sold 1500 copies per day. Jaromír Kubíček, *Noviny a časopisy na Moravě a ve Slezsku do roku 1918: Literatura a prameny, sbírky, bibliografie*, Brno 2001, pp. 111–116.

20 Cf. "Concert der 'Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Brünner Beobachter* 5 (1883), No. 52 (22 Dec.), pp. 10–11. "Jubiläums-Concert des philharmonischen Vereines 'Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Beobachter* 8 (1886), No. 4, p. 7. *Brünner Beobachter* was published since 1879, after 1884 under the title *Beobachter*.

21 See e.g. *Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien* 27 (1877), No. 228 (7 Oct.), p. 12.

22 Kubíček, *Dějiny žurnalistiky na Moravě*, p. 92. [Trans. M.Z.]

23 Jiří Veselý, "Goldhann, Ludwig", in: *Slovník spisovatelů německého jazyka a spisovatelů lužickosrbských*, Prague 1987, p. 269. [Trans. M.Z.]

24 Jitka Bajgarová, *Hudební spolky v Brně a jejich role při utváření 'hudebního obrazu' města 1860–1918*, Brno 2005, p. 141.

těchy (Alone without comfort)[25] and *Slavnostní sbor* (Festive Chorus) JW IV/12,[26] and on his melodrama *Smrt* (The Death) and the Suite for Strings as well. Janáček's *Dumka* JW VII/4 for violin and piano was, surprisingly, not reflected in a review of the concert (8 March 1885) during which it was premiered.[27]

Some minor criticism was addressed to his two compositions for string orchestra, Suite and Idyll, regarding the insufficient formal unity.[28] As for the Suite, the third movement, which excelled in its 'clarity' and 'original simplicity', had 'the strongest appeal' to the German critic; 'the second rank belongs to the fourth movement, which is no less fresh and lively'. The other movements 'seemed unclear' to this reviewer, 'because they suffer from lack of form and contain voice-leading progressions that are overly bold and consequently less amiable'. The reviewer also expressed his surprise at the fact that 'the Allemande was not notated in 3/4 meter'.[29]

Although the attention of German critics in Brno was focused on the concurrent concert of the Musikverein, a review of the concert during which the Idyll was premiered (15 December 1878) also appeared in *Brünner Zeitung*. A critic (the one who also wrote about the Suite) assessed the Idyll very briefly; he did not like it as much as Dvořák's Slavonic Dances, he felt that the work made too high demands on the instruments and would sound 'more effective' if played on a piano.[30] Two years later, after the second performance of the Idyll, which had

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25 According to a critic hidden under the cypher –r, the concert on 14 March 1874, during which the popular piece *Orání* was performed for the second time and *Osamělá bez těchy* for the first time, 'brachte eine Auswahl schöner Piecen, meist ernsten Inhaltes'. –r. "Concert Svatopluk", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* 10 (1874), No. 62 (17 Mar.), p. 247. See also: –j–, "Concert", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* 10 (1874), No. 59 (13 Mar.), p. 235.

26 During the concert on 28 October 1877, the Festive Chorus (labeled as a 'tone poem'!) 'did not miss its effect on the public'. ('Den Schluß bildete die Tondichtung: "Slavnostní sbor" von L. Janaczek, die ebenfalls feierlich gehalten und ihre Wirkung auf das Publicum nicht verfehlte, welches den lebhaftesten Beifall spendete.') Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 248 (29 Oct.), p. 994.

27 "Orgel-Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1885), No. 57 (11 Mar.), p. 3.

28 For the reception of the Suite and Idyll cf. Miloš Zapletal, "On the Programmatic Character of Janáček's Suite Compositions from the 1870s", in: *Nineteenth-Century Programme Music: Creation, Negotiations, Reception*, ed. by Jonathan Kregor, Turnhout 2018, pp. 359–378.

29 'Eine Suite für Streichinstrumente von L. Janaczek und unter seiner Leitung ausgeführt, eröffnete das Programm; die Suite hat fünf Sätze, von denen der dritte, "Sarabande", durch seine Klarheit und originelle Einfachkeit am meisten ansprach; an diesen reiht sich zunächst der vierte, "Scherzo", der ebenfalls frisch und schwungvoll gearbeitet ist; die übrigen Sätze sind uns unklar erschienen, da sie an Formlosigkeit leiden und Stimmführungen enthalten, die fast allzukühn sind, daher auch weniger Theilnahme erregen. Aufgefallen ist es, daß die "Allemande" nicht im dreitheiligen Tacte geschrieben ist.' Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 277 (3 Dec.), p. 1110.

30 '[Idyll] sagte uns weniger zu; sie stellt an die Instrumente Anforderungen, welche ihnen nicht

taken place on 12 December 1880, the same critic wrote in *Brünner Zeitung* that the first and second movement were 'thrilling here and there', the whole composition, however, was 'too broad and long-winded', and therefore it lost 'its character'. The critic claimed that the Idyll could have been 'a symphony or a programmatic composition', but idyll as a specific genre required, 'above all, simplicity and noble moderation'. Janáček's Idyll lacked these qualities; its 'long searching and stretching' structures ruined the composition.[31]

The second piece by Janáček, *Píseň v jeseni* (Song of Autumn) for mixed choir, has been 'composed with great diligence', the reviewer admits, but its music 'does not correspond very much with the lyrics' and 'its motifs lack imaginative elan'. It is a pity, he claims, particularly in this case because 'the poem rich in content' by Jaroslav Vrchlický 'conceals an incentive for an inspired work of art'. The critic from *Brünner Zeitung* summarizes his opinion by saying: 'Mr. Janáček's endeavor is noble and worthy of recognition; however, he does not seem to choose the right means to achieve his goals; he would accomplish more significant achievements with smaller compositions of uncompromising artistic quality, which we could absolutely trust.'[32]

Although it might sound surprising today, Janáček's melodrama *Smrt* (The Death, 1876) – which, in many respects, represented a novelty in the musical culture of Brno when it was performed – was said to have plagiarised Wagner.

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zusagend erscheinen. Diese Composition dürfte, auf dem Clavier vorgetragen, sich effectvoller ausnehmen. Endlich spielte der Herr Dirigent Janáček ein Concert für Clavier […], worin der geistreich Compositeur manche seine Wendung und Phrase zu Gehör bringt, das aber jedenfalls einen Clavier Virtuosen ersten Ranges heischt und eine äußertst geübte Hand erfordert.' Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1878), No. 291 (18 Dec.), p. 1190.

31 'Janáček's Idylle für Streichorchester wurde mit äußerster Accuratesse gespielt. Diese Composition ist im 1. und 2. Satz mitunter reizend, wird aber zu breit und langathmig und verliert dadurch ihren Charakter. Fünfsätzig kann eine Symphonie, ein Tongemälde sein, aber eine Idylle erfordert vor Allem Einfachheit und feinfühlige Begrenzung; das lange Suchen und Dehnen thut der Composition Abbruch.' Δ, "Concert der 'Brněnská beseda'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1880), No. 285 (13 Dec.), p. 1159.

32 'Bei dem Chore "Píseň v jeseni", der übrigens mit viel Fleiß gearbeitet ist, wäre zu bemerken, daß die Musik mit den Worten des Gedichtes wenig im Einklange steht; der phantasievolle Schwung der Motive mangelt. Das inhaltvolle Gedicht birgt den Vorwurf zu einem genialen Werke! Herrn Janáček's Streben ist edel und sehr anerkennenswerth; aber er scheint zur Erreichung seines Zieles nicht die richtigen Mittel zu wählen; er würde mit kleineren aber künstlerisch durchaus gediegenen Compositionen, die wir ihm unbedingt zutrauen, bedeutendere Erfolge erringen.' The choral compositions by Křížkovský and Pivoda, respectivelly, 'wurden […] auch mit Frische und Wärme, mit Geschmack und Schwung vorgetragen. Herr Janáček dirigirte das Orchester mit Umsicht und Sicherheit, welches seiner Aufgabe auch vollständig entsprach. Der Saal war leider nur mäßig besucht.' Δ, "Concert der 'Brněnská beseda'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1880), No. 285 (13 Dec.), p. 1159.

Because The Death has not been preserved, it is hard to guess what its musical features were that could have led to this assertion.[33] Nevertheless, the critic wrote:

> It is a pity that the musical talent [Janáček] in youthful urge does not choose an independent way and goes completely on foreign, e.g. Wagnerian, tracks. We heard whole phrases from Lohengrin and Tannhäuser. The composition is very nice and delicate, but it lacks originality, and we almost think that it has a lot to do with combinational rather than compositional talent. By the way, this number has received truly enthusiastic acceptance.[34]

Brünner Zeitung and *Morgenpost* praised Janáček primarily as an excellent choirmaster and conductor, mainly concerning his productions with Beseda brněnská after 1876. They wrote that he conducted 'with care' (mit Umsicht), 'rigorously' (präcise), or even 'with the highest possible precision' (mit möglichster Präcision). Critics tried to describe the way he conducted using expressions such as 'with power and energy' (mit Kraft und Energie), 'with freshness and warmth, with taste and momentum' (mit Frische und Wärme, mit Geschmack und Schwung), and the like.[35] The articles about the young conductor were getting more and

33 Cf. Miloš Zapletal, "Janáček a melodram: několik marginálií", in: *Muzikologické fórum* 7 (2018), No. 1, pp. 53–60.

34 'Den Schluß bildete einen Theil des Melodramas von Leo Janáček über Worte des Gedichtes: "Der Tod von Lamartine [Lermontov]". Es ist schade, daß ein musikalisches Talent im jugendlichen Drange sich nicht einen selbstständigen Weg wählt und ganz auf fremden Spuren, z. B. Wagner'schen, geht. Wir hörten ganze Phrasen aus "Lohengrin" und "Tannhäuser". Die Composition ist sehr nett und delicat durchgeführt, entbehrt jedoch der Originalität und wir glauben beinahe es mehr mit einem Combinations-, als mit einem Compositions-Talent zu thun zu haben. Uebrigens fand die Nummer recht beifällige Aufnahme.' Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1876), No. 260 (14 Nov.), p. 1043.

35 –r, "Concert Svatopluk", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* 10 (1874), No. 62 (17 Mar.), p. 247. Δ, "Concert des slav. Gesangvereines 'Brněnská Beseda'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 93 (23 Apr.), p. 373. Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 248 (29 Oct.), p. 994. Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 277 (3 Dec.), p. 1110. Δ, "Concert des slav. Gesangvereins", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1878), No. 87 (15 Apr.), p. 352. Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1878), No. 116 (20 May), p. 468. Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1878), No. 291 (18 Dec.), p. 1190. Δ, "'Missa Solemnis' von L. van Beethoven", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1879), No. 78 (4 Apr.), p. 313. Δ, "Liedertafel", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1879), No. 160, p. 654. Δ, "Concert der 'Brněnská beseda'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1880), No. 285 (13 Dec.), p. 1159. "Concert des 'Filharmonický spolek Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1882), No. 76 (3 Apr.), in: Janáček's clippings, BmJA, inv. no. 1169/2. "Das zweite Concert des philharmonischen Vereines 'Beseda' in Brünn", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1882), No. 116 (22 May), p. 3. "Concert des philharmonischen Vereines 'Beseda brněnská'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1883), No. 64 (19 Mar.), p. 3. .., "Philharmonischer Verein 'Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1883), No. 243 (23 Oct.), p. 3. –*, "Sängerfest", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1884), No. 89 (17 Apr.), p. 3. **, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1886), No. 7 (11 Jan.), p. 4. "Concert des philharmonischen Vereines 'Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1886), No. 262 (16 Nov.), p. 4. Δ, "Concert des 'Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Brünner*

more enthusiastic. In 1887, one of the *Brünner Morgenpost*'s critics even claimed: '[…] only an orchestra, which has grown together with the spirit and the soul of the conductor as intimately as Janáček's, is able to [play] in such an extremely delicate and precise manner'.[36] A year later, Janáček's interpretation of Dvořák's The Spectre's Bride was rated as 'tasteful to the smallest detail',[37] and, in another review, it was said that his performance of the oratorio was so wonderful that 'one could hardly think of a better one', since Janáček 'had carried out the most difficult parts of the composition with admirable assurance and exactness'.[38] The performance of The Spectre's Bride on 29 April 1888 received extremely enthusiastic response in *Brünner Zeitung* and *Morgenpost*: in addition to the two reviews that were already mentioned, the newspaper published even a third one.[39]

In the period from 1877 to 1879, when Janáček held chamber concerts with Amalia Wickenhauser-Neruda, *Brünner Zeitung* regularly wrote about him as an excellent or 'proven' (bewährten) pianist; all these reviews were written by the critic Δ.[40] Janáček was said to have played 'fairly with verve and accurately' (recht schwungvoll und präcise), but 'a bit too hard and dominant' (etwas zu hart

Zeitung (1887), No. 96 (28 Apr.), p. 4. =, "Concert des philharmonischen Vereines 'Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1888), No. 69 (23 Mar.), p. 3.

36 '[…] trefflichen Dirigenten Leo Janáček, welcher sich auch durch die Aufführung der vier Dvořák'schen Legenden als feinfühliger Interpret abermals in bekannter glänzendster Weise bewährte. […] nur ein Orchester, das mit dem Geiste und der Seele des Dirigenten so innig verwachsen ist, wie das Janáček'schen, vermochte unter seiner Leitung dem […] Gedankenfluge des Meisters Hekking in so äußerst delicater und präciser Weise zu folgen.' "Concert des philharmonischen Vereines 'Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1887), No. 272 (29 Nov.), p. 3.

37 '[…] eine bis ins geringste Detail gediegende Aufführung'. "Dvořák's Geisterbraut", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1888), No. 101 (1 May), p. 3.

38 'Und diesem Werke wurde eine Aufführung zu Theil, wie sie gediegener kaum zu denken ist. […] Der Löwenantheil an dem stürmischen Beifall […] gebührt freilich dem Chor und Orchester, welche beide in einer in Brünn seltenen Stärke (150, resp. 60 Personen) unter der energischen und kundigen Leitung des Prof. Janáček auch die schwierigsten Stellen der Composition, und es find deren nicht wenige, mit einer bewunderungswürdigen Sicherheit und Exactheit zur Ausführung brachten. In den Annalen der "Beseda Brněnská" wird die Aufführung von Dvořák's "Geisterbraut" stets zu den schönsten Ehrentagen gerechnet werden. Es gebührt allen Mitwirkenden, an erster Stelle dem Dirigenten Professor Janáček, ungetheiltes Lob und aufrichtigste Anerkennung für den seltenen Kunstgenuß, den ihnen das äußerst zahlreiche Publicum verdankt.' "Beseda Brněnská", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1888), No. 103 (3 May), p. 3.

39 "Antonín Dvořák's 'Die Geisterbraut'", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1888), No. 106 (6 May), p. 1.

40 Δ, "Kammermusik", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 5 (8 Jan.), p. 19. Δ, "Kammer-Musik", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 11 (15 Jan.), p. 43. Δ, "Concert der Frau Wickenhauser-Neruda", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 230 (8 Oct.), p. 921–922. Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 248 (29 Oct.), p. 994. Δ, "Zweites Kammer-Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1879), No. 10 (14 Jan.), p. 39. Δ, "Brünn", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1879), No. 4 (7 Jan.), p. 15.

und dominirend). Nevertheless, he usually played 'with a clear conception' (mit klarer Auffassung), 'with tender and intimate expression' (mit zartem und innigen Ausdrucke), or even 'extremely delicately' (äußert delicat). German critics repeatedly wrote that he performed compositions 'with deep understanding' (mit tiefem Verständniß). Of particular interest is the recurring mention of Janáček playing too strong and hard. This claim could be found in the reviews from Czech newspaper as well, which confirms its objectivity, or rather demonstrates a certain common contemporary taste norm.

It is worth mentioning that in the way that *Brünner Zeitung* wrote about Janáček, generally, the national concern was not of great importance for the reviewers, which was in line with the monarchist and nationally conciliatory nature of the newspaper.

The second important German periodical which participated in the early Janáček reception was ***Mährischer Correspondent*** (since 1877 published under the name *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent*). It was a very influential daily newspaper, based in Brno though subsidized from Viennese circles. In terms of political and social orientation, *Mährischer Correspondent* was an independent bourgeois paper connected with the German liberal party. The Liberals in Brno were recruited mainly from the ranks of lawyers and officials.[41] They showed loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy and, at the same time, an anti-cleric attitude; they were against the Czech national-emancipation efforts,[42] striving to make the German nation – formed, however, on the basis of a common high culture and ethics, not just language or even Blut und Boden[43] – dominate the state.[44] German Liberals shared with German Conservatives the fear of radical nationalism, not only Czech but also German.[45] The 1870s was the time of 'the greatest upsurge' of German 'liberalism in the Habsburg monarchy';[46] at that time, the Liberals 'dominated the

41 Řepa, *Moravané, Němci, Rakušané*, p. 138.
42 Kubíček, *Noviny a časopisy na Moravě*, p. 116.
43 The notion of Germanity shared by German liberals in Brno could be well documented by the poem in honour of Christian d'Elvert, a mayor of Brno and a significant historian, written by Ludwig Goldhann (whose name is mentioned above). In the poem, 'ein deutscher Mann' is characterised as 'ein voller Mensch', more precisely as 'der rüst[i]ge Geist', who shines in darkness 'mit der Forschung klarem Licht' and who 'in seinem Wesen' is 'so schlicht und ernst, so feind des Tages Trug'. Ludwig Goldhann, *Zur feierlichen Enthüllung von d'Elverts Bild*, Brünn 1885.
44 Řepa, *Moravané, Němci, Rakušané*, p. 125.
45 Ibid., p. 141.
46 Ibid., p. 117.

Cisleithanian political scene',[47] whereas Moravia (and Brno as its capital) was one of the 'bastions of Liberalism'.[48]

Mährischer Correspondent reported on various Janáček's activities, yet relatively it paid the biggest attention to the aforementioned chamber concerts – just as *Brünner Zeitung* did. On the other hand, the liberal newspaper rather neglected Janáček's activities in the realm of musical composition.

During the years 1877, 1882 and 1886, *Mährischer Correspondent* published several articles about Janáček written by Albert Rille (1845–1916), a musical critic and cultural historian, among other things the author of the history of Brno theatre.[49] I did not manage to identify the authors of other Janáček-related texts, however, I assume that they were written, first and foremost, again by Rille, or Ludwig Goldhann,[50] or perhaps Carl Wenzel.[51]

The attitude of *Mährischer Correspondent* to Janáček was unequivocally positive; there occurred only a single remark regarding the monotony of his 1877 *Slavnostní sbor* (Festive Chorus) JW IV/12. Like *Brünner Zeitung*, Janáček was written about in *Mährischer Correspondent* primarily as being an excellent, significant or 'proven' (bewährten) choirmaster and conductor.[52] For instance, in 1877, Janáček 'performed everything, even the tiniest nuances, with sophisticated certainty',[53] according to Rille, or, five years later, he conducted Bruch's Violin Concerto 'as if he were Schumann'.[54] Albert Rille enormously appreciated Janáček's performances of the compositions by Dvořák, especially the way he interpreted the Stabat mater

47 Ibid., p. 133.

48 Ibid., p. 181; cf. also pp. 188–189.

49 Albert Rille, *Die Geschichte des Brünner Stadttheaters (1734–1884)*, Brünn 1885.

50 Bajgarová, *Hudební spolky*, p. 141.

51 Ibid., p. 153. Cf. Kyas, "Slavná rodina Nerudů", p. 239.

52 "Fahnenweihe-Fest", in: *Mährischer Correspondent* 13 (1873), No. 140 (20 Jun.), p. 2. R–e [Albert Rille], "Concert beseda", in: *Mährischer Correspondent* 17 (1877), No. 248 (30 Oct.), p. 4. "Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 18 (1878), No. 116 (19 May), p. 4. "Beseda", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 18 (1878), No. 247 (26 Oct.), p. 3. "Der slavische Gesangsverein 'Beseda Brněnská'", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 19 (1879), No. 161 (16 Jul.), p. 3. "Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 20 (1880), No. 287 (15 Dec.), p. 1. ??? [Albert Rille], "Philharmonisches Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 22 (1882), No. 77 (3 Apr.), p. 4, in: Janáček's clippings, BmJA, inv. no. 1169/1b. "Brünner Kunstleben", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 23 (1883), No. 64 (19 Mar.), in: Janáček's clippings, BmJA, inv. no. 1170/2. ??? [Albert Rille], "Philharmonisches Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 26 (1886), No. 64 (10 Jan.), in: Janáček's clippings, BmJA, inv. no. 1172/1b.

53 'Alle, auch die kleinsten Nuancen traten mit einer geradezu ausgefeilten Sicherheit hervor.' R–e [Albert Rille], "Concert beseda", in: *Mährischer Correspondent* 17 (1877), No. 248 (30 Oct.), p. 4.

54 'als wenn's ein Schumann wäre'. ??? [Albert Rille], "Philharmonisches Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* (1882), in: Janáček's clippings, BmJA, inv. no. 1169/1b.

and the Symphony No. 7. 'Janáček's fine taste for the intimate beauties which are hidden to the wider audience and his constant diligence and efforts to make these beauties apparent to the audience are well known and have been appreciated long ago,' he wrote.[55] In the 1880s, Albert Rille was one of the most important supporters of Janáček.

Another thing which the liberal newspaper had in common with *Brünner Zeitung* was the fact that between 1877 and 1879, *Mährischer Correspondent* wrote quite abundantly about Janáček as an excellent pianist, in connection with those aforementioned chamber concerts.[56] Janáček was reported to have played 'lightly and delicately' (eine leichte und zarte Behandlung), but, at the same time, sovereignly, with virtuoso technique, as a real artist or 'in a truly artistic way' (in wahrhaft künstlerischer Weise). Besides, *Mährischer Correspondent* as well as *Brünner Zeitung* reflected positively on the concerts during which Janáček also performed as a soloist (in Mendelssohn's Capriccio brillant and Saint-Saëns's Piano Concerto in G minor).[57]

In the way that *Mährischer Correspondent* wrote about Janáček, the national concern was suppressed, similarly as in the case of *Brünner Zeitung*. Considering that it was a newspaper fighting against Czech national-emancipation efforts, it seems all the more remarkable how positively and how often the *Correspondent* wrote about Janáček, whose activities had a distinctly national-emancipatory and nationalistic nature at that time. Moreover, this paradox was noticed by contemporary Czech music journalists, who considered it as an objective proof of Janáček's magnitude. Karel Sázavský, a Czech music critic from Brno, published the Czech translation of Rille's aforementioned 1886 review with a commentary according to which Rille was 'a mere German' and the *Correspondent* was 'a newspaper which [was] not very favourable to us [Czechs in Brno]'. The fact that Rille's

55 'Janaczek's Feinfühlichkeit für die intimen Reize einer Composition und seine nimmermüde Sorgfalt, sie dem Ohre zu erschließen, sind bekannt und längst gewürdigt.' ??? [Albert Rille], "Philharmonisches Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 26 (1886), No. 64 (10 Jan.), in: Janáček's clippings, BmJA, inv. no. 1172/1b.

56 "Kammer-Concerte", in: *Mährischer Correspondent* 17 (1877), No. 14 (19 Jan.), p. 4. R–e [Albert Rille], "Concert beseda", in: *Mährischer Correspondent* 17 (1877), No. 248 (30 Oct.), p. 4. "Das zweite Kammer-Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 18 (1878), No. 11 (13 Jan.), p. 4. "Zweites Kammer-Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 18 (1878), No. 14 (17 Jan.), p. 4. "Kammer-Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 19 (1879), No. 5 (8 Jan.), p. 4. "Kammerconcert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 19 (1879), No. 9 (12 Jan.), p. 3. "Zweites Kammer-Concert", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 19 (1879), No. 10 (14 Jan.), p. 4.

57 R–e [Albert Rille], "Liedertafel des Brünner Männer-Gesang-Vereins", in: *Mährischer Correspondent* 17 (1877), No. 248 (30 Oct.), p. 4. Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1877), No. 248 (29 Oct.), p. 994. Δ, "Concert", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1878), No. 291 (18 Dec.), p. 1190.

pen – 'a pen which could not be suspected of positive prejudice' – had written such a laudatory review was mentioned by Sázavský as being 'a proof' of Janáček's greatness.[58]

The awareness of Janáček slowly spread beyond the borders of the Czech Lands in the 1880s, namely through the German-language press. Already in 1879, Janáček was mentioned as an excellent organist of the Old Brno church in *Musica Sacra*, the main magazine of the Cecilian reforms, published in Regensburg and edited by F. X. Witt.[59] One of the previously mentioned reviews of The Spectre's Bride was also reprinted in the Berlin-based magazine *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*.[60] And there is even a recorded evidence that Eduard Hanslick, one of the most influential music critics of the 19th century, himself said after hearing Janáček's performance of Dvořák's Stabat mater that he 'envied' Brno 'such delights'.[61]

Mentioning Hanslick's name brings us closer towards an explanation of the German newspapers' attitude towards Janáček. As mentioned before, Albert Rille praised Janáček first and foremost as a conductor of Dvořák's works. In this respect, it should be considered that Rille was an acquaintance and admirer of Hanslick and that Mährischer *Correspondent* generally worshipped Dvořák.[62] In that very year 1882 Rille wrote a promotional article about Hanslick, in which he also celebrates Dvořák as 'a fellow' (Landsmann). The relevant passage is worth quoting here:

> Let us not forget how Hanslick in our fatherland paved the path of glory for his fellow Dvořák, whose musical works, as you know, were performed for the first time, from all over Austria, in Brno. Dvořák, who was unable to obtain recognition in Prague, was first praised […] in Berlin, and then Hanslick tried to win this original, important composer the long-deserved recognition – one

58 Ský [Karel Sázavský], "Dopisy z Brna", in: *Dalibor* 8 (1886), No. 4, pp. 35–36.

59 [N.N.], "Aus Mähren", in: *Musica sacra* 12 (1879), No. 5, p. 55.

60 F. M., "'Die Geisterbraut' von Ant. Dvorak", in: *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* 19 (1888), No. 26 (30 Jun.), in: [Janáček's clippings], BmJA, inv. no. 1175/2c.

61 Ský [Karel Sázavský], "Dopisy z Brna", in: *Dalibor* 8 (1886), No. 4, pp. 35–36.

62 After the Viennese premiere of *Šelma sedlák* (The Cunning Peasant) on 19 November 1885, *Correspondent* included a portrait of Dvořák on the front page, with the title 'Der Componist der Oper "Der Bauer ein Schelm"', and Dvořák's profile on the next page. The article – which had been influenced by Hanslick – claimed that, whereas in Germany, England and America Dvořák was considered one of the most popular composers, in Austria (with the exception of the Czech Lands), he was hardly achieving recognition. Yet the author of the article made his statement clear: 'Dworzak ist einer der fruchtbarsten Componisten der Gegenwart'. And what is more: 'Die Fruchtbarkeit seiner Tonmuse erhält jedoch erst ihre Bedeutung durch den innern Werth der einzelnen Compositionen, von denen manche wohl die Bezeichnung "classisch" in vollem Maße verdienen.' [N.N.], "Anton Dworzak", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 25 (1885), No. 269 (23 Nov.), p. 2.

> knows with what beautiful success. […] Let us now see how great the musical culture of Brno is, that one of the most important musical writers – not only in the context of our homeland – will give a lecture about two of the finest musical minds, Mendelssohn and Schumann, here.[63]

At the end of the quotation, Rille refers to a lecture which Hanslick gave on 31 March 1882 in Brno's Reduta theatre.[64] This confirms that Hanslick was present in Brno by the time Janáček conducted the Stabat mater here. After all, the same day (2 April 1882), the concurrent production of Brünner Männergesangverein took place in Brno, but Hanslick and Rille both gave preference to the Czech concert. Could one imagine a better evidence of how they valued Dvořák, and how much they must have appreciated the energy Janáček devoted to caring for his work?

In terms of political ideology, *Mährischer Correspondent* was related to the main Austrian liberal newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*, where Hanslick was a long-time music critic (1864–1904). The political-ideological consequences are of great importance in this case. According to the 1870s Austrian Liberals' conception of Germanness (Deutschtum), the sphere of German culture was also available to artists who were not Germans in terms of ethnicity. In the 1880s, at the time when Austrian liberalism collapsed and embraced certain elements of nationalism, Hanslick remained one of the main proponents of the traditional conception of Germanness.[65] And accordingly, Dvořák's music belonged or should have belonged to the mainstream of German music from Hanslick's point of view,[66]

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63 'Noch wollen wir Eins nicht unerwähnt lassen, wie Hanslick seinem Landsmanne Dworzak, dessen Musikwerke bekanntlich in Brünn zu allererst in Oesterreich aufgeführt worden, den Weg des Ruhmes in unserem Vaterlande bahnte. Dworzak, der in Prag nicht zur Anerkennung gelangen konnte, ward zuerst von Louis Ehlert in Berlin auf den Schild gehoben und dann versuchte Hanslick diesem originellen, bedeutenden Componisten die ihm längst gebührende Anerkennung zu erringen – man weiß, mit welch' schönem Erfolg. […] Wir wollen nun sehen, wie groß die musikalische Gemeinde Brünns ist, die sich von einem der bedeutendsten Musikschriftsteller – nicht nur unseres Vaterlandes – über zwei der feinsten musikalischen Characterköpfe: Mendelssohn und Schumann eine Vorlesung halten lassen will.' ??? [Albert Rille], "Dr. Eduard Hanslick", in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 22 (1882), No. 74 (30 Mar.), p. 1.

64 See the advertisement in: *Mährisch-schlesischer Correspondent* 22 (1882), No. 74 (30 Mar.), p. 6. Cf. the following Czech chauvinistic review of the lecture: "Německý ráz města Brna", in: *Moravská orlice* 20 (1882), No. 78 (5 Apr.), p. 3. This was, interestingly, not the first lecture Hanslick gave in Brno; twenty-four years before, on 27 March 1858, he held a public lecture here on the 'beginnings of the German opera in Hamburg and Berlin'. See: –t, "Vorlesungen", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1858), No. 81 (11 Apr.), p. 564.

65 David Brodbeck, "Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna: Language Ordinances, National Property, and the Rhetoric of Deutschtum", in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (2007), No. 1, pp. 71–132.

66 John Clapham, "Dvořák's Relations with Brahms and Hanslick", in: *Musical Quarterly* 57

although Dvořák himself was a Czech. It is also worth considering that there was no composer of comparable quality who could have been made 'their' composer by the Moravian Germans.[67]

At that time, *Brünner Zeitung* also considered Hanslick an esteemed and reputable authority in the field of music criticism[68] and professed Hanslick's conception of German music to some degree besides advocating Dvořák adequately.[69] This could, to some extent, explain why *Brünner Zeitung* appreciated the symphonic and cantata repertoire which Janáček performed with Beseda brněnská, with many compositions by Dvořák and Brahms, and also Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Bruch: the composers praised by Hanslick.

Eduard Hanslick was admired also by the main Czech Moravian newspaper *Moravská orlice*, which wrote about him as 'a renowned and surely the most competent judge in the musical world', and appreciated the fact that he had promoted *Šelma sedlák* (The Cunning Peasant) in Vienna.[70] Besides, Janáček himself seemed to have regarded Hanslick as an authority at that time – most likely under the influence of his Viennese study sojourn in 1880 – as evidenced by the fact that he wanted to offer Hanslick his sonata 'with complete confidence' (mit vollem Vertrauen).[71]

Presumably, not only the liberal German music critics from Brno were influenced by an introductory Viennese text on Dvořák – Hanslick's extensive review of the Slavonic Rhapsody No. 3 from 1879. At a time of growing national

(1971), No. 2, pp. 241–254.

67 Cf. the following theses by two of the most important German historians of Czech music (both of them came from Bohemia): 'Der deutsch-böhmische Heimatkomponist, etwa ein Adalbert Stifter der Musik, ist uns heute nicht erschienen.' Richard Batka, *Die Musik in Böhmen*, Berlin 1906, p. 98. 'Dem Werk Smetanas und Dvořáks hatten die Deutschen in Böhmen und Mähren nichts Gleichwertiges entgegenzusetzen. Die Jahrzenten nach 1860 gehörten den Tschechen allein. Es war, als hätte sich ihr Volk alle Kraft des Musischen für diese Zeit aufgespart.' Karl Michael Komma, *Das böhmische Musikantentum*, Kassel 1960, p. 174.

68 This newspaper promoted Hanslick's Brno lecture and appreciated it properly; see: "Dr. Eduard Hanslick", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1882), No. 69 (24 Mar.), p. 3. "Professor Hanslick's Vorlesung", in: *Brünner Morgenpost* (1882), No. 75 (1 Apr.), p. 3.

69 In an enthusiastic review of the 1885 Brno premiere of Dvořák's opera *Šelma sedlák* [The Cunning Peasant] – which was one of the composer's greatest triumphs there – the critic hidden under the Δ cypher wrote that, after the Viennese premiere of *The Cunning Peasant*, almost all Viennese critics condemned the opera, with an honourable exception of Hanslick whose judgement was 'ausgezeichnetes und äußerst objectives und wahrheits getreues Urtheil'. Δ, "Böhmisches Theater", in: *Brünner Zeitung* (1885), No. 298 (30 Dec.), pp. 3–4.

70 [N.N.], "Demonstraci německých studentů ve dvorní opeře", in: *Moravská orlice* 23 (1885), No. 269 (22 Nov.), p. 3.

71 See Janáček's letter to his fiancée Zdenka Schulz from 30 May 1880 in: Janáček, *'Intime Briefe'*, p. 238. The sonata is lost today.

tensions, which negatively biased the reception of Dvořák's music in Vienna and Berlin, Hanslick stressed that Dvořák's music was not a political matter, that its success was not the result of the Czech nationalist propaganda, and that no 'purely artistic issues' be addressed with regard to political or national aspects. In addition, he claimed that it was 'German authorities who had taken Dvořák out of his native country's darkness'.[72] The described influence is easily understandable given that German critics from Brno regularly read the texts written by their Viennese colleagues and, to a certain extent, they oriented themselves by the latter.

At the end of the study, I believe it necessary to reiterate and emphasise what was indicated above. The suppression of national concerns was an essential aspect that distinguished how the two major German Brno-based newspapers wrote about Janáček from how Czech periodicals did. On the contrary, the Czech reception of Janáček was, from its beginning, first and foremost nationalistic. The early reception of Janáček by Brno Germans shows how the liberalist conception of German music, local patriotism and, of course, music itself were penetrating or maybe even transcending the national borders. Only to some extent, however. More precisely, German critics seem to have adopted, in a way, those aspects of Janáček and his activities which corresponded with their conception of Germanness and repressed the aspects of the otherness.

