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## Referenčni sistemi v zgodovini recepcije in interpretacije glasbe

## Referential system in the History of Reception and Interpretation of Music

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# Reverenz an die Referenz Terminologische Anmerkungen eines Linguisten zu einem schillernden Begriff

# Priklon referenci Terminološke pripombe jezikoslovca v zvezi s skrivnostnim pojmom

Prejeto: 19. avgust 2013
Sprejeto: 7. oktober 2013

**Ključne besede:** priklon referenci, semantika, jezikovna filozofija, referenčna semantika, znakovna semantika, razširitev, skrčenje, teorija jezikovnega akta, deixis, smisel, pomen, sigmatika, semiotika, spoznavna lingvistika, referent, semiotski trikotnik, symbol, tekst – kontekst, idealni tip – realni tip – mešani tip, interdisciplinarnost – transdisciplinarnost – metadisciplinarnost

## Izvleček

Prispevek se posveča številnim primerom lingvističnega branja termina “referenca” na področju semantike in filozofije jezika. Pri tem razlikuje med razširitvijo in skrčenjem ter opozarja na pomen koncepta v okviru teorije jezikovnega akta. Nadalje se posveča številnim različicam »reference« v sodobnem spektru lingvističnih disciplin. Končno preide besedilo od lingvističnih postopkov k njihovi uporabi znotraj muzikološkega problemskega področja.

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**Keywords:** reverence to the reference, semantics, philosophy of language, referential semantics, feature semantics, extension, intension, speech act theory, deixis, acceptation, meaning, sigmatics, semiotics, cognitive linguistics, reference, semiotic triangle, symbol, text – context, ideal type – real type – mixed type, interdisciplinary – transdisciplinary – metadisciplinary

## Abstract

Firstly, the paper addresses a number of linguistic interpretations of the term “reference” in the fields of semantics and philosophy of language. It is differentiated between extension and intension as well as referred to the meaning of the concept in the frame of the speech act theory. Another chapter discusses numerous interpretations of “reference” in the modern spectrum of linguistic disciplines. In conclusion the paper investigates the linguistic processes and their application in the musicological problem areas.

Der Beitrag widmet sich zunächst einer Anzahl von linguistischen Lesarten des Terminus „Referenz“ in den Bezirken von Semantik und Sprachphilosophie. Dabei wird zwischen Extension (Referenzsemantik) und Intension (Merkmalsemantik) unterschieden sowie auf die Bedeutung des Konzepts im Rahmen der Sprechakttheorie verwiesen. Eine spezifische Anwendung des operationalen Begriffs findet sich in der Sigmatik als besonderem Aspekt der Semiotik. Auch die triftige, auf G. Frege zurückgehende Unterscheidung zwischen Sinn und Bedeutung gewinnt nunmehr neue Relevanz. Ein weiteres Kapitel behandelt mehrere Lesarten von „Referenz“ im gegenwärtigen Spektrum der linguistischen Disziplinen: Semiotisches Dreieck, Kognitionslinguistik und sprachpsychologische Anwendungen seien in Auswahl genannt. Abschließend geht der Text auf linguistische Verfahren und ihre Anwendung in musikalischen bzw. musikologischen Problemfeldern ein. Als Beispiele seien der horizontale Austausch zwischen kompositorischen Stilen und Schulen sowie – in vertikaler Richtung – Epochenmerkmale vergangener Perioden (Edvard Grieg „Aus Holbergs Zeit“, Igor Strawinsky „Pulcinella“-Suite) genannt.

## I. Linguistische Lesarten im Bereich von Semantik und Sprachphilosophie

1. Im Bereich der Semasiologie oder Bedeutungslehre unterscheidet man sprachwissenschaftlich zwischen **Referenzsemantik** und **Merkmalsemantik**. Die erstgenannte ist außersprachlich orientiert, ist demnach eine auf die Welt der Objekte ausgerichtete Disziplin. Die Gegenstände, Personen, Vorgänge und Sachverhalte der Realität werden mit Mitteln und nach dem Regelwerk der Sprache beobachtet, beschrieben und erklärt. Die Merkmalsemantik ist hingegen ihre inhaltsorientierte Variante, die sich mit semantischen Relationen, also sprachinternen Bezügen lexikalischer Elemente befasst. Die Unterschiede der beiden Richtungen lassen sich mit dem Gegensatzpaar von **Extension** und **Intension** zutreffend beschreiben, die sich zueinander nach dem Prinzip von indirekter bzw. verkehrter Proportion verhalten. Diese Relation lässt sich an der Beispielkette *Tier – Hund – Pudel* bzw. *Pflanze – Blume – Rose* demonstrieren und illustrieren. Das jeweils erste Lexem ist im Vergleich zu den folgenden durch eine kleinere Anzahl semantischer Merkmale bestimmt und kann daher auf eine entsprechend größere Anzahl von Objekten bzw. Wesen angewendet werden. Mit anderen Worten: Es gibt mehr Tiere (da ja auch Vögel, Katzen, Pferde etc. darunter fallen) als Hunde und mehr Pflanzen (zu denen ja auch Bäume, Sträucher, Moose etc. zählen) als Blumen. Das gleiche Verhältnis gilt analog auch für das nächste Beispielpaar *Hund – Pudel*; *Blume – Rose*.
2. Es gibt eine spezifische Funktion von **Referenzsemantik** im Paradigma der **Sprechakttheorie**: Das gilt im besonderen für die Bezugnahme des Sprechers auf die Situation der sprachlichen Äußerung (**Raum – Zeit – Struktur, Deixis**) mit ihrem Verweis auf Gegenstände und Sachverhalte.