In contrast to the received opinion about the unrecognized genius, Janáček managed to become well known and praised even before he was thirty years old: mainly due to the seminal role he played as a performing artist in the context of the cultural emancipation of the Czech minority in Brno. And what is more – and paradoxically enough – with non-negligible help of German critics.

72 'So sind es durchaus *deutsche* Autoritäten, welche Dvorak aus seinem heimischen Dunkel hervorgezogen und als ein ungewöhnliches Talent begrüßt haben. Wir betonen diese Thatsache, weil sie den lächerlichen Argwohn widerlegt, es sei Dvorak ein von der national-czechischen Partei in Schwang gebrachtes Renommée. […] Von Prag aus ist für Dvorak wahrlich keine Propaganda gemacht worden, und wäre sie versucht worden – wie weit dringt denn in der Kunstwelt ein czechisches Plaidoher? Die nationale Antipathie und politische Gegnerschaft, die sich in einigen Wiener Beurtheilungen der Dvorak'schen Rhapsodie fühlbar macht, entbehrte hier der Berechtigung, selbst wenn in rein künstlerischen Fragen solche Gesichtspunkte statthaft wären.' Ed. H. [Eduard Hanslick], "Concerte", in: *Neue Freie Presse* (1879), No. 5474 (23 Nov.), pp. 1–2.

Folklorism, Symmetry and Tritone: Béla Bartók's Piano Quintet from 1904 as a Key Work for the Composer's Development

Hartmut Schick

Béla Bartók wrote his Piano Quintet in C (DD 77)[1] at the age of 22, immediately after the symphonic poem *Kossuth*, with which he celebrated his national breakthrough as a composer in early 1904. According to his own note on the first page of the score autograph, he began composing in October 1903 in Berlin – where he tried in vain to come into contact with his idol Richard Strauss[2] – and finished the score in July 1904 in Gerlice Puszta/Hrlica, during a summer vacation in the countryside that was very fruitful for his work.

As early as 1897 he had written his first Piano Quintet in C major (DD 46), which had not survived. In both cases, the choice of the genre was certainly connected with the prominence of Ernst von Dohnányi's Piano Quintet in C minor op. 1, composed in 1895, which Johannes Brahms had praised very much and about which Brahms is reported to have said to Hans Koessler, the composition teacher of Dohnányi and then also of Bartók, that he could not have done better himself.[3] In his short autobiography of 1918, Bartók also admitted that during his school years in Pozsony/Bratislava he was particularly influenced by Dohnányi's work, writing about his years there:

> I also had the opportunity to perform chamber music and up to my 18th year I got to know the music literature from Bach to Brahms – Wagner, however, only

1 Denijs Dille, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Jugendwerke Béla Bartóks 1890-1904*, Kassel et al. 1974, pp. 151–57; there also description of the sources.

2 Cf. Bartók's letters from Berlin to István Thoman of October 1903, in: *Béla Bartók. Briefe*, vol. 1, ed. by János Demény, Budapest 1973, pp. 50–51 ('I can't reach Strauss at all; but I will get a recommendation from Etelka Freund's brother'). On 17 March 1904 he wrote from Berlin to Lajos Dietl: 'I got to know wonderful Strauss songs. Truly, I can tell you: since Wagner we have not had such a great master as Strauss' (ibid., p. 55) [my own translations].

3 Cf. Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, "Ernst von Dohnányis Klavierquintett in c-Moll op. 1: Rezeption und Codagestaltung", in: *Zwischen Volks- und Kunstmusik. Aspekte der ungarischen Musik*, ed. by Stefan Fricke et al., Saarbrücken 1999, pp. 91–109.

> up to *Tannhäuser* – relatively well. In the meantime I have been busy composing under the strong influence of Brahms and the youth works of Dohnányi, four years my senior, namely his op. 1.[4]

During his studies at the Budapest Academy of Music, he became interested in the later works of Wagner and the orchestral works of Franz Liszt, which in retrospect Bartók described as paralyzing his own work. From this stagnation, he said, the first performance of Richard Strauss' *Also sprach Zarathustra* in Budapest in 1902 had torn him 'like a bolt of lightning': 'The work, which most musicians listened to with horror, put me in the greatest enthusiasm: at last I saw a direction that contained something new. I rushed into the Strauss scores and began composing again.'[5]

Ernst von Dohnányi, with whom Bartók still had private lessons for a while after completing his studies brilliantly in 1903, could not understand Bartók's enthusiasm for Strauss at all and also rejected his symphonic poem *Kossuth* as well as the political attitude of the young Bartók. In 1902, Bartók had adopted a decidedly national, even chauvinistic political and cultural attitude and from then on saw it as his mission to create only specific Hungarian works, and even to dedicate his entire life 'to the welfare of the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian fatherland'. In public he now demonstratively wore traditional Hungarian costumes, and in September 1903 he even rigorously forbade his German-speaking mother and sister from using the German language.[6]

Although Dohnányi's Piano Quintet op. 1 was still very present for the young Bartók in 1903 – he played it in a concert at the Budapest Music Academy on March 21 – it could no longer serve as a model for Bartók in view of the dissent with Dohnányi regarding his basic musical and political convictions. Rather, it can be assumed that Bartók's intention in choosing the genre of the piano quintet again in the autumn of 1903 was to present an alternative to Dohnányi's celebrated Opus 1 with a more advanced and decidedly Hungarian tonal language, a musical critique of Dohnányi's strong dependence on Brahms and the tradition of chamber music. With *Kossuth*, Bartók had just found his own, decidedly Hungarian tonal language. Thus, apparently, the new Piano Quintet also served to showcase this style in the field of chamber music, in direct confrontation with Dohnányi.

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4 Bartók's biography from 1918, in: *Documenta Bartókiana* 2, ed. by Denijs Dille, Mainz 1963, p. 113.

5 Ibid., pp. 113–14.

6 Cf. Bartók's letter to his mother of 8 September 1903 (also on the dissent with Dohnányi concerning Strauss, Kossuth and politics), in: *Béla Bartók. Weg und Werk. Schriften und Briefe*, ed. by Bence Szabolcsi, Leipzig 1957, pp. 225–28, the citation on p. 226.

Today, however, Bartók's Piano Quintet DD 77 is hardly regarded as a departure to new horizons, but rather as the conclusion of a stylistic phase. One sees in it the last work of the composer's late romantic youth period. The fact that Bartók himself never published this Piano Quintet – later even withdrawing it and denying it an opus number in his third and last opus numbering of his works (which is why it figures last in Dille's list of youth works) – certainly contributes to this. Later on, the Rhapsody for Piano written directly after the Quintet was given the opus number 1, followed by the Scherzo for Piano and Orchestra from 1904 as Opus 2. At first, in contrary, the Piano Quintet was anything but unsuccessful – rather it was its acceptance by the audience which led to its downfall. After its premiere in November 1904 in Vienna together with the Prill Quartet,[7] Bartók also presented the work in 1910 at his first concert in Budapest featuring his own works exclusively. The public and the press reacted with some decisive rejection to the more recent works. All the more praise was given to the six-year-old Piano Quintet as an opus whose style Bartók should have preferred to remain faithful to.[8] Bartók was very angry about this, and even more so when the situation repeated itself eleven years later. In 1921, the Waldbauer Quartet played the concert program of 1910 again, including the Piano Quintet, which Bartók had meanwhile revised and, above all, shortened. While the more recent works were received with great reserve, the Piano Quintet was met with rapturous applause. According to an eyewitness, the audience shouted: 'Give us this music and not the other one' – the current one. The composer was blind with rage about this and never wanted to allow any performance again.[9] His wife Márta Ziegler and Zoltán Kodály later also reported that Bartók had torn the score apart and burned it. In fact, however, he kept the score and parts of the work secret. These were rediscovered in 1963 by Denijs Dille, who was able to publish the revised, shortened version of the Quintet for the first time in print in 1970.[10]

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7 A planned performance in Budapest in December 1904 by the Grünfeld-Bürger-Quartett was cancelled at short notice due to lack of rehearsal time. A reviewer who apparently had not noticed the refusal, expressed himself afterwards in his review nevertheless with praising generalisations about the quintet unknown to him, see Tadeusz Zielinski, *Bartók. Leben und Werk*, Mainz ³2011, p. 73.

8 Cf. ibid., pp. 135 f., with a quotation from a review by Pester Lloyd, in which 'bizarre series degenerating into the morbid' ('bis ins Krankhafte ausartende Bizarrerien') are criticized in the more recent works.

9 Communicated by Denijs Dille in: *Documenta Bartókiana* 1, ed. by Denijs Dille, Mainz 1964, p. 101, footnote 1.

10 Béla Bartók, *Quintetto per 2 violini, viola, violoncello e pianoforte*, ed. by Denijs Dille, Budapest: Editio Musica 1970; on the history of performance cf. the preface. This edition is also the basis for the following work analysis and sheet music examples.

Even though Bartók himself seems to have been ashamed of the catchy, late Romantic style that dominates this work and withdrew it, the situation is not so easy. As this article will demonstrate, it is unfair to regard the Piano Quintet as, above all else, a conclusion – the end of the late Romantic, youthful style period. Admittedly, it was composed shortly before Bartók came into contact with authentic Hungarian peasant music for the first time, in order to explore it intensively from 1906 onwards – which, as is well known, put his composing on a new footing. Under the late Romantic surface with its conventional Hungarisms, however, the Piano Quintet has a number of features that clearly point to the future and can be perceived as roots for many things which then constitute the peculiarity of the later Bartók and his specific modernity. This will be worked out in the following sections.[11]

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At first sight, Bartók's Piano Quintet ties in with Dohnányi's successful Piano Quintet in C minor op. 1, not only in terms of the instrumentation, but also the key: his first movement is also in C minor, at least from the beginning of the Allegro. Bartók, however, does without key signatures in all movements, as if to demonstrate that the work falls outside of the rule system of conventional major-minor tonality. Dohnányi's work can also be regarded as a starting point in the formal ground plan: a four-movement arrangement with a fast Scherzo in second place, an Adagio as the third movement and a rapid final movement, which among other things also contains a longer fugato. The link to Dohnányi, however, is part of a consistent demarcation strategy.

If Dohnányi's four-movement cycle was the starting point, Bartók, in any case, strongly transforms it in his Piano Quintet through other principles. On the one hand, Bartók precedes the first movement with an extensive slow introduction, the motifs of which also radiate a little to the following Allegro, but above all then characterize the slow third movement and the final movement. On the other hand, all movements merge without a long pause: *attacca* or even – as in the last two movements – by means of a transition. Bartók thus falls back on models of multi-movement in single-movement, as they are realized in various 'double function' forms,[12] especially in the orchestral works (studied by Bartók at that time)

11 A coherent analysis of the work has not been found in the literature. Most fruitful are the scattered remarks in Günter Weiß, *Die frühe Schaffensentwicklung Béla Bartoks im Lichte westlichen und östlicher Traditionen*, Diss. University of Erlangen Nürnberg 1970, especially pp. 305–06; 311–13; 387–89.

12 See Bartók's essay "Die Musik Franz Liszts und das Publikum von heute" (1911, published in German in 1972), and his essay, published 25 years later, "Liszt-Probleme", in: Béla Bartók,

and the Piano Sonata in B minor by Franz Liszt, without following exactly one specific model. In very simplified terms, one could say that the slow movement and the finale of the Piano Quintet behave in some respects like a recapitulation of what the introduction presents as an exposition. Brahms and Dohnányi are to some extent replaced as role models by the Hungarian Franz Liszt. With the idea of a theme spanning the movement cycle, the work on the one hand follows on from the French piano quintet tradition of the César Franck school; on the other hand it points to similar 'double-function' forms which a few years later would play a significant role in string quartets of Viennese and Prague Modernism: in Arnold Schönberg's op. 7 and Vítězslav Novák's op. 35 (both 1905 respectively), Josef Suk's op. 31 (1910) or Alexander Zemlinsky's op. 15 (1916).

Bartók's large-scale form is original and unquestionably programmatically meant by a reference to a decidedly Hungarian formal principle. Both the introduction and Allegro of the first movement as well as the third and fourth movements relate to one another according to the principle of *lassú–friss*, the formal principle of *verbunkos* and *csárdás*: a slow, rhapsodically improvised part is followed by a fast, more or less dance-like second part. In both cases, the typical accelerating transition from slow to fast tempo is also encountered. The four-movement nature of the cycle, in which the principles of a superordinate sonata movement can be discerned, tends to be conceived at the same time as a symmetrical three-part structure with a folkloristic background: 1st part lassú–friss, 2nd part Scherzo, 3rd part lassú–friss. The formal orientation towards the czardas that is shown here is thematically and motivically underpinned, too, and as a compositional strategy, also perceptible at the detailed level – already in the first bars of the work (Fig. 1).

Bartók introduces two motifs here in close succession, which then gain significance for the entire work. Remarkably, he begins outside the fundamental key (while Dohnányi in his Piano Quintet op. 1 immediately starts with the first group of the Sonata Allegro and a Brahms-like theme in stable C minor). The introduction begins with an upbeat sixth-jump motif of impassioned character, harmonically based on the note *f sharp*, as subdominant with *sixte ajoutée* of C sharp minor. Both gesturally and harmonically, it strikingly resembles the beginnings of the 1st and 3rd acts of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. The one-bar sixth-jump motif is repeated immediately and then cadences somewhat brusquely to C major in the third bar, whereby in the rubato sixteenth movement of the first violin the C major scale still contains a *f sharp* foreign to the scale, as does the following fourth bar.

Musiksprachen. Aufsätze und Vorträge, ed. by Bence Szabolcsi, Leipzig 1972, pp. 133–36, 138–54. In both essays Bartók emphasizes the boldness of many of Liszt's works, especially in formal aspects, especially the 'first perfect form of the cyclic sonata based on common themes and variations', among others in the Piano Concerto in E flat major. 'This formal solution became more and more important in the period after Liszt' (p. 143).

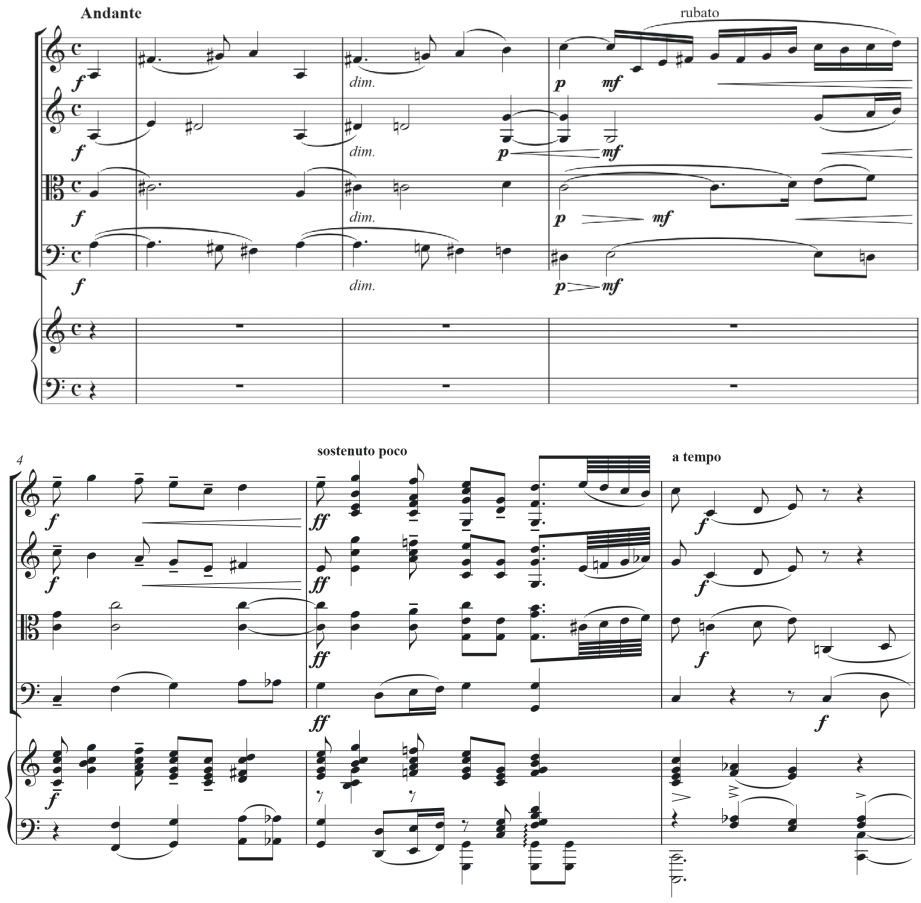

Fig. 1: Béla Bartók, Beginning of the Piano Quintet DD 77, bars 1–6

In this bar, a second characteristic motif is heard in C major, which is clearly Hungarian in its syncopated rhythm and melody and is also repeated immediately. Because of its proximity to verbunkos and czardas, I call it the czardas motif. Thus, at the beginning, Bartók demonstratively juxtaposes an upbeat, non-folkloristic, with its *Tristan* appeal more or less German motif, tonally labile, circulating around the note *f sharp*, and a down-beat syncopated, decidedly Hungarian or 'gypsy' motif in clear C major. The whole work then develops from both motifs and the two stylistic spheres that each embodies.

After a brief processing of both motifs, another thought appears in bar 15 of the introduction, a wide-ranging song-like theme in F sharp minor (Fig. 2). The melody and rhythm of the theme introduced by the viola are reminiscent of Brahms

or Dvořák; the piano accompaniment, however, adds a Hungarian element with its cimbalom-like chord breaks. The introduction then turns back to C, whereby the minor variant is now also included. The opposition between the notes *f sharp* and *c* which is echoed in the first bars thus becomes the tonal ground plan of the whole introduction, which spans the poles *c* and *f sharp* in the key sequence: C major – F sharp minor – C major/C minor.

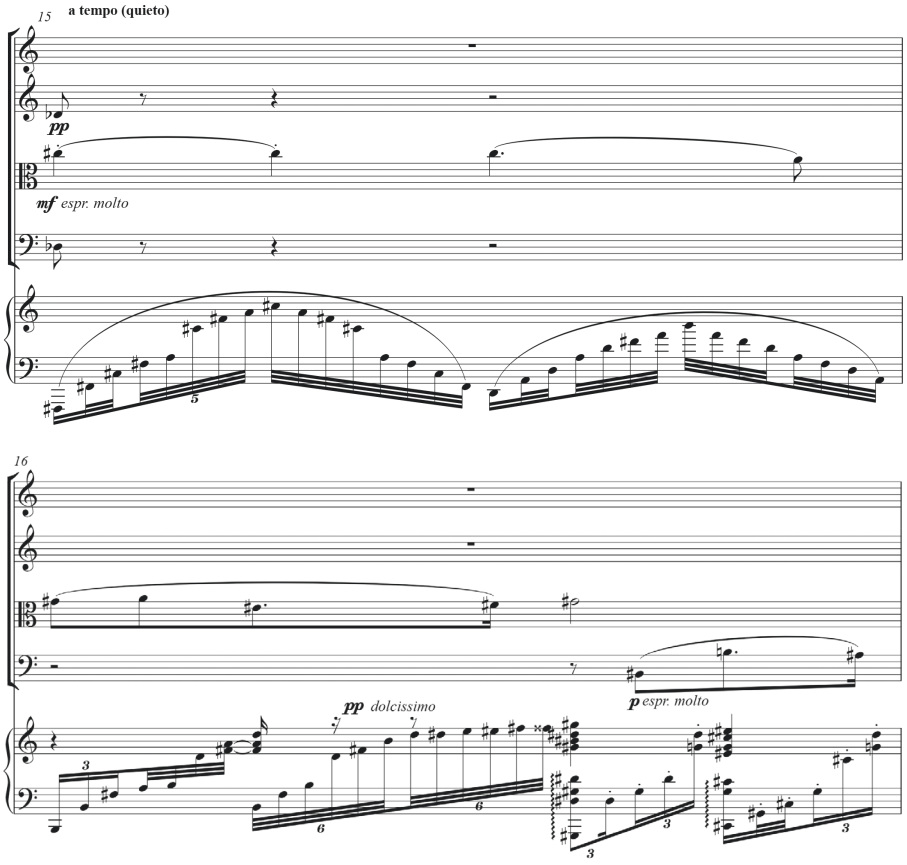

Fig. 2: Béla Bartók, Piano Quintet DD 77, bars 15–16

The subsequent Sonata Allegro then begins in C minor with a main theme of more Brahmsian character (bar 44). In the 2nd group, a theme in E flat major that is clearly Hungarian in character follows (bar 95, see Fig. 3): above a cimbalom-like accompanying layer in the piano, the low strings play a melody to the rhythm of

the Hungarian so-called choriambus (which was also heard in the middle of the introduction).

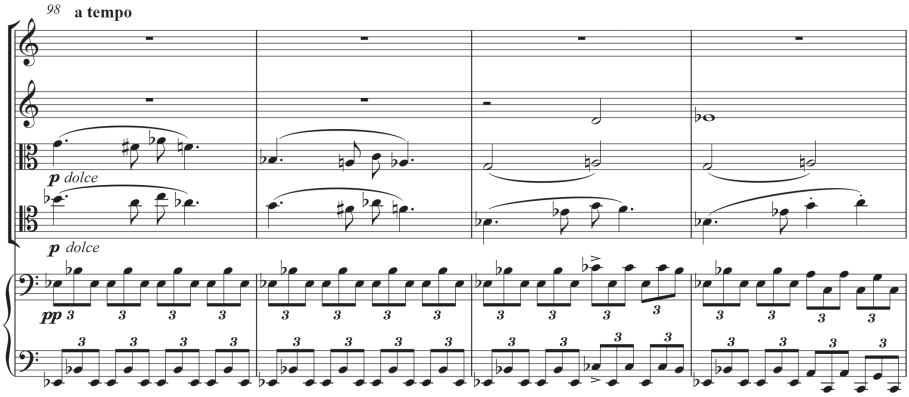

Fig. 3: Bartók, Piano Quintet DD 77, second subject of 1st movement, bars 98–101

The development processes and combines both themes, and it leads to a recapitulation that is built in reverse: the recapitulation of the exposition themes begins in bar 189 with the 2nd group, now in A flat major, and only then does the 1st group follow, now in the major variant of the fundamental key, C major (bar 219).

That the secondary theme in the recapitulation is not transposed from E flat to C, but is set one fifth lower than the exposition (as in sonata movements in major keys), which means that it is placed on the lower mediant, is nothing completely unusual in itself. This can be found occasionally in Beethoven, for example in the *Waldstein* Sonata op. 53 or the *Appassionata* op. 57. Unlike Beethoven, however, Bartók still combines this procedure with an exchange of the order of the 1st and 2nd groups in the recapitulation. This, however, considerably changes the overall form of the sonata movement. Thus the tonal recapitulation, the recovery of the fundamental key C, is shifted to the area after the recapitulation of the 2nd group, and the overall form of the sonata movement is given a strongly symmetrical arrangement, both in the sequence of themes and form parts and in the key disposition (compare the form overview in Fig. 4). The result is a five-part bridge form – to use Bartók's own term from the analysis of later works – with the development as centre and mirror axis. 1st group, 2nd group and development plus recapitulation form the symmetrical form A–B–C–B–A. And the sequence of keys, too, can be understood symmetrically, as a quasi oscillation curve which reaches from the fundamental C first to the upper octave E flat and then after the modulatory section of the development to the opposite side, to the lower octave

I								
Andante			**Allegro molto**					
1	15	26	44	95	136	189	219	
sixth-jump motif + czardas motif	song subject ('cimbalom' accomp.)	czardas motif	**exposition** 1st group	2nd group (choriambus)	**development**	**recapitulation** 2nd group	1st group	**coda**
~ C Major	f# Minor	C Major	c Minor	E♭ Major	~ ~ ~	A♭ Major	C Major	f# Minor / C Major

II								
Vivace scherzando			**Moderato**	**Vivo**	**Moderato**	**Vivace scherzando**		
262	356	410	479	545	753	795		895
1st subject ('bulgarian rhythm', 'gypsy scale')	2nd subject	1st subject	3rd subject	4th subject (2/4)	3rd subject on tritone	1st subject (+ 'cimbalom')	2nd subject	1st subject
f# Minor – A Major – f# Minor – A Major	B♭ Major	F# Major	F Major	f# Minor	/G♭\ D♭ \ C /	f# Minor	F Major ~	F# Major

III					IV				
Adagio	**Adagio molto**	**Maestoso**	**Adagio Molto**	**Maestoso**	**Vivace molto**	**Moderato/Vivace**		**Maestoso – Prestissimo**	
961	973	1008	1047	1067	1084	1227	1337	1435	1583
sixth-jump motif distorted to tritone *f#–c*	sixth-jump motif as Hungarian theme	apotheosis	subject varied + var. main theme 1st movement	apotheosis	czardas theme from motif bar 4	2nd subject Hungarian (cf. bar 15)	fugue (2nd subject)	czardas hymnic	coda
whole-tone scale SCORDATURA	c Minor	C Major	c Minor		C Major	f# Minor	~ ~ ~	C Major	C Major

Fig. 4: Form overview of Bartok's Piano Quintet DD 77

A flat, only then finding its way back to the fundamental key which is the quasi horizontal axis of this oscillation curve.

But that's not all: the slow introduction is also included in this symmetrical construction, at least in tonal terms. In the recapitulation, the 1st group of the sonata form turns again to F sharp minor at the end, i.e. to the key of the song-like theme of the slow introduction. The end of the movement is then again in C major, but the last bars oscillate strikingly between C major and F sharp minor or G flat minor. This is reminiscent of the very first bars of the work, which oscillate between F sharp and C. The symmetrical, five-part bridge form of the Sonata Allegro is thus surrounded by a frame which, with its tritone polarity C–F sharp, extends the symmetry of the form even further (but without the slow introduction itself returning, which would have destroyed the czardas-analogue form *lassú–friss*).

Following *attacca*, the second movement of the work is a Scherzo with many elements, whose main theme again combines rather Central European with decidedly Hungarian features in a very peculiar way (see Fig. 5). The basic key of the movement is not, as in Dohnányi's Piano Quintet Scherzo, the minor parallel A minor, but F sharp minor – i.e. the key that is a tritone away from C and thus as far away as possible, just the key that already played such a major role at the beginning and end of the first movement. The underlying scale here, however, is neither minor nor major, but the double harmonic minor scale, i.e. the harmonic minor scale with a sharpened 4th step, a scale that contains two augmented seconds: *a–b sharp* and *d–e sharp*. Bartók also emphasizes the unusual structure of the scale by accentuating the two successive semitone steps *b sharp–c sharp–d* at the beginning of the melody and then letting the sharpened second *d–e sharp* sound twice. A striving for symmetrical structure can be seen both horizontally, in the arrangement of the violin melody that resembles a symmetrical oscillation curve, and vertically: in the first five bars, the viola plays a (slightly reduced) mirrored version of the melody of the first violin. But the rhythm, too, is unusual and folkloristic, without being specifically Hungarian or 'gypsy'. The fast triple time is transformed strongly hemiolically – what one knows from the Viennese waltz or also (as a change of metre) from the Bohemian *Furiant* and the Bavarian *Zwiefacher*. However, in the Scherzo theme, unlike in these dances, the two-bar hemiola is always followed by a single bar in the regular three-quarter metre. The metre of the music is therefore basically additive: 2/4 + 2/4 + 2/4 + 2/4 + 3/4 | 2/4 + 2/4 + 2/4 + 3/4 etc., or even if one counts first in half notes: 3/2 + 3/4 | 3/2 + 3/4 etc. Instead of the dance-typical 'quadratic' syntax of four-bar groups, units of three – moreover metrically unequal – bars result.

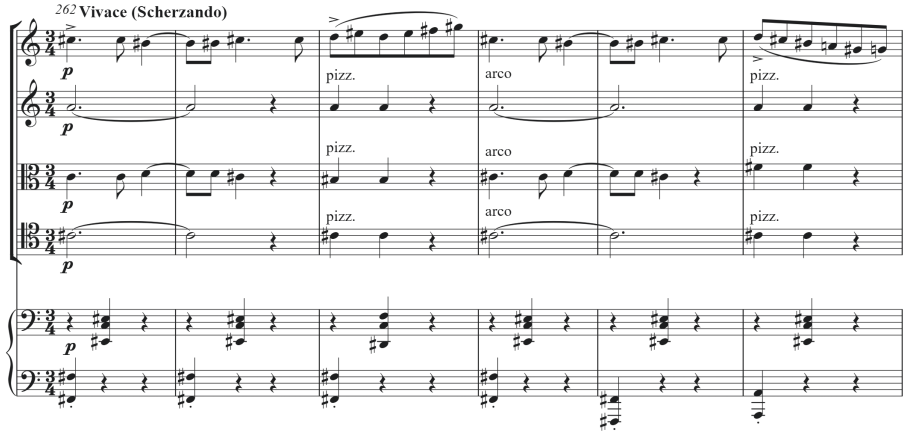

Fig. 5: Bartók, Piano Quintet DD 77, beginning of the 2nd movement, bars 262–67

Such an additive metre is alien to Central European music per se. But there is at least one prominent work of the chamber music tradition in which exactly this metre is already preformed.[13] The main theme of the final movement of Johannes Brahms's String Quartet in A minor op. 51 no. 2 (Fig. 6) begins with the same metrical basic structures consisting of hemiolas spanning two bars and a subsequent single bar in triple metre, and the dotted rhythms of the first two bars are also the same here as in Bartók; they are only introduced somewhat more bindingly by the three-eighth upbeat. Because the lower voices insist on three-quarter time throughout, there is also a latent vertical polymetry. Bartók even adopts this characteristic from his obvious model by accentuating the first two quarters of each measure in the piano accompaniment and leaving the third beat free.

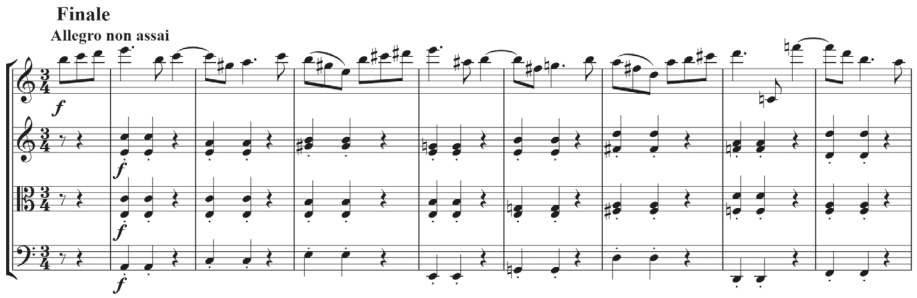

Fig. 6: Johannes Brahms, String Quartet in A minor op. 51 No. 2, beginning of the final movement, bars 1–8

13 Cf. also Weiß, *Die frühe Schaffensentwicklung*, pp. 39–40.

Working with this additive metrical principle appears on the one hand as a recourse to Brahms, from whom Bartók had long since distanced himself. At the same time, however, it seems like an unconscious anticipation of the distant future. Decades later, Bartók found exactly such an additive metre in his exploration of South Slavic folk music, especially in the music of the peasants in Bulgaria. He described this phenomenon, which was first opened up to him through a study by Vasil Stoin in 1927, as 'Bulgarian rhythm' in connection with Bulgarian music researchers, and even wrote an essay about it – although what he meant is strictly speaking not a rhythm, but a metric principle involving the ordering of unequal units.[14] In a whole series of works, he himself experimented with this so-called Bulgarian rhythm, both in the *Mikrokosmos* and especially in the Scherzo of his Fifth String Quartet of 1935. Headed with *Alla bulgarese*, this movement works with various metres in which even and odd-numbered units are combined asymmetrically (Fig. 7). At the beginning it is (although notated on an eighth basis and with units of 4+2+3 eighths) in principle the constellation already found in Brahms and in Bartók's Piano Quintet Scherzo, i.e. the metrical scheme: 1–2–3–123 | 1–2–3–123 etc. The tempo, however, is so fast that a somewhat different musical effect results: instead of three-measure groups, one hears only large measures consisting of counting times of different lengths.

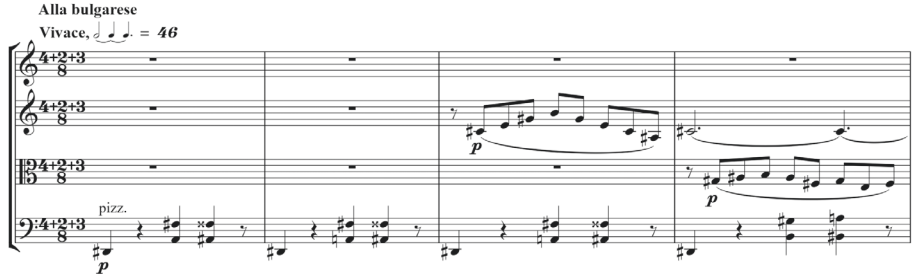

Fig. 7: Bartók, String Quartet No. 5, beginning of the Scherzo, bars 1–4

In this respect, the Scherzo of the Piano Quintet – although its tempo is strictly speaking much too slow for this – can be regarded in a sense as Bartók's first composition in the so-called Bulgarian rhythm, written long before Bartók discovered this kind of additive metre in Bulgarian peasant music and then consciously

14 Béla Bartók, "Az úgynevezett bolgár ritmus" [The so-called Bulgarian Rhythm], in: *Énekszó* 5 (1938), pp. 537–41; German in: Béla Bartók, *Musiksprachen. Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. by Bence Szabolcsi, Leipzig 1972, pp. 94–105. Here, Bartók also mentions a study of Dobri Christov's published in 1913 but not received outside Bulgaria for a long time, which he had only just come across (p. 97).

appropriated it in artistic stylization – as something foreign, even exotic, which was nevertheless already subliminally familiar to him from his own work (and ultimately even from Brahms).[15]

The Scherzo of Bartók's Piano Quintet works with four different themes in different keys, metres and tempos. The ground plan of the form is in five parts (see Fig. 4), but not in the conventional five-part Scherzo form with two trios, i.e. A–B–A–C–A. Rather, Bartók gives the movement a symmetrical five-part bridge form A–B–C–B–A, with a fast czardas theme[16] in 2/4 time at its centre as the fourth theme. The frame parts working with two themes are arranged symmetrically in three parts (according to the scheme a–b–a), so that one could also speak of a nine-part symmetrical bridge form in which the fundamental key not only dominates the first and last complex, as in every Scherzo, but also – emphasizing symmetry – the middle of the movement.