3. Eine sprachphilosophische Anwendung von Referenz findet sich in der sog. **Sigmatik** als Perspektive der Semiotik[1]. Dieses Paradigma lässt Größen bzw. Variablen wie Pragmatik, Sprechsituation und Zeichenbenützer unberücksichtigt. Zeichen referieren demnach nicht direkt auf die Realität, sondern die Beziehung wird begrifflich vermittelt.
4. Unter den Perspektiven dieses Kapitels zur Semantik sei auch ein wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Aspekt behandelt. Die Unterscheidung von **Sinn** vs. **Bedeutung** bei G. Frege (1892) lässt sich in moderner Terminologie als Opposition von Bedeutung vs. Referenz bzw. Intension vs. Extension beschreiben. Als prototypisches Beispiel gilt seit dem Archegeten dieses begrifflichen Gegensatzes das Wortpaar *Morgenstern – Abendstern*. Die beiden Lexeme haben die gleiche Referenz (Planet *Venus*), nehmen aber unterschiedlichen Sinn an (intensionale Bedeutung: hellstes Gestirn am Morgen vs. hellstes Gestirn am Abend). Zur poetischen Konnotation sei an das Lied des Wolfram von Eschenbach in Richard Wagners Oper TANNHÄUSER: „*O du mein holder Abendstern …*“ erinnert. Die Situation zu Beginn des dritten Aktes verweist auf den sinkenden Tag („*Wie Todesahnung* ***Dämmrung*** *deckt die Lande, umhüllt das Tal* ***mit schwärzlichem Gewande***“), womit die denkbare andere Lesart des Planeten *Venus* unwillkürlich ausgeblendet wird.

## II. Terminologische Spielarten von *Referenz* in der Sprachwissenschaft sowie in linguistik-affinen Bezirken

1. In der traditionellen Semantik dient der Ausdruck für die Bezeichnung der Relation zwischen sprachlichen Größen (Name, Wort) und den ‚gemeinten‘ Ausschnitten der Realität. So wird im sog. **semiotischen Dreieck**[2] die Beziehung **Symbol** (Bezeichnung) - **Gedanke** bzw. **Begriff** (Bedeutung) - **Referent** (Bezeichnetes) graphisch aufgelöst und modellhaft dargestellt.
2. Im Paradigma der **Kognitionslinguistik** korreliert **Referenz** kaum noch mit Bezugsgrößen (Objekten, Orten, Ereignissen usw.) in der realen oder möglichen Welt. Sie ist vielmehr in einem projizierten Bezugssystem, also einer Konzeptwelt des Bewusstseins, situiert.[3]
3. Der praktikable und bewährte Terminus **Referenz** wird als Schlüsselbegriff von Psychologie, Linguistik und Philosophie über den traditionellen Gegenstandsbereich (Personen, Dinge, Sachverhalte) hinaus nunmehr sukzessive und zunehmend auch auf Qualitäten, Orte und Vorgänge angewendet.

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[1] Vgl. Georg Klaus, *Semiotik und Erkenntnistheorie*, 2. neubearb. Aufl. (Berlin: Dt. Verl. der Wiss., 1969).

[2] Vgl. Ogden&Richards, 1923 in Bussmann, Hadumod: Lexikon der Sprachwisenschaft (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2008), s.v. *Semiotik*.

[3] Vgl. Ray Jackendoff, *Semantics and Cognition* (Cambridge, Mass. [u.a.]: MIT Press, 1988).

## III. Korrespondenzen von linguistischen Referenzkonzepten mit Anwendungsweisen in der Musikologie bzw. Kompositionstechnik[4]

1. In einem Koordinatensystem, das gleichermaßen für Disziplinen wie Linguistik, Literaturwissenschaft, Philosophie und Typenlehre gilt, lassen sich jeweils folgende Begriffspaare bzw. Triaden festmachen: Text – Kontext, Konstanz – Varianz, Idealtypus – Realtypus – Mischtypus[5].
2. Bloß vorläufig, tentativ und aus dem Blickwinkel eines Außenseiters möchte ich die folgenden Korrelationen zwischen musikalischen Phänomenen, Ausdrucksebenen und Genres vorschlagen:
   - Auf **horizontaler** Ebene sei an einen Austausch zwischen Nationalmusiken, kompositorischen Stilen und Schulen gedacht.
   - In **vertikaler** Richtung bietet sich u. a. ein Gefälle bzw. eine ‚Osmose' am Beispiel von E- vs. U-Musik an. Auch Epochenmerkmale (z.B. Neoklassizismus) könnten dazu zählen, denkt man etwa an Edvard Griegs Orchestersuite „Aus Holbergs Zeit" oder im frühen 20. Jahrhundert an die Klassische Symphonie von Sergej Prokovjew bzw. die „Pulcinella"-Suite des Igor Strawinsky. Als weitere Anwendungsmuster bieten sich Einflüsse der Volksmusik in den Parametern *Melos*, *Rhythmus* und *Sprachduktus* an. Ich denke im 20. Jahrhundert an Namen wie Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály oder Leoš Janáček.
3. Als Summe meiner Überlegungen schlage ich ein dreistufiges Modell der Grenzüberschreitung von Disziplinen vor. Von einer wechselseitigen Beziehung (interdisziplinär) mit beobachtendem Charakter führt der Weg über eine gerichtete Relation der Beschreibung (transdisziplinär) zur erwünschten Endstufe einer integrativen Betrachtungsweise (metadisziplinär) mit erklärendem Anspruch[6].

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[4] Vgl. Matjaž Barbo, "The complex network of referential systems", in *Music and its referential systems*, hrsg. Matjaž Barbo, Thomas Hochradner (Wien: Hollitzer, 2012).

[5] Vgl. Carl G. Hempel und Paul Oppenheim, *Der Typusbegriff im Lichte der neuen Logik: wissenschaftstheoretische Untersuchungen zur Konstitutionsforschung und Psychologie* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1936).

[6] Vgl. Oswald Panagl, Vorwort zu *Text und Kontext: Theoriemodelle und methodische Verfahren im transdisziplinären Vergleich* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004), 8.

## Povzetek

Prispevek se posveča najprej številnim primerom lingvističnega branja termina »referenca« na področju semantike in filozofije jezika. Pri tem razlikuje med razširitvijo (referenčna semantika) in skrčenjem (znakovna semantika) ter opozarja tudi na pomen koncepta v okviru teorije jezikovnega akta. Specifično uporabo omenjenega pojma je mogoče najti v sigmatiki kot posebnem vidiku asmiotike. Tudi utemeljeno razlikovanje med smislom in pomenom, ki se vrača h G. Fregeju, dobi v tej zvezi nov pomen. Nadaljnje poglavje se posveča številnim različicam »reference« v sodobnem spektru lingvističnih disciplin: omenimo naj denimo semiotski trikotnik, spoznavno lingvistiko in jezikovno-psihološke aplikacije. Končno preide besedilo od lingvističnih postopkov k njihovi uporabi znotraj glasbenega oz. muzikološkega problemskega področja. Kot primer naj navedemo horizontalno izmenjavo med kompozicijskimi slogi in šolami kot tudi – v vertikalni smeri – med ključnimi značilnostmi preteklih obdobij (Edvard Grieg: »Iz časa Holberga«, Igor Stravinski: suita »Pulcinella«).