A very peculiar passage after the middle of the movement, at the recapitulation of the third theme, reminds one of the tritone ratio in which this F sharp minor stands to the fundamental C of the work. While this third theme is in clear F major (from bar 479) and sounds like a conventional waltz theme, it is strongly alienated in the recapitulation (from bar 753): it is nailed, as it were, to a peculiar drone bass, which does not consist of the usual fifth, but of the tritone or diminished fifth *c–g flat*. This alteration of the tone *g* to *g flat* (or *f sharp*), which here destroys the waltz character of the theme and its Central European habitus, soon confuses even the tuning of the instruments. After the Scherzo movement ends with a large F sharp major chord, the two violinists have to tune down the *g* strings of their instruments to *f sharp* in the short pause. In the following Adagio section, which is an introduction to the slow 3rd movement, the sixth-jump motif from the introduction to the 1st movement returns in unison, but now with a decisively altered interval: the opening sixth-jump is replaced by the tritone *f sharp–c* (Fig. 8). The fact that this is an altered, distorted interval is surely apparent to any listener through the preceding, spectacular scordatura: the motif begins in the violins with the open string *f sharp* – on an irregular tone that does not normally exist on the violin.

The fact that this scordatura has eliminated the violins' normal tuning in fifths has consequences for the music of the entire section: it is in a C tonality in which the note *f sharp* has become a regular step of the scale. The tone material for almost the entire Adagio introduction is a whole tone scale on *c*, in which the octave is passed through with six instead of the usual seven steps: *c–d–e–f sharp–g sharp–a sharp–c*. The main motif, sounding Brahmsian or Central European at

15 Bartók, however, does not refer to this connection in the above-mentioned essay.

16 This is also how it is called by Weiß, *Die frühe Schaffensentwicklung*, p. 313.

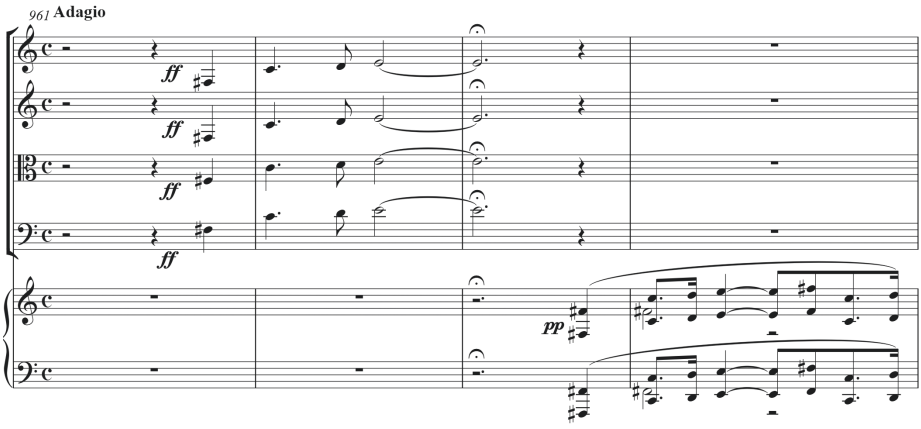

Fig. 8: Bartók, Piano Quintet DD 77, beginning of the introduction to the 3rd movement, bars 961–64

the beginning of the work, is thus deprived of any tonality, and the ornamental figures and rhythms of the following bars still refer to the rhapsodic tone of a czardas introduction, but at the same time the whole-tone scale structure removes it from the folkloristic background to such an extent that it becomes a decidedly new music – music that is no longer of the 19th, but of the 20th century.

The Adagio molto, beginning in bar 973, then works again with violins tuned throughout in pure fifths, and with music that more or less returns to the Hungarian folklorism of the late Romantic period. The sixth-jump motif from the beginning of the work is mocked and expanded in such a way that it is now based on the so-called 'gypsy' or 'Hungarian' (or double harmonic) minor scale on *c*, with the characteristic high alteration of *f* to *f sharp* (see Fig. 9). But this also clarifies what is essential for understanding the entire work, for it reveals where the irritating tone *f sharp* comes from, which in the entire Quintet constantly penetrates the C tonality (C major as well as C minor): it is the raised 4th step of this double harmonic minor scale, the step that turns the common minor scale into the 'gypsy minor' scale and thus, according to popular understanding, into a 'Hungarian' scale.

The whole Adagio then sounds very Hungarian (or in 'gypsy style') and relates to the following finale like the rhapsodic slow part of a czardas to the fast, whirling second part: *lassú–friss*. The finale is reached by the czardas-like multiple acceleration (*Vivace* bar 1113) and has as its main theme the syncopated second motif of the introduction to the first movement (see Fig. 1 above). Here the short motif is expanded into a complete czardas theme which serves as basis for a late Romantic folkloristic movement with a comparatively conventional tone – quite comparable to the Hungarian Dances by Brahms or the Hungarian Rhapsodies by Liszt.

After the whole-tone scale and the double harmonic minor scale, C major has now once again established itself as the key. In contrast to the first Allegro, however, both themes of the movement are now Hungarian in form, and no sonata form is created. The rhapsodic 2nd theme (bar 1230), which is then also performed as a fugue, draws on the vocal theme of the introduction to the 1st movement (see Fig. 2 above) and, like this one, is in F sharp minor. The introduction of the quintet thus becomes in almost every respect the nucleus for the entire final movement, thematically as well as with the tonal disposition in the tritone arc: C major – F sharp minor – C major (cf. Fig. 4 above).

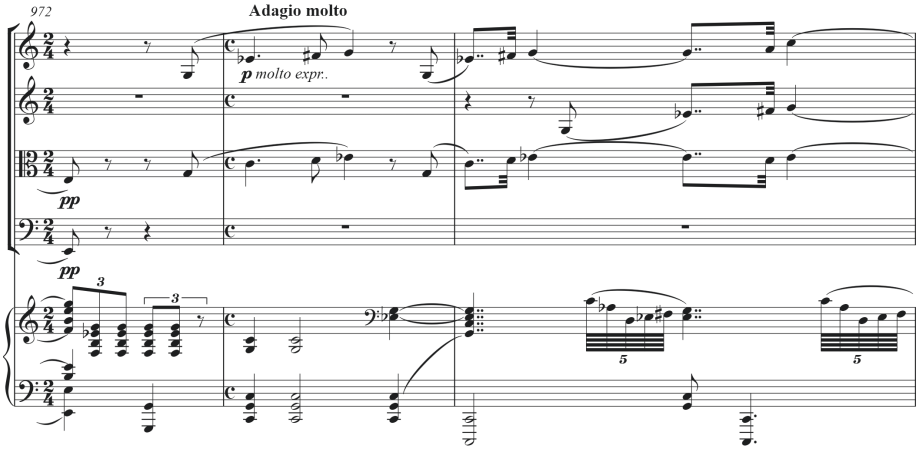

Fig. 9: Bartók, Piano Quintet DD 77, 3rd movement, bars 972–74

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Folklorism, symmetry and tritone: these three keywords have been used time and again in an attempt to describe the essential in this Piano Quintet with a cursory analysis. It should have become clear that the phenomena named with these terms are inseparably linked with each other, or also: that the three phenomena emerge from each other.

Folklorism proves to be a dynamic principle that dominates the music more and more from movement to movement. The neutral, quasi-Western motifs and themes still appearing in the first half of the work are immediately confronted with decidedly 'Hungarian' motifs (of the verbunkos style), and they themselves are then increasingly permeated by Hungarian or 'gypsy' musical characteristics – until the music in the last two movements has become completely 'Hungarian' (in the sense of verbunkos and czardas).

This dynamic move towards folklorism, which in Bartók's case naturally has a programmatic quality and in 1903/04 had to be understood as massive criticism of Dohnányi's Germanophilia, is at the same time transformed by the principle of symmetry. On various levels, this principle dominates parts of movements, whole movements as well as the large form of the cycle: with complex, symmetrical bridge forms in the individual movements as well as with the symmetrical correspondence of the frame parts. The final movement appears as a strongly elaborated and extended recapitulation of the introduction to the first movement, and the symmetrical centre of the Scherzo movement is at the same time – at least in the revised version examined here – the centre of the overall form (by the way almost also in the playing time). The principle of symmetry is in turn – on the micro level – interlocked with folklorism. The rhythm of the Hungarian choriambus, used several times concisely, is itself also a symmetrical formation: long–short | short–long (see Fig. 3 above).

Finally, the tritone: this interval unites folklorism and symmetry, as Bartók makes obvious. First of all, it marks the main characteristic of the 'gypsy' or 'Hungarian' minor scale: its altered 4th step. At the same time, the tritone is a symmetry phenomenon: it marks the exact middle within the octave, whereby the symmetry is perfect when the octave scale is divided in six instead of seven steps, as in the whole tone scale which Bartók uses as the central point of the music – demonstratively exactly where the violins have to retune their *g* string to *f sharp* and also in the middle of the entire work. The tritone distance between keys again marks the symmetrical opposite pole in the circle of fifths which Bartók composes out on both a small and a large scale: with the tonal tritone arc C–F sharp–C in the introduction and at the end of the first movement, with the same, but much larger tritone arc in the final movement, and – superior to both – with the tritone arc C–F sharp–C constituted by the three large complexes first movement, Scherzo plus Adagio and final movement.

The scordatura of the violins – which could easily have been avoided with other instrumentations (and is possibly inspired by the same scordatura in the middle of the tone poem *Ein Heldenleben* by Richard Strauss, often played by Bartók at the time) – does not only point to the structural significance of the *f sharp* note in the whole work. It even seems to raise the question of whether the traditional tuning of the violins in fifths can still be in keeping with a music that radically adheres to the principle of folklorism or the symmetrical division of the octave. To put it bluntly, are conventional violins still the right instruments for such music?

Bartók himself, by later withdrawing the Piano Quintet (as well as the symphonic poem *Kossuth* and others from this period) and no longer having it performed, signalled that he wanted the works of this stylistic phase to be understood as a false path and meaningless for his actual work. Throughout his life he then

emphasized that it was only the encounter with authentic Hungarian peasant music and its intensive exploration from 1906 onwards that had put him on the right compositional path. However, this self-interpretation of his stylistic development, which is not free of ideology, conceals essential moments that must be taken into account if one is to do justice to the position of the Piano Quintet in Bartók's work.

Of course, the 'Hungarian' folklorism from which Bartók's Piano Quintet emanates – the urban (salon) music of the verbunkos style played by 'gypsy bands' and written by bourgeois composers – has little to do with what Bartók heard for the first time during the completion of the Piano Quintet in Gerlice Puszta[17] and then collected and researched intensively from 1906 onwards: the orally transmitted, authentic peasant music sung in villages in rural areas of Hungary and various Balkan countries. There, the so-called 'gypsy scale' and the instruments of the 'gypsy bands' (namely the cimbalom) do not play a role; rather, there are essentially two types of songs, which are usually based on modal church tonal scales and only show (language-related) rhythmic parallels to the verbunkos repertoire. The tritone is alien to this peasant music both as an interval and as a regular step of the scale. Melodically, seconds, thirds and fourths dominate; structurally, the most important principle is the transposition of phrases a fifth upwards.

When Bartók extended his research in 1913 to Arabic folk music by peasants and nomads in Algeria, he found completely different structures: a two-string plucked instrument tuned in the tritone, called *gombri*, and scales working with only a few neighbouring notes (also in quarter-tone distance) and correspondingly large 'holes' in the filling of the octave frame.[18] These experiences were clearly reflected in Bartók's 2nd String Quartet composed in 1915–17, namely in the 2nd movement, where the tritone becomes the structurally most important interval. Non-diatonic scales also permeated Bartók's music from about 1914 onwards and, as Bartók research has repeatedly pointed out,[19] the tritone became a central interval for Bartók's tonality and formal thinking – especially in composing with

17 Lidi Dósa, a young girl from Transylvania who had accompanied Bartók to Gerlice Puszta, was asked to sing to him Transylvanian village songs which she had learned from her grandmother. Bartók wrote them down and later published one of them with a piano accompaniment; see Denijs Dille in: *Documenta Bartókiana* 4, ed. by Denijs Dille, Mainz 1970, p. 23–25, and Malcolm Gillies, *Béla Bartók im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, Zürich and St. Gallen 1991, pp. 70–71.

18 Cf. his essay "Volksmusik der Araber von Biskra und Umgebung" (first published in Hungarian in 1917), in: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1920), pp. 489–522.

19 Cf., among others, Ernő Lendvai, *Béla Bartók. An Analysis of His Music*, London 1971; Peter Petersen, *Die Tonalität im Instrumentalschaffen von Béla Bartók*, Hamburg 1971; Elliott Antokoletz, *The Music of Béla Bartók. A Study of Tonality and Progression in Twentieth-Century Music*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1984.

the two axes or four poles of the circle of fifths, the so-called 'axis system' of interlocking tritone polarities (e.g. *c–f sharp/a–e flat*).

The phenomenon of symmetry, which can hardly be derived from Hungarian peasant music, is also becoming an increasingly central compositional principle in Bartók's oeuvre.[20] Thus, as a 'bridge form' or palindromic arrangement, it meets the overall form almost paradigmatically in the 4th and 5th String Quartets (with two complementary types of symmetrical five-movement form), but also in the opera Duke Bluebeard's Castle (*A kékszakállú herceg vára*, op. 11) or in the ballet The Wooden Prince (*A fából faragott királyfi*, op. 13). In the 5th String Quartet, moreover, the first movement has a palindromic type of sonata form, which is basically already preformed in the form of the first movement of the Piano Quintet: the three thematic complexes of the 'exposition' are recapitulated in reverse order after the 'development'; in exactly the middle of the movement (two bars after number 105), even a mirror axis is literally composed out, and the tonality of the movement progresses, integrating the tritone, in whole-tone steps: *c–d–e–f sharp–a flat–b flat*, as a consequence of the main theme, which vehemently circles the whole-tone step at the beginning and then reaches out to the tritone.

The use of the whole-tone scale as a scale form integrating the tritone is also present in the Piano Quintet (in the scordatura passage), and there are also already, as indicated, features of a vertical mirror symmetry of the musical movement, which then also gain enormous importance for the later Bartók. The first movement of the 5th String Quartet, for example, closes with a cadenza in which the importance of symmetry for the movement as well as for the work seems to be condensed in a mirroring structure. The first movement of the Music for String Instruments, Percussion and Celesta then comes to an even more perfectly symmetrical conclusion shortly afterwards. Here, the circular figure of the last bars (taken from the main theme) with the simultaneous melodic reaching out to the tritone in both directions suggestively summarizes – even visually – the symmetrical overall form of the movement, which is known to be a double circular fugue: it begins and ends with the same note *a* and unfolds in symmetrical entries in fifths, reaching its dynamic climax at the tritone tone, the maximum ambitus as well as the reversal point of its palindromic form.

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20 For basic information about this (and especially about the String Quartets No. 4 and 5, as well as the Music for String Instruments, Percussion and Celesta) cf. Frank Hentschel, *Funktion und Bedeutung der Symmetrie in den Werken Béla Bartóks*, Lucca 1997; see also e.g. Oramo Ilkka, "Modale Symmetrie bei Bartók", in: *Die Musikforschung* 33 (1980), pp. 450–64; Wallace Berry, "Symmetrical Interval Sets and Derivative Pitch Materials in Bartók's Quartet No. 3", in: *Perspectives of New Music* 18 (1979–80), pp. 287–380, and Jonathan W. Bernard, "Space and Symmetry in Bartók", in: *Journal of Music Theory* 30 (1986), pp. 185–201.

If, however, in a major work such as the Music for String Instruments, Percussion and Celesta – many other examples of comparison could be mentioned in Bartók's work – the phenomena of Hungarian folklorism, symmetry and tritone dominate the music from the micro to the macro level, then this cannot be simply attributed to the reception of the Hungarian or South-East European peasant music. It seems that Bartók's overall compositional disposition for symmetry phenomena was as important for the work of the mature composer as the politically and ethically motivated impulse for the integration of folk music style characteristics. And the Piano Quintet of 1903/04 seems to play a key role in Bartók's compositional development: this was probably the first time he became aware of how scalar-interval tritone structures (up to the whole-tone scale) could be derived from folkloristic material, namely the so-called 'gypsy scale', which led out of conventional major-minor diatonics and at the same time were suitable for developing symmetrical tonal structures as well as symmetrical probably palindromic movement forms via the tritone.

Bartók himself seems to have withdrawn the Piano Quintet later primarily because he was embarrassed by the late Romantic style and the inclination to the verbunkos style. After all, the work embodied exactly that kind of salon and 'gypsy' musical Hungarism in the sense of the 19th century, from which he vehemently distanced himself, from 1906 onwards, with his ethnomusicological research and his musical oeuvre (and which in 1911 he also criticized in Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies).[21] Nevertheless, the Piano Quintet already contains remarkably much of the 'genetic code' from which the work of the mature Bartók was to develop.[22] In this respect, it would probably be appropriate to view this Quintet not so much as the conclusion of Bartók's youthful work, but rather as a signpost for the future: an important step towards what then constitutes the musical thinking of the later Bartók. The kind of folklorism may still be the wrong here, but structurally the contours of the 'actual' Bartók with its specific musical-constructive ingenuity are already emerging very clearly under the surface of its late Romantic sound.

21 Cf. his essay "Die Musik Franz Liszts und das Publikum von heute", p. 135.

22 Wolfgang Rathert recently pointed out that a motif from Bartók's Piano Quintet Scherzo (bars 649 and 760) was taken up again 42 years later in the opening movement of his Third Piano Concerto (bars 48 sqq.) ("Adagio ohne Liebe? Hans Koessler, der Lehrer Bartóks", in: *Musiktheorie* 31 [2016], pp. 307–8).

The Cults of Composers and Their Influence on Music Analysis

Dániel Nagy

The case of Bartók

In 1980 the Hungarian state-owned music publishing house, Zeneműkiadó published Eric Salzman's book on twentieth century music (the English original had been published in 1967) in Hungarian translation.[1] In the book, Salzman attempted to give a panorama picture on musical modernism from its very beginnings to his own contemporaries. Such a book could actually provide new information for the Hungarian readers of the time, but retrospectively, its most interesting part is the editor's foreword. On these four pages a well-known Hungarian musicologist, László Somfai recommends the book for Hungarian readers, but among the laudatory words it seems that the main point of these remarks is offering an apology in advance for the content of Salzman's main text. Although it was not uncommon in Eastern Europe during the communist era that Western academic works (usually from the fields of social sciences and humanities) had to be published with a foreword by a native scholar, mainly to – at least seemingly – reconcile their points with the official version of Marxist-Leninist ideology of the time, it would not have been inevitable in the case of a book on such a politically harmless subject as twentieth century music. Accordingly, no political or philosophical arguments appear in Somfai's foreword, he tries to explain only one thing for the Hungarian readership – why they should not consider the positioning of Bartók in Salzman's historiographical narrative as an act of blasphemy.

The Hungarian musicologist explicitly advises his compatriotic reader 'not to waste more temper than necessary on the actual or assumed disproportionateness of the book'.[2] By that he obviously means not to become indignant realizing that Bartók is not treated as *the* main figure of musical modernism. Not that Salzman

1 Eric Salzman, *A huszadik század zenéje*, Budapest 1980.

2 László Somfai , "Ajánlás", in: Salzman, *A huszadik század zenéje*, pp. 5–8, here pp. 6–7.

would have denied Bartók's musical genius by any means, but for some reason the publishers of the Hungarian edition presumed that a narrative of modern music which does not discuss the composer as the leading name of the 20th century canon would not find acceptance in Hungary. Not without commentary at least.

Though Somfai claims at the very beginning that 'the Hungarian reader of musicological books is mature enough to form an opinion independently on the works translated from foreign languages',[3] he immediately adds that 'there is a good reason for releasing Eric Salzman's book with some commendatory remarks',[4] since 'it is not hard to foretell that *Twentieth Century Music* will stir our emotions up'.[5] Somfai realizes that the traditional perspective of Hungarian musicology – with its special attention to Middle- and Eastern-European trends – resulted in historiographical narratives mandatorily treating Bartók's oeuvre as a central phenomenon in 20th century music.[6] He also admits that Hungarian musicologists had long been suspecting that 'a foreign [i.e. *Western*] concept of the history of 20th century music cannot be judged merely on the basis of how much it centres around Bartók'.[7]

On the other hand the 'emotions' and 'temper' mentioned here clearly do not refer to the personal attitude of either Somfai himself or of his contemporary Hungarian colleagues, rather to an assumed reaction of the book's expected Hungarian readers. The question is: what made the publishers presume that the readers could react negatively on an emotional basis to such an academic historiographical work? Why would have Salzman's chapter on Bartók 'disheartened' anyone?[8] Why would anyone make any music historiographical standpoint an emotional issue in general?

At the time of the publication of Salzman's book in Hungary, Bartók unquestionably served as a central figure of the canon of 20th century musicians in the eyes of the Hungarian audience. Around 1980 he was considered as the most important of modern classics (besides maybe Stravinsky and Kodály). In Hungary Bartók also served as a kind of an artistic role model not only for musicians, but for certain figures of fine arts and for a great many of poets, especially in the second half of the 20th century. In 1981 (celebrating the centenary of the composer's birth), a more than three hundred pages long anthology was published with poems all about Bartók.[9] Some years later, in 1988, when the composer's mortal

3 Ibid., p. 5.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 See ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 7.
8 See ibid., p. 7.
9 Lajos Szakolczay (ed.), *A szarvassá változott fiú: magyar költők versei Bartók Béláról,* Budapest

remains were taken back from the USA to Hungary to be reburied in Budapest, the reigning regime presented it as a political achievement.[10] In the 1970s and 1980s, Bartók was not only celebrated as a great musician in his native country, but as one of the greatest artists of the 20th century.

In Salzman's book, however, he is treated as only one exceptional composer among many others, but not as *the* most important. Though according to the index Bartók is still one of the most frequently mentioned composers by Salzman (overtaken only by Schönberg, Stravinsky, Cage and Webern),[11] it could be a novelty for the Hungarian reader that he is not the alpha and omega of 20th century music in the eyes of an American musician. The fact that other kinds of canons exist may have been a revelation for many, but it does not explain what could have triggered the strong emotional reaction Somfai predicted. The Hungarian musicologist probably thought that many of his compatriots may still have considered Salzman's approach of 20th century music as a devaluation of their national cultural idol and therefore may have felt offended by the American author. In the light of all this we may assume that the main purpose of Somfai's foreword is nothing else but to assure Hungarian readers that Salzman did not mean to offend their national pride. Which leads to the question – what does a narrative of music history have to do with national (or any other) pride?

This question, however, cannot be answered in the field of music history alone. Treating Bartók, or any other composer, merely as a musician will never explain how and why their position in canons and historiographical narratives may 'stir the emotions up' not only of professional musicians and musicologists, but sometimes even of amateur musicians or music-lovers. Though human feelings like resentment and anger mostly lack rational control, it is still rather hard to understand why anyone may lose his/her temper at a scholar only implicitly questioning the overwhelming significance of a certain composer in Western music history. It seems much more logical that people become emotionally involved in a debate about narratives of music history for these narratives somehow express and confirm their personal identity. To put it simply, people are not likely to get

1981. The selection incorporates a wide range of trends in Hungarian poetry from avant-garde to folklorism. Many of the works are not only minor writings for an occasion, but considered as being one of the most important poems of their authors, and in some cases mentioned among the classics of 20th century Hungarian poetry – such as *Bartók* from Gyula Illyés, *Bartók Amerikában* from Domokos Szilágyi, or *A szarvassá változott fiú kiáltozásai a titkok kapujában* from Ferenc Juhász. The book also includes poems of others usually treated by literary historians as influential figures in 20th century Hungarian poetry, such as Lajos Kassák or László Nagy.

10 See Béni L. Balogh, "'Szeretnék hazamenni, de végleg' – Bartók Béla újratemetése", http://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/ol/hirek/szeretnek_hazamenni_de_vegleg (12.02.2018).

11 See Salzman, *A huszadik század zenéje*, pp. 295–311.

angry with a musicologist for devaluating a composer, they get angry for feeling themselves devaluated by the historiographical approach. The question therefore is not the pure aesthetic value of musical pieces, rather the readers' conviction about their own good taste, intelligence or literacy, or even their national pride. In our case, the possible stirring of emotions presumed by Somfai can only be explained if we assume that Bartók had an extra-musical cultural significance in Hungary during that time, or that he represented important non-musical values in the eyes of many. Thus, to understand this phenomenon we have to cast a glance at cultural memory in the field of music from the perspective of cultural semiotics.

Canons and composers

In 1994, the American literary critic, Harold Bloom published his highly influential book, *The Western Canon*,[12] which has aroused fierce debates ever since among literary scholars. Bloom famously argues that literary works and authors are connected through the 'anxiety of influence' – which means that the originality of a masterpiece, written by a literary genius issues a challenge to other authors (either contemporaries or members of a following generation) arousing anxiety in them.[13] From this he concludes that there is an immanent hierarchy of authors in Western literary tradition, upon which a unified canon of Western literature is based.[14] Since this 'Western Canon' only relies upon the anxiety caused by the immanent literary value of certain texts, Bloom therefore claims that it has nothing to do with social processes or ideologies and convictions (either religious, philosophical or political) of reading communities or of literary critics.[15] From Bloom's point of view the 'Western Canon' is not his invention; rather it is unconsciously constructed by the authors themselves, even if the members of the 'School of Resentment' attribute the canonic positions of writers to the effect of social forces.[16] Members of this 'school' (critics dealing with Marxism, feminism or cultural studies among many other fields) bring the condemnation of the former Yale professor upon themselves by assuming that even Shakespeare's reputation could be examined as a socially embedded phenomenon. In opposition, Bloom relentlessly insists that nothing but

12 Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages*, New York 1994.
13 Ibid., p. 8.
14 Cf. ibid., p. 8–9.
15 Cf. ibid., p. 37. 'William Shakespeare wrote thirty-eight plays, twenty-four of them masterpieces, but social energy has never written a single scene.'
16 Ibid., p. 38. 'Aesthetic value emanates from the struggle between texts: in the reader, in language, in the classroom, in arguments within a society.'

the power of language and poetic originality sets the Bard on the top of the entire Western literary tradition, spreading his glory all around the globe.[17]

Though Bloom's openly expressed disdain toward many of his colleagues has not made him popular in many academic circles and his one-canon-to-rule-them-all view is treated as highly problematic by most mainstream Western literary scholars, some of his observations may still prove to be useful if one tries to understand the structures of traditions in different Western art forms. Even if we disagree with Bloom about the existence of one, unified, sui generis canon for the entire Western literature, we must admit that the arrangement of authors follows a similar pattern in his setting as in the majority of modern literary canons. The Western canons of artists and artworks are usually based on a distinction between highly important and less important figures and works. There are always a few authors in central positions (like Shakespeare or Dante according to Bloom) and many others are considered being peripheral (such as 20th century Hungarian poets like Ferenc Juhász or Attila József, or novelist László Németh who appear on Bloom's extended list in the *Appendix* of *The Western Canon*).[18] Similarly, narratives of music history also often concentrate on 'Great Composers', rather than on 'Kleinmeister'.[19] Though academic historiographical works often attempt to transcend this perspective concentrating on the histories of more abstract phenomena (such as genres, institutions, techniques of form, harmonization or instrumentation etc.) rather than on specific composers, eventually it often proves to be rather difficult telling such a story without mentioning some key figures. Especially as music and musical pieces do not belong exclusively to universities and other academic institutions, musical works are published, performed in concert halls and opera houses, recorded, sold and purchased on CDs and DVDs, uploaded to video sharing sites and so forth, some much more frequently than others. At the same time, different composers have different reputation in certain communities; they are never completely equals in terms of cultural prestige.

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17 Ibid., 'If we could conceive of a universal canon, multicultural and multivalent, its one essential book would not be a scripture, whether Bible, Koran or Eastern text, but rather Shakespeare, who is acted and read everywhere, in every language and circumstance'.

18 See ibid., p. 558.

19 Even in the six volumes of *The Oxford History of Western Music* by Richard Taruskin music history is mostly presented through the activity of some key figures. Entire styles, periods and genres are signalled with the names of their most important composers like Machaut for ars subtilior and for the polyphony of the late Middle-Ages (Chapter 9), Josquin for Humanist Renaissance (Chapter 14), Palestrina and Byrd for the 16th century vocal polyphony (Chapter 16), Monteverdi for the beginnings of the opera (Chapter 21), Bach and Händel for the High Baroque (Chapter 25–26), or Cage for indeterminism and aleatory (Chapter 61) among many others as well. See Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*. Vols. 1–6, Oxford 2005–2009.

This hierarchy, however, is not that of Bloom. The American scholar asserted that the basis of his canonic hierarchy can be found within literature independently from any other cultural process or phenomenon; cultural prestige or reputation on the other hand inevitably implies the presence and effect of a cultural milieu. A scholar from the field of academic criticism may sometimes be tempted to analyse certain literary texts or musical pieces as if they were completely autotelic creations (as some of them were actually intended to be), but the status of any author, composer or artist within any human community is per se an inherently social phenomenon. Bloom's canon is based on the assumption that somehow literary texts themselves are able to show respect toward each other (through the 'anxiety of influence'), and he as a critic could trace back the textual signs of this respect, revealing the immanent hierarchy of literary works. Nevertheless, even if he was all right about it, artworks are still used, remembered and respected by human beings living in communities. Canons in this respect are evidently social institutions, and their criteria are never pure poetic excellence or stylistic originality, however blasphemous it may seem from the ivory tower of academia.

The term *canon* originally referred to a set of sacred texts, those containing the divine truth about either the physical or the metaphysical aspects of human existence for the members of a certain community. Consequently, canons have important social functions as well. First of all, they contribute to the formation of group cohesion by stabilizing the most important values shared by the members of a given community. In addition to that their main task is the preservation of texts containing vital information for the community. The German scholar Jan Assmann states that in early human cultures cultural memory was based on *ritual coherence*, which means that the most important stories (cosmogonic and cosmological myths etc.) were recalled regularly within some kind of ritual activity.[20] At this stage, human cultures were only capable of preserving a relatively small number of texts in a very stable, firmly fixed form, since every kind of innovation would have threatened them with forgetting.[21] But after the invention of writing had made the *externalization of memories* possible, the threat eased and people could afford a more critical attitude toward tradition,[22] cultural memory then was based on the principle of *textual coherence*.[23] In spite of this, human communities still demanded some kind of common background; therefore, a relatively small corpus of highly important texts earned special attention and respect, having been written down in a definitive form – the canon therefore, so Assmann claims, can

20 Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization. Writing, Remembrance and Political Imagination*, Cambridge 2011, p. 3.
21 Ibid., p. 81–82.
22 Ibid., p. 82–83.
23 Ibid., p. 4.

be conceived as 'the continuance of ritual continuity through the medium of written tradition'.[24]

The canon as a set of normative texts originally belonged to religions, but in modern literary theory this concept is also used for corpora of secular works of great importance within a given tradition. Secular canons are obviously not as stable as the religious ones in most cases, but they also consist of texts containing and expressing important values for a certain group of people. These values, however, are not necessarily aesthetic ones; works of art may also represent moral values, religious or political convictions or national identities etc. in most cultures. Bartók for instance is not only considered as a musical genius in many biographies, but also as some kind of role model for human decency in confused historical times. He is often presented as a champion of civilization and tolerance for his uncompromising opposition to Nazism. The termination of his contract with the Viennese music publisher Universal Edition, when after the Anschluss they posted him a questionnaire inquiring about his Aryan ancestry; his consideration of converting to Judaism to provoke a prohibition of performing his works in Nazi Germany; his ardent refusal of the idea of racial purity; his alleged objection for being left out from the infamous Nazi exhibition of 'degenerate art' (entartete Kunst) in Munich 1937; his emigration from Hungary in 1940 attributed mostly to his increasing aversion to the official right wing politics of his native country at the time; or his demand formulated in his will that he had not wanted to be officially remembered in Hungary as long as streets or any public places were named after Adolf Hitler or Benito Mussolini – these biographical episodes, whether factual or anecdotal, all belong to the legend of Bartók, as an unrelentingly Antifascist intellectual.[25] He is also often praised for his tolerant, internationalist perspective in an age of notoriously narrow-minded nationalistic regimes in Middle and Eastern Europe (first of all in his home country). The composer, whose main idea was 'the brotherhood of peoples'[26] – as it is cited in the vast majority of books and articles about him – must have been a truly anachronistic phenomenon in interwar Eastern Europe.[27] So far so good, but the most important thing to notice here is that these biographical elements have virtually nothing to do with the aesthetic

24 Ibid., p. 89.

25 See Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, Oxford 1975, p. 85; and also Tibor Tallián, *Béla Bartók: the Man and His Work*, Budapest 1981, pp. 174–175; https://www.decaclassics.com/en/series/prod_series?ID=ENTMUS (02.03.2018), http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/resistance-and-exile/bartok-bela/ (02.03.2018), https://nepszava.hu/cikk/1065171-bartok-a-nacizmus-elol-emigralt?print=10 (02.03.2018).

26 See Stephen Erdely, "Bartók and Folk Music", in: *The Cambridge Companion to Bartók*, ed. by Amanda Bayley, Cambridge 2001, pp. 24–42, here p. 41.

27 As Tibor Tallián writes about Dance Suite, the work '[…] intended to symbolize the inclusion of Hungary in a common democratic Easter European future. In the Dance Suite Bartók

value of Bartók's works. In these narratives he is not only presented as a musical genius but also as a person of moral authority. On the one hand one may argue that no one would care about his character as a human being had he not composed his musical masterpieces, on the other hand, though, it does not change the fact that Bartók is not only celebrated for the excellence of his compositions, but his figure also represents important non-aesthetic values in the eyes of many people.

Composers, works and the struggle against time

The values attached to canonical works and to their creators can be of various kinds but there is at least one thing in common – they are always conceived as eternally valid ones. Though secular canons inevitably change from time to time,[28] the devotees of a certain canon usually consider the selected works as realizations of some timeless value by their internal capacity. As the embodiments of ideas of perennial importance these cultural objects are seen by their enthusiasts as not being exposed to the passing of time in the sense that they would never become obsolete. This grants them a solid, constant position in an ever changing environment over the course of historical time. As a result these canonical pieces achieve the status of eternal *Classics*, which – according to Hans-Georg Gadamer – are conceived as transcending historical time, by remaining contemporaries in every historical era.[29] From the German philosopher's point of view, classics have the outstanding ability of performing the actualization of their message from their own power, thus being capable of carrying an infinite number of specific meanings addressed to every particular period.[30] These works may never become sheer traces of the past – rather they always remain present for their admirers, opposing the linear passing of time, which inexorably turns future into present and present into past over its course.

Literary or musical canons are therefore the collections of those texts or works

sought with a political awareness the musical levels on which the democratic integration could be realized.' Tallián, *Béla Bartók: the Man and His Work,* p. 133.