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# Looking for coordinates. A challenge for research in reception and interpretation of music

# Iskanje koordinat. Izziv za raziskovanje recepcije in interpretacije glasbe

Prejeto: 12. september 2013
Sprejeto: 7. oktober 2013

**Ključne besede:** izhodišča za raziskovanje zgodovine recepcije in interpretacije glasbe – sistem koordinat kot začetna točka – problem avtentičnosti kot študijski primer

### Izvleček

Raziskave na področju recepcije glasbe običajno težijo k študijskim primerom ali tabulaturam, pri čemer se študije interpretacije glasbe sprašujejo po nepreračunljivosti tehničnih pogojev in izbirnih predelavah glasbenih posnetkov. Ker je videti, da je pomanjkanje zavedanja v zvezi z referenčnimi sistemi izhodišče problema, ta razprava predlaga osnovni model, s katerim se lahko ukvarjamo z glasbo v vseh njenih pisnih in zvočnih pojavnostih.

Received: 12th September 2013
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**Keywords:** starting points for research into the history of reception and interpretation of music – a system of coordinates as a point of departure – the problem of authenticity as a case study

### Abstract

Research in reception of music usually tends to case studies or tabular forms, whereas studies in interpretation of music often are questioned with regard to the imponderabilities of technical conditions and optional revisions of sound recordings. As a lack of consciousness in respect to referential systems seems to be the starting point of the problem, the following paper suggests a basic model which is able to deal with music in all its written and sonorous manifestations.

> “Fast alle inhaltlichen, methodischen und organisatorischen Ausweitungen, die sie [die Musikwissenschaft] seit ihrer Installierung als universitäre Disziplin erfahren hat, sind wenn nicht durchaus angemessene, so doch sehr berechtigte Reaktionen auf die Enge der Gegenstandsdefinition, von der das Fach seinen Ausgang genommen hat: die Konzentration der Methodik auf die Historiographie, der ‘Geschichte’ wiederum auf das Kunstverstehen und der ‘Kunst’ schließlich auf das musikalische ‘Werk’.”[1]

> “Wie fang ich nach der Regel an?” – “Ihr stellt sie selbst und folgt ihr dann.”[2]

“How shall I start according to the rules?” – “Just state them and follow then.” The task of creating an impressive, as well as useful song is not as harmless as the dialogue of Walther and Sachs makes us firstly assume. Of course there are rules to be obeyed, and though it is not communicated, there are rules for the rules, too. They will have to respect certain socio-economic circumstances, aesthetic categories, historically determined accesses. Universality and its limitations arise, and like any multidimensional problem a division of the whole is encouraged, making the debate on special aspects possible.[3]

Similarly, research in reception of music usually tends to focus on case studies or registration in tabular form, whereas studies in interpretation of music – even the prosperous activities within the CHARM project in the United Kingdom (CHARM = Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music) – in fact are still questioned as soon as the possibilities of technical conditions and optional revisions of sound recordings are taken into account.[4] An essential divergence comes to light: Measured either by its notation or by performance practice, the concept of work oscillates. Between the positions, and the various intermediate stages existing, some methodological gaps become apparent resulting from a lack of consciousness with respect to referential systems. An efficient attempt to bridge these openings has been made by musical hermeneutics, disconnecting the former brace to semantic heurism and reviewing the capacity of experience and realization.[5] Different conceptions were reconsidered or provided, based on Gadamer's 'horizon of understanding' that tries to secure validity of the situative reference. The coordinates of looking at as well as listening to a work are subject to the course of the times[6], even when performances often defy this certainty by following an ideal of classicism, or modernism, or keeping some kinds of authenticity as characteristic outlines. Albeit, each time a multiform impact nearly collapses at the moment of realization – when momentary experience amalgamates with conventions, gifts, mechanisms and, not to forget, imponderabilities.

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[1] Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, “Musikwissenschaft: Musik – Interpretation – Wissenschaft”, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 57, 2000, 78–90, p. 78.

[2] Richard Wagner, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, quoted from *Richard Wagner: Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg: Texte, Materialien, Kommentare*, ed. by Attila Csampai, Dietmar Holland (Reinbek bei Hamburg Rowohlt, 1981), 110.

[3] Hermann Danuser “Interpretation”, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Sachteil vol. 4, (Kassel et al., Bärenreiter, 1996), clms. 1053–1069, clms. 1054f, distinguishes three accesses to a hermeneutic interpretation of a work: intrinsic, i.e. related to internal phenomena; extrinsic, i.e. bound to historical and sociological insights; and referential, based on semiotic and aesthetic considerations. In this paper, however, the term ‘referential’ is set broadly, implying all three modalities of hermeneutic understanding.

[4] Cf. in this regard José Antonio Bowen, “Can a Symphony Change? Establishing Methodology for the Historical Study of Performance Styles”, in *Musik als Text. Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, ed. by Hermann Danuser, Tobias Plebuch (Kassel Bärenreiter, 1998), vol. 2, 160–172. Certainly, Bowen’s analysis of the exposition in the First Movement of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart’s Symphony in G minor K 550 in different sound recordings, one of the first well-considered studies made by means of computer technology, also reveals that applying virtual methods tends towards studies on tempo and dynamic amplitude, absolute, arithmetically measurable facts. Within, results depend on the length of an investigated passage, as charts lose their precision as soon as too long extracts are chosen. To cover specific details of a sound recording it will be indispensable to listen to the music on the basis of the chart, as Daniel Leech-Wilkinson pointed at as crucial in his keynote to the conference *Sound recording. Musikalische Interpretationen im Vergleich*, held by the Institute for the History of Reception and Interpretation of Music at University Mozarteum together with Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft in October 2010.