28 See Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, p. 103: 'every period has its own canon'..

29 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method.* Second, Revised Edition. London and New York 2004, p. 288. 'The "classical" is something raised above the vicissitudes of changing times and changing tastes.'

30 Ibid., 'It is immediately accessible, not through that shock of recognition, as it were, that sometimes characterizes a work of art for its contemporaries and in which the beholder experiences a fulfilled apprehension of meaning that surpasses all conscious expectations. Rather, when we call something classical, there is a consciousness of something enduring, of significance that cannot be lost and that is independent of all the circumstances of time – a kind of timeless present that is contemporaneous with every other present.'

considered as being defiant against the might of time. One could even say they are the secular means to fulfil human desire for immortality.[31] From the Renaissance on there is an exclusive option for life after death, reserved for the most outstanding artistic achievements in Western culture, granted by cultural memory.[32] In religion, the functioning of cultural memory is based above all on performativity – sacred texts are repeatedly recited, events and actors of great importance are from time to time orderly commemorated in liturgical ceremonies. Similarly, there are also institutionalized forms of respect attached to secular canonical authors/composers and works – known as literary cults in literary studies.

Composers and cults

These secular cults are – similarly to religious ones – social institutions, incorporating all widely accepted and sounded positive value judgements, topoi, commonplaces and clichés reflecting a respectful attitude toward a certain figure as well as all socially accepted activities and materialized forms of respect. In other words, as formulated by the Hungarian literary scholar Péter Dávidházi in his book about the cult of Shakespeare, they are results of the transplantation of religious cult into the field of literary (or in our case, musical) tradition.[33] In his monograph, Dávidházi enumerates the corresponding elements between religion and the forms and practices of respect in literary tradition, which are more or less the same in musical tradition as well.

The Hungarian scholar makes a distinction between three major aspects – cult as an attitude, a related use of language and as a certain ritual.[34] Cult as an attitude is an 'unconditional reverence', a total, and devoted commitment, precluding every conceivable criticism of the respected object,[35] therefore the respective language is marked by 'a preference for [...] glorifying statements that can be neither verified nor falsified because they are not amenable to any kind of empirical testing whatsoever'.[36] In other words, the absolute perfection of the works is presupposed as an unquestionable axiom – any deficiencies or malformations revealed in them

31 Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, München 1999, p. 357.

32 See ibid., p. 45–46.

33 See Péter Dávidházi, *The Romantic Cult of Shakespeare. Literary Reception in Anthropological Perspective*, London 1998 and also Péter Dávidházi, 'Cult and Criticism: Ritual in the European Reception of Shakespeare', in: *Literature and Its Cults – an Anthropological Perspective*, ed. by Péter Dávidházi and Judit Karafiáth, Budapest 1994, pp. 29–45.

34 Dávidházi, 'Cult and Criticism', p. 31.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

must be imputed to the disability of the recipient, not that of the author/composer. If one finds such a work, something known as a masterpiece, in any way inconsistent, and blames his/her own limited capacity of understanding instead of the author, then such a person can be considered as a true believer of the respective cult. This attitude is often even more tempting in music, since the illusion of a work's flawlessness can be preserved in many cases without having to put the blame on ourselves – we may also scapegoat the performers for failing to reveal the genius of the composer.[37] Accordingly, the mode of linguistic utterances in texts reflecting the attitude of this secular equivalent of the glorification of some transcendental power or entity can surely be considered performative rather than constative.[38] By them one does not describe the peculiarities of a piece, rather performs an action of expressing his/her devotion to the composer, confessing the sin of not being able to perceive the compositional prime of perfection at the first hearing in a masterpiece and repenting, or practicing quasi-apologetics by arguing how the seemingly inconsistent elements may still contribute to the excellence of the work on a higher aesthetic level.

Rituals on the other hand represent a much more concrete form of performativity. Dávidházi claims that periodically repeated festivals, pilgrimage or the collecting and respect of relics all have their parallels in literary cults,[39] and the same holds true for musical traditions as well. Major biographic events in the lives of certain musicians (birth, death, sometimes composition or premiere of their most important works etc.) are commemorated regularly, like the events of Jesus' life, or the anniversaries of the martyrdom of certain saints are celebrated in Christianity for instance. Birthdays of major composers are often commemorated with concerts in many concert halls around the world – there are Bartók concerts in Hungary on the 25th of March almost every year, but the birth anniversaries of Mozart or Bach may also be celebrated similarly.[40] Special jubilees can even be celebrated with a whole series of festivities – 2006 for example was a Bartók-year in Hungary, honouring the 125th anniversary of his birth, although classical

37 Sometimes it may also be the other way round – if an admired performer plays a less known piece boring and senseless, the majority of the audience usually tend to think that the piece was not worthy of performing rather than the 'great artist' played poorly.

38 See John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words?* Oxford 1962, p. 6. '[…] the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action.'

39 Dávidházi, "Cult and Criticism", p. 31.

40 See https://www.jegy.hu/program/a-nemzeti-filharmonikusok-koncertje-bartok-bela-szuletesnapja-alkalmabol-btf-48830 (27.02.2018), https://www.eventbrite.com/e/mozarts-birthday-concert-and-reception-tickets-41045948537 (27.02.2018), https://www.bachakademie.de/de/veranstaltungsdetails/201703211900.html (27.02.2018) and many more as well.

music enthusiasts worldwide were mostly preoccupied with the 250th birthday of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.[41]

Secular cults therefore are in many ways similar to those applied in religious cults, which is in no way surprising since they also serve similar goals, the sustention and propagation of some universal (or so considered, to be more precise) value.

The prestige of musicians and the modelling systems of culture

The supposed universality of a cult's values also means that these can never be completely independent of a broader system of values held in respect within a given human community. As Assmann claims, the logic of *ritual coherence* (on which canons and cults are based) demanded the preservation of only a few texts in a strictly definitive, unchangeable form, since the loss of information potentially induced by any kind of innovation could threaten the fundaments of a community's entire world-view, which had relied upon the values expressed in the respected 'sacred' texts.[42]

In this respect, cults can be considered as modelling systems from the viewpoint of cultural semiotics. This term was first used by the Soviet-Estonian scholar Yuri Lotman in the 1970s, in the sense of a semiotic apparatus making an interpretation (understanding) of the perceived reality possible for the human mind.[43] In Lotman's theory natural languages serve as *primary modelling systems*, and every other cultural phenomena based upon language in some way, form *secondary modelling systems* such as mythology, religion, philosophy, law, science or literature.[44] Culture as a whole in this theory can be considered as a super-system, a language of languages so to say, consisting of all – primary and secondary – modelling systems used within a certain human community.

Cults of authors or musicians therefore can also be identified as secondary modelling systems, naturally very similar to religions in their way of modelling as well, and the special feature in religions from this point of view is exactly their

41 See http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/kultura/2006/bartok-szuletesenek-125 (27.02.2018) or http://www.filharmonikusok.hu/hirek/uton-2006-bartok-eve-volt/ (27.02.2018) and for the Mozart anniversary http://www.dw.com/en/mozart-year-2006-the-250th-birthday-of-a-musical-genius/a-1852031 (27.02.2018) and also http://www.warnerclassics.com/shop/381529,0825646233526/wind-soloists-of-the-chamber-orchestra-of-europe-mozart-250th-anniversary-edition-chamber-works (27.02.2018).

42 Cf. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, p. 81.

43 Juri Lotman, "The Place of Art among Other Modelling Systems", in: *Sign System Studies* 39 (2011) 2/4, pp. 249–270, here p. 250.

44 Ibid.

claim of universality. In terms of modelling, that means an aspiration for totality – the claim by some system to influence all other kinds of modelling activity within a certain culture. Religions which have been successful in recruiting a great many believers throughout history mostly do not restrict their activities to contemplating about abstract, purely spiritual thoughts in reclusion, rather they usually have a dominant role in the formation of cultural views on the most diverse of issues, from legislation to nutrition, from aesthetics to economy or from politics to sexuality. Of course, these are more or less autonomous fields of culture in modern societies, but the logic behind the modelling of religions has its roots deeply in the past of human cultures, in times much earlier than the beginnings of Western modernity. Some religions have been successful in preserving cultural information (texts, ritual practices, regulations or prohibitions etc.) for thousands of years, since they succeeded in making these pieces of information a stable basis of world view, identity and social cohesion in certain communities. Though this totality is presumably no more achievable in modern or post-modern cultures (and it is at least questionable whether it will be possible any time in the future) most religions still try to provide a coherent system of values to their followers covering as many different aspects of their lives as possible. The more people consider certain values crucial for their identity (either as individuals or as members of a group) and in most aspects of their everyday lives, the more likely these values will be sustained and continuously respected in the future. The more these values are connected to each other establishing a coherent structure, the less probable one or two of them would be replaced by others since it could make the devotees feel that it may undermine the whole structure, threatening values still of crucial importance as well.

In semiotic terms this embedding of single values into comprehensive structures happens through *connotation*. This term had been introduced by the Danish linguist Louis Hjelmslev,[45] but became a key concept in the semiotic theory of Roland Barthes.[46] Connotation is often used in the sense of secondary or figurative meaning, while denotation would be the primary or literal sense of an expression. In the semiotic theory of Hjelmslev and Barthes, however, these concepts are treated much more consciously in terms of primariness and secondariness. *Denotation* is primary in the sense that it makes a simple relation of signification between an *expression* and a *content* – connotation on the other hand connects the content with an expression which is already a sign itself (i.e. it also consists of a

45 See Louis Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, trans. by Francis J. Withfield, Madison, WI 1961, p. 114 ff.

46 See Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, trans. by Anette Lavers and Colin Smith, New York 1977, pp. 89–92; or Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. by Richard Miller, Hoboken, NJ 1990, pp. 6–9.

related expression and content) thereby establishing a complex, secondary level of signification.[47] Connotation therefore in Barthes' view is 'a feature which has the power to relate itself to anterior, ulterior, or exterior mentions, to other sites of the text (or of another text)'.[48] Though the French scholar uses the term here as a function within a literary text (or a given corpus of texts), if we treat culture as a kind of text itself (a 'semiotic world') as Lotman proposed,[49] we may certainly talk about connotation as one of the main forces shaping it. Barthes asserts that connotation must not be confused with the association of ideas since while it 'refers to the system of a subject', connotation 'is a correlation immanent in the text, in the texts; or again, one may say that it is an association made by the text-as-subject within its own system'.[50] In this respect, cults and the comprehensive value structures created by them can be considered as subjects: correlating culturally determined values within an autonomous system.

The French theorist states that through connotation 'certain areas of the text correlating other meanings outside the material text and, with them, forming "nebulae" of signifieds'.[51] In our case certain elements or topics of a cult may correlate with meanings or values outside literature or music, forming 'nebulae of signifieds' from non-aesthetic values around the figures of authors or composers. Thanks to this, a musician or a musical piece can connotatively evoke values which otherwise have – strictly speaking at least – nothing to do with music, such as religious belief, moral judgements, national pride, political conviction etc. Like in the example cited above Bartók could represent a moral stance and a political position against aggressive nationalism and racist intolerance, but in another context he and his music may also be celebrated as a perfect representation of the creativity and spiritual richness of the Hungarian nation. Musicologists, critics and historians may argue against one or the other, or may even reject both relying on the results of scholarly research – these associations of values, however, are not based on factual evidence revealed with academic methodology rather on connotative connections established within certain fields of cultural discourse by narratives of cults. The main question here is not whether these beliefs about Bartók or about any other composer are supported by historical evidence – the crucial question is whether they are coherent with other elements and value-judgements within their own system.

Having been attached to as many different values as possible within such a

47 Barthes, *S/Z,* pp. 6–7.
48 Ibid., p. 8.
49 See Juri Lotman, "On Semiosphere", in: *Sign System Studies* (2005) 33/1, pp. 205–229, here p. 213.
50 Barthes, *S/Z*, p. 8. [my italics – DN]
51 Ibid.

system built of connotative correlations of values, respected figures or works are much less threatened by losing their relevance for the members of a certain community and thus falling into oblivion. As long as the structure or structures, in which they are embedded, exist, their chances of being remembered and remaining respected are good. Their position in cultural memory is consolidated, thereby fulfilling the main aspiration of their cults.

Public memories and academic narratives – clash or correlation?

There is one more perplexing question remaining. What happens if the statements or evaluations of academic music historiography conflict with these publicly sounded beliefs about composers, established by cults? Perhaps the simplest scenario would be if the public opinion were revised according to the relevant results of musicology. This, however, occurs rather rarely. The discovery of certain composers by music historians and analysts may arouse the interest of practicing musicians, resulting in an increased number of performances, recordings and editions which eventually grants them a position in a certain canon and a higher prestige in the eyes of the music-loving public. Some figures of early music may be cited here as examples: the operatic oeuvre of G. F. Händel for instance had remained virtually unperformed for centuries, until musicologists and performers of the historically informed practice managed to re-introduce many of his operas into the repertoire. Nonetheless, I cannot mention any example of this phenomenon in the opposite direction, i.e. an already existing cult of any musician would have considerably declined directly because of a negative re-evaluation of his/her role in historiographical narratives. Of course in some cases the works of certain composers may suffer a recession of importance in academic narratives, in numbers of performances and recordings and in public respect as well throughout roughly the same period of time, but it does not mean that the cause of the decline of interest in concert halls, record shops and in public prestige could be attributed essentially to a shift in academic discourse, it seems more likely that all these fields are affected by some change in the Zeitgeist so to speak.

One may find that academic music historians and their scholarly narratives have a limited influence on either the reason why or the way how certain composers are respected in society, not to mention scholars sometimes do not even have a say in the compiling the selection of composers to be celebrated. So, it may happen that even if academic narratives contradict the widespread belief about a certain composer in some regard, they could remain simply ignored by the wider public. In some cases, however, a scholarly narrative may face active rejection by the music-loving public. This was certainly the reaction the Hungarian

editors predicted to Eric Salzman's book on 20th century music. It seems clear to me that László Somfai needed to write the above cited preliminary remarks for the Hungarian edition of the book because he felt that many followers of the Hungarian Bartók-cult of the time would have taken the American author's position about the Hungarian composer as a heretical and sacrilegious act. He tried to prevent the outbreak of a storm of indignation by attaching a commentary to the original text, somewhat similarly to medieval commentators who tried to explain why theories of ancient 'pagan' authors were not in contradiction with the teachings of Christianity. Semiotically speaking, Somfai attempted to change the *code of interpretation* for the presupposed readers of Salzman's book by providing them an alternative framework for interpretation thereby modifying their understanding and eventually their emotional reaction to the text. Practically, an academic scholar anticipated a public outcry against the historiographical point of view of another scholar, so he tried to avoid it using the toolkit of academic argumentation and also his authority granted him by his academic position and achievements.

This is a perfect example of how academic discourse and cults mutually depend on each other in most cases. Though cults sometimes can afford to ignore the academic narratives, but on the other hand they often depend on the work of scholars to succeed in their main goal, i.e. preserving the works of some composer and maintaining their importance within a certain cultural group. In this task the coryphaei of a cult can sometimes make good use of the authority of academic historiography if academia is willing to cooperate. Besides that the cooperation of scholars seems practically indispensable for ensuring the preservation of someone's oeuvre – musicologists do the editing works of the publications of a composer's pieces, they search for authentic sources of the compositions and sometimes even find pieces regarded as have been lost. Music historians provide the biographical data based on which cults may construct the image of a composer not only as a gifted musician but also as a cultural hero. Academic experts, librarians and archivists are keeping archives in order, in which the most important documents and sources of the composers' lives and works are collected and guarded, which is undoubtedly vital for their preservation.

Cults therefore depend on academic scholars in some respects, but on the other hand academics cannot completely ignore the narratives and values of cults either. Firstly, for practical reasons, as academic scholarship is usually funded from outside the academic world either by individuals, non-governmental organizations or by politicians. Since cults are important and often influential forms of the public respect of composers, their value judgements may affect the financial conditions of academic work in certain cases. Scholars may be urged to deal with the most popular and most widely respected composers to confirm their usefulness for society and to ensure the funding of their work either from private sources or from

tax money. Secondly, academics cannot afford to ignore the existence and the activity of cults for methodological reasons either. Since every kind of scholarly or scientific work deals with reality in a way, we must not exclude any phenomenon (may it belong to the physical or to the social world) from the scope of examination. Cults certainly belong to the history of reception, also to the sociological and anthropological aspects of music. They are something academic scholars should not leave unreflected, especially so because the boundaries between the two kinds of narratives are not always entirely clear.

Academic criticism and historiography have to distinguish themselves from other ways of approaching music history and from other conceptual frameworks applied for the structural or aesthetic understanding and interpretation of musical pieces – and cults apparently are ways of approaching music history and conceptual frameworks for understanding music. Though they theoretically differ from scholarly works both in the expressed values and in the applied methods, occasionally there is a possibility of transgression between the two types of narratives about music. On the one hand, sometimes academics may try to take the lead in cults and keep them within the boundaries of common sense; so to speak. In my opinion Somfai's commentary on Salzman's book, repeatedly cited in this paper, belongs to this category to some extent. The Hungarian scholar identifies with the cult's point of view both rhetorically and grammatically. In the beginning he claims 'it is not hard to foretell that *Twentieth Century Music* will stir our emotions up'.[52] He includes himself in the group of people emotionally affected by Salzman's book, even by the consistent use of the first person plural pronoun. He presents himself as a leading devotee of the Bartók-cult, trying to prevent the 'common believers' from feeling offended by the American scholar's position. Naturally a scholar cannot successfully lead a cult without giving up some key requirements of scholarly method, but in this case Somfai must have taken this risk with the purpose of saving the historiographical concept of a fellow academic from possible biased misinterpretation and rejection.

On the other hand, though, cults may sometimes also shape academic narratives as well. The internationally well-known and acknowledged Bartók-scholar Ernő Lendvai asserted in his famous analyses about the compositional method of Bartók that the concept of *golden section* and the so-called *Fibonacci-sequence* played a key role in the structure of the composer's major works.[53] This theory has become very famous in Bartók-analytics, although many scholars claimed having refuted it since its first publication. One could ask what it has got to do with cults, since falsifiability confirms that Lendvai's theory belongs in the academic

52 Somfai, "Ajánlás", p. 5. See footnote no. 5 [my italics DN].

53 See Ernő Lendvai, *Bela Bartók. An Analysis of His Music*, London 1971, p. 17 ff. and 27 ff.

discourse. I would not deny that, on the other hand though falsifiability does not confirm that some key points of the analyses could not have been inspired by the Bartók-cult, at least to some extent. Hungarian musicologist Sándor Kovács supposed in a paper on Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta, published in 2013, that Lendvai presumably wanted to showcase that 'the artistic level of Bartók's music is in neither way inferior to the works based on the scientific-mathematical method of Post-Webernian Serialism, favoured in the Darmstadt festivals of the early 1950s.'[54]

Whether Kovács is right or wrong about the motivation of Lendvai, he certainly attributes the very existence of this theory to the influence of a cult-like conviction, i.e. Lendvai wanted to defend Bartók's music against the possible depreciation on the part of contemporary Western musicians. Kovács suggests that Lendvai may have even claimed that Bartók's compositional method could be actually superior to that of the Darmstadt school since 'it does not follow arbitrarily crafted rules, rather those based on some natural law'.[55] That is to say, a 21st century musicologist assumes that his 20th century colleague may have developed one of his most famous theories mostly for an apologetical purpose. Despite his respect for his predecessor, Kovács seems to suggest that Lendvai presumably indulged in overinterpretation for he wanted to have an influence on the attitude either of musicians or of the public demanding more respect for Bartók compared to the Serialists. Even though we do not know his actual motivation, Lendvai surely made these analyses as a scholar, and it is possible to argue for or against his theory within the boundaries of academic discourse, based on evidence provided by the scores. On the other hand, his idea about the golden section in Bartók's music may have indeed been based on the assumption that the well-formedness of the composer's works outshines the structural complexity of Serialism. Following this presupposition it is no wonder he found what he wanted to find, even if in some cases he had to suppose an extra, silent closing bar, like in the end of the first movement of Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta.[56] Besides, Lendvai's thoughts about Bartók's music now belong to the composer's public image; the use of Fibonacci-sequence in his works is often cited as an evidence of his natural genius, without mentioning the loads of counter-arguments questioning this theory. Even though on the one hand Lendvai's theory is unquestionably based on a scholarly assumption, and there is a possibility of verification or falsification based on empirical evidence, it can also be attached to an important element of the cult's logic on the

54 Sándor Kovács, "… és celestára. Gondolatok a 'Zenéről'", in: *Magyar Zene* (2013) No. 1, pp. 51–67, here p. 66.

55 Ibid.

56 See Lendvai, *Bela Bartók. An Analysis of His Music*, p. 28. Cf. Kovács, "… és celestára", p. 66.

other hand. That is to say, the Hungarian analyst argued for the well-formedness of Bartók's music by associating its structural principles with some kind of natural law.[57] In other words, he embedded the scholarly evaluation of the composer's formal thinking in a framework of values extending beyond the borders of music by stating that Bartók had – either consciously or instinctively – applied some general principle of nature in his compositions. Thereby the aesthetic value attributed to the composer's music is based on a broader structure of values dominated by the concept of a kind of natural aesthetics. Like in a cult, the form of Bartók's music connotatively stands for some general, extra-musical value, i.e. the well-formedness of the natural world. Lendvai inherently applies the concept of *beauty* relying on the idea of *proportion* and on the imitation (*mimesis*) of *nature*, an aesthetic theory based on ancient Greek philosophy from the Pythagoreans to Aristotle. So the discovery of the golden section in Bartók's works by Lendvai may lead to the implicit statement that the composer's music represents the highest possible degree of beauty since its structure corresponds to the most elementary norms of *nature*, the ultimate source of all *beauty*. In this respect there are certainly traces of cult-building in Lendvai's ideas about Bartók, especially if Kovács is right about interpreting his analyses as apologetic texts trying to argue the compositional and aesthetic superiority of the music of his Eastern-European compatriot over contemporary Western fashions.

What is even more interesting, even Kovács himself refers to Lendvai's analysis of Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta in a small book promoting Bartók's music to the wider public. Here he also mentions the presence of the golden section and of the Fibonacci-sequence in the natural world, without arguing against Lendvai's theory, which he otherwise did many times. It seems that Kovács – an otherwise indefatigable critic of Lendvai – made a concession in this book to the Bartók-cult, confessing an important article of faith confirming the composer's genius in the eyes of his devotees in spite of the fact that he as a musicologist considered this theory falsifiable. [58]

Conclusions

There are several different possible narratives of music history. Some of them are constructed by scholars following the written and unwritten rules of academic discourse, but others emerge and spread outside university campuses and research

57 Lendvai himself emphasizes that the Fibonacci-series reflects 'the law of *natural growth*' [Lendvai's italics]; see Lendvai, *Bela Bartók. An Analysis of His Music,* p. 29.

58 See Sándor Kovács, *Bartók. A világ legnagyobb zeneszerzői*, Budapest 1995, p. 52–53.

institutes. Some composers and pieces become a part of a more general, public cultural memory. These figures and works may become widely known and respected in certain cultural groups as parts of a collective, non-academic canon. These canons are by definition corpora of texts or other creations not to be forgotten by the members of a given community, on the one hand because they are considered as cultural objects with outstanding aesthetic, intellectual, moral or spiritual value, on the other hand because their jointly performed respect has an important function forming cohesion within a group of individuals. The institutionalized – or at least publicly accepted – forms of respect could be labelled with the term cult. The secular cults of artists, authors, political leaders or in our case musicians are similar to religions both in their goals and in their methods. They also aspire to save something (an object, a text, the legacy of a person or anything else) of great importance from the corrupting effect of the continuously passing historic time and preserve it for eternity by trying to make sure that the respect and the special position of these cultural objects would be maintained within a certain human community, and they also strive to achieve this through performativity both in language and in actions.

In this respect, cults could be considered as semiotic modelling systems, conceptualizing and interpreting historical reality in their own particular way (and in accordance with their own particular goals). On the other hand, though, academic music historiography and analysis should also be reckoned as a modelling system attributing some special kind of meaning to the known facts according to its special rules. Both cults and academic scholarship construct their own narratives of historical reality, though in a different way and consequently often with a different result. Academic discourse – following the traditions of critical thinking rooted in antiquity – yearns for coming as close to 'reality' as possible, thus it mostly applies descriptive statements trying to confine their meaning to the denotative aspect. Cults on the other hand obey an ultimate command of preserving objects of outstanding cultural value; therefore they interconnect the different values in a broader, comprehensive value-structure to achieve greater stability. In this structure, the different values (aesthetic, moral, political, religious etc.) connotatively evoke each other, thereby in this kind of discourse musicians and their compositions always represent a bunch of extra-musical values as well.

Both kinds of narratives have their particular function, but they also have mutual effect on each other. Cults often make good use of the authority of academia in defending their positions against other cults or recent cultural trends, and in some aspect the conservational mission of cults specifically require the contribution of scholars (archivists for instance). Academic researchers on the other hand cannot retreat to an ivory tower either, for practical, financial and other reasons. Sometimes scholars try to shape cults according to their own ideas or purposes,

as Somfai attempted to pacify the presupposed reactions to Salzman's book for its handling of Bartók by writing his above cited preliminary remarks to the Hungarian edition. Since there is no trace of public indignation as a reaction to the book, one might say Somfai succeeded, but this power of academic authority is limited in most cases. On the other hand cults may also have an influence on scholars by demanding a focus on 'great' or 'important' figures rather than on less-known and momentarily less-performed composers, even if they were historically the most successful musicians of their time.

At the same time, the most important lesson for scholars is that our judgements are also often influenced – at least to some extent – by cult-like beliefs and associations of value. Lendvai's famous theory about the golden section in Bartók's works may indeed stem from his apologetical ardour to defend his compatriot's music against a supposed charge of simplicity or primitivism. Deep down below all scrupulosity of his analyses, the main motivation for Lendvai for developing this theory could indeed be – as Kovács suggested – an aspiration to demonstrate that Eastern, Hungarian music could be equally refined and intellectually sophisticated as the Western one. On the other hand, Lendvai also implies that, from an aesthetic perspective, Bartók's Easternness may even be an advantage, as his compositional principles have a stronger connection to nature compared to the style of representatives of cutting-edge Western Modernism of the time (i.e. the Serialists), thereby somewhat relying on the old cultural topos of Easterners being more immune the corrupting effect of civilization than over-civilized Westerners. In this respect, the image of Bartók presented by Lendvai would be more of an ideological construction than merely a composer – a sort of 'educated noble savage', mastering all sophistication of the civilized world, while retaining a pure and artless connection to nature. Although the analyses are carried out in a completely scholarly manner, one may well challenge the value-judgements lurking below the surface, as Kovács does. On the other hand, Kovács himself uses the same arguments to promote Bartók to Hungarian non-musicians in an exceptional case of matching means to ends. In other words, he could change his perspective from 'scholar' to 'preacher' and vice versa, thereby separating these two roles to a certain extent (although without articulating it). In musicology – like in any other academic field – the more we become aware of how these roles are fulfilled by scholars in their different works, the more precisely we can define the scope in which an assertion could be considered a reliable bit of knowledge.

Contemporary Musicology in a *Neither/Nor* State. Challenging the Status of Music(ologic)al Periphery

Bojana Radovanović

The idea behind this paper came from thinking about the potential and influence of musicological – and other historically inclined – scholarly work, which can be used in fortifying, reviving, or even constructing a historical style, epoch, event, or movement.[1] With one particular example in mind, I aim to examine one scholarly work that has had this level of influence, while also taking into account the specific context in which this musicological work is being performed. This paper deals with the musicological reception of the European avant-garde in the context of 20th century Serbia/Yugoslavia, as examined in the study *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas* [The Creative Presence of the European Avant-Garde with Us] by the Serbian musicologist Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman (1983). This book, based on Veselinović-Hofman's doctoral dissertation, has, since its publishing, been an influential piece of literature for almost every generation of Belgrade and Serbian musicologists. As such, it represents a key to understanding – or, as we will see, even profiling – Serbian musical avant-garde in the context of European music and in general. While dealing with the musical reception of the avant-garde between the two world wars and during the sixties and seventies, Veselinović-Hofman creates a musicological narrative through which we can observe several problematic knots, or issues, regarding the model of centre and periphery.

One of those knots, pertaining to the context in which Serbian musicology started to develop and this book was produced, is tangled around the specificity of the Yugoslav position 'in-between the Blocs' after World War II. The other problematic knot is related to the nature and inner laws of the avant-garde movements, their dissemination from (epi)centre(s) to peripheries, and their reception. Notably, Veselinović-Hofman offers a view of the European avant-garde impulse

1 This paper was written within the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the scientific research organization funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

spreading in local contexts, with a careful examination of the local political and social situations.

The question I am posing here has been inspired by the foundation of the local avant-garde according to the centre of this artistic movement and is also related to the place of Serbian (local) musicology in a broader, European context. In other words, I am interested in delving into the possible answers to the question: How can a geopolitical position defined as 'in between' (or 'neither/nor') and an artistic position of periphery (pre)determine a musicological narrative?

Serbian musicology – Yugoslav context

One can say that the field of musicology in Serbia is relatively young, compared to the discipline's initial inception in the 19th century. In 2018, Serbian musicology celebrated the 70-year anniversary of the founding of the two most important institutions for the development of this discipline in Serbia: The Institute of Musicology with the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the Department of Musicology (at the time Department for Music History and Music Folklore) at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade (Music Academy at the time).

Serbian/Yugoslav musicology was primarily founded by composers who have had prolific careers as music critics and a distinct sense of social responsibility. Additionally, these founders were already aware of tendencies in the European science of music. During the interwar period in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, composers such as Petar Konjović, Miloje Milojević (the first Serb to hold a doctorate in musicology with a dissertation entitled *Smetana's Harmonic Style* defended at the Charles University in Prague in 1925), and Stevan Hristić, as well as many others, carried the weight of keeping the flames of musical criticism and musical thought alive. Before World War II, most of the musicological activity was a result of musical critique, which was published in daily or periodical press.[2]

Essential figures such as Petar Konjović (composer, music writer, dean of the Music Academy and founder of the Institute), Stana Đurić-Klajn (the first woman educated and employed as music historian and pianist), Nikola Hercigonja (composer and professor at the Academy), just to name a few, made the critical moves in creating the foundation and taking the first steps to truly develop the discipline.

2 Cf. Aleksandar Vasić, "Srpska muzička kritika i esejistika XIX i prve polovine XX veka kao predmet muzikoloških istraživanja" [Serbian Musical Criticism and Essay Writings During the XIX and the First Half of the XX Century as a Subject of Musicology Research], in: *Muzikologija/Musicology* (2006), No. 6, pp. 317–342, p. 328.

They were later followed by Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, whose role in Serbian musicology was also of great importance to the field.[3]

During the second half of the 20th century, the 'young musicologies' in each of the republics in the Yugoslav context were primarily preoccupied with national historiographies and archival work, sometimes joining forces for bigger projects.[4] However, in the sixties, musicologists started to attain knowledge from all the theoretical and analytical disciplines, gaining momentum in the many diverse directions open to musicology at the time. One of those directions was examined by Veselinović-Hofman, starting in 1973, when she started her pedagogical career as a professor of contemporary music history at the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology.

Before I look into the ways the European and Serbian avant-garde were explored, I will give additional insight into the context of the awakening of musicology in Yugoslavia, especially bearing in mind the question of the East, the West, and the In-Between. The 'in-between' (or the 'neither/nor') is perhaps the description that suits the Yugoslav context the best.

When explaining the conditions and cultural context in which Serbian and Yugoslav music and musicology developed, I refer to one interesting and quick-witted phrase by musicologist Vesna Mikić: 'The Yugoslavic antithesis'.[5] While proposing that the transition is continuous in contemporary Serbia, as well as in the former state, the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, Mikić introduces *the neither/nor qualification*, naming it the 'Yugoslavic antithesis'. The name stems from a prominent stylistic figure in epic poetry from Balkan, Slavic antithesis, which is a three-part stylistic figure prominent in Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Macedonian epic poetry. It can be found at the beginning of a poem, and

3 See: Marija Bergamo, "'Dug prema muzici iskupljujemo samo neprestanim postavljanjem pitanja' (Georg Steiner) Zapis uz jubilej" ['The Debt towards Music We Pay Only by Continuous Questioning' (Georg Steiner) Notes on the Jubilee], in: *Challenges in Contemporary Musicology. Essays in Honor of Prof. Dr. Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman/Izazovi savremene muzikologije. Eseji u čast prof. dr Mirjane Veselinović-Hofman*, ed. by Sonja Marinković et al., Belgrade 2018, pp. 15–24. [All translations from the author of this paper.]

4 The best-known project being the joint endeavour *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [The Historical Development of the Musical Culture in Yugoslavia], Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1962, written by the Croatian musicologist Josip Andreis, the Slovenian musicologist Dragotin Cvetko, and the Serbian musicologist Stana Đurić-Klajn.

5 Vesna Mikić, "Neither/Nor: Articulating Constant/Continuous Transition in Serbian Popular Music", in: *Music: Transition/Continuities*, ed. by Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman et al., Belgrade 2016, pp. 269–276. In order to preserve the parallelism between the name of the stylistic figure and the denomination of her qualification, Mikić uses the unusual and non-standard form of the adjective ('Yugoslavic' instead of 'Yugoslav' or 'Yugoslavian').

it consists of a question, followed firstly by a negative answer (including the *neither/nor qualification*), and, finally the true answer and explanation.

The Yugoslav neither/nor seesaw could be seen in 1) geopolitics and the question of special importance during the Cold War belonging to neither the Eastern, nor the Western bloc, 2) national issues such as the name of the language, for example (neither Serbian, nor Yugoslav, but Serbo/Croatian), 3) and everyday life practices, that teetered between socialism and capitalism.[6]

Possibly the most important historical event that led to the future unsteady position and sort of *defection* of Yugoslavia to the Non-Aligned Movement,[7] is the 'historical NO' that Josip Broz Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party communicated to Stalin and USSR in 1948 after being accused of both no longer truly championing communist ideals and treason to the communist party as a whole. Consequently, the exclusion from the Soviet sphere of influence meant that all Eastern European countries suspended all connections with Yugoslavia – including economic, diplomatic, and cultural connections. Thus, *an empty space* between the two Cold War blocs was created.[8] After the Tito–Stalin split (or the Yugoslav–Soviet split), Yugoslavia pursued a so-called neutral policy and position between the Blocs. With the alienation of the USSR, the opportunity emerged for Western cultural influence to knock on the door. This new influence was the critical catalyst for the beginning of a transition to capitalism in a society that had remained in transition and transformation from socialism to communism.[9] However, like the other communist states, Yugoslavia had a particular model of cultural policy in place that was based on budget administrative agencies and political forums, which served as an apparatus for the state to plan its cultural development while promoting its own agendas.

Thus, during 1947 and 1948, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, encouraged by a new law that, following the Soviet model, allowed Academies to establish research institutes, founded 25 institutes with over 700 researchers.[10]

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6 Mikić, "Neither/Nor", p. 271.

7 The Non-Aligned Movement is an international organization founded in 1961 by president Tito and the political leaders of India, Egypt, Ghana, and Indonesia, with an idea of remaining neutral and not supporting any of the two power blocs.

8 Mikić, "Neither/Nor", p. 272.

9 Ibid. Mikić wrote about the state of continuous transitions and its reflections in Yugoslav and Serbian popular music.

10 The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, SANU/SASA) was founded in 1841 (as the Society of Serbian Letters). With the foundation of the Second Yugoslavia (1945–1992), neither SANU nor the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, JAZU) were 'promoted' to the status of a federal academy of arts. Although the name would suggest that JAZU had such rank, this institution was actually founded in 1866 with the same name, as a part of a big project

Among them was the Institute of Musicology with seven associates in the research council.

New cultural and political demands in the fields of education and science brought a demand for more experts and institutions. Due to the somewhat neutral political and cultural position taken by the government after 1948, the fifties in Serbian and Yugoslavian music and art were primarily marked by *moderated modernism*, which signified a politically neutral, socially acceptable, and unproblematic type of artistic expression.[11] The term 'moderated modernism'[12] only emerged later on in Serbian musicological and theoretical studies[13] referring to art and music which met the requirements of the autonomy of art, while also fulfilling the ruling system's requests for aesthetically, artistically, culturally, socially, and overall, politically unobtrusive art. By sticking to this modality, numerous composers (Stanojlo Rajičić and Milan Ristić, to name a few) positioned themselves in the area between avant-garde and tradition, or between national/regional and international.

I argue that a similar trend was about to happen in musicology. However, researchers working at the Institute in the first couple of decades – at the time, mostly composers – committed themselves to the traditional, historical approaches and to studying the history of Serbian music, church music, and musical folklore,[14]

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of uniting the South Slavs in the 19th century. Furthermore, during World War II and the Independent State of Croatia (1941–45), which was a 'puppet state' and collaborator with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, JAZU changed its name to Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, as it is named today. For more information on the history of these academies and their institutes and departments, see: "History of the Academy", https://www.sanu.ac.rs/en/about-the-academy/history-of-the-academy/ (22.3.2020); "The Founding of the Academy", http://info.hazu.hr/hr/o-akademiji/ (22.3.2020).

11 Ivana Medić, "The Ideology of Moderated Modernism in Serbian Music and Musicology", in: *Musicology* (2007), No. 7, pp. 279–294, p. 293.

12 This term is commonly used to describe stages of modernism in different, national histories of European music. One of its first usages can be found in Adorno's essays ("The Aging of New Music", "On the Social Situation in Music" and "Difficulties", in: *Essays on Music*, ed. by Richard Leppert, Berkeley, LA, London 2002), as well as Hermann Danuser's study "Tradition und Avantgarde nach 1950", in: *Die Neue Musik und die Tradition*, ed. by Reinhold Brinkmann (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Neue Musik und Musikerziehung Darmstadt, 19), Mainz 1978, pp. 22–54. Cf. Ibid, p. 279.

13 See, for example: Miško Šuvaković, "Umjereni modernizam" [Moderated Modernism], in: *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti* [Glossary of Contemporary Art], Zagreb and Ghent 2005, p. 644; Melita Milin, "Etape modernizma u srpskoj muzici" [The Stages of Modernism in Serbian Music], in: *Muzikologija* (2006), No. 6, pp. 93–116; Medić, "The Ideology of Moderated Modernism"; Vesna Mikić, *Lica srpske muzike: neoklasicizam* [Faces of Serbian Music: Neoclassicism], Beograd 2009.

14 On the working plan of the Institute in the first decades, see: Danica Petrović, "Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1948–2010)", in: *Musicology* (2010),

rather than being interested in some of the contemporary European musicological and aesthetical aspirations that were influenced by topical themes in theoretical discourse, social and natural sciences such as anthropology, psychology, sociology, acoustics, physics, mathematics, biology. Likewise, over time, more and more of the Institute's associates began to pay more attention to the musical and compositional practices of their contemporaries.

On the other hand, contributions such as Veselinović-Hofman's doctoral research ensured the strong position of contemporary music research in the Department of Musicology at the Faculty of Music, which is still being maintained today. Thus, The Creative Presence of the European Avant-garde with Us remains relevant for a number of reasons; firstly, it represents a great effort in establishing musicology focused on contemporary music in Serbia; secondly, the author introduces readers to relevant contemporary literature on sociology, aesthetics, and psychology, as well as musicological pieces. Finally, it sends a political message by positioning the Serbian and Yugoslav avant-garde movement on the map with the strong European influence by showing the relevance and value of (avant-garde) musical practice in a state that is *neither* Western, *nor* Eastern, but nevertheless – existing and dynamic.

European vs. local (musical) avant-garde

The main motivating factor for Veselinović-Hofman in deciding the subject of her Ph.D. research, was the fact that the musical avant-garde had not yet been the subject of theoretical reflection. At the time, as Veselinović-Hofman pointed out, Theodor Adorno's *Philosophy of New Music* was one of the few available studies which dealt with the avant-garde in a theoretical sense – albeit from a sociological standpoint.[15]

My intention here is to present the idea of a local musical avant-garde which was used by Veselinović-Hofman to explain, theorize and, ultimately, introduce a scientific narrative about Serbian interwar avant-garde. What makes the context of Serbian music of the first half of the 20th century peculiar, is the persistent atmosphere of the need for rapid progress in order to 'catch up' with European

No. 10, pp. 35–58. There are, of course, some notable exceptions such as the work of Dragutin Gostuški. See, for example: Bojana Radovanović, "Between East and West: Dragutin Gostuški's musicological work", in: *Music, Individuals and Contexts: Dialectical Interaction*, ed. by Nadia Amendola, Alessandro Cosentino and Giacomo Sciommeri, Rome 2019, pp. 329–337.

15 Cf. Mirjana Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas* [The Creative Presence of the European Avant-Garde with Us], Beograd 1983, p. I.

musical thought after centuries under the Ottoman occupation.[16] This resulted in the sudden proliferation of musical life and infrastructure, and development of several lines of ideologies spanning from inclination towards the traditional/national grounds, to modernism and current European tendencies. With the death of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, who was considered the cornerstone of Serbian classical music, this period witnessed the simultaneous production of music from (at least) three generations of composers. The 'oldest', generation of composers born in the 1880s such as Petar Konjović, Miloje Milojević and Stevan Hristić, wrote their music anchored in the tradition of late romanticism; Josip Slavenski, and, somewhat later, Marko Tajčević and Milenko Živković, appeared on the scene in the third decade of the century, while the first 'avant-garde' generation emerged, as we will see further in the text, during the 1930s.

In the title of the dissertation, there is a precise positioning of the European avant-garde as the centre of the artistic scene, which reflected upon Serbian music in a creative, psychological, sociological, and aesthetical fashions. In the words of Veselinović-Hofman, musical avant-garde in Europe was built specifically in relation to the beginnings of this movement in other forms of art, while the particularity of Serbian/Yugoslav musical avant-garde was 'always built concerning Europe'.[17] With this exact wording, Veselinović-Hofman reinforces the notion of a small nation 'looking up' to European cultural developments and building its own historical evolution with those experiences in mind.

The aforementioned *neither/nor* qualification was not only characteristic of the Serbian/Yugoslav position in Tito's time and during the world's most serious East/West divide which took place during the Cold war.[18] Nevertheless Serbian composers had multiple musical influences from both Western Europe (mostly Germany and France), and Eastern Europe, or, 'Slavic' composers from Russia and the Czech Republic.

Before getting into the specific traits that define Serbian avant-garde and (neo) avant-garde, I will introduce the general content of The Creative Presence of the European Avant-Garde with Us. Veselinović-Hofman begins with two general chapters in which the notion, the cause, and the motif of the avant-garde are

16 Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865) and Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914) are considered crucial figures in the establishment of the Serbian national musical style during the 19th century.

17 Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost*, p. III.

18 For example, in her book *Na raskršću istoka i zapada. O dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj muzici (1918–1941)* [At the Crossroads of the East and the West. On the Dialogue Between the Traditional and the Modern in Serbian Music (1918–1941)], Beograd 2009, musicologist Katarina Tomašević writes about Serbian musical culture between the two world wars in the context of continuous intertwining of Eastern and Western influences.

presented. Avant-garde is looked at as a scout and as a predecessor, related to the notion of 'new' and examined through the prism of its artistic quality.

Here, I would like to underline the phases of an avant-garde movement, from its annunciation to its mollification, that Veselinović-Hofman proposes elaborating on art theorist Renato Poggioli's thesis on the life cycle of the avant-garde. There are five phases listed: (1) the phase of manifest/annunciation, (2) the phase of anti-traditional spirit that follows the manifest, (3) the phase of enthusiasm and 'finding the beauty and enjoyment in spite', (4) the phase of the withdrawal of the joy, a feeling of abandonment, disappointment, and finally bitterness over the transience.[19] The concluding, fifth phase that arrives after 'licking the wounds' and gathering the pride following the failure of the artistic rebellion, is the phase of movement's entering tradition.[20] Given its artistic value and the inherent self-worship, the movement is able to expand and boost the value system with its inclusion in tradition. The analogies between the artistic and political movements are more than apparent here.

Regarding the *locality* of the avant-garde, the author pointed out, 'a significant problem when it comes to avant-garde', is, 'the question of its expansion through space and time'.[21] Namely, when avant-garde impulses move into new environments, the art created carries the characteristics of both the initial movement and the 'new', local tradition.

Having in mind the boundary that is established between the centre and periphery of the movement, the following chapter is dedicated to avant-garde occurrences in European music. Here she examines the particularities of the musical avant-garde, compared to the other artistic movements. Firstly, the musical avant-garde has rarely seen the manifest proclamation of only one group's goals. Secondly, the musical avant-garde of the first half of the 20th century has seldom seen the sort of 'militant' grouping (such as Der blaue Reiter or Die Brücke) that occurs in visual arts, or poetry. Therefore, the musical avant-garde remains 'softer', not as rebellious as other forms of avant-garde artistic expression, especially considering that it comes – like in the practice of Second Viennese School – as the next step in the *evolution* of music. Namely, the gradual disintegration of tonality during this period could not – compared for example with John Cage's notorious piece *4'33'* – have the same radical impact as the abstract or objectless paintings.

Furthermore, the transitioning into local, periphery traditions, with regard to the force and impact an avant-garde movement should by definition have, can further diminish this musical movement. The product of this transition

19 Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost*, p. 27.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., p. 33.

may be temporally and geographically distant from the centre, but, regardless of that, it still constitutes a part of the avant-garde musical movement as a whole. Consequently, the nature of this product is characterized by Veselinović-Hofman as an 'avant-garde novelty of local variety'.[22] This local variety can also be recognized in the transposition of a certain technical avant-garde procedure from one art to another, the example being the introduction of collage/montage technique from cubist art to music.[23]

The last chapter, *Lik srpske muzičke avangarde* (Imagery of Serbian musical avant-garde) deals with Serbian avant-garde in music in the period between the two world wars (subchapters *Praška grupa* [The Prague group] and *Avangardno dejstvo praške grupe* [Avant-garde effect of the Prague group], as well as during the first decade of the second half of the 20th century (subchapter *Avangarda u posleratnoj srpskoj muzici do 1960. godine* [Avant-garde in afterwar Serbian music until 1960]), and afterwards (*Srpska muzička avangarda od 1960. godine* [Serbian musical Avant-garde since 1960]).[24] The avant-garde spirit, as Veselinović-Hofman writes, did not penetrate Yugoslav music as a whole. It first appeared in the works of Slovenian composers such as Marij Kogoj's (1892–1956) *Črne maske* (Black Masks), an opera which was completed in 1928, but whose excerpts could be heard already in 1925, while the Serbian composers started showing some 'expressionistic indications' with the works of the so-called *Prague group* and certain works of Josip Slavenski (1896–1955), a Croatian composer who moved permanently to Belgrade in 1924.[25] The fact that the expressionistic tendencies first appear in the part of the country that is geographically closest to the European expressionistic art epicentre coincides with Veselinović-Hofman's idea of avant-garde impulses moving from centre to periphery. Josip Slavenski's arrival in Belgrade also had an important influence on the youngest generation of composers that was slowly emerging at the time.

The Prague group (also known as the Prague school) is made up of five members of the younger generations of Serbian composers, who studied in Prague with Josef Suk and Alois Hába during the interwar period:[26] Dragutin Čolić (1907–1987),

22 Cf. ibid., p. 36.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., pp. 288–408.

25 Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost*, p. 277.

26 This kind of collaboration between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia and the Republic of Czechoslovakia was made possible mostly due to carefully curated close diplomatic connections between countries that constituted the alliance of the Little Entente. Milan Milojković, *Digitalna tehnologija u srpskoj umetničkoj muzici* [Digital Technology in Serbian Art Music], doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Music, Beograd 2018, p. 41. By recalling Vlastimir Peričić's writings on Rajičić's creative development, Melita Milin points out that it is unknown whether Prague has been 'the first choice' for Yugoslav Prague students. It might also

Milan Ristić (1908–1982), Ljubica Marić (1909–2003), Vojislav Vučković (1910–1942), and Stanojlo Rajičić (1910–2000). According to musicologist Melita Milin, this group and their immediate predecessors Mihovil Logar (1902–1998) and Predrag Milošević (1904–1988) constitute the second stage of Serbian musical modernism (1929–1945), which is characterized by the appearance of the most current European expressionist and neoclassical tendencies.[27] One possible reason for this division of the Prague students, may be that Veselinović-Hofman grouped the five composers according to their closer birth years, as well as the fact that they were mostly influenced by the expressionistic traits of contemporary music, while Logar and Milošević, who studied more closely with Suk, leaned more towards contemporary (neo)classicism.

Elaborating the traits of musical avant-garde en général, Veselinović-Hofman notices:

> Serbian music – like European – isn't familiar with avant-garde movement's all typical outer features which are its marks in other arts: the avant-garde in Serbian music doesn't operate through destructive composers' formations constituted around a manifest with a purpose of its realization in a militant way.[28]

Composers of the Prague group have, however, shown – besides the innate psychological layer of artistic creation, and shared sociological and cultural context – a strong inclination towards more *modern* musical expression and, more concretely, 'a stylistic profile of musical thought, Prague was obsessed with between two wars'.[29] As one of the most distinguished centres of European musical avant-garde in the mid-war period, which was rich in cultural and musical content, Prague offered Serbian composers what they could not learn back home. The cultural climate that was open to and accepting of an abundance of musical ideas; intensive concert life – where Schönberg's and Hába's expressionisms found ways of coexisting with European and Czech musical past – gave the Prague group the opportunity

be possible that Prague was 'geographically the closest and the most accessible Slavic capital'. See: Melita Milin, "Praški kulturni ambijent kao podsticaj za profilisanje ranog stvaralaštva Ljubice Marić" [Prague Musical Life as a Stimulus for Ljubica Marić's Early Work], in: *Prag i studenti kompozicije iz Kraljevine Jugoslavije/Prague and the Students of Composition from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*, ed. by Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman and Melita Milin, Belgrade 2010, pp. 17–37, p. 20.

27 Milin, "Etape modernizma u srpskoj muzici", pp. 109–110.

28 Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost*, p. 279; 'Srpska muzika – kao ni evropska – ne poznaje avangardni pokret sa svim onim tipičnim spoljašnjim odlikama koje ga obeležavaju u ostalim umetnostima; avangarda u srpskoj muzici ne deluje kroz rušilačke kompozitorske formacije konstruisane oko nekog manifesta u cilju njegovog oživotvorenja borbenim putem.'

29 Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost*, pp. 280–281.

to coordinate their inner necessity to express themselves in disparate ways.[30] Thus, although the stylistic diversity of the interwar works of the Prague group composers is extensive, it is mostly imbedded in the means of interwar Prague musical avant-garde which is evident in the works of Hába, Suk and their followers: atonality, microtonality, athematicism, dodecaphony, and, what seemed important to young impressionable composers who came from the cultural context that still demanded a strong connection with musical tradition, the very freedom to explore other musical systems and possibilities. Compositions written in Prague, which are testimony to the adoption of radical and fresh means in their musical languages, were not often found on the concert repertoires. Dragutin Čolić's Theme and Variations for piano (1930) and Concertino for quartertone piano and string sextet (1932), Vojislav Vučković's String Quartet and First Symphony (1933), Rajičić's First Symphony (1395), or Marić's String Quintet (1930/31) and Suite for quartertone piano (1936/37) come to mind.[31]

When they appeared in Belgrade after completing their studies up until the German occupation, these young authors continued to work and compose with openness towards progressive contemporary musical thought. This can be observed in pieces such as Rajičić's First (1938) and Second String Quartet (1939), Second and Third Symphony, or Ristić's First Symphony (1941). The sensitivity towards expressionism also remained evident in Ljubica Marić's compositions that followed a short period after the war (during which she explored musical folklore) such as in the cycle *Muzika oktoiha*, the cantata *Pesme prostora*, etc.

As such, in the eyes of the public they seemed like a condensed group with the same goals, even though that was not actually the case.

> The stylistic radicalism of the *Prague group* composers […] had the effect of united generational shock. Those composers could in their environment show the full psychological, sociological and aesthetical sense of their avant-garde attributes, despite not being organized as an avant-garde unit, and the fact that the nature of their avant-garde was not identical. In other words, our Prague composers could start acting like a whole with regards to their generational attitude, openness towards contemporary and topical only in interwar Belgrade, far away from the avant-garde tumult of Prague. That is how they were, even without the inner organization that is characteristic of avant-garde formation, received as an avant-garde group. In the words of Stanojlo Rajičić, after coming

30 Ibid., p. 285.

31 However, Marić's Music for Orchestra (1932) was performed in Strasbourg in 1933, and the Wind Quintet (1931), the scores of which are lost together with numerous other pieces by Marić, was heard at the ISCM festival in Amsterdam in 1933. Cf. Vlastimir Peričić, *Muzički stvaraoci u Srbiji* [Musical Creators in Serbia], Beograd 1968, p. 252.

back to Belgrade, they were "negatively marked as *Prague group*: as a name for the poison infiltrated into our musical environment".[32]

On that account, as Veselinović-Hofman writes, the critics were not particularly fond of their music. It is, however, questionable as to how well many of their young, rebellious compositions were actually performed in the relatively young musical scene. Were there any performers who could accurately perform those avant-garde works?

The main musical institutions in the capital city of Belgrade only started to appear during the time period between the two world wars. The National Theatre's Opera was founded in 1919, the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra in 1923, and the Music Academy officially started working in 1937. Therefore, with the exception of the journal *Zvuk* (Sound) and occasional critiques that were affirmative and receptive towards the new tendencies in music, it is highly unlikely that the musical taste and education of Belgrade's audience and music critics were advanced enough to appreciate the rebellious and challenging pieces from the young and spirited composers who arrived from Prague with their heads full of new ideas.[33] Moreover, within the circles of the older generation of composers such as Milojević, Konjović, and Slavenski the debate was unfolding regarding the strategies of the development of Serbian/Yugoslav music within the European framework. In the midst of the polemics between 'Serbia in the West' or 'Serbia with the East and West Slavic orientation', the Prague group was received with criticism and protests from their older colleagues. This situation rekindled the continuous argument on composing on Serbian/folklore/Slavic or foreign/Western foundations.[34]

Avant-garde echoes from the centre to the *neither/nor* periphery also appeared in the sixties and seventies, leading to the new musical avant-garde in Darmstadt.

32 Ibid., pp. 295–296. 'Stilska radikalnost kompozitora *praške grupe* […] delovala je po povratku tih stvaralaca u Beograd kao jedinstveni generacijski avangardni šok. Ti kompozitori su tek u svojoj sredini ispoljili puni psihološki, sociološki i estetski smisao svojih avangardnih atributa, bez obzira na to što oni zaista nisu bili organizovani kao avangardna jedinica i što priroda njihove avangardnosti nije bila identična. Drugim rečima, tek su u međuratnom Beogradu, daleko od avangardne vreve Praga, naši praški stvaraoci počeli da dejstvuju kao celina u smislu svog izdvajanja po generacijskom stavu, po otvorenosti prema savremenom i aktuelnom. Time su i bez one unutrašnje organizacije koja karakteriše avangardnu formaciju, počeli da deluju i bili dočekani upravo kao avangardna grupa. Po rečima Stanojla Rajičića, po povratku u Beograd obeleženi su kao "*praška grupa* u negativnom smislu: kao naziv za otrov ubačen u našu muzičku sredinu".'

33 See: Ibid., pp. 296–305; Milica Gajić, "Časopis *Zvuk* 1932–1936: dokument o delatnosti 'praške generacije' srpskih muzičara" [The Journal *Sound* 1932–1936: A Document About the Activity of the 'Prague Generation' of Serbian Composers], in: *Prag i studenti kompozicije iz Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, pp. 161–176.

34 Cf. Tomašević, *Na raskršću Istoka i Zapada*, p. 29.

Presently, I will not be delving deeper into this particular occurrence, mostly because by the time the Polish and Darmstadt avant-garde had appeared in the international scene, Serbian and Yugoslav composers were already highly immersed in contemporary practices and sounds. Musical institutions functioned under the state's official cultural politics. The distance between the main musical centres of the neo avant-garde and the rest of Europe seemed to have gotten smaller.

However, the question about the real nature of interwar Serbian avant-garde in music still lingers. Was it just a musicological narrative which created an 'avant-garde' phase of Serbian artistic music in its short history which only began in the nineteenth century? Or did these young composers really make an impact in Belgrade before the World War II started and their careers shifted directions? The answers to these questions will require their own papers in order to be more closely investigated.

Central vs. local musicology?

Coming back to my initial question proposed in the introduction, I would like to conclude with reference to Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman's view on the nature of musicology. More specifically, after positioning the *local musical avant-garde* as one modus of peripheral response to the centre's artistic impulses, I am interested to see whether this kind of musicological narrative creates a *local musicology* relating to European centres that established musicology as a discipline in the 19th century.

In one essay, 25 years after the book The Creative Presence of the European Avant-Garde with Us, Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman wrote about the issue of 'musicology between a national and international musical culture'. Here, she employed and adapted Wolfgang Welsch's notion of transculturality as musical transculturality, 'a process of the intersection of musical globalization and particularization', which 'favours both cosmopolitan and local dimensions of musical culture'.[35] This model could also be applied to musicology, given the nature of musicology itself:

> […] whenever these subjects [the subjects that musicology deals with] pertain to issues that do not originate strictly and directly from within national borders, or whenever a musicological text is translated into a foreign language, it actually concerns a certain "appropriation" of cultural "fragments" belonging

35 Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, "Musicology Between a National and International Musical Culture", in*: Musical Culture and Memory*, ed. by Tatjana Marković and Vesna Mikić, Belgrade 2008, pp. 113–120, p. 114.

> to other, foreign milieus. Ultimately, it concerns here the inclusion of foreign cultural elements into a national musicology. In other words, already *within itself*, within its own subject matter, a national musicology communicates in an international sense.[36]

Also, Veselinović-Hofman points out that, '[u]nless and until a national musicology becomes an integral part of international communication it will remain unknown and functionally incomplete.'[37]

While in this essay from 2008 Veselinović-Hofman demonstrates a belief that international musicology must recognize all of its constituents (here dubbed as *local musicologies*) in order to be thorough and exhaustive, in one of her latest papers she clearly expresses her disappointment on this subject: 'however, one is left with the impression that the majority of participants who belong to the central musicological regions do not read the papers from the periphery'.[38] Contributions from the periphery – pointedly, contributions by Serbian musicologists – are rarely given notice; they are not even, '*indicated as existing* in the corresponding bibliographies', let alone read, cited, or critically discussed.[39] Even though contemporary technology, as well as the (hyper-productive) publication industry give 'non-centre' musicologists and their work a better chance to be perceived and reacted to, the centre is rarely interested in engaging in any type of dialogue.

It seems that, from a musicological point of view, the dilemma of going East or West is virtually non-existent (although very persistent in everyday political discourse). In this day and age, the humanities facing a crisis. This is all the more noticeable with the contributions from the 'margins' or periphery. Musicology or any other scientific field remains dependant on the 'state's appropriate reputation and the strength of its cultural, economic and political "passport".'[40] 'It is not', – and has never been – 'only a musicological issue',[41] and I am sorely aware of that fact. However, there are still many resources to explore before 'throwing in the towel'; the possibilities of the internet, human creativity and invention, and even this publication demonstrate that the collaborative work between the periphery and the centre can be beneficial for our understanding of ourselves and the musicological, scientific, and societal currents around us.

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36 Ibid., p. 119.
37 Ibid., p. 120.
38 Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, "On the Future of Music History in Professional and Central-Peripheral European Musical Circumstances", in: *Musicology* (2019), No. 26, pp. 115–124, p. 121.
39 Ibid., p. 122.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.

Negating the West, Going East. On Socialist Realism in Yugoslavia (1945–1950)

Miloš Bralović

Introduction

After the end of World War II, and after several turbulent months that ensued, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was founded on 29 November 1945, thus replacing its predecessor, the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, founded on 7 March 1945.[1] The newly established state needed a new policy for overseeing and managing culture and arts, and this was found in the model of the Soviet Union. According to Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, taking over the Soviet model meant adopting a 'stance on Socialist Realism which was derived from the conviction of the necessity to ensure political and ideological subordinance of artworks, as declared at the Second Congress of International Revolutionary Writers in Kharkiv, 1930'.[2] The model of Socialist Realism which was established in the Soviet Union in the mid-1930s was, after the War, adopted and it

> dominated Serbian music as its most acute creative, aesthetic-cultural and political problem. Nevertheless, Socialist Realism in Serbian music did not appear

1 The research for this article was financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

2 Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, "Muzika u drugoj polovini XX veka" [Music in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century], in: *Istorija srpske muzike. Srpska muzika i evropsko nasleđe* [The History of Serbian Music. Serbian Music and European Heritage], ed. by Mirjana Veselinović Hofman, Belgrade 2007, pp. 107–135, p. 108. The author does not refer to Andrei Zhdanov (1896–1948), due to the fact that his doctrine was developed during and immediately after World War II. The notion of Realism in music is elusive and opens a different set of problems which is beyond the scope of this paper. For example, the composer and musicologist Vojislav Vučković (1910–1942), who was an adherent of social art during the 1930s in Belgrade, searched for manifestations of Realism in music, locating them in a more narrow sense in the opera *Boris Godunov* by Modest Mussorgsky (1839–1881). For more information see: Vojislav Vučković, "Muzički realizam" [Realism in Music], in: *Studije, eseji, kritike* [Studies, Essays, Reviews], ed. by Vlastimir Peričić, Belgrade 1968, p. 99–108. [All translations from the Serbian language into English are from the author of this paper.]

> in its most extreme way as was the case in other Eastern European countries. This was prompted by the confrontation of Yugoslav and Soviet political establishments of that time, which became obvious in 1948, and whose resolution prompted the decrease of the influence of Soviet Socialist Realism in our country.[3]

The fact that in 1948 Yugoslavia 'turned away' from the Soviet Union (and the future People's Democracies Bloc), thus swerving towards the West in the early 1950s, was prompted by the decisions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and its highest state representatives. According to Ješa Denegri, this 'turnaround', or opening towards the West first became noticeable in the culture and arts.[4]

Returning to the period of Socialist Realism, which was present in Yugoslav arts and culture approximately between 1945 and 1950, Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman acknowledges its formation by highlighting several elements:

> the first of them concerns the principles and achievements of the interwar aesthetics of social art which, in any case, within the intensified conflict between the realist and avant-garde stances, was closer to the realist one. The second points to a certain degree of adoption of the Soviet model of Socialist Realism, which meant the removal of all manifestations of "bourgeois formalism" of avant-garde and of a modernist nature in general, in the name of the new, proletarian, socialist art. The third element refers to the fostering and revitalisation of music from the peoples' liberation struggle, that is to the transposition of a wartime, anti-fascist and anti-capitalist fighting spirit, to a collective determination directed at restoring and reconstructing the devastated country.[5]

The notion of 'bourgeois formalism' was almost completely concerned with compositional procedures; it was not meant to be a critique of institutions (at least not directly) aimed at destroying anything related to bourgeois society. This is related to the fact that all the main institutions of musical life in Belgrade were founded only a few years before the outbreak of World War II, during the 1920s and 1930s, including: the Opera of the National Theatre in Belgrade (1920),[6] the Belgrade

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3 Veselinović-Hofman, "Muzika u drugoj polovini XX veka", p. 108.

4 Cf. Ješa Denegri, *Istorija umetnosti u Srbiji, 1950–2000. Pedesete* [The History of Arts in Serbia, 1950–2000. The Fifties], Belgrade 2013, p. 11.

5 Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, "What, How, and Why in Serbian Music after the Second World War in the Light of the Ideological–Political Upheavals", in: *Musicology* (2017), No. 23, pp. 15–29, pp. 17–18.

6 Cf. Jelica Stevanović, "History – Opera" [National Theatre in Belgrade], in: https://www.narodnopozoriste.rs/en/history-opera (28.08.2019). While the National Theatre in Belgrade was opened in 1869, the Opera of the National Theatre in Belgrade, as one of the institutions within the National Theatre was only founded in 1920.

Philharmonic Orchestra (1923),[7] Radio Belgrade (1929),[8] or the Music Academy in Belgrade (1937).[9] These institutions did not operate at full capacity during the war years (with the exception of Radio Belgrade, which was turned into a German radio station during the occupation, under the name Sender Belgrad).[10]

The short period of Socialist Realism left many different generations of composers, who were active in the post-war Belgrade music scene, in a specific situation:

> In their search for the new art which would correspond to the "new age", socialist ideologists recommended a look back at the past, but prohibited any influence stemming from the capitalist countries, where significant changes in the development of music happened exactly during the first decade after the end of war. The situation around the year 1945 is characterised by confusion and poor management of the artists, regarding the ways of creating the "new art" and fulfilling its newly proclaimed principles.[11]

These newly proclaimed principles included simplification of the musical expression and the use of classical, romantic and national romantic stylistic features embedded in easily understandable vocal and vocal-instrumental genres.[12] According to Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, such simplification of the means of musical expression resulted in a '*simplified manifestation* of musical Neoclassicism, recognisable by the postulates of Socialist Realism, which was, in fact, a consequence of its ideological and political enforcement.'[13]

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7 Cf. Danica Maksimović and Asja Radonjić, "History" [Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra], in: https://www.bgf.rs/en/about-us/?b=2 (28.08.2019).

8 Cf. Marija Ćirić, "'Osma umetnost': prvi koraci radiofonije" [The 'Eighth Art': The First Steps of Radiophonic Art], in: *Međunarodni časopis za muziku Novi zvuk/New Sound International Journal of Music* (2005), No. 25, pp. 61–71, p. 65.

9 Cf. [N.N.], "History" [Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade], in: http://fmu.bg.ac.rs/en/istorijat.php (28.02.2019).

10 For more information on Radio Belgrade broadcast policy and programme during the World War II German occupation of Belgrade see: Mirjana Nikolić, "Muzički program Radio Beograda (Sender Belgrad) tokom Drugog svetskog rata i fenomen nacionalne i kulturne 'pedagogije'", [The Music Programme of Radio Belgrade (Sender Belgrad) during World War II and the Phenomenon of National and Cultural 'Pedagogy'], in: *Radio i srpska muzika* [Radio and Serbian Music], ed. by Ivana Medić, Belgrade 2015, pp. 31–49.

11 Melita Milin, *Tradicionalno i novo u srpskoj muzici posle Drugog svetskog rata (1945–1965)* [Traditional and New in Serbian Music after the Second World War (1945–1965)], Belgrade 1998, p. 10.

12 For more information on contexts of Serbian music after 1945, up to the early 1950s see: Vesna Mikić, *Lica srpske muzike: neoklasicizam* [Faces of Serbian Music: Neoclassicism], Belgrade 2009, p. 105–111.

13 Veselinović-Hofman, "Muzika u drugoj polovini XX veka", p. 108.

Paradoxically, but also having in mind that all premises of Socialist Realism in Yugoslavia were never fully defined,[14]

> the majority of active composers of that time, members of all generations, continued to compose within the same [individual] stylistic framework as before, [while] members of the group of pre-war modernists – not many of them – made a U-turn towards tradition, thus joining the other composers and gaining individual stylistic features which were basically the same, that is, maximally close to those typical of their mostly older colleagues.[15]

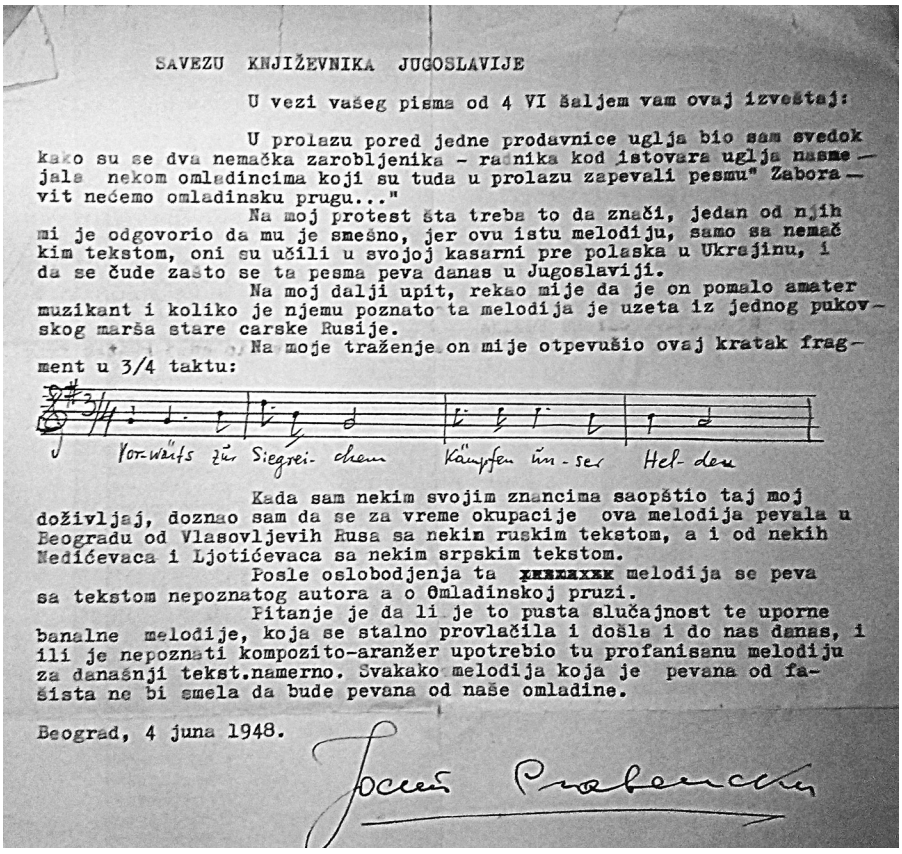
Leaving aside the composers of older generations (such as Petar Konjović [1883–1970] or Stevan Hristić [1885–1958], to name just two of the most significant national Romantic composers, very prolific in genres such as opera, oratorio, concertante and chamber music), in this chapter the focus is on Belgrade-based composers whose outputs showcase an evident 'turnaround' regarding the stylistic features of their post-war works.[16] The compositional outputs of Josip Slavenski (1896–1955), Milan Ristić (1908–1982), Ljubica Marić (1909–2003) and Stanojlo Rajičić (1910–2000) during the early post-war years will be used as case studies, bearing in mind their avant-garde orientation during the interwar years.