[5] Cf. Siegfried Mauser, Gernot Gruber, eds., *Musikalische Hermeneutik im Entwurf. Thesen und Diskussionen* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1994) ), (Schriften zur Musikalischen Hermeneutik 1); Wolfgang Gratzer, Siegfried Mauser, eds., *Hermeneutik im musikwissenschaftlichen Kontext. Internationales Symposion Salzburg 1992* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1995), (Schriften zur Musikalischen Hermeneutik 4); Siegfried Mauser, “Hermeneutik”, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Sachteil vol. 4 (Kassel et al.: Bärenreiter, 1996), clms. 261–270.

Contrary to the comparatively easy task of pointing at methodological problems within and throughout musicological fields, it turns out as very difficult to close the gaps between different positions, theories, or just tendencies. Of course a certain awareness of referential guidelines, specifying the hermeneutic approach, would help to avoid getting lost in special studies, even to redress common misunderstandings whilst speaking about general structures and outlines of a subject. On the other hand everybody who is trying to support a comprehensive dialogue will be endangered to walk into the trap of specific circumstances. Accordingly the following thoughts do not claim unassailability, nor impartiality or finality. They just seek to sketch a prosperous space for further discourses, starting with a short insight into the tasks of the Institute for the History of Reception and Interpretation of Music at University Mozarteum, Salzburg.

The members of the Institute, the colleagues Joachim Brügge (now head of the Institute), Wolfgang Gratzer (now Vice President of University Mozarteum), me and some student assistants, are engaged in teaching, research, the organisation of symposia and the publication of their results. Due to the manifold other activities of the members and due to a lowered budget in economizing times the Institute – compared with its first years, after the foundation in 2006 – has to face new challenges nowadays. Themes must be of immediate interest, publicity has to be considered, cooperations – like this one with the Institute for Musicology of Ljubljana University – will raise the external spheres of corporate identity. Within this scope some principal methodological questions are likely to slip from the field of attention, and thus some first accesses to a theory of reception and interpretation of music have not been continued broadly.[7] Nevertheless, within the conferences organized and conference reports published, gradually the entanglement of phenomena belonging either to reception or to interpretation of music, but in fact belonging to both in a distinguished meaning flashed up. Questions of terminology turned out to be a problem, as well as a specific value in this field. Settling and sharpening criteria Wolfgang Gratzer distinguishes between the history of musical interpretation which is devoted to all circumstances concerning the action of performance itself, and the history of musical reception which deals with all circumstances and contexts that go with and frame the action of performance.[8] This is usefully clarifying in so far, as Gratzer confines the wide-spread terminological ambiguity of ‘interpretation’ as either an act of artistic realization or an assessment in favour of the first.[9] However, the idealistic difference between the historical-receptive and the artistic-productive in reality is mingled with a transparent net; influences on interpretation can grow out of reception, as well as vice versa reception may be stimulated by interpretation.[10] In effect the mutual conditionality is widely ramified and it is not even prospective to speak about two sides of a single coin. Rather a picture-puzzle arises, sometimes making interpretation, then reception come into the foreground[11] – coincidently depending on the way you are looking at it.[12]

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[6] Peter Gülke, "Die Verjährung der Meisterwerke: Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der musikalischen Interpretation", in *Auftakte – Nachspiele: Studien zur musikalischen Interpretation* (Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2006), 181–192. Gülke (ibid., 190) enlightens "[dass] die Mittel der Interpretation sich aus Kompromiß von Stiltreue und Sinntreue bestimmen, der anhand jeden Werkes neu gefunden werden muß": the means of interpretation result from a co-action of stylistic and sensual faithfulness which has to be balanced anew on the basis of every work.

[7] This has to be separated from attempts to clear and differentiate the history and meaning of the 'term' interpretation in its various time-dependent implications, which in a critical access started with Rudolf Flotzinger, "Zur Geschichte und Bestimmung des Begriffs 'Musikalische Interpretation'", in *Musikerziehung* 31 (1977): 51–59, reprinted in *Alte Musik in Österreich. Forschung und Praxis seit 1980*, ed. by Barbara Boisits, Ingeborg Harer (Wien: Mille Tre Verlag, 2009), 343–358.

A starting point for further discourse can be won by means of an axiomatic hypothesis: Any action of either interpretation or reception preserves and amalgamates exegesis and performance, resulting in a new reading of materials. Any attempt of reconstruction is superimposed by a process of creation and reunites theoretical, e.g. historical, sociological and aesthetic views with components of performance, such as physical conditions, technical realization, and artistic touch. Strikingly, the bundle can be regarded as plasticine, referring to certain structures which constitute a musical work and which are represented by a convention (e.g. manners, oral traditions) or a text (e.g. notations). The question in how far these structures can or must be read as an author’s will, is an accompanying one, and the performer is free in his decision whether to obey them. Persuasive artificial power does not necessarily result from faithful rendition.

For a long time academic musicology was unable to accept this ‘network of accesses’. A text-bound orientation, once – when the discipline came alive in the 19th century – the only way to rely on, was still kept when other media during the 20th century would already have allowed references to sound recordings. The primacy of the written text was maintained as the very proof of tradition, and musical philology concentrated on a self-referential programme that – strictly spoken – prevented the investigation of works as sound phenomena, and what is more: of all reception indications, whereas research on any circumstance related to the works' origin was facilitated by this restriction.[13] Georg Feder, the late German musicologist, paradigmatically pleades for an emphatic concept of 'work', in which any alien variant is of no relevance whatsoever for the original version.[14] As a result "the history of reception and the bibliography of secondary literature on music" are merely considered as outlying areas of philological activities.[15] Unquestionably this access in its concentration brings about advantages, for instance a security of basic principles and a point of departure commonly agreed upon. As notation is interpreted as a construction of meaning, surpassing the creative act[16], it facilitates a trusted conversation, watches over subjectivity of performers, and by and large the history of composition enforces this quality by gaining textual control over performances – though, as mentioned above, a timeless validity of a text is totally out of range. Emphatic insistence on an upraised status of the text rather prevents further questioning.[17] As Daniel Leech-Wilkinson outlines, "[…] performances are much more the work than we have traditionally supposed, […] performance traditions influence the ways we think about works over long periods of time, and […] performers have things to teach us about pieces of music that are every bit as interesting and true as the most subtle analyses and commentaries".[18]

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[8] Wolfgang Gratzer, “Aufführung – Interpretation – Rezeption. Versuch einer Entwirrung”, in *Mozarts letzte drei Sinfonien. Stationen ihrer Interpretationsgeschichte*, ed. by Joachim Brügge, Wolfgang Gratzer, Thomas Hochradner (Freiburg i Br.: Rombach Verlag, 2008), (klang-reden. Schriften zur Musikalischen Rezeptions- und Interpretationsgeschichte 1), 27–40, p. 37. Cf. for an insight into the course of discussion the previously published article Hermann Danuser, “Zur Interdependenz von Interpretation und Rezeption in der Musik”, in *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft*, ed. by Hermann Danuser, Friedhelm Krummacher (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1991), (Publikationen der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover 3), 165–177.