Modernists negotiating the new environment: four case studies

It seems that the post-war opus of the oldest aforementioned composer, Josip Slavenski was completely devoted to fulfilling the standards of Socialist Realism. Slavenski's 'turnaround' is probably the most obvious, due to the fact that the composer was an adherent of the Communist Party, although not its member. His involvement with the relationship between music and society is visible in the letter that he sent on 4 June 1948 to the Association of Yugoslav Writers:

> passing by a coal shop, I witnessed two German prisoners – workers who unloaded coal laughing at the youth singing a song "We shall not forget the youth's railroad". After my protest about what that was supposed to mean, one of them answered that it was funny because the same melody, but with German lyrics, was sung in their barracks before they had left for Ukraine, and they were stunned that it was sung in Yugoslavia. At my further request, he told me that he was an amateur musician, and as far as he knew, that the melody was a

14 Cf. Mikić, *Lica srpske muzike: neoklasicizam*, p. 96.
15 Milin, *Tradicionalno i novo*, p. 11.
16 On various 'turns' in poietics mentioned above see: Vlastimir Peričić, *Muzički stvaraoci u Srbiji* [Music Creators in Serbia], Belgrade 1969.



SAVEZU KNJIŽEVNIKA JUGOSLAVIJE

U vezi vašeg pisma od 4 VI šaljem vam ovaj izveštaj:

U prolazu pored jedne prodavnice uglja bio sam svedok kako su se dva nemačka zarobljenika - radnika kod istovara uglja nasmejali nekom omladincima koji su tuda u prolazu zapevali pesmu" Zaboravit nećemo omladinsku prugu..."

Na moj protest šta treba to da znači, jedan od njih mi je odgovorio da mu je smešno, jer ovu istu melodiju, samo sa nemačkim tekstom, oni su učili u svojoj kasarni pre polaska u Ukrajinu, i da se čude zašto se ta pesma peva danas u Jugoslaviji.

Na moj dalji upit, rekao mije da je on pomalo amater muzikant i koliko je njemu poznato ta melodija je uzeta iz jednog pukovskog marša stare carske Rusije.

Na moje traženje on mije otpevušio ovaj kratak fragment u 3/4 taktu:

Kada sam nekim svojim znancima saopštio taj moj doživljaj, doznao sam da se za vreme okupacije ova melodija pevala u Beogradu od Vlasovljevih Rusa sa nekim ruskim tekstom, a i od nekih Nedićevaca i Ljotićevaca sa nekim srpskim tekstom.

Posle oslobodjenja ta xxxxxxxx melodija se peva sa tekstom nepoznatog autora a o Omladinskoj pruzi.

Pitanje je da li je to pusta slučajnost te uporne banalne melodije, koja se stalno provlačila i došla i do nas danas, i ili je nepoznati kompozito-aranžer upotrebio tu profanisanu melodiju za današnji tekst.namerno. Svakako melodija koja je pevana od fašista ne bi smela da bude pevana od naše omladine.

Beograd, 4 juna 1948.

Josip Slavenski

Fig. 1: Josip Slavenski's letter to the Association of Yugoslav Writers. Josip Slavenski's Manuscript Legacy at the Library of Faculty of Music in Belgrade. With the permission of the copyright owner.

march from the Russian Empire. I asked him to sing this short fragment in 3/4 measure. When I told some of my friends about that event, I was informed that, during the occupation, the song was sung in Belgrade by Russian people with Russian lyrics, and by some adherents of Ljotić and Nedić with Serbian lyrics. After the liberation, this melody was sung with lyrics about the youth's railroad, written by an unknown author. The question is whether it was just a mere coincidence that this persistent, banal melody, which was changing its environment, came to us, and/or, the unknown composer-arranger used this mundane melody with contemporary lyrics. On purpose. It is true that a melody sung by the fascists should not be sung by our youth.[17]

17 Josip Slavenski, [A letter to the association of Yugoslav writers], Josip Slavenski's manuscript legacy, at the Library of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade. Dimitrije Ljotić (1891–1945),

While we shall not delve further into the nature of this song, here we notice the type of Josip Slavenski's engagement in the post-war society. This was to be expected from Slavenski as a composer and composition teacher since 1945 at the Academy of Music, which, as a public institution, had to adhere to the new state ideology.

The 'turnaround' in the postwar years is obvious when one compares Slavenski's works from the 1930s (such as Chaos for orchestra [*Haos*, 1932], Symphony of the Orient [*Simfonija Orijenta*, 1934], *Muzika 36* [1936], Music in the Natural Tone System [*Muzika u prirodnom tonskom sistemu*, 1937], *Muzika 38* [1938] etc.) – i.e. works in which the composer explored the boundaries of contemporary compositional techniques, possibilities of sound as an acoustic phenomenon and experiments with electroacoustic music – with his post-war works such as Symphonic Epic (*Simfonijski epos*, 1944–1945), or some 30 mass songs, composed between 1945 and 1950, for choir with or without piano/orchestral accompaniment. Some of the mass songs (originals and arrangements of folk songs) are: Song of the People's Youth (*Pesma narodne omladine*), Stalin–Tito (or *Maršal Tito*), The Red Army (*Crvena armija*), Tito the Hero (*Heroj Tito*), Partisans' Folk Songs (*Partizanske narodne pesme*) etc.

After the year 1950, until his death in 1955, Josip Slavenski wrote only two works: *Narodne igre Rusina* (Rusins' Folk Dances), also known as *Octet 1950*, with a version for violin and piano, and *Rusalije*, a Macedonian male folk dance scored for chamber ensemble, written as a commission of the National Dance Ensemble of the Peoples' Republic of Serbia in 1954. To some extent, these works are similar to those of the 1930s (such as the aforementioned *Muzika 36* and *Muzika 38*); yet, they are relatively unknown. There is not much data regarding the reception of his works in the early 1950s. Somewhat ironically, Josip Slavenski received a Medal of the First Order for Merit to the People on his deathbed, on 28 November 1955, two days before his death.

Josip Slavenski belongs to the older generation of composers, whose major works were created in the interwar period, and in musicological literature they overshadow all of the later works, which, for various reasons, are not researched enough. The next three composers (Marić, Rajičić and Ristić) belong to the younger

was a Nazi sympathiser, leader of the Serbian Volunteer Corps named "Zbor", cf. Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918–1988. Druga knjiga: Narodnooslobodilački rat i revolucija 1941–1945* [History of Yugoslavia 1918–1988. Vol. 2: National Liberation War and Revolution 1941–1945], Belgrade 1988, pp. 40–41. Milan Nedić (1878–1946), a Serbian Army general from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was the Prime Minister of the Government of National Salvation, a Nazi puppet government during World War II, cf. Jozo Tomashevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945. Occupation and Collaboration*, Stanford 2001, pp. 78–79.

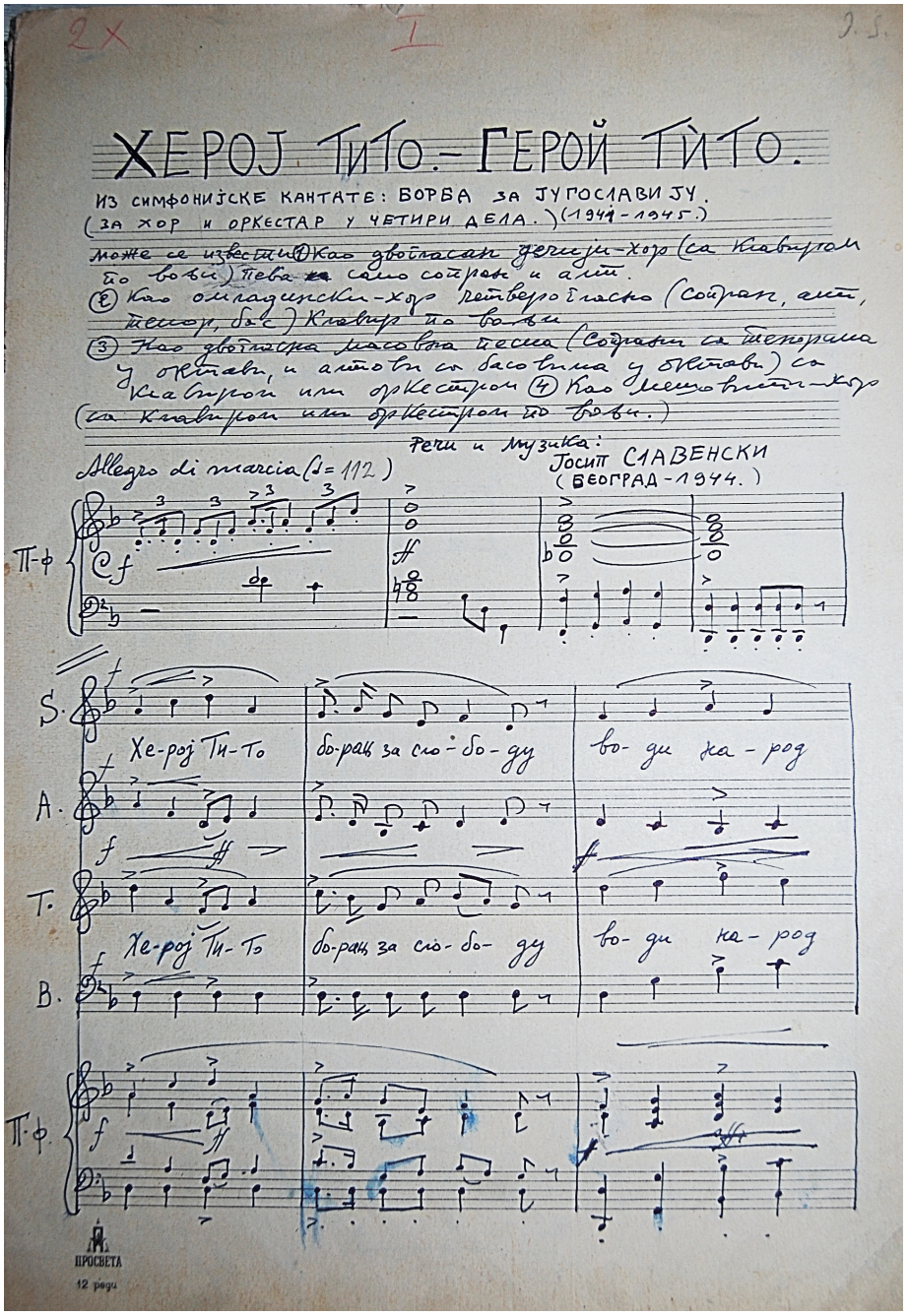


Fig. 2: Josip Slavenski, Tito the Hero, piano reduction, manuscript. Josip Slavenski's Manuscript Legacy at the Library of Faculty of Music in Belgrade. With the permission of the copyright owner.

generation, which is known as the 'Prague group', since they studied at the Prague State Conservatory during the 1930s, where they became familiar with the European avant-garde movements: atonal music, twelve-tone and quarter-tone music. Josip Slavenski had been their teacher at the Music School in Belgrade in the late 1920s, before they left to study in Prague. Marić, Rajičić and Ristić reached their compositional maturity during the 1950s, when they positioned themselves among the most significant Serbian and Yugoslav composers of the time.

Although the war and revolutionary topics in the broadest sense of the word did not bypass the opus of Milan Ristić, with respect to his expressionist works such as the First Symphony, written during the first months of occupation, June–November 1941,[18] or the symphonic poem Man and War (*Čovek i rat*), op. 17, written in 1942, in the post-war years, this composer dedicated himself to perfecting a new compositional style.[19] Self-isolating from the public life since 1941, Ristić did have an evident break in composing between the Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (1944) or Sonata for Viola and Piano (1945), and his works of the early 1950s.[20] Ristić reappeared on the Belgrade music scene in 1951 when his Second Symphony (1951) was performed. This piece represents one of the clearest manifestations of the composer's neoclassical orientation.[21] According to Vesna Mikić, in this work

> Ristić basically rejects two "recommendations" of the socialist realist aesthetics – the employment of a vocal-instrumental genre and "concrete" war or post-war thematics. [...] [The work] is relatively simple and short, with a touch of folklore (which the audiences both at home and abroad could identify and communicate with) on the one hand, and a touch of unquestionable (musical) values on the other.[22]

These stylistic features were obviously present in his later works. Nevertheless, in the early post-war period Ristić was not too eager to fulfil or respond to the

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18 Cf. Vlastimir Peričić, "Milan Ristić", in: *Muzički stvaraoci u Srbiji*, Belgrade 1969, pp. 453–473, p. 455

19 After the liberation Ristić wrote several choral arrangements of folk songs, melodramas, music for film and theatre and other works of various genres written for suitable occasions. Cf. Marija Bergamo, *Delo kompozitora. Stvaralački put Milana Ristića od Prve do Šeste simfonije* [Composer's Work. The Creative Development of Milan Ristić from the First up to the Sixth Symphony], Belgrade 1977, p. 64–78.

20 This period (1945–1950) in Ristić's opus is often named the transitional period. During this time, as a part of perfecting his new compositional style Ristić even wrote 24 fugues for various chamber ensembles. Cf. Peričić, "Milan Ristić", p. 454.

21 Ibid., p. 456.

22 Mikić, *Lica srpske muzike*, p. 124.

demands of Socialist Realism. This was possibly due to the fact that the composer, while withdrawn from any sort of public life, had been working as a deputy editor-in-chief of Radio Belgrade's music section since 1945.[23] This job probably kept the composer occupied enough to postpone his public reappearance until the early 1950s.

Similarly to Ristić, Ljubica Marić also lead a somewhat self-isolated life after the year 1945, finding the time to refine her compositional skills in search of a mature compositional style. Regarding the oeuvre of Marić, Melita Milin argues that the evident 'turn' in the poietics of this composer implied 'a sense of an antithesis in terms of relations to her earlier poietical attitudes and realisations.'[24] As Milin further observes,

> although there is a regression in terms of the relation of her recent works to her previous style, one cannot strictly consider them as simplified procedures, since she was also searching for another type of complexity [...]. We do not refer to her miniatures for children, or Branko's Round Dance for piano, which are basically written as applied music, hence they have simpler features due to their nature and purpose.[25]

This 'regression' consisted of turning away from atonal, athematic, quarter- and sixth-tone music. In other words, there are two types of Marić's early post-war works: those in which she explored the boundaries of traditional compositional procedures (such as Three Preludes for piano [1945], Etude for piano [1945], Sonata for Violin and Piano [1948] etc.), searching for the new complexity, to some extent relying on the pre-war poietic of her former teacher Josip Slavenski (this feature will become more evident in her later works), and, on the other hand, those written for special occasions (folk song arrangements, such as Three Folksongs for mixed choir [1946], or the aforementioned Branko's Round Dance [*Brankovo kolo*] for piano [1947]). This research in the field of new complexity, embodied in modernist musical language close to atonality, was probably prompted by the fact that since 1945 Marić had been teaching music theory subjects at the Belgrade Music Academy;[26] this profession provided her with enough free time and allowed her to experiment.

The youngest composer in this group, Stanojlo Rajičić was, apparently, the only one who was directly pressured into changing his individual style. Unlike Marić and Ristić, Rajičić did not have a 'dormant' phase during which he could perfect

23 Cf. Peričić, "Milan Ristić", p. 453.

24 Melita Milin, *Ljubica Marić. Komponovanje kao graditeljski čin* [Ljubica Marić. Composing as an Act of Construction], Belgrade 2018, p. 113.

25 Ibid.

26 Cf. ibid., p. 107.

his compositional skills. His early post-war works, neoclassical in their orientation (again, different from his early expressionist, atonal works), consist of the ballet *Poema* (1945), the Fourth Symphony (1946), the Second Violin Concerto (1946–1947), Cello Concerto (1949), whereas the emancipation towards a specific sort of historicist modernism (to use the term of Walter Frisch),[27] happened in the later works such as the Third Piano Concerto (1950) and the song cycle for baritone and orchestra On Lipar *(Na Liparu*, 1951). According to Melita Milin, this young composition teacher at the Belgrade Academy of Music drew unwanted attention from his colleagues with his Fourth Symphony. Namely, during a public orchestra rehearsal at the Composers' Association of Serbia, the Fourth Symphony prompted negative reactions from his older colleagues. Maybe unexpectedly, Rajičić accepted all the suggestions, so that he could commit himself to the task of mastering his compositional skills.[28] Another piece that drew attention was his Second Violin Concerto, whose revised version, completed in 1947, prompted an interesting interpretation by musicologist Stana Đurić-Klajn:

> Among the contemporary Serbian composers, Rajičić is one of those who followed the new path in the most spontaneous and decisive way. The mature technique, which he acquired while writing his early works, served him to convert easily to the new way of composing. His latest work, the Second Violin Concerto, represents a decisive step of this composer on the way towards realist expression and a sharp yet most positive turn in his recent compositions. […] Although unoriginal in its structure, context-wise, the Concerto contains wholesome music, and this strict adherence to the form did not prevent the composer from intensifying the content. In the first version […] the instrumentation was somewhat too dense and it interfered with the vantage-point juxtaposition of the soloist above the orchestra.[29]

Therefore, the Second Violin Concerto served as a turning point in the reception of Rajičić's post-war works.

It is also worth mentioning that Rajičić composed the soundtrack for the movie Life is Ours (*Život je naš*, 1948), about a young man who joins the youth brigade –

27 For more information see: Walter Frisch, "Bach, Regeneration and Historicist Modernism", in: *German Modernism. Music and the Arts*, Berkeley et al. 2005, pp. 138–185.

28 Cf. Milin, *Tradicionalno i novo*, p. 41. The author does not mention any features of the work which were criticised and advised to be changed. According to Milin, the Fourth Symphony is characterised by a softened expressionism with an insistence on variation and sequential repetition of the thematic material, and unskilled orchestration. The outcome of Rajičić's acceptance of all suggestions was his Second Violin Concerto (1946–1947). Cf. ibid.

29 Stana Đurić-Klajn, "Drugi koncert za violinu i orkestar Stanojla Rajičića" [The Second Concert for Violin and Orchestra by Stanojlo Rajičić] in: *Muzika: zbornik Udruženja kompozitora Srbije* [Music: Serbian Composers' Association News] (1949), pp. 65–75, p. 66.

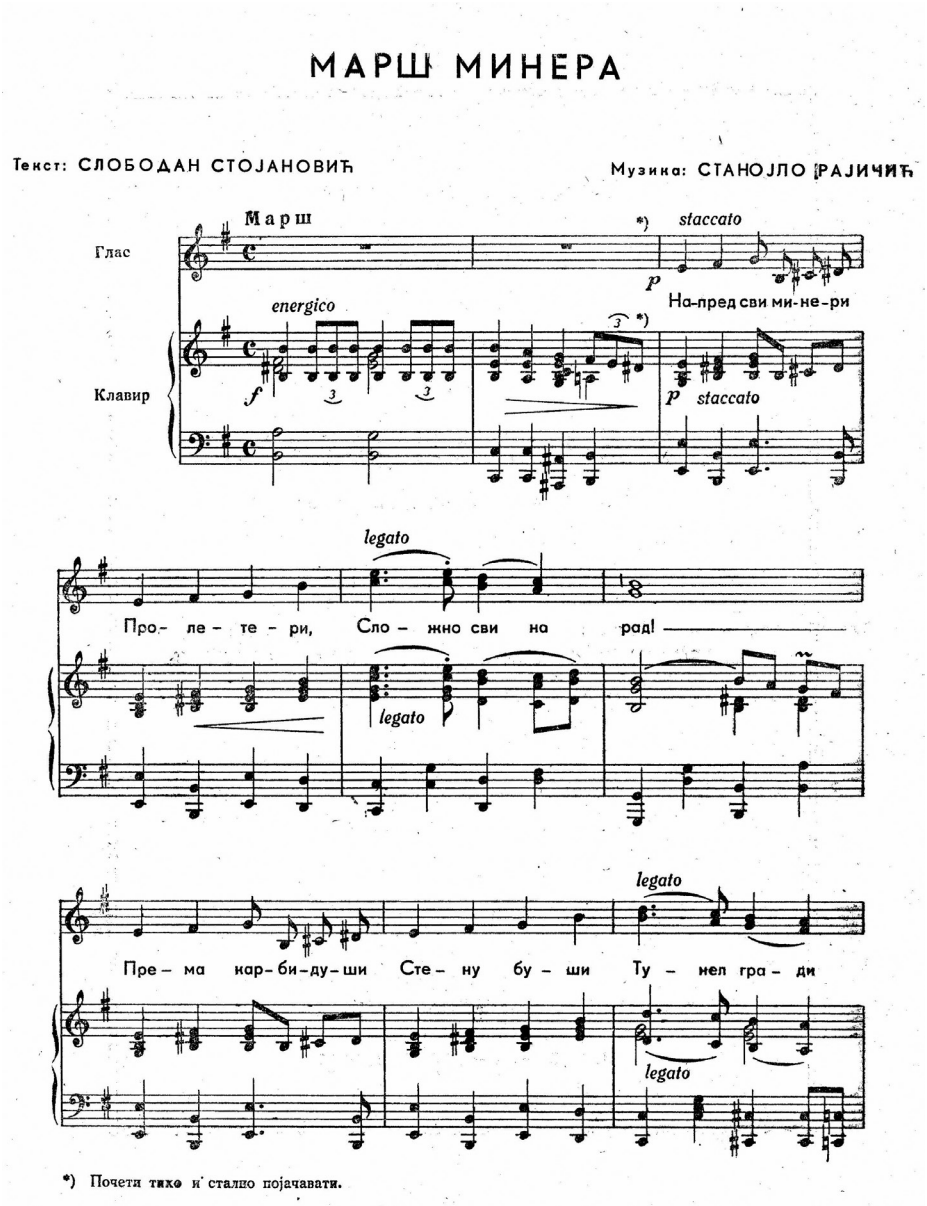

Fig. 3: Stanojlo Rajičić, Miners' March from the film Life is Ours, Belgrade: Prosveta 1948, mm. 1–9

a group of people who were working on a railway track. The man gets injured while operating heavy machinery, while drilling a tunnel and, instead of staying in hospital to recover, he, despite the pain, rushes back to the construction site, to help finish the tunnel on time.[30] This film did not draw the attention of music critics, possibly due to the fact that film music, at the time, was considered a lesser genre. Nevertheless, two numbers from this movie were published: Song of the Youth (*Omladinska pesma*) and Miners' March (*Marš minera*).[31]

Conclusion

The Belgrade-based Yugoslav composers discussed here were selected for being considered 'radical modernists' of Serbian interwar music. Therefore, one would expect them to be the most affected by the changes in the organisation of the state, politics, culture and arts. But after reviewing their early post-war works, where a change of individual style and presence of the aesthetics of Socialist Realism is more than obvious in the brief period when it appeared as a strict dogma, it seems that the adherence to this aesthetics was mandatory only insofar as the composer wanted to be present in the public eye. If we briefly return to the title of this paper, 'Negating the West, Going East', where the West represents, in the broadest sense, modernist tendencies, while the East signifies the doctrine of Socialist Realism, promulgated in the Soviet Union, this dichotomy is present in the outputs of previously examined composers. And, while the 'going East' part is, at least, visible on the surface, the 'negating the West' part was somewhat alleviated, even if such alleviation was only present in the composers' private lives (as in the cases of Ljubica Marić and Milan Ristić). Other unanswered questions are concerned with the relationship between Socialist Realism and neoclassicism (where both styles assume relations towards the stylistic models of past times but appear in seemingly different circumstances and with different purposes). Another question would consider the relation between Socialist Realism (and the project of modernity as its main feature) and modernism, where both styles are characterized by the pursuit of a better/desired future.

30 Cf. *Život je naš* [Life is Ours], https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0250835/plotsummary?ref_=tt_ov_pl (28.08.2019).

31 Stanojlo Rajičić, *Omladinska pesma iz filma* Život je naš [Song of the Youth from the Film Life is Ours], Belgrade: Prosveta 1948. Stanojlo Rajičić, *Marš minera iz filma* Život je naš [Miners' March from the Film Life is Ours], Belgrade: Prosveta 1948.

Music in War Films of the Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Period: Case Studies of *Battle of Neretva* and *Before the Rain*

Ana Djordjević

War films hold an important place in Yugoslav film production. Most of the film production after the Second World War was telling the stories from the war in light of the new socialist regime and communist doctrine so the majority of films was about the People's Liberation movement (Narodno-oslobodilački pokret) and its victory in the People's Liberation War (Narodno-oslobodilačka borba). War films (or partisan films) were produced for the mass audience that enjoyed watching dramatic stories and action sequences connected to the recent past they could relate to. These films also featured popular Yugoslav and international cast playing real-life partisan heroes that fought in the war. In other words, war films were popular, and were well-received products of mass culture that were constructing historical narratives while conveying phrases in line with the new state order. While there is no doubt that the films were politically boosted, state funded and mass-produced, the official stand was that they would be an educational tool used for passing on important history lessons to the next generation through the new and modern media of film.[1] However, they could be considered part of communist propaganda. The substantial production budget was invested especially into films that were describing important battles considered to be crucial episodes in the war. This made it possible for the selected films of the mass-produced and politically driven Yugoslav war film genre to have unusually high artistic qualities in all production departments, including music.

Shortly after the fall of the Berlin wall, socialist Yugoslavia broke up in a very violent manner that was followed by civil war between some former Yugoslav republics. This conflict inspired many film makers at that time to produce films dealing with the subject of this new conflict. Some directors used the on-going political changes and war occurrences as a starting (or end) point in order to 'show the bigger picture' that spans throughout history presenting the Balkans as a cursed place where history repeats itself over and over again and 'the circle is

1 Milutin Čolić, *Jugoslovenski ratni film* [Yugoslav War Film], Beograd 1984, p. 16.

never closed'. Many films deal with the post-Yugoslav conflict in an indirect way focusing on the social and psychological consequences of living in a place where the re-emerging conflict is never resolved but temporarily patched up with the tendency to open up again such as 'the powder keg' ready to explode.

Post-Yugoslav war films looked up to the Yugoslav partisan films using them as a reference point in many ways, making those references a unique link to the former Yugoslavia. Young directors such as Milcho Manchevski, Emir Kusturica, and Srđan Dragojević, in their films often reflected on the works of famous Yugoslav directors (such as Veljko Bulajić, Hajrudin Krvavac, Žika Mitrović). The referencing also relates to casting the same actors that were famous for their heroic rolls in the popular partisan films as well as using the popular mass songs that marked that era and its cinema.

There are many publications about the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav war cinema written by sociologists, film scholars, historians, and a few of them do mention music in their work. However, they usually make just general observations with no further explanations of the music in these films, its relevance to the story, characters, setting, and/or its place outside the film realm. In this paper I will focus on the two films that had significant success in the West with the difference being that one was made in the Yugoslav and the other in post-Yugoslav period. I will pay special attention to the role music played in their presentation to the Western audience and to the Western market, but also the possible role music might have played in their success. Drawing on Anahid Kassabian's writings about assimilating and affiliating identification through film scores[2], I will present the mechanisms for identification discovered in the music scores of two selected films. I will also show how the production decisions regarding music were influenced by the country's position in the then-current geo-political world map. My idea is to show how the identification process presented through music in films changed from Veljko Bulajić's war film spectacle *Battle of Neretva* (*Bitka na Neretvi*, 1969) to Milcho Manchevski's debut film *Before the Rain* (*Pred doždot/Pre kiše*) in 1994; how the different political situation conditioned/provoked the different attitudes these film makers had towards Western audience and capitalist market, and how that affected the film music production in these two films.

2 Anahid Kassabian, *Hearing Films: Tracing Identification in Contemporary Hollywood Film Music*, Routledge 2001.

Battle of Neretva

In the late 1960s, esteemed Yugoslav film director Veljko Bulajić announced the beginning of shooting the film about operation Weiss, or the battle of Neretva. The battle in the valley of the river Neretva portrayed in this film was one of the key events in the part of the Second World War happening on Yugoslav soil. It was also known as 'the battle for the wounded' since partisan military hospital happened to be at the heart of the battle. The film was immensely popular at the time of its premiere in 1969, and today it is considered one of the most popular films of its genre.

At the time of the pre-production of *Neretva*, Bulajić was already established as a director in the genre of the Yugoslav war film. His previous films about the People's Liberation Army and its victory were very popular with mass audience thus proving to be an excellent ideological tool for the Yugoslav socialist government. Depicting particularly important historical episodes from the Second World War in the film medium became a special category in the Yugoslav war film genre. Looking up to the historical film spectacles from other cinemas around the world, Bulajić introduced the war film spectacle as a specific subgenre of the Yugoslav war cinema. In 1962 he produced the film *Kozara* about the tragic battle on the mountain Kozara in the Second World War. The film had an enormous budget compared to other films of the same genre, huge cast and crew, and the plot combined a war history lesson presented through stories of individuals fighting together against a powerful enemy. Combined with epic battle scenes, *Kozara* then served as a recipe for what was going to be a series of war film spectacles about the most important events of the Second World War.[3] After the battle of Kozara, chronologically next in line as a battle of great importance for the partisan army was the battle of Neretva. The track set in motion with *Kozara* just expanded for *Neretva* – the budget for this film was even bigger than for the former production, the Yugoslav national army supported the epic battle scenes in manpower (recruits were employed as extras on the set) and heavy machinery, and a huge international cast and crew was hired to produce this epic tale. The major investor in this film was the state, although the Yugoslav production companies (Bosna film, Jadran film, Kinema Sarajevo, Radna zajednica filma), were in co-production with few foreign production companies – the Italian Igor film, the German Eichberg-Film,

3 More about this in: Vesna Mikić and Ana Đorđević, "Muzičke konvencije jugoslovenskog ratnog spektakla. *Kozara* – rađanje žanra" [Musical Conventions in Yugoslav War Spectacle. *Kozara* – the Birth of the Genre], in: *Kozara kroz riječ, zvuk i sliku* [Kozara in Words, Sounds and Images], ed. by Radost Galonja-Krtinić, Banja Luka 2018, pp. 23–33.

and Commonwealth United Entertainment). This allowed the production to hire a large international cast that included film stars like Orson Welles, Yul Brynner, or Sergey Bondarchuk. The film also caught attention of the great Spanish artist Pablo Picasso. The humanitarian story about people's army helping their sick and wounded comrades while still fighting for freedom resonated with Picasso so he made a poster for the film. He used the insert from his painting *Sabine* painted over in blood red.

Even though *Battle of Neretva* was very popular in Yugoslavia, it was one of the Yugoslav cultural products designed for Western consumption and did an excellent job in that regard. The film scored a nomination for an Academy Award for the best foreign film and it was distributed all over the world. To make the distribution and the reception of the film easier, the film was also synchronised in many languages and re-edited several times. The version of the film that was synchronised in English had the highest number of revisions. The music suffered major revisions in this matter. The original music was composed by Vladimir Kraus-Rajterić, a composer that often worked on Bulajić's films. The soundtrack consisted of symphonic music pieces that were used as nondiegetic, dramatic scoring, a couple of traditional songs, and an opening credits march (composed by Nikica Kalodjera).[4] However, the edits and cuts were necessary because of synchronisation and that took its toll on the music. This made it possible for the English version of the film to get a completely new score, and famous Hollywood film composer Bernard Herrmann was then hired for that task.[5]

The version synchronised in English was almost an hour shorter than the Yugoslav one with many scenes shortened and/or deleted, and all the dialogue translated into English, as opposed to the original where almost all actors spoke their own language (German, Italian, French), or dialects of the Serbo-Croatian language. This linguistic myriad was sacrificed in order to unify the story and make the film easily understandable to the foreign audience. This took its toll on the music as well, especially on the used pre-existing songs that characters sing in certain scenes that were deleted from this version of the film because they were not able to communicate well with an audience unfamiliar with the context. For that reason, Herrmann based his score only on instrumental, symphonic music with the characteristic leitmotif structure that was familiar to him but also to the Western

4 Kraus-Rajterić's soundtrack for the original film – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YML-9eHmJ-M (30.03.2020).

5 More about this in: Ana Đorđević, "Muzika *Bitke na Neretvi* – dve muzike za dve različite verzije istog filma" [Music of *Battle of Neretva* – Two Soundtracks for Two Versions of the Same Film], in: *Muzika znakova/znakovi u muzici i* New Born art [Music of Signs/Signs in Music and *New Born Art*], ed. by Biljana Mandić and Jelena Atanasijević, Kragujevac 2018, pp. 77–83.

Figure 1: The humanitarian story resonated with Picasso so he made a poster for the film. He used the insert from his painting *Sabine* painted over in blood red.

audience making the film easier to follow.[6] As much as this modification was good for the overall success of the film, it cost the film its local uniqueness, stripping it to the basis of its story about heroic victory of the small army that does not leave their wounded behind and still wins although outnumbered against great military force. The local flavour was in the combination of dialects presented through individual characters' stories and traditional and popular songs they sing that originate from all over the country. This provided the film with a communal note well in line with the communist doctrine pointing out the diversity of Yugoslav nationalities and their rich traditional culture.

The best example of the distinctions between these two versions and their soundtracks is in the scene before the closing credits and after the battle with the sun rising on the horizon and the partisan army soldiering forward to the next battle. The song at the end of the Yugoslav version is the traditional song *Stan Neretvo (hladne vode, mi idemo do slobode)* in which the singer is addressing the river Neretva begging it to stop because they need to cross its cold waters in order to be on their way to freedom. The message of the song was important but since it does not communicate well with the audience that does not understand the language, it was deemed useless, so it was decided to exclude it from the final cut of its English version. Herrmann's Finale is a grandiose piece of symphonic music that escorts the partisan army into the sunset with a glorious full-orchestra forte symphonic final movement.