[9] Cf. Hinrichsen, “Musikwissenschaft: Musik ...”, 79, with further references, 89f., and Hinrichsen’s request (ibid., 81): “Die konstitutive Differenz zwischen der Lektüre (und damit dem modus interpretandi) musikalischer und sprachlicher Texte muß also methodische Konsequenzen haben: Die Interpretation steht jenseits der Polarität von Historik und Systematik selbst zur Analyse an.” Moreover, Hinrichsen (ibid., p. 86f.) comes back to a common methodological starting basis for all sorts of interpretation: a preliminary decision how to start a reading before entering the hermeneutic circle which as an individual one (“Interpretament”) in my opinion (full particulars see below) is not sufficiently seizable for a closer differentiation. Cf., embodying this access in the history of German philosophy, Hinrichsen, “Musikwissenschaft als musikalisches Kunstwerk: Zum schwierigen Gegenstand der Musikgeschichtsschreibung”, in *Musikwissenschaft: Eine Positionsbestimmung*, ed. by Laurenz Lütteken (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), 67–87, pp. 72–74.

[10] As outlined in manifold writings. The variety of hitherto offered decoding is referred to in Hermann Danuser, Friedhelm Krummacher, eds., *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1991), (Publikationen der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover 3).

[11] It would also be possible, based on Michel Foucault, to distinguish between discourse and recourse. Cf. Foucault, *Die Ordnung des Diskurses* (1974) (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1991), revised $^{12}$2012.

[12] Cf. Hans Robert Jauß, “Rückschau auf die Rezeptionstheorie: Ad usum Musicae Scientiae”, in Danuser, Krummacher, “Zur Interdependenz ...”, 13–36, p. 14, though narrowed on the category of experience: “Gehört doch das Ineinandergreifen von Text (oder: Partitur), Interpretation (oder: Aufführung) und Aufnahme (oder: Rezeption) zum Erstgegebenen in der Erfahrung von Musik”.

This, of course, has to be applied to musical editions, too.[19] For example, Mozart-editions of the 19th century reflect as well as modify traditions, and for that very reason include specific information with regard to reception and interpretation. This is – to some extent – even the case in the (Old) Mozart-Ausgabe, because the various editors often did not respect the appeal to base their editions on a careful comparison of autographs and early editions as promised in the subscription announcement.[20] Indeed, the ideal of a valid scientific character for the first time emerges in editions published in the beginning 20th century, when e.g. Heinrich Schenker in 1908 requested as "allererste Pflicht" of editors "den musikalischen Originaltext so stehen zu lassen, wie sie ihn vorgefunden haben", hence he claimed the maintenance of the original as the very first duty of an editor.[21] In the same year the Berlin musicologist Max Friedlaender published an extensive contribution on editing music, 'Über die Herausgabe musikalischer Kunstwerke', in *Jahrbuch Peters* complaining about the negligence of editors. He states "die ersten großen Gesamtausgaben der Werke Bachs, Beethovens, Mozarts usw. [... waren] zum großen Teil nicht 'kritisch durchgesehen' [...]": that the First complete editions had not been revised critically, as promised on the title pages, but had been revised superficially and carelessly, and that the frequently prominent names of editors did not guarantee a correct or useful work.[22]

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[13] At this juncture, as Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen pointed out in various writings, a heritage of 19th century musicology continued to have its effect, as e.g. already Eduard Hanslick and later Hugo Riemann, although from different aesthetic points of view, preferred the stability of a written text to the fugacity of the sound-set event. Cf. Hans Joachim Hinrichsen, ""Zwei Buchstaben mehr". Komposition als Produktion, Interpretation als Reproduktion?", in *Musikalische Produktion und Interpretation. Zur historischen Unaufhebbarkeit einer ästhetischen Konstellation*, ed. by Otto Kolleritsch (Wien/Graz: Universal Edition, 2003), (Studien zur Wertungsforschung 43), 15–31, p. 16; Hinrichsen, "Musikwissenschaft: Musik …", 82; Hinrichsen: "Musikwissenschaft und …", 75f.

[14] Georg Feder, *Musikphilologie. Eine Einführung in die musikalische Textkritik, Hermeneutik und Editionstechnik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 21. Cf. Hinrichsen, "Musikwissenschaft: Musik …", who on p. 84 points at the relation of musicological approach and idealistic aesthetics which favoured the dominance of a perception of the work hypostatized in a text.

[15] Ibid., 27.

[16] "Das Notat (also bereits die Nachschrift eines musikalischen Prozesses, aber auch das, was Toningenieur und Aufnahmeleiter tun) ist eine Sinnkonstruktion. Es geht über die Konzeptualität des künstlerischen Akts hinaus." Gernot Gruber, "Gattungsverständnis: eine Konkretisierung des Verhältnisses von Produktion und Interpretation (am Beispiel der Symphonie des 18. Jahrhunderts)", in Kolleritsch, *Musikalische Produktion* …, 122–129, p. 123.

[17] Cf. "Fatal erscheint die Kategorie 'Urtext' vor allem, weil sie in der Illusion eines definitiv authentischen, allen weiteren Befragungen und Bezweiflungen überhobenen Textzustandes die Möglichkeiten solchen Zustandekommens vorgaukelt." Peter Gülke, "Nachruf auf den Urtext?", in *Auftakte – Nachspiele. Studien zur musikalischen Interpretation* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1995), 14–20, p. 16.

[18] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance*, chapter 1: "Introduction", 1.1: "Musicology and performances" (http://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/studies/chapters/intro.html, accessed May 15, 2012).

[19] Cf. for the following Thomas Hochradner, "Image Sharpness versus Loss of the Frames. Readings of Textual Criticism in Mozart's Church Music", in *Philomusica on-line*, vol. 9, nr. 2, 2010: *Atti del VI Seminario Internazionale di Filologia Musicale "La Filologia Musicale oggi: il retaggio storico e le nuove prospettive"*, Sezione I, 66–87, p. 68–70.