Before the Rain

Before the Rain[7] is scripted and directed by Macedonian-American director Milcho Manchevski. The film won more than ten awards at the Venice Film Festival in 1994, including the Golden Lion, and it was nominated for the Academy Award for best foreign film in 1995. It was acclaimed as 'a genuine artistic achievement and a "hugely successful movie" with both international audiences and reviewers at the time of its release'.[8] Although it is the product of British, French and Macedonian production companies, and the crew and the cast were drawn from more than half-a-dozen countries in total (including France, UK, South Africa and Bulgaria), the film is mostly associated with Macedonian cinema. That was especially pointed out by the audience and critics abroad, but it made an impact

6 Herrmann's soundtrack for the English version of the film – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qU-f6zXodbE (30.03.2020).

7 Trailer for the film – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHBQ4VsQaic (30.03.2020).

8 Gordana P. Crnković, "Milcho Manchevski's *Before the Rain* and the Ethics of Listening", in *Slavic Review* 70 (2011), No. 1, pp. 116–136, p. 116.

on the local audience as well. In one interview, Manchevski said that in a country 'where even in volleyball, the national team cannot be called the Macedonian National Team, suddenly a Macedonian film does well, and people respond to that'.[9] In this quote Manchevski refers to the problems the country had regarding its name. In the Yugoslav federal union, its name was Republic of Macedonia, but after the federation broke up Greece vetoed this name because of its north province of the same name so the new country was renamed as Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The problem was resolved through the February 2019 referendum after which the country's official name became the Republic of North Macedonia.

The film follows Aleksandar Kirkov (played by Rade Šerbedžija), a photographer living in London who, after resigning from his job because of an assignment in war-torn Bosnia, returns to FYROM, his homeland. After more than fifteen years living abroad, he finds this country and its people changed. His village is strictly ethnically divided between Macedonians and Albanians who are fighting for power. When his cousins' gang captures an Albanian girl, Zemira (Labina Mitevska), who is accused of murdering one of their own, Aleksandar saves her by helping her escape. However, that act consequently gets him shot to death. Zemira manages to run away and hide in a nearby Orthodox monastery where she gets help and shelter from a young monk named Kiril (Grégoire Colin). When other monks discover her hiding in his room, the two of them are forced to leave the shelter of the monastery. Shortly after they leave, they come across a group of Albanians, mostly Zemira's cousins, and she is shot to death by the members of her own family.

Manchevski wrote the script for the film in 1991 after one of his visits from the United States where he resided at the time. At the moment of his visit, FYROM was the only former Yugoslav republic that had not yet seen a major ethnic conflict. The Yugoslav National Army left the FYROM capital, Skopje, peacefully in early 1992, and the newly elected government welcomed the presence of both the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and US troops. These foreign military forces were there to hold the peace between extremists of both sides of the Macedonian–Albanian ethnic conflict because, in the eyes of the West, the country was seen as another potential conflict zone.

Engaging with very recent events and political context carried a potential risk of relating the film to a dominant national political narrative. For that reason, Manchevski always emphasized that he was not trying to portray actual events but

9 Keith Brown, "Macedonian Culture and its Audiences: An Analysis of *Before the Rain*", in: *Ritual, Performance, Media,* ed. by F. Hughes-Freeland, London and New York 1998, pp. 160–176, p. 171.

only send a warning about the possibility of an ethnic conflict that might happen in FYROM as well. Although his idea was, as Filipčević points out, 'both to relate film to and separate it from predominant national narratives'[10], Manchevski's focus on the historical narrative about the Balkan history and damnation only rooted *Before the Rain* deeper in the context of post-Yugoslav war cinema.

At the time, non-Macedonian audiences understood the film as Macedonian, relying mostly on the correspondence of the depicted image and other familiar impressions of the Yugoslav wars broadcasted in the foreign media in the early 1990s. Characters' demeanour and actions are recognised as 'authentic Macedonian' and supported by the other single quality of the film, as Brown notices, and that is the visual impact of the landscape in which the action is set.[11] Although the scenery is the main attraction of the film for some Western reviewers, as Brown says listing foreign reviews about 'spectacular Macedonian hillsides' or 'glowing Balkan countryside'[12], the landscape that Manchevski presented does not exist on the ground. The majority of the film is shot in sites that spread across the country, and the images are taken out of their context and relocated in close proximity to one another in order to create the image the director wanted to show in the film. For example, the monastery in the film consists of the combination of shots of four different monasteries from different parts of the country. A similar level of 'authenticity' is present in the film's soundtrack.

The soundtrack was composed and performed by Macedonian neo-folk band Anastasia. As it says on their website,

> their music is a unique blend combining Byzantine past, through Eastern Orthodox Church music with a rich gamut of ethnic rhythms. They play acoustic instruments typical for the area where they come from and dwell [in], such as: kaval ([a traditional] flute), gajda (bagpipes), tapan ([a traditional] drum), and also use modern technology: computers, samplers, synthesizers, etc.[13]

The soundtrack for *Before the Rain*[14] was their most popular album with enormous

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10 Vojislava Filipčević, "Historical Narrative and the East-West Leitmotif in Milcho Manchevski's *Before the Rain* and *Dust*", in: *Film Criticism* 29 (2004/2005), No. 2, pp. 3–33, p. 12.

11 Brown, "Macedonian Culture and its Audiences", p. 166.

12 'Spectacular Macedonian hillsides [...] wondrous shots of the forbidding landscape' (Woodward 1995, *Village Voice*), 'glowing Balkan countryside' (Billson 1995, *Daily Telegraph*), 'hard tan hills of Macedonia, the cobbled stone houses of the village' (Johnson 1995, *Maclean's Magazine*), 'the camera feasts on the rolling Macedonian hills' (Brown 1995, *The Times*). Brown, "Macedonian Culture and its Audiences", p. 166.

13 https://web.archive.org/web/20080311182010/http://www.unet.com.mk/anastasia/ana_abe.htm (30.03.2020).

14 *Before the Rain* soundtrack list – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Msh5QxOnms8&t=2723s (30.03.2020).

commercial success that booked them tours around the world for promoting the album and the culture of North Macedonia. The music for this film is a combination of quasi-folk melodies played on traditional instruments in pop music arrangements with synths, or piano, or synth strings. In addition to their originally composed music, the band used two well-known North Macedonian traditional songs and gave them 'a modern make-over' in new arrangements. Both songs are heard in the last part of the film. The famous traditional song *Jovano, Jovanke* is used in Aleks's homecoming scene (part of track 3 *Coming Back Home* on the soundtrack). The song is presented in an unusual choral arrangement – the melody is stripped of its lyrics and it is accompanied by an ensemble of traditional instruments. The other traditional song used in the film is *So maki sum se rodila* (I Was Born with Sorrow, and with Sorrow I Will Die). This song is presented in Anastasia's neo-folk arrangement underscoring the scene of Aleksandar's death that ties together all three segments of the film (track 9 *Death of Aleksandar* on the soundtrack). For this track the band featured a special guest performer, the esteemed traditional music singer – Vanja Lazarova, who was known in traditional music circles for her interpretation of this song but became famous nation- and world-wide after the success of this film. Her soft interpretation of this song brings the familiarity of the traditional song that resonates well with the audience even in the new arrangement by Anastasia. Considering all the aspects of this film and its soundtrack, it could be argued that the re-invention of tradition in terms of music corresponds well with the 'imaginary landscapes' Manchevski used in the visual aspect of the film.

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The two films analysed here had quite different journeys from paper to the screen and then to the wider audience. However, they also have some similarities. Both films were well received both at home and abroad, both were nominated for and received eminent awards while making a huge success at the box office. For Bulajić *Neretva* was the peak of his career, and for Manchevski *Before the Rain* was a magnificent debut. Both films even share one actor, Abdurrahman Shala, who played one of the partisan captains in *Neretva* and Zekir in *Before the Rain*, which was his last performance. Music-wise, these films are good examples of how important the soundtrack is in regard to a film's distribution and reception, although the methods employed are very different which is due to the political situation at the time the films were made. In the next chapter I will analyse those methods focusing on the identification processes that occur in connection with the selected films and their soundtracks.

Identification through/in the soundtrack

During the 1990s and in early 2000s the former Yugoslav countries were identified with the images of war and destruction that were circulating in the media. Even the countries that did not partake in this conflict, like FYROM, shared Yugoslavia as the common denominator with the other republics that were in open conflict. Manchevski managed to create a new image of FYROM in this film, but most importantly, he managed to deliver and present this image worldwide. He succeeded in creating an association that was different from the one connected to the raging war and the country's Yugoslav past. Films like *Before the Rain* were steps for establishing the country's independent cultural identity in international media space although it is worth noting that this was only individual artistic expression, not official state cultural policy. The landscapes and soundscapes Manchevski presented in his film offered a new association for independent FYROM as the newly established country.

In her study *Hearing Films: Tracing Identification in Contemporary Hollywood Film Music*, Anahid Kassabian describes the identification processes that occur within perceivers prompted by the music used in film. Based on the origin of the music, whether it is originally composed for the film or centred on pre-existing tracks, she recognises two types of scores – composed and compiled scores. Each of these two score types provoke different types of identification. Kassabian notes that composed scores, as musical material composed specifically for the film, condition assimilating identification since it is 'structured to draw perceivers into socially and historically unfamiliar positions, as do larger scale processes of assimilation'.[15] On the other hand, compiled scores built of songs that pre-exist the film offers affiliating identification on the account that 'compiled scores bring the immediate thread of history' therefore activates 'ties forged outside of the film scene'.[16] Here she addresses the audience members and cinema-goers as perceivers, or viewers that bring their social histories, gender, race, class, and many other axes of identity to the foreground while engaging with the film.[17] She also takes into account that films are 'only partly discrete entities: they exist for perceivers within a web of textuality that includes experience of sound, music, and visuals that begins long before a specific film experience and continues long thereafter'.[18]

After the premiere of *Before the Rain* in Skopje, the local audience recognised

15 Kassabian, *Hearing Films*, p. 2.
16 Ibid., p. 3.
17 Ibid., p. 111.
18 Ibid., p. 49.

Manchevski's collage of landscapes and locations, as well as the traditional songs in new arrangements, and the voice of Vanja Lazarova. It was maybe hard for the regular perceiver not musically trained or interested in traditional music, to acknowledge that the soundtrack, apart from the two re-arranged songs, was originally composed music. Musical cues are not as easy to spot as the collage of different landscapes merged into one that grabbed the attention of most viewers. Music was perceived as traditional because composers used the tools and elements of traditional music – rhythm patterns, melodic structures, instrument selection and timbre, in creating their original score.

Following Kassabian's writings, it could be argued that the foreign audience is understanding the music as well as the landscape images as 'truly' Macedonian, and therefore assimilates the identification transferred through the soundtrack the same way it understood the landscape as documentary footage.[19] However, the soundtrack's familiar quasi-traditional sound pushes local perceivers towards affiliating identification. Although the score is originally composed for the film, and the used traditional songs are re-arranged in Anastasia's style, the overall quasi-traditional sound is especially overwhelming for the local audience familiar to it. What foreign audience hear for the first time as distant, new, unfamiliar music, locals recognise the familiar sound that is imitating their music heritage. The result is a soundtrack that local audience affiliates to because of its previous experience with traditional music, and the foreign audience understands as traditional Macedonian music.

In the case of *Battle of Neretva* Herrmann's score is there to provide only assimilating identification. The film was already substantially shorter and barred from any elements that might provide any affiliation to anything outside the core of the story, such as political and/or ideological implications, communist mantras characteristic for this film genre, or any displays or national/traditional heritage of the Yugoslav people. Consequently, the music score had to be changed as well. After overall synchronisation, cuts and edits, Herrmann's score was the final key in the 'westernisation' of the South-Eastern-European film for the Western market. This resulted in a film with a soundtrack that addresses both foreign and local audience at the same level invoking the same classical Hollywood cinema feeling.

19 'This impression, derived here from reviews, is confirmed by the immediate reaction that various amateur audiences in Europe and the USA had. Audiences there appeared to consider they were seeing the landscape of Macedonia, and the people of Macedonia. Jonathan Schwartz recalls that in discussion with Dutch University students, he had to convince them that the film was "not an actual documentary but a dystopian nightmare". For a range of audiences outside Macedonia, then, the film documented recent Yugoslav history, and made contemporary Macedonia a part of that history.' Brown, "Macedonian Culture and its Audiences", p. 167.

Conclusion

With the examples of two films created in different periods and dealing within the range of the war film genre, my intention was to show the importance of music in the production (or post-production) of these films regarding their reception. I also wanted to point out the different ways music can be used to change or manipulate the given reception.

Battle of Neretva was produced by a strategically chosen cast and crew from both sides of the Iron Curtain. It needed to assume, or at least pretend to assume, an unbiased position while connecting the two sides, and Herrmann's score played an important part in that setting. The symphonic score with leitmotifs and other familiar elements of the music of Hollywood films made the film's sound familiar even though it was about a complicated historical event unknown to the ones not familiar with Yugoslav history or the details of the Second World War.

On the other hand, Manchevski's *Before the Rain* utilized its quasi-traditional score to boost the visual and create the audial image now universally recognisable as North Macedonian. In a moment like the 1990s, the newly independent country needed to present a new identity. Even though it still had former Yugoslavia in its official name, the country and its people aimed to re-connect with its pre-Yugoslav history and heritage. The new flag, anthem and crest were not enough, it was the media presence that had to be changed and Manchevski's film was on that trail, and that relates to the soundtrack as well. The soundtrack for *Before the Rain* re-invented the country's traditional music and presented it with a 'modern twist', making it part of the growing world music genre at the same time.

Popular Music in Intercultural Language Teaching

Olga Stojanović Fréchette

The teaching of foreign languages has long ceased to be only the presenting of the linguistic structure of a language.[1] Nowadays it also includes the teaching of the culture as a component of language, meaning not only communicative conventions in everyday situations but also the knowledge of political, ethnological and historical facts of the country or the speech community. In order to be able to explain the foreign words in their entire socio-cultural and linguistic pragmatic scope, the language teaching has to offer a wider understanding of the cultural backgrounds and present it in appropriate didactic models. The question in which form and with which content this didactic can be formed depends essentially on the respective concepts of culture. Regardless of whether we see it as the totality of social norms or as the system of symbols or practices of a community, 'material culture is constantly *mediated*, *interpreted* and *recorded* – among other things – through language.'[2] The acquisition of intercultural competences remains an important goal of foreign language teaching, which includes a differentiated understanding of the particularities of the foreign culture in relation to the learner's own culture. In the last decades, the teaching of culture has come a long way from the presentation of aspects of 'high culture', in particular the history of literature and art, to the acquisition of communicative skills and the discussion of cultural specifics from everyday life, customs, faith, historical tradition, ethnology and other areas of life. Intercultural teaching indeed requires incorporating the contents of other humanistic disciplines such as ethnology, history, art history, politics and sociology, but above all developing suitable didactic concepts for culturally relevant

1 This paper is a shortened and lightly modified version of my talk on the conference *Srpski kao strani jezik u teoriji i praksi IV* [Serbian as a Foreign Language in Theory and Praxis] at the University of Belgrade on 28 October 2018, which is forthcoming in print in the proceedings of the conference: Olga Stojanović Frechette, "Kulturna istorija kroz istoriju popularne muzike", in: *Srpski kao strani jezik u teoriji i praksi IV*, ed. by Vesna Krajišnik, Beograd 2020, pp. 541–553.

2 Claire Kramsch, "The Cultural Component of Language Teaching", in: *Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht* 1 (1996), Nr. 2, pp. 1–11, here p. 3.

issues. In this paper, I would like to present a concept which uses popular music as a starting point for the introduction of themes of political and everyday culture, history, philology, ethnology and anthropology of the South Slavs.[3]

Popular music as a topic in intercultural language teaching

According to the research of Russian linguoculturologists quoted by Rajna Dragićević, the influence of culture on language is most clearly visible in not only 'verbal associations, phraseology, proverbs, common known texts, but also in the themes of modern culture such as advertising, film, popular music'.[4] The idea of incorporating more popular culture into the classroom has gained popularity. Nonetheless, 'discourse genre mixing is more complicated than is often suggested', as an analysis of using a popular televised talent show in the classroom by Lefstein and Snell shows.[5] For this paper, I have selected music exemplifying various aspects of popular culture that carry the potential for conveying cultural knowledge about Yugoslavian and Serbian culture. 'Music detects social changes much more quickly than, for example, novels or films, for the simple reason that the process of creation and the path from author to listener is much shorter and therefore more up-to-date', as Cvitanović notes.[6] After several seminars held within the framework of the module Audiovisual Media at the Institute of Slavic Philology at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (LMU), with music of the Balkans as the main theme and with various didactic concepts, we were able to confirm the assumption that popular music can be seen as the link that unites the most diverse cultural aspects of Serbian culture and history in the 20th century in terms of content and methodology of teaching language.

Numerous scientific studies that have dealt with the relationship between music trends and socio-political movements in recent decades speak about the deep

3 The term 'popular music' is used to refer to various traditional folk music and composed musical genres which enjoy great popularity, from traditional folk songs to modern urban styles from the West. Classical and church music are hence not included, as they are performed in specific contexts and do not have such a broad acquaintance and popularity.

4 Rajna Dragićević, "Lingvokulturološki pristup u nastavi srpskog jezika kao stranog", in: *Srpski kao strani jezik u teoriji i praksi II*, ed. by Vesna Krajišnik, Beograd 2010, pp. 81–93, here p. 83.

5 Adam Lefstein, Julia Snell, "Promises and Problems of Teaching with Popular Culture: A Linguistic Ethnographic Analysis of Discourse Genre Mixing in a Literacy Lesson", in: *Reading Research Quarterly* 46 (2011) No.1, pp. 40–69, here p. 61.

6 Marin Cvitanović, "(Re)konstrukcija balkanskih identiteta kroz popularnu glazbu", in: *Migracijske i etničke teme* 25 (2009), No. 4, pp. 317–335, here pp. 319–320.

connection between music and culture among the Southern Slavs.[7] Music is perceived even more clearly than literature or film as a 'mirror of society'.[8] The cultural range between the influences from the Southeast and those from the West in Serbia has been very clearly reflected in the change of politically preferred musical scales and harmonies, as Đurković demonstrates.[9] Nearly every political change of the last 100 years has left traces in music: the change of regime after the Second World War in partisan songs, the opening of Yugoslavia to the West from the 1960s onwards in the rapid adoption of modern music styles, the Communist party's relationship to rock and roll and the fashion trends of youth, the urbanization in new folk music, up to the breakup of Yugoslavia and the paradigm shift in culture in the 1990s in Turbofolk. Music was the transporter of gender images and generational stereotypes as well as the structures of social hierarchy and ideology, but it was simultaneously their creator too.[10] It thus appears, viewed from a temporal distance, as a very sensitive medium for sensing social movements – so much so that in some interpretations, it has even been seen as an active factor in political change.[11] The fact that musical taste in Serbia still has identity-relevant and ideological connotations can be illustrated by the example of two major music festivals, Exit and Guča, which have become symbols of the political orientation of their visitors. Music in Southeastern Europe has been also used to represent the national identity, as certain musical genres and traditions have been declared as authentic and original cultural elements of an ethnic group and have been used in the process of identity formation.[12]

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7 Cf. Aleksandar Ranković, *Rokenrol u Jugoslaviji 1956–1968,* Beograd 2012, and Ivan Ivačković, *Kako smo propevali. Jugoslavija i njena muzika*, Beograd ²2006, with plenty of material on modern music in Yugoslavia and its status in communist society. However, the most studied musical phenomenon by far remains Turbofolk, which has been discussed in many anthropological, political, sociological, feminist and more rarely musicological papers. A more recent overview of the academic Turbofolk discussion can be found in Rory Archer, "Assessing Turbofolk Controversies: Popular Music between the Nation and the Balkans", in: *Southeastern Europe* 36 (2012), pp. 178–207.

8 Ivačković, *Kako smo propevali*, p. 11.

9 Miša Đurković, *Slika, zvuk i moć. Ogledi iz pop-politike*, Beograd 2009.

10 For the connection between Turbofolk and national ideas and gender roles, see Marija Grujić, *Community and the Popular. Women, Nation and Turbo-Folk in Post-Yugoslav Serbia*, Budapest 2009.

11 This can be seen in Serbian and international studies on the connection between music and politics in the 90s, in which music was declared to be a political weapon. An overview of such a presentation can be found for example in Đurković, *Slika, zvuk i moć*, pp. 127–138.

12 The discussion on Sevdalinka in Bosnia can serve as an example (a more recent overview at http://stav.ba/moze-li-sevdalinka-biti-bosnjacka-hrvatska-i-srpska/, accessed 25 February 2019).

Furthermore, in the teaching, music acts as a flexible and multi-layered basis, which can be adapted in different ways depending on the thematic focus and the teaching objectives. Among its didactic advantages is certainly the use of various auditory and visual components together with textual forms, which makes the lessons more heterogeneous and the communication of new content more productive. In addition to textual materials, especially lyrics, interviews, reports and secondary literature, the lessons can be adjusted to the interests of the participants and combined with auditory and visual contents (sound recordings, documentaries, video clips, TV shows). Nowadays, the sources are easily accessible on the internet: from the almost inexhaustible pool of audio-visual material on YouTube to the scientifically based collections of music.[13] The music in particular is often a strong motivating factor for learning the Serbian language abroad and it usually increases active participation in the classroom. In the case of music, the students often come to class with personal preferences and beliefs about particular musical styles and performers, and are commonly willing to talk about them in oral contributions. Music can therefore serve as a motivational bait for teaching more complex issues in sociology and history.

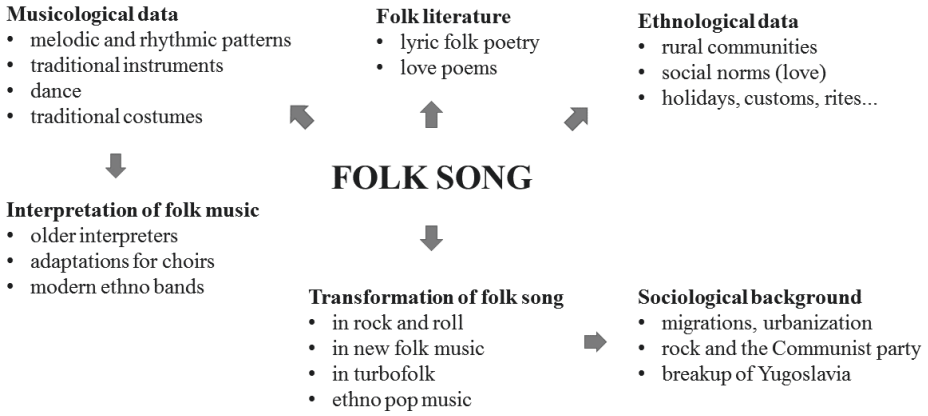
In the following section, I would like to present two didactic examples of how music can be used in Serbian culture courses or as a teaching unit in language courses at higher levels of language acquisition. These examples are intended as open patterns that can be realized with different examples with the same functional structure: the initial point and the theme of the lesson is a particular music style, piece, interpreter, band or a social event related to music. It remains the central topic of the lesson but it opens many different sub-topics ranging from political and social history, language, art, to popular culture and everyday life, which can be introduced in various ways and discussed in the classroom. I will briefly outline the possibilities in discussing two music examples from the very opposite areas of popular music – a traditional folk song and a pop/rock song, both typifying genres that are essential to Serbian culture in the broadest sense.

13 A well edited collection of folk songs can be found on the website *Srpske izvorne pesme* (izvornepesme.org) with 446 recordings of 352 folk songs by professional interpreters of folk music, with information on the texts, geographical distribution of the song, traditional performance practice, customs, etc.

Didactic example No. 1: The folk song

In my courses on the development of popular music in the Balkans, I have often begun with folk music. In the didactic sense, the folk song offers the opportunity to introduce topics from various subsystems, such as linguistics, semiotics, ethnology, the history of art, and to discuss them with the students. On the one hand, traditional folk music is the link to oral folk literature and the genre of lyrical poems. The lyrical folk poems, with their many sub-genres associated with various areas of traditional rural life, enable the teacher to introduce topics from the ethnology of the countryside – the life of the village community, its work and holidays during the calendar year, its customs, beliefs and rituals. By using love poems, the teacher can explain the values in the patriarchal family, such as social norms of love, marriage, fidelity and so on.

On the other hand, the folk song can also be viewed from a musicological perspective, with its unique melodic and rhythmic structures, old folk instruments and dances. This wealth of ethnological information, together with audio samples, leaves a deep impression on the students and motivates them to take an active part in the group discussion as well as to talk about their impressions of the presented music. As teaching material, it is possible to use the texts of folk poetry, ethnological texts about the traditional life, recordings of songs and dances, and various visual material.



Example 1: The folk song as initial point

The folk song not only has a rich past but also lives in the present, in which it is constantly transformed and integrated into new musical styles. The elements of folk music can also be found in some pop/rock bands of Yugoslavia, and they form the

basis for the emergence of the 'novokomonovana muzika' (newly composed 'folk' music) of the 70s. Through this development, the underlying processes in society can be addressed: the depopulation of the countryside, the rapid urbanization, the emigration of the working class, unemployment, the breakup of Yugoslavia, the appearance of Turbofolk and the revival of traditional performance practice among modern performers of ethno music. All these aspects can be focused on, for example the issue of social changes in the 60s and 70s in Yugoslavia associated with the migration from the countryside to the towns and the transformation of folk music from a traditional to a commercial art, visibly in the lyrics of the 'novokomponovana muzika'.

Didactic example No. 2: Pop/rock music

As a counterpart to the folk song, the music of urban styles can also be used productively in the classroom. Most of the pop/rock bands of Yugoslavia and Serbia have expressed a clear socio-critical position and referred to the changes in politics and society in their songs, so that their songs can serve as a starting point for the discussion on topics related to political history. My example for this is the song *Prvi maj* of the band Dubioza kolektiv from the album *Apsurdistan* (2013).[14] The song describes the celebration of the Workers' Day with traditional barbecue and lots of beer, while the struggle for workers' rights is neglected. The lyrics of the song are surely difficult to understand for a non-native speaker as they use culturally specific idioms, allusions and images that were frequent in public discourse in socialist Yugoslavia and also later in the post-communist economy (words as 'drug' [comrade], 'proleteri' [proletarian], 'kordon drotova' [police cordon]). Other culture-specific phrases and images include those that are related to the art of celebration, especially with regard to the celebration of the Workers' Day, formerly one of the most important holidays in the communist period. Associated with the celebration are images of barbecuing in the nature and the traditional dance 'kolo'. As complementary visual content, the cover of the album with the

14 Dubioza kolektiv is a Bosnian avant-garde dub rock group known for their crossover style that incorporates elements of hip hop, dub, ska, reggae, rock, punk, electronic music, and Balkan music, and for their socially and politically conscious songwriting with lyrics in multiple languages. The group was formed in 2003. Dubioza kolektiv has supported various civic movements and non-governmental organisations. It has made all its recent albums available for download free of charge on their website. The group released 11 studio albums, and many music videos. In 2015, Dubioza kolektiv was referred to as the most popular Bosnian musical act. (from Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dubioza_kolektiv, accessed 29 April 2020)

Dubioza kolektiv: ***Prvi maj***

Ni danas nije počeo svenarodni ustanak
idu svi na sindikalni prvomajski uranak.
Proleteri kao jedan žure do cilja
nozdrve golica miris roštilja.
U potoku hladi se par gajbi piva
iz flaša se nateže rakija šljiva.
Radničke parole danas nema ko da nosa
i neće se pjevat' "Bandiera rossa".

Niko ne priziva suzavac, pendrek
zašto politikom kvariti dernek,
Tequila sunrise mjesto Molotova
u kolo se hvata i kordon drotova.
Digla se čitava bivša Juga
nećemo nikome biti sluga,
neustrašivo derneči drug uz druga,
hrabro se mezi i složno se cuga. […]

Example 2: Political background in a pop/rock song.[15] The album cover with the parody of the national coat of arms of Yugoslavia holds many cultural connotations.

15 'May Day. Popular uprising failed to begin today again | Everybody's going to the trade union May Day picnic | Proletarians striding to their destination as one | Nostrils are tickled by the smell of barbecue | In the brook a couple of beer crates are cooling | Plum brandy is being sipped out of bottles | No one's there to carry workers' slogans today | And nobody will be singing Bandiera Rossa. || Nobody's wishing for teargas and truncheons | Why spoil the party with politics | Tequila Sunrise, instead of Molotovs | A cordon of cops is joining the folk dance | The whole of ex-Yugoslavia is rising | We will be nobody's slaves | Fearlessly partying, comrade with comrade | We're bravely munching and drinking in unity […]'; Translation from: lyricstranslate.com/de/prvi-maj-may-day.html (accessed on 1 May 2020).

parody of the national coat of arms of Yugoslavia can be discussed, as it is presented as a visual critique of the post-socialist reality in the countries of the former federal state. Starting from this symbol, which holds many cultural connotations, the lecturer can steer the discussion in the classroom in various directions and address entire areas of political and artistic life in Yugoslavia and beyond.

In the two didactic examples presented, the conceptual structure of the lesson remains open and the examples can be replaced with other musical genres, songs or epochs. Many musical examples of popular music of the Balkans allow for the introduction and tackling of various topics relevant to culture. The discussion itself, the emphasis on particular aspects and the sharing of scholarly discourse as well as the interpretation of the issues can be flexibly adapted to the requirements of the course and the language level of the participants. The didactic advantage is obvious: by taking the contents of popular culture and entertainment as a starting point, the students can also learn about the culture of everyday life and increase their intercultural competence. The design of the lessons is polycentric: the audiovisual content, presented in short sequences of songs and videos, is accompanied by comments on the historical background. Themes from popular culture visibly lower the students' inhibition to participate in the discussion and motivate them to engage in oral language production. The lessons unfold into dynamic, often polemically charged group sessions.

In its diversity and in the possibilities it offers, the music in the Balkans does indeed seem to be one of the central components of national cultures, and as such, it deserves to play a role in the teaching of Serbian as a foreign language.

‘Vanilla and Chilli’ in Lithuanian Minimalism. Tropes of Liminality in Discourse around the ‘Machinist’ Generation

Claire McGinn

Having attended the Seattle Chamber Players’ Baltic Voices festival in 2004, Richard Taruskin passed the following, seemingly complimentary, judgment on *Winterserenade*, a 1997 work by Onutė Narbutaitė for flute, violin and viola. Though alluding to what have become very familiar discursive templates in the reception of Baltic art music, Taruskin’s response was roundly positive: ‘Her most characteristic mode is slow, ruminative, gorgeously lyrical, and utterly haunting. […] *Winterserenade*[’s] wispy texture and absorbingly sustained mood keep it going three times as long as the original’.[1] However, he also made the following, somewhat more provocative claim:

> Ms Narbutaitė is a great composer. […] Yet however individual, imaginative and skilled, her musical mind is subject to the same influences as the minds of her musical contemporaries, and her work conformed in its stylistic evolution to the same norm. No one attending […] could miss the fact that, virtually without exception, the music of every Baltic composer – young or old, Slavic or Scandinavian, male or female, left or right, post-Soviet or pre-NATO – followed the same trajectory: the more recent the work, the more consonant (or to put it more contentiously, the less dissonant). Not “tonal.” Not “Romantic.” Not “retro.” Consonant.[2]

Significant compositional trends in Lithuanian art music subvert the implications of Taruskin’s statement while simultaneously retaining other defining characteristics of the post-minimalist styles that have a central place in the contemporary canon. Though he specified that it was the more recent work showcased

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1 Richard Taruskin, “North (Europe) by Northwest (America)”, in: *New York Times*, April 18 2004, https://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/18/arts/music-north-europe-by-northwest-america.html (21.10.2019).

2 Ibid.

at a particular festival that provoked this observation, Taruskin's comments also touched on a long-recurring thread in the reception of Baltic art music – representative works of which, in more explicitly pejorative terms, have been described as 'bland',[3] 'flaccid'[4] and 'soft-centred'.[5] These kinds of assertions in themselves invite challenges as subjective value judgments, but in addition they prompt the reassertion of the existence of modernist-leaning Baltic styles that have frequently been overlooked in English-language criticism of the last few decades. Whether or not one critic or another finds a given work 'soft-centred', comparatively less attention is paid internationally to Baltic musics with a harder core. This article will address figures frequently affiliated with the 'machinist' movement, a term which may not be used by individual composers to self-identify,[6] but which nonetheless is presented as a significant phenomenon in Lithuanian art music. The article asks to what extent examples of 'machinist' composition by Rytis Mažulis and Nomeda Valančiūtė might reflect on a musical level the tropes of liminality evoked in verbal discourse surrounding this trend, and what the other contributing factors to this discourse might be. Machinist compositional trends are presented as destabilising the dominant euphonic musical discourse, perceived by many as both conservative and constructed, around a time of political instability. It is concluded that the liminal or 'hybrid' modernism of the machinists effectively highlights the constructed nature of the dominant euphonic style in contemporary marketing and reception.

While still composing in a comparably repetitive, process-oriented mode, machinist composers were perceived as overturning a prevailing aesthetic palette – one of 'euphonic' minimalist consonance and folk influence, epitomised by the work of Bronius Kutavičius and broadly characterised by Šarūnas Nakas as 'vanilla'[7] and by Vykintas Baltakas as 'soup'.[8] It is worth noting that, although Kutavičius'

3 Tom Service, "Review: Nash Ensemble, BBC Singers", in: *The Guardian*, October 6 2003, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2003/oct/06/classicalmusicandopera2 (26.10.2019).

4 Hannah Nepil, "Tavener, Pärt and Adams, Kings Place, London – 'Mystical and visceral'", in: *Financial Times*, November 30 2015, https://www.ft.com/content/68454008-974f-11e5-9228-87e603d47bdc (26.10.2019).

5 David Fanning, "Review: Baltic Voices Vol. 2", in: *Gramophone*, 2004, https://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/baltic-voices-2 (26.10.2019).

6 Tautvydas Bajarkevičius, "Contemporary Music, Sound Art and Media in Lithuania: From a historical perspective to the present", in: *Sound Exchange*, http://www.soundexchange.eu/#lithuania_en?id=40 (23.09.2019).

7 Šarūnas Nakas, "Minimalism in Lithuanian Music", transl. Vida Urbonavičius, Veronika Janatjeva, in: *Lithuanian Music in Context, Vol II: Landscapes of Minimalism*, Vilnius 2011, p. 20.

8 Interview with Vykintas Baltakas, Brussels 2017. Conducted by the author (currently unpublished).

work is often seen to epitomise the 'silence'/'ethno music' trends that artists like Baltakas subsequently felt moved to push back against, the scope of Kutavičius' output has not been restricted to non-stop consonance or to themes of mysticism, ritual and folklore, but also covers terrain that might loosely compare with aural tendencies of the machinist movement or with more 'traditional' modernism, if not necessarily with their theoretical preoccupations or methods. For example, his 1966 piano work *Trys metamorfozės* superimposes quartal and quintal constructions, often at intervals of a semitone or tritone, producing a highly dissonant overall palette and avoiding implications of tonality or pitch centricity. Similarly evoking an accessible modernist language in its harmony, his 1993 *Rhythmus–Arhythmus* makes a feature of driving, dissonant motor ostinati and syncopation. Still, the name Bronius Kutavičius is almost unanimously taken to be synonymous with the folk-inflected, euphonic, consonant and spiritualist styles that were hugely popular from the 1970s. Conversely, while sharing such key fingerprints of mainstream minimalism as cellular-repetitive construction, the machinist composers' works have leant towards dissonance, angularity, harsher timbres, driving 'mechanical' rhythms, irregularity and a higher degree of evident complexity than euphonic counterparts.

Tautvydas Bajarkevičius explains that the 'machinist generation' expressed themselves in 'alternative and experimental ways' and 'forc[ed] their way into the Lithuanian academic music environment', actively exploring stylistic practices that 'had, up until that point, been rather foreign to the current dominant aesthetic tastes.'[9] The author similarly acknowledges that 'the strategies' the machinist generation 'used to create their identities and their ties with the traditions of the 1980s clearly set them apart from the overall panorama of Lithuanian academic music'.[10] The Lithuanian Music Information Centre (MICL) elaborates on these references to conflicting tastes, noting a definitive rejection of 'the romantic lyricism, rather spontaneous way of composing, and allusions to literature and nature which dominated their predecessors' work' which, alongside an emergence of stronger allegiances with '"pure" music' ideals, resulted in the machinists' 'far more severe, and highly formalised' music.[11] The MICL article further describes the hallmarks of the emergent style, noting the 'diversity of forms' (antiquated motet forms and 'structural principles close to […] early American minimalism') symptomatic of these composers' preference for a 'systematic approach'.[12] As the evocative name

9 Bajarkevičius, "Contemporary Music, Sound Art and Media in Lithuania".

10 Ibid.

11 "The Modern Music of Lithuania: Past & Present", ed. by Lithuanian Music Information Centre (author unspecified), MICL website, https://www.mic.lt/en/database/classical/history/ (23.09.19).

12 Ibid.

suggests, the 'persistent, minimalistic repetition of short patterns' imbues these works with a 'mechanical, "machinist" character, and edgy, sometimes even aggressive sound'.[13] Bajarkevičius notes the 'aura of creative breakthrough'[14] surrounding composers associated with the machinist style, among whom are numbered Šarūnas Nakas, Rytis Mažulis, Nomeda Valančiūtė[15] and Ričardas Kabelis[16] and who all, '[i]n one way or another[,] clearly displayed or partially reflected "machinism" – the cult of technology, mathematical precision, pure logic and related ideas – in music, and included a Modernist flair or neo-Dadaist irony'.[17]

According to Nakas, minimalist art music styles

> emerged in Lithuania not as a result of the unrestrained inner liberty and outward freedom of the hippies and their leftist manifestos, as it happened in the United States and the Netherlands in the 1960s. It was neither a phenomenon that originated in the clubs and garages, and even less so in the recording studios, involving musicians with a knack for jazz and rock improvisation and often with no professional background, who shared a fascination for Indian and African music. The Lithuanian brand of minimalism of the late 1970s was conceived by the academic composers who chose it as a sort of legitimised (albeit not locally) refined aesthetic and technology.[18]

Nakas's article points out that this new 'muscle-bound and sarcastic mechanical music' was named 'after the titles of two compositions written in 1985: Rytis Mažulis's (b. 1961) *Čiauškanti mašina* (*Twittering Machine*) for four pianos, and Šarūnas Nakas's (b. 1962) *Merz-machine* for thirty-three-piece virtual orchestra [also in a multi-piano version].'[19] The author provides a tour of key moments in minimalist music in Lithuania – passing through 'primary styles' (where 'the intuitive has obviously prevailed over the rational');[20] 'the rites of Kutavičius' (whose 1978 *Last Pagan Rites* 'may be considered the manifesto of Lithuanian minimalism and an example of its sacred or ritualistic trend' and which 'essentially, […] represents nothing but reconstruction of the *sutartinės* [folk songs]').[21] Nakas also outlines the popular styles of 'post-minimalism and neo-romanticism' ('repetitive structures and diatonic harmonies […] sentimentally meditative […]

13 Ibid.
14 Bajarkevičius, "Contemporary Music, Sound Art and Media in Lithuania".
15 Ibid.
16 Nakas, "Minimalism in Lithuanian Music", p. 20.
17 Bajarkevičius, "Contemporary Music, Sound Art and Media in Lithuania".
18 Nakas, "Minimalism in Lithuanian Music", p. 16.
19 Ibid., p. 20.
20 Ibid., p. 17.
21 Ibid.

uncomplicated folk-like rhythms and rock-like timbres […] ecological, cultural, and existential topics').[22] Having laid the groundwork, he introduces the machinists evocatively:

> Vanilla was replaced with chilli; complexity ousted simplicity; grating dissonances and noises [replaced] tender consonances and diatonic harmonies; irony and even aggression [replaced] friendliness towards the listener. Young composers drew inspiration from a variety of sources and, especially, from the avant-garde rather than from the folk or classical music. They were often accused of "having no sense of history"; instead of mythology and pagan utopias, they were concerned primarily with the virtual reality and dystopias.[23]

Although in other contexts, concepts of modernism and history intersect in definitive ways – as Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, '[t]he critique of Western history argues that history is a modernist project which has developed alongside imperial beliefs about the Other'[24] – in classical composition the idea of 'modernist' music as non-referential, drawing solely or primarily on an abstract internal logic and supposedly ignoring or transcending history, is a common trope. At the same time, irony is frequently cited as a characteristically 'postmodern' device.[25] It's neither possible nor desirable to label a work or movement as absolutely belonging to one 'style' in this way. However, the interplay of both verbal and musical fingerprints of modernism and postmodernism – whether they are called by those names or described in other ways – is relevant in a specific context where the sense of detachment and instability commonly attributed to late capitalist societies in the 1980s and '90s[26] was potentially exacerbated by political instability, a long-threatened sense of identity, and the longing for change combined with uncertainty regarding the future.

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22 Nakas, "Minimalism in Lithuanian Music", pp. 18–19.

23 Ibid., p. 20.

24 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 1999, reprint London 2012, p. 31.

25 In Jonathan Kramer's writings on "The Nature and Origins of Musical Postmodernism", he suggests that postmodern music is typically, 'in some way, ironic' (in: *Postmodern Music/Postmodern Thought*, ed. by Judy Lochhead and Joseph Auner, Oxford 2002, pp. 13–26, here p. 16).

26 Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism", in: *New Left Review* 1/146 (1984), https://newleftreview.org/issues/I146/articles/fredric-jameson-postmodernism-or-the-cultural-logic-of-late-capitalism (23.09.2019).

Rytis Mažulis: Mensurations and machines

A key figure among the machinists, and one of Lithuania's most successful and influential living composers, is Rytis Mažulis (b. 1961). Mažulis and his peers' influence on contemporary Lithuanian art music has been considerable. Discussing trends that followed on from the 'craze' for Kutavičius, 'ethno' music, 'silence' and 'soup', composer Vykintas Baltakas explained,

> But you see, now we are like 25 years later, and it's not so much Kutavičius and this folkish thing, it's now this Mažulis-like minimalism – in different forms. And that starts to become annoying too, because… I mean, it's much more interesting, and it's very kind of rational too, but at the same time it's sometimes like – okay, we cannot reduce music only to that, no? [laughs][27]

MICL describes Mažulis's work as 'marked by a particular stylistic purity, integrity and symmetry',[28] noting his preoccupation with counterpoint and especially with canon[29] and explaining that '[t]he structural isomerism and homogeneity of his music is determined by the composer's attempts to discover the mathematical and physical relations between time, space and sound.'[30] For Mažulis, 'repetitive principles are enriched by various ideas close to avant-gardism.'[31] Although, like many of his contemporaries, he has written some 'ethereal vocal compositions',[32] he has also produced, and is arguably better known for, 'monstrous hyper-canons for computer-piano' like *Clavier of Pure Reason* (1993) and the seminal *Twittering Machine.*

Observing the parallels between Mažulis's modes of repetition and those of the most prominent mainstream American minimalists, Joshua Meggitt points out that the former composer 'doesn't share their interest in melodic simplicity', but instead 'constructs wildly chaotic cells that only become more complex with each passing cycle.'[33] Described by a reviewer in the online Lithuanian newspaper

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27 Interview with Baltakas, Brussels 2017.

28 "The Modern Music of Lithuania", [MICL].

29 Ibid.; Ramunė Mazlauskaitė's 2006 article on the composer for the journal *MusikTexte* was titled "König des Kanons" (108, 2006). Edition contents page available online, https://musiktexte.de/MusikTexte-108 (23.09.2019).

30 "The Modern Music of Lithuania", [MICL].

31 Šarūnas Nakas, "Rytis Mažulis", MICL website, https://www.mic.lt/en/database/classical/composers/mazulis/ (23.09.2019).

32 "The Modern Music of Lithuania", [MICL].

33 As cited in MICL, "Final Chapter of Rytis Mažulis at the Megadisc Classics Catalogues", MICL website, August 2007, https://www.mic.lt/en/news/2007/08/20/final-chapter-of-rytis-mazulis-at-the-megadisc-cla/ (23.09.2019).

Bernardinai as reminiscent of a precise and noisy mechanism,[34] *Twittering Machine* is a process-based work; effects are often achieved with minimalist-like techniques, such as when each piano part plays a combination of two-chord cells which shift and phase against each other to create cumulative riffs. Characterising Mažulis' work as a more 'visceral', 'jagged' analogue to Nancarrow's player piano works, Meggitt writes, '[t]here is a symmetry to these revolutions, but it's fractured, with intervals broken into irrational micro-durations, making sense in the way chaos theory does.'[35] The author's review claims that *Twittering Machine* boasts the 'most gripping riff' – 'an almost hummable tune of dissonant zig-zagging notes that, after numerous cycles, sticks in the brain like a fishhook'[36] – on the Nakas recording of the same name. Looking back in the early 2000s, in an interview discussing his more recent work, the composer noted '[i]t used to be said that Mažulis creates one melody, endlessly reproduces it, and thereby composes a large-scale work.'[37] In this sense the composer is framed in a popular discourse of minimalism as 'endlessly' reproducing 'one melody'. Differences between this particular trope of minimalism and the broader post-minimalist brand evoked by such descriptors as 'consonant', 'bland' and 'flaccid' include the latter's tendency towards a greater organicism (interpretable variously as a feature of timbre, rhythm, or method, that is, not typically using electronic technologies), but also the meanings made of its stylistic fingerprints in verbal discourse. Meggitt asserts that the *Twittering Machine* record 'is what being clubbed to death by 88 small, padded hammers must feel like – some of the most powerful music I've heard in years.'[38]

Mažulis's *Canon mensurabilis* (2000), for flute, clarinet, violin, viola, cello, and piano, is texturally uniform throughout; essentially completely homophonic, the material comprises bar-length, microtonally-shifting block chords in the upper five parts, with repetitions of semiquaver chords in the pre-tuned microtonal piano. With an unchanging pulse of *dotted quaver = 64*, the frequently-changing time signatures (always in semiquavers) follow the pattern below. With bar lengths alternating between whole and half values (12 and 6, 10 and 5, 8 and 4) and gradually diminishing, the effect is a cumulative acceleration.

Increasingly shorter bars are introduced as the work progresses, achieving

34 "Rytis Mažulis. 'Twittering Machine'", in: *Bernardinai* (author unspecified), November 28 2005, http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2005-11-28-rytis-mazulis-twittering-machine/12508 (23.09.2019).

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Veronika Janatjeva, "Rytis Mažulis: Can Music Work Without Music?", in: *Lithuanian Music Link No. 5*, https://www.mic.lt/en/discourses/lithuanian-music-link/no-5-october-2002-march-2003/rytis-mazulis-can-music-work-without-music/ (23.09.19).

38 "Final Chapter of Rytis Mažulis at the Megadisc Classics Catalogues", [MICL].

intensification by speeding up the harmonic rhythm while other parameters remain stable (the opening performance instruction, *pp sempre*, *non legato – una corda* for the piano – is the only one given, and there are no other changes of dynamic, articulation, expression or phrasing). Abstractly, a regular rhythmic ostinato and repetitive block chords may be redolent of a typical picture of post-tonal 'euphonic' minimalism. The machinist 'edge' in *Canon Mensurabilis* is most distinctive in the microtonal palette, which follows the 'resulting patterns' model of microtonal composition, according to the composer.[39] From the second bar of the piece, microtonal inflections in either an upward or downward direction (notated as an directional arrow rather than a precise quartertone) begin to appear across the parts, starting with the flute and cascading downward, then distributed variously across the string and woodwind parts (the piano is pretuned so that c^3-b^3 are a quartertone lower, c^4-c^5 are in 'normal' tuning, and $c\#^5$-$c\#^6$ are tuned a quartertone higher). Mažulis has outlined five approaches to writing microtonal music; the remaining four are 'motif-based structure', 'pendulum motion', 'microphonic contour', and 'gliding notes'. 'Resulting patterns', the composer explains, 'occur in cases when the melodic pattern is not "composed" as a line, but results from the interaction of various structural parameters, such as pitches, rhythm, harmony, and texture.'[40] In this case the insistently repeated but constantly changing block chords in *Canon Mensurabilis* produce melodic contours which are not otherwise designed. Mažulis explains:

> the quartertone rows were applied with different forms of transpositions and interversions. The serial procedures were also adapted to the organisation of rhythm. The successions of different durations, or mensurations were presented in different parts, following the proportions of 6:5:4:3:2:3 and so on. The application of quasi-serial technical means, together with the constant crossing of parts in the similar register, results in an "artificial" linearity. There is a pseudo-melody, which was not created intentionally. It is a result of the whole complex of structural factors.[41]

The effect is in many ways similar to minimalist-like or 'non-teleological' aspects of euphonic repetitive styles, but is couched in comparatively technical terms and understood by the composer in different ways. Mažulis's work has received in-depth technical analyses by, among others, musicologist Gražina Daunoravičienė,

39 Rytis Mažulis, "Composing Microtonal Melody", in: *Muzikos komponavimo principai XV: melodijos fenomenas* (Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre Scientific Journals), 2015, http://xn--urnalai-cxb.lmta.lt/wp-content/uploads/2015/Muzikos-komponavimo-principai-XV-Ma%C5%BEulis.pdf (23.09.2019), p. 162.

40 Ibid.

41 Mažulis, "Composing Microtonal Melody", pp. 162–3.

who writes of his 1992 *Mensurations* that it 'seems to grow out of […] a sequentially ascending scale of nine quarter-tones and one semitone (from *c* to *f*) – which, together with its inversion, produces the composition's entire world of sound.'[42] The idea of using limited materials which are subjected to rigorous processes is of course not new or unique, but highlights a recurring theme that emerges in writings about the work of the composers discussed in this article.

Mažulis's *Clavier of Pure Reason* (1993) at first sounds quite similar to *Twittering Machine*, but quickly phases into another level of complexity in the aforementioned 'monstrous hypercanon' for (usually) computerized piano. Ben Lunn describes the piece:

> A humble work for 24 pianos or one pianist and electronics, the work layers many canonic adaptations of an original idea and slowly introduces into a violent haze before slowly fading them out. The result is a wacky, almost hyperactive work full of an oddly sadistic sense of humour. The complexity of the layering and the use of the piano has many similarities to Conlon Nancarrow, but to suggest this is pastiche of him would be shortsighted. Ultimately the *Clavier of Pure Reason* is like Conlon Nancarrow on a cocktail of speed and red bull, or alternatively like listening to J. S. Bach while overdosing on acid. It is oddly familiar but oddly terrifying.[43]

While Gražina Daunoravičienė explores Mažulis's apparent appropriation of fifteenth-century structural ideas, Lunn suggests conversely that his work is characterised not only by an 'intense intellectual drive' but also 'a complete rejection of the past'.[44] Lunn further posits that Mažulis's more consciously 'cerebral' orientation is another quality that separates him from other prominent trends that, the author proposes, perhaps 'saw minimalism as an opportunity to renounce intellect.'[45] These contradictions and contrasts are at least illustrative in that they highlight the conceptual dissonance, as reflected in verbal discourse, between music like Mažulis's and some of the stylistic priorities discussed previously.

Daunoravičienė's biographical note in the MICL *Twittering Machine* score explicitly claims that 'The composer's musical philosophy, and the consequent technologies and aspirations lie between the intersecting trends of neomodernism and

42 Gražina Daunoravičienė, "Sound architecture of Rytis Mažulis microstructural canons (from 100 to the 3,448275862 cents)", in: *Menotyra*, 2003, http://www.elibrary.lt/resursai/LMA/Menotyra/M-57.pdf (23.09.2019), p. 59.

43 Ben Lunn, "Blog post of pure reason", in: *Baltic Musical Gems*, http://balticgems.blogspot.com/2016/07/blog-post-of-pure-reason.html (23.09.2019).

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

postmodernism'.[46] According to his Lithuanian Music Information Centre webpage, while 'Mažulis's works are like hypnotic sound rituals, in which it is easy to lose one's sense of time and space', they also bear 'the quite distinctive stamp of laboratory-like creation' at the same time as they 'retain a balanced academic correctness'.[47] Daunoravičienė elsewhere reiterates the same point in different words: '[h]is sound philosophy and technologies it implies, adorations and aspirations seem to be suspended somewhere midway between the intersecting highways of modernism and postmodernism.'[48] The collision of notionally or stereotypically opposing discourses is a feature of ongoing discursive production and meaning-making around these musical styles. The discursive meanings of positioning abstract concepts like modernism and postmodernism, rational and irrational, natural and synthetic, rural and urbane against each other, remain significant in spite of the fact that reality does not conform to binary distinctions or necessarily reproduce this hypothetical antagonism.

Other similar juxtapositions punctuate Daunoravičienė's article. The author writes that Mažulis's relationship to the past does not constitute 'modernist nihilism',[49] noting that he draws on other traditions regardless of their historical moment, apparently taking an interest instead in the 'active connotations' of the 'objects' themselves – which, the author writes, 'radiate [a] rational self-regulating orderliness'.[50] Commenting on his practice of appropriating Renaissance trends, Daunoravičienė points out that Mažulis is a formalist and works according to strict principles, explaining that these borrowed 'resonances' are 'reproduced in the manner of a structuralist who adheres to the purity of style, relies on the driving force of intellectual construction, and misgives the form which is not predetermined from beginning to end'.[51] Although he consciously reinterprets fifteenth-century techniques, she notes, 'technically constructed "pure music"' is also 'an emblematic dominant of his work'.[52] Mažulis's 'wildly complicated', 'exceptionally clear constructions', with their 'highly rigouristic procedures', are 'brimming with strong emotion' and 'composed with the utmost emotionality'.[53] It's important to reiterate that there is no reason why music should not be rigorous, constructivist, mathematical, historically-inflected, repetitive, and emotional

46 Gražina Daunoravičienė, [biographical note], in: Rytis Mažulis: *Twittering Machine*, score, Vilnius: Lithuanian Music Information and Publishing Centre 2007 [1986].
47 Nakas, "Rytis Mažulis", [MICL].
48 Daunoravičienė, "Sound architecture", p. 65.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid., pp. 65–66.

all at once, or simultaneously display virtually any other combination of features often taken as symptomatic of modernist or postmodernist art. The issue is not an incompatibility or an explicitly oppositional nature in these abstract qualities and their cognates, but rather the discursive habit of pitting them against one another, and, beneath that, the traditions, structural relationships, and socio-political meanings that have been attached to ideas such as that – for example – emotionality is feminine, non-rational, unintelligent, and weak; or that repetitiveness is primitive and banal; or that progressive development and rational organisational complexity are normative goods.

Modernism and postmodernism are of course highly imperfect terms that can mean many different things depending on the context and on what they are being compared with. However, more than other words they seem to capture a greater proportion of the historical, cultural, and ideological significances that cluster around the collections of seemingly opposing tropes and trends brought into view in this article. If *postmodern* is mostly understood here as correlating with the kinds of aesthetics and values commonly associated with dominant euphonic, consonant (or 'bland') Baltic art music styles, it is hoped that contrasting uses of 'modernism' in this context, however broad, will be comprehensible. With this distinction in mind, and with a spotlight on the rhetorical practice of locating an artist's work in between these two imaginary intersecting highways, another figure linked to the machinist style is also often described in terms of supposedly conflicting dichotomies. Like Mažulis's, Nomeda Valančiūtė's 'minimalist idiom is connected as much with ancient isorhythmic techniques […] as it is with the principles of 20th-century repetitive music,'[54] and this composer's output has been characterised with a similar rhetoric of liminality or hybridity.

Nomeda Valančiūtė: Strong, sharp, and not devoid of glitter

Often grouped with the machinists, Nomeda Valančiūtė (b. 1961) asserted in a 2004 interview for *Literatura ir menas* (*Literature and Art*, for the Lithuanian Writers' Union Weekly) that she was 'no longer afraid to be banal' ('nebebijau būti banali').[55] The composer's responses to questions about if and how her style had changed in the twenty years since she was last interviewed by the publication included the following:

54 "Nomeda Valančiūtė", ed. by Lithuanian Music Information Centre (author unspecified), https://www.mic.lt/en/database/classical/composers/valanciute/ (21.10.2019).

55 Asta Pakarklytė, "Nomeda Valančiūtė: 'Nebebijau būti banali'. Kompozitoriai prieš 20 metų ir dabar", in: *Literatūra ir menas*, 2004, http://eia.libis.lt:8080/archyvas/viesas/20111128031607/http://www.culture.lt/lmenas/?leid_id=2986&kas=straipsnis&st_id=4031 (21.10.2019).

> Now I want something more beautiful, warmer. I am not afraid to be banal. I start to regulate emotions differently, not calculations, but hearing. In the past, everything had to be mannered, nervous, sharp, my music had to be non-feminine, radical, and now I want something human-like, I want to communicate.[56]

Associating warmth, communication, and beauty in this way with a perceived risk of banality – or humanity with a separation from nervous sharpness and calculation, or 'hearing' (as opposed to calculating) with femininity – is one example among others of a conceptual distinction drawn between, and a juxtaposition of, ostensibly modernist-leaning and postmodern-leaning ideas in writing about Valančiūtė's music. The concepts evoked in biographical excerpts from the composer's MICL page, explored below, demonstrate this tendency further.

Valančiūtė's music is described as 'strictly calculated' but 'not technological by nature'; while it originates from an elusive 'intuitive impulse,' it is developed by 'methodical work' before taking 'a precisely polished form.'[57] The composer has expressed satisfaction at being 'a master, not only a presenter of emotions.'[58] In general, the idea that intuitive impulses are combined with methodical work in the process of composition sounds so normal as to appear almost a superfluous observation, but the juxtaposition of feeling/calculating, feminine/masculine, expressive/instrumental discursive markers – explicitly framed as oppositional – continues throughout the article:

> A closer look at the composer's works and their conceptual stimuli reveals interesting internal opposites: frank emotion – and its "suppression" via uncompromisingly austere structures; a crystal clarity throughout – and the conscious avoidance of "beauty" (utilisation of sharply "upsetting" dissonance, and frequent application of the "out of tune" sound of a prepared piano, etc); the stance of a "pure music" adept – and the multidimensional picturesqueness of this music, its oddly "theatrical" manner of speaking, and a certain "bittersweet" glamour which applies only to this composer. […] The expression of Valančiūtė's music is strong, sometimes pretty sharp, although not void of a certain glitter. The composer states that she finds a rather ascetic style close to her and doesn't like anything overburdened. Therefore, her music is not "decorative" even in the works with some distinct programmatic background, a priority is given to the strength of expression, selecting only what is essential.[59]

56 'Šiuo metu norisi ko nors gražesnio, šiltesnio. Nebebijau būti banali. Pradedu kitaip reguliuoti emocijas, nebe skaičiavimais, o klausa. Anksčiau viskas turėjo būti manieringa, nervinga, aštru, mano muzika turėjo būti nemoteriška, radikali, o dabar norisi ko nors bendražmogiško, norisi komunikuoti.'; Pakarklytė, "Nomeda Valančiūtė: 'Nebebijau būti banali'".

57 "Nomeda Valančiūtė", [MICL].

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

There are residues in these comments of tropes that are typically associated with ideas about either modernism or postmodernism. Although these combinations of images and evocations are in no way conclusive in themselves, their existence in relation to one another and to historical context is salient. Tracing the tendency to frame some of these musics as liminal, representing a kind of synthesis or 'third way,' it's possible to view the idea, for example, that simple pulsed repetition is somehow more somatic or organic,[60] or that extensive repetition in general is hysterical rather than rational, as one of the levels on which composers like Valančiūtė may have been interpreted as operating in a space between two or more conflicting or putatively irreconcilable artistic discourses. Her 1998 work *Fragment from the Hospital's Park*, for string quartet, combines angular and fragmented melodic writing (seemingly arising in a similar way to Mažulis's 'resulting patterns' approach rather than conceived as a melodic line), metric irregularity, sharp dissonance including detuned material, and harsh timbres with pulsed repetition, implication of a pitch centre (approximating *e minor*), a minimalist-like cumulative effect, inclusion of a spoken text and reflections of the text in musical features. Of course, to whatever extent these features might be considered variously redolent of more-modernist or more-postmodern-leaning music, in reality these collections of concepts and tendencies overlap and coexist in countless examples of actual art and its reception,[61] and there is a limit to the meaningful observations that can be made based on a strict theoretical distinction between supposedly oppositional phenomena. However, the combination in genre-defining works like *Twittering Machine* of cellular repetitiveness and triadic harmony (often read as natural, naive, accessible, easy or simple) with complexities, timbres, precision and speeds read as unnatural, post-human, mathematical, advanced or difficult, appears to be one of multiple reasons why these composers may have been rhetorically situated at the 'intersecting highways of modernism and postmodernism'.

Being between

The music discussed here is portrayed with some frequency as sitting between spaces approximating modernism and postmodernism. However meaningful or otherwise this description is, since it could obviously also apply to a massive

60 Osvaldas Balakauskas, quoted in W. C. Bamberger, *Of Fret Rattle & Underwater Skylabs: Essays on Music and Musicians*, Maryland 2013, p. 152.

61 As one example of music scholarship focusing on a supposed intersection between notionally opposing approaches, see Mike Searby's analysis of Ligeti's methods for sidestepping a perceived antagonism between tradition and novelty. "Ligeti's 'Third Way': Non-Tonal Elements in the Horn Trio", in: *TEMPO* 216 (2001), pp. 17–22.

amount of post-tonal music from different contexts, and since virtually no real cultural artefacts can be read as absolutely one or the other, in this context the verbal discourse about inbetweenness can be seen as part of a meaning-making process around the idea of liminality that characterised a lot of independence-era thought (that is, not being Soviet or 'East' but also not identifying with constructs of Western-European-ness).

The concept of stylistic or even ideological inbetweenness in art music composition – perhaps borne out of tensions in the artificial discursive juxtaposition of atonal modernism with consonant popular or neo-romantic styles – is parsed explicitly in Rudolph Reti's 1958 theory of 'pantonality'.[62] Reti, as Eric Elder argued in 2016, appears to have become a 'favourite straw man' and rhetorical punch-bag for critical analysts due to the apparent majority opinion of those who cite it that his 1951 theory on *The Thematic Process in Music* is 'completely untenable, even ridiculous'.[63] Elder observes that Reti is frequently positioned as a 'cheap foil to their theoretical prepositions', 'ready to be knocked down repeatedly in service to a variety of diverse, at times conflicting, hypotheses'.[64] Nevertheless, it may be useful to consider some of his output in a post-authorial sense. Specifically, Reti's tract *Tonality in Modern Music* (previously given the title *Tonality, Atonality, Pantonality*) can be more productively framed here not as an example of a poor argument on the part of an individual author but rather as one verbal manifestation of wider perceptions. Reti's model, which can be framed as dialectical:

Thesis = tonality
Antithesis = atonality
Synthesis = 'pantonality'

might be criticised as reductive, teleological, and determinist, but it was still essentially understood by his peers. Discourse determines the boundaries of what it is possible to say. As such, Reti's work can illuminate aspects of the priorities, limits and conditions of contemporary discourse that allowed this idea to take shape as a conceivable, recognisable, publishable hypothesis (subsequent critical assessment of its quality notwithstanding).

It would be uncontroversial today to suggest that positing the essentially constructed, evolving, practice-based and relatively-defined categories of tonality and atonality (what Reti could frame as 'conflicting schools'[65] in the late 1950s) as absolute, separate, opposing worlds is a theoretically unsound rhetorical strategy.

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62 Rudolph Reti, *Tonality in Modern Music,* New York, 1962.

63 Eric Elder, *Reading Rudolph Reti: Toward a New Understanding of* The Thematic Process in Music*,* Master's Thesis, Brandeis University 2016 (accessed online, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/0b62/09936ec40b7ef6540197ecff2b1aeb837281.pdf, 22.10.19), p. iv.

64 Ibid.

65 Reti, *Tonality*, p. 194.

However, binary oppositions like 'tonality and atonality' or 'consonance and dissonance', or other cognates, continue to have meaning and weight in discourse, as evidenced at a fundamental level by the continued use of the words themselves (which, as Stuart Hall emphasises, can only be understood to mean anything at all in relation to an abstract categorical opposite).[66] Reti's acknowledgement of the alleged existence of 'entirely *antagonistic* musical vernaculars'[67] is evidence of more widespread perceptions than his own. Similarly, he is not drawing ideas out of thin air when he writes 'Fascinating as all this non-uniformity [of twentieth-century style/genre] appears, is it not a symptom of a desire for a more definite and unequivocal style of musical expression, hidden behind the glittering façade of this manifoldness?'[68] In fact, he is reporting the claims of one of his contemporaries when he speaks of hopes for 'the advent *of a kind of twelve-tone music filled with Ravel-like flavour and appeal*'.[69] And, most evocatively, Reti was surely reflecting the most familiar associations with consonant/tonal and dissonant/atonal music common in contemporary discourse (which is not to say that they are no longer prominent) when he added,

> Such a thought may at first appear to be an amusing paradox intended to avoid the solution of an insoluble problem. But does it not in a charming and intentionally naive manner express one of the most profound longings of our musical age? Do not all of us dream of music in which all the novel, intricate and violent features of the most radical creations of our time would still emanate the beauty of humanity of the perhaps simpler but more straightforward musical structures of bygone ages?[70]

Inbetweenness or liminality are also frequent tropes in discourse on former Soviet bloc regions and on the Baltic States in particular. The tagline of *Deep Baltic* magazine promises to offer the reader insights from 'inside the lands between',[71] while Benedikts Kalnačs has asserted that, because the 'identity of Baltic peoples has been largely created in the process of manifestation of internal European colonialism', the 'members of these societies' have accordingly been constructed as an 'internal other'.[72] For Jaan Kaplinski, this inbetweenness was a source of

66 Stuart Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other", in: *Representation*, second edition, ed. by Stuart Hall, Jessie Evans, and Sean Nixon, London 1997, reprint Milton Keynes 2013, pp. 215–269, p. 225.
67 Reti, *Tonality*, p. 138 [italics mine].
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid, pp. 138–9 [italics in original].
70 Ibid., p. 139.
71 *Deep Baltic* website, https://deepbaltic.com/ (22.10.2019).
72 Benedikts Kalnačs, "Comparing Colonial Differences: Baltic Literary Cultures as Agencies of Europe's Internal Others", in: *Journal of Baltic Studies* 47/1 (2016), pp. 15–30, p. 15.

continual oppression and erasure for post-Soviet Estonia. In his view, on finding itself free from Russian communist control, the nation was suddenly confronted by the threat of 'a new economic form of colonisation' in the guise of U.S. capitalist megaliths; 'Time Warner, Microsoft, and Walt Disney' were the new enemies endangering 'the culture of smaller surviving units.'[73] In 2019, Latvian foreign minister Edgars Rinkēvičs argued that the Baltic States must no longer play the vulnerable and untenable role of a 'bridge between east and west', citing 'Russian determination to interfere in western democracy or use Baltic banks to launder corrupt money' as examples of the damage already done by this state of affairs in geopolitical relations.[74] Beyond the specifically Baltic post-communist context, ideas of compromise, hybridity, liminality and uncertainty are common across conceptions of cultural postmodernity. However, perhaps contrary to some assumptions (based on the picture that emerges of common music-critical conventions around euphonic or spiritual minimalist Baltic styles), there have also been more explicit, putatively unmediated, and avowedly uncompromising strands of modernism in the twentieth-century art music of Lithuania, such as the unapologetic formalism of Osvaldas Balakauskas.

Frequently framed as occupying some kind of in-between space, the music of the 'machinist' generation challenged the dominant local preference in the 1970s and '80s for folk-inspired, 'non-conflicting' music, combining aspects of minimalism (repetition and often allusions to consonance and/or pitch centricity) with greater degrees of dissonance and complexity, and allusions to a cosmopolitan, cerebral orientation often presumed to be less present in euphonic discourses. The recurring use by critics of vivid metaphors (references to LSD, amphetamines and Red Bull, being clubbed to death, fish hooks) and language (visceral, monstrous, jagged, violent, sadistic, terrifying) to describe this music is telling. In the broad context of late-20th- and early-21st-century art music, the machinists' compositions are not uniquely dissonant, complex, jarring or 'difficult'. These linguistic choices therefore more plausibly reflect how strongly machinist works conflict with prevailing, and ideologically-loaded, assumptions about what Baltic music is like. It's not that Mažulis's *Twittering Machine* necessarily represents a shocking or unprecedented musical revolution, but rather that the impression of gentle, peaceful, consonant, spiritual, glowing, meditative, 'vanilla' genres is so strong that the introduction of chilli is quite striking.

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73 Thomas Salumets, "Conflicted Consciousness: Jaan Kaplinski and the Legacy of Intra-European Postcolonialism in Estonia", in: *Baltic Postcolonialism*, ed. by Violeta Kelertas, Amsterdam and New York 2006, pp. 429–450, p. 435.

74 Patrick Wintour, "Baltic States no Longer a Bridge between East and West, Says Latvia", in: *The Guardian*, March 18 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/18/baltic-states-no-longer-a-bridge-between-east-and-west-says-latvia (13.09.2019).

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