Friedlaender modifies the value of autographs and First editions, placing them as a last will of the author ("letzte Willensmeinung")[23], and encloses a catalogue of phenomena that should be observed when working on an edition of music.[24] Observing these standards paves the way to demand what before had not been done consistently: the marking of editorial additions in phrasing, dynamics, accidentals, the unification of clefs (in the elder form), a retention in adding ornaments, caution with an assimilation of similar passages, the maintenance of original keys, and a careful revision of the verbal text. In other words: Friedlaender reports on the tremendous store of additions, modifications and supplementations, on the basis of which music editions of the 19th century guided the contemporary performance practice. Compared to Mozart's autographs they brought about a radical loss of marks on articulation, and a flood of dynamic signs instead.[25] Erasing these led to a rise of valid authenticity, respecting them, on the contrary, would open the view for reception contexts and sensibilize for the social framework of music. Both efforts, however, have to deal with an economic background, because sale figures controlled (and still control, of course) the activities of the publishing houses.[26]

As the doors to the study of interpretation remained closed until sound recording came into being, some fields of music transmission firstly could not be foreseen, but afterwards were not welcome any more, because they would have impeded a pragmatic use of specific accomplishments within the discipline musicology.[27] Even Carl Dahlhaus, whose strategies of research have opened new horizons in many cases, strives to 'defend' the primacy of the ideal work by nominating a 'configuration' which in his conception represents the identity of the work and forms the focus of readings.[28] However, an abstract idea avoiding, not integrating specificity cannot serve as an appropriate means to investigate musical performance. And – though the situation has changed in favour of sound recordings – there is still reason to complain about other barriers of a prospective dialogue. For instance, no English correspondent to the German word 'performativ' exists, and an effective danger signal for any further discourse comes across: discussion of reception and interpretation might be limited by terminology, at least on a multilingual level. Indeed, the German 'Performanz', borrowed from linguistics, is – with regard to stage actions – bound to a concretization of self-action and memorized gestures. Only a pinch of the English term 'performance' flashes up. 'Performance', namely, collects on the whole what in German notion is divided into 'Aufführung' (production[29]) and 'Ausführung' (effectuation)[30], all the while acts of interpretation.[31]

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[20] Cliff Eisen, "The Old and New Mozart Editions", in *Early Music*, vol 19, 1991, 513–529, p. 527.

[21] Heinrich Schenker, *Ein Beitrag zur Ornamentik als Einführung zu Philipp Emanuel Bachs Klavierwerken* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1908), quoted from Feder , *Musikphilologie* ..., 56.

[22] Max Friedlaender, "Über die Herausgabe musikalischer Kunstwerke", in *Jahrbuch Peters* vol. 14, 1908, 13–33, p. 14.

[23] Ibid., 18f.

[24] Ibid., 23–33.

[25] George Barth, "Mozart Performance in the 19th Century", in *Early Music*, vol. 9, 1991, 538–555, pp. 538–540.

[26] Ibid., p. 542, George Barth has shown that already the earliest editions of Mozarts's keyboard music within 'Complete editions' differed in their strategy: Breitkopf & Härtel's tended to remove additional remarks, Simrock's on the contrary added a lot to Mozart's notation.

[27] Cf. Jürg Stenzl, "In Search of a History of Musical Interpretation", in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 79, 1995, 683–699, who mentions three reasons that had been an impediment to deal with the history of musical interpretation so far: the upcoming of a continuously re-acted canon of works – starting with Handel and the Viennese classicism – of which performances have always been considered as contemporary ones, moreover the notion of music as a transitory art which was understood as an evidence not further debatable, and the existence of various stylistic approaches at the same time since about the 1960ies that has been mastered by big labels looking for profit by promoting new products mainly. Stenzl's text is also available in German

Summarizing, studies on the history of reception and interpretation of music face an ambivalent starting position: On the one hand they can be settled in fairly, sometimes entirely established accesses:[32] well-tried methods of investigation and analysis; on the other hand they lack a widely agreed terminological and methodological superstructure, which could help to incite their systematization. Of course, a retreat into postmodernist 'anything goes' could solve the problem, as far as common scientific treatment would secure neutrality and traceability of the procedure. However, such a kind of retreat bears aspects of resignation and coincides with the observation that plenty of convincing

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meanwhile: "Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der musikalischen Interpretation", in Stenzl, *Auf der Suche nach Geschichte(n) der musikalischen Interpretation* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012), (Salzburger Stier. Veröffentlichungen aus der Abteilung Musik- und Tanzwissenschaft der Universität Salzburg 7), 15–31.

[28] "Text- oder Rezeptionsvarianten als Stufen aufzufassen, die man aneinander fügt, um das Bild einer kontinuierlichen Entwicklung zu erhalten, ist nichts anderes als eine Interpretationsmöglichkeit neben anderen, eine Möglichkeit, zu der es Alternativen gibt, die manchmal den Vorzug verdienen. Statt die wechselnden Fassungen und Auslegungen zu einer Geschichte zu ordnen, die sich, mit größerer oder geringerer Gewaltsamkeit, zusammenhängend erzählen läßt, kann man die Varianten auch als Material benutzen, aus dessen Konfiguration das Problem erschließbar ist, dessen Lösung das Werk, das sie umkreisen, darstellt. Besteht demnach das Ziel, auf das sich die Bemühungen richten, in der Rekonstruktion und der immer genaueren Bestimmung eines Problems, an dem sich die Interpretation eines Werkes orientieren kann, so bildet umgekehrt – in einem Prozeß der Wechselwirkung – das dadurch eingekreiste Problem die Mitte, von der aus sich die Rezeptionsdokumente überhaupt erst zu einer Konfiguration ordnen, die von innen heraus verstehbar ist. Und es könnte sein, daß die Werkidentität, die als Bezugspunkt der Rezeptionsgeschichte ins Zwielicht von Kontroversen geraten ist, in denen sich die Umrisse des Begriffs auflösen, weniger in einem greifbaren Sachverhalt als in einem Problem besteht, um das sich, wie um eine dunkle Mitte, die Fassungen und Auslegungen versammeln." – Carl Dahlhaus, "Textgeschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte", in Danuser, Krummacher, eds., *Rezeptionsästhetik und …*, 105–114, pp. 113f.

[29] Account books from the 18th century prove that at that time the verb 'to produce' had been in use when invoicing a recital – according to this practice, 'production' should be understood as the factual part of a performance and, furthermore, 'reproduction' used for its repetition, especially in playing a sound recording.

[30] Cf. Hermann Danuser, *Musikalische Interpretation* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1992), (Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 11); Hermann Danuser, "Interpretation", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Sachteil vol. 4 (Kassel et al.: Bärenreiter, 1996), clms. 1053–1069. Danuser distinguishes between "Aufführungssinn" (signification of production) and "Ausführungssinn" (signification for effectuation), by these means re-constituting the customary paradigma of 'work' in musicology. However, as Richard Klein argues, a well informed performer or listener cannot be categorically implied and some, perhaps most of the audience will not be capable to differentiate or pursue analytically. Cf. Richard Klein, "Das musikalische Werk und seine Interpretation", in Kolleritsch, *Musikalische Produktion …*, 101–120, p. 114.

[31] Of course, effectuation may be trivial, marginal or even omitted. Such a performance approximates what in German is called 'Vortrag' – which is difficult to translate into English, but might be expressed with 'execution'.

[32] As an example cf. the discussion on Carl Dahlhaus' concept of continuity and historical facts in Hinrichsen, "Musikwissenschaft als …", 70, 78.

details do not principally suffice to reveal the general lines. Although being caught in abundant material, the history of reception and interpretation of music has to look for meaningful guidelines, even if a reset of wide-spread thinking is required. Evidently a transparent pattern has to be assumed, and evidently its effectiveness cannot be shown in a two-dimensional figure. Visualization rather resembles a corpus, and at the same time a mass that constantly expands, like the World Wide Web or the universe. Moreover a multitude of axes crosses this corpse, binding, brushing against, touching various phenomena by their notional direction. Within this context, focussing a single object should not be the only goal, as such approaches tend to renounce (or at least pass by) coordinates and will keep distance to an organized, perhaps even regulated spacious access – a manifold access that also allows to drive in curves or to read 'between the lines'.

Considering inter-textual relations (this expression is chosen, because 'intertextuality' again does not appear in English dictionaries...) what has been explicated can be followed paradigmatically: 'Einzeltextreferenz', the reference of one text to another, is distinguished from 'Systemtextreferenz', the reference of one text to a system of texts, e.g. a genre. Furthermore the term 'inter-textual relation' is widely subdivided into para-, meta-, etc., which leads to reproaches of arbitrary use and blur.[33] However, in the case of the history of reception and interpretation of music, a certain indeterminacy belongs to the operatic constants of observation and experience and must be incorporated in a model. As a consequence the universal model sketched before has to be modified: What can be fastened as an axis in theoretical discourse in fact appears like a jet but at the same time represents a rope of related elements, and in such a way guides coordinates in dealing with the research field both from an aesthetic and historical perspective proceed.

What can be achieved by this train of thoughts? Isn't the very general view suspicious, appearing as a self-evident concept without firm angles and, finally, too mobile to give way to a better understanding? I want to hold against. In my opinion this background can be really helpful when developing special studies, when treating specific subjects. Possibilities of weighing different positions and of taxing them in a larger context are set free. This shall be exemplified by a critical review on the use of the term 'authenticity'. A RILM search provided 4002 results[34], a search with German 'Authentizität' all the same 194 results. Taking this as a point of reference, a closer inspection yielded four domains of deployment:

- Source Research / Music Philology;
- Historically Informed Performance Practice;
- Music Pedagogics;
- Ethnomusicology / Research on Popular Music.

Reading various abstracts to some entries quickly makes clear that in the nominated sub-disciplines the term 'authenticity' is used from different points of view each and the particular positions miss a corporate line. Generally speaking, two models of authenticity compete: one is historically anchored via phenomena such as faithful rendition and faithful interpretation (to be found in Source Research, Music Philology; Historically Informed Performance Practice), the other one is established as an anthropological constant by qualities like presence and persuasiveness (as applied in Music Pedagogics; Ethnomusicology; Research on Popular Music). A comparison with neighbouring sciences, especially philosophy and literary studies, does not supply a red thread, but nevertheless leads to a certain clarification on the basis of which the discussion within musicology may be reconsidered.

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[33] Joachim Brügge, "Zwischen Einzeltext- und Systemtextreferenz? Intertextualität als formale Dramaturgie in Franz Schuberts Fantasie in C für Violine und Klavier D 934", in *Schubert: Perspektiven*, vol. 9, nr. 1, 2009, 43–59, pp. 43, 45.

[34] RILM Abstracts of Music Literature, accessed 16 May, 2012.

In a scholarly discourse 'authenticity' has been shown a broader attention only after 1945. Then, however, the term rapidly turned into a "widely used *catchword*" with multilayered positioning. "The concept of authenticity does not only combine empirical, interpretative, evaluative and normative elements, it may also – in somehow another order – attach aesthetic, moral and cognitive moments".[35] This disparateness is reflected in diverse theories of authenticity which at times remark upon an empiric procedure (e.g. Jürgen Habermas), at times upon an aesthetic one (Theodor W. Adorno). Musicology, though the discipline has often been a little late in its theoretical standing[36], in this case yet again did not follow suit, but kept its own, established philological access. That is why in German publications respectively, the term 'authenticity' at first was avoided in favour of 'Werktreue', faithful rendition. Even Adorno was in favour of this, as it allows any kind of subjectivity only by means of a deep insight into the structure and meaning of the object – the work. Musicology, notwithstanding, usually preferred other concepts of 'authenticity' in music, bound to a re-creation of a work either in the sense of the style of the period it was composed or in the sense of the author.[37] However, whatsoever exceeds a mere philological exegesis of the work requires interpretation. Though it is quite common sense that the will of the composer shall be observed, the submitted text on which this reference has to rely will never be unambiguous to an interpreter, and his contribution, his 'colour' is expected by the public.[38]

When in 1984 a small inquiry on "Werktreue und Authentizität" was presented in *Musicologica Austriaca*, the term 'authenticity' only occurred in the title, and – surprisingly – the demand on faithful rendition was criticized several times[39], most explicitly by Nikolaus Harnoncourt who could not win anything positive or even desireable from this endeavour and at most conceded that one should try to understand a work itself and to make it apprehensible for today's audience[40] – obviously aiming at a realization comparable to the work's former presence in public.[41]

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[35] "Der Authentizitätsbegriff vermag [...] nicht nur empirische, interpretative, evaluative und normative Elemente miteinander zu verbinden, er kann auch – nach einer etwas anders gelagerten Sortierung – ästhetische, moralische und kognitive Momente miteinander verknüpfen"; Susanne Knaller, Harro Müller "Einleitung: Authentizität und kein Ende", in *Authentizität. Diskussion eines ästhetischen Begriffs*, ed. by Knaller, Müller (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006), 7–16, pp. 7f.

[36] Cf. Anselm Gerhard, ed., *Musikwissenschaft – eine verspätete Disziplin. Die akademische Musikwissenschaft zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Modernitätsverweigerung* (Stuttgart/Weimar: Metzler, 2000), with regard to the history of reception and interpretation of music Hinrichsen, "Musikwissenschaft und ...", 68.

[37] Cf. Martin Elste, *Meilensteine der Bach-Interpretation 1750–2000: Eine Werkgeschichte im Wandel* (Stuttgart/Weimar/Kassel: Metzler/Bärenreiter, 2000), 21f.

[38] Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, "Werk und Wille, Text und Treue. Über Freiheit und Grenzen der musikalischen Interpretation", in *Werktreue. Was ist Werk, was Treue?*, ed. by Gerhard Brunner/Sarah Zalfen (München – Wien/Köln/Weimar: Oldenbourg – Böhlau, 2011), 25–36, pp. 25f., 28. Ibid., p. 30, on the still detectable diversity of approaches in understanding music.

[39] Cf. as a recent comment Anselm Gerhard: "Was ist Werktreue? Ein Phantombegriff und die Sehnsucht nach "Authentischem"", in Brunner, Zalfen, *Werktreue* ..., 17–23, p. 18, on 'Werktreue': "Wir tun gut dran, auf ein Wort zu verzichten, das weit mehr vernebelt als erhellt."

In this respect the perspective of the observer comes to the fore – and by the way intimates why realizing authenticity is not practicable for performance practice. For Niklas Luhmann the perception of authenticity is a perception by means of observation which suggests necessities that turn out to be casualities from an overrided attitude.[42] It is the observer who by chance realizes that a phrase "I am authentic" is contradictory, only belongs to self perception. 'Authenticity' is not a category of being, but of impact. Japanese tourists who book a Salzburg evening will most probably not become aware that the music they are offered eventually does not belong to Salzburg's traditional music, and visitors of a Mozart Dinner Concert may not know that all the works of Mozart performed there in effect stem from his Viennese period.

As a consequence a performer is at no time authentic when claiming authenticity for his interpretation. Alike, 'authenticity' cannot be a positive value as long as some presentations are accepted, and others excluded: To believe in authenticity as a token coin for classical or traditional music restricts its meaning to a distinct style which is prepared as a norm but will never come to full validity, as any kind of performance may be felt authentic.[43] And authenticity only processes a temporary result, as Richard Taruskin exemplarily described in respect to the process of transferring past strategies into present times: "What we call historical performance is the sound of now, not then. It derives its authenticity not from its historical verisimilitude, but from its being for better or worse a true mirror of late-twentieth century taste."[44] Notwithstanding we are often tempted to use 'authentic' in an ambiguous sense, we should be aware that this term is much more open than commonly assumed. Neither is authenticity bound to stylistic paradigms nor should it serve to claim a priority of music philology. James Grier clearly distinguishes between "the work, which depends equally on the score and performance for its existence, and a text, either written (a score) or sounding (a performance) that defines the particular score of the work". The editor's task is described, resp. relativized as "to establish and present a text that most fully represents the editor's conception of the work".[45] This idea opposes a practice that has shaped understanding in musicology: the emphatic philological concept of work mentioned above. Instead, Grier's alternative concept of critical editing can be applied to all stages of reception, it does thoroughly include the possibility that various editors will come to different editions of a certain musical work – though by no means disregarding scientific principles.[46]

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[40] Roswitha Vera Karpf, "Werktreue und Authentizität? Gedanken zur Situation der Aufführungspraxis Alter Musik in Österreich als Ergebnis einer Umfrage", in *Musicologica Austriaca*, vol. 4, 1984, 131–140, p. 136.

[41] Cf. Gerhard, "Was ist Werktreue? Ein Phantombegriff ...", 23.

[42] "[Niklas Luhmann sieht] den Authentizitätsbegriff als Beobachtungsbegriff erster Ordnung, der Notwendigkeiten suggeriert, die sich von der Beobachtungsstufe zweiter Ordnung aus als Kontingenzen [Zufälligkeiten, im Gegensatz zu Notwendigkeiten, d. Verf.] erweisen"; Knaller, Müller, "Einleitung: Authentizität ...", 9; quoted from Niklas Luhmann, *Die Kunst der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1995), 152f.

[43] With regard to Austrian traditional Music different positions are encountered; cf. Gerlinde Haid, "Zum Begriff des authentischen Volksgesanges", in *Der authentische Volksgesang in den Alpen. Überlegungen und Beispiele*, ed. by Gerlinde Haid, Josef Sulz, Thomas Nußbaumer (Anif/Salzburg: Verlag Müller Speiser, 2000), (Innsbrucker Hochschulschriften. Serie B: Musikalische Volkskunde, vol. 1), 7–14; Konrad Köstlin, "Tradition und andere Mischungen", in *Sänger- und Musikantenzeitung*, vol. 48, 2005, 12–15.

[44] Richard Taruskin, "The Modern Sound of Early Music (1990)", in *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 164–172, p. 166. Quoted from and cf. Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Historisierende Aufführungspraxis. Plädoyer für eine Begriffsmodifikation", in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, vol. 67, nr. 2, 2012, 14–21, p. 16f.

[45] James Grier, *The critical editing of music: History, method, and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 22f.

Evidently there is a tremendous distance to the philological attempt that leaves any specific, casual situation behind and tries to arrive at a higher-ranking, historically valid text.[47] Furthermore, how can 'authenticity' be claimed, when no notation is able to display a musical work in its entirety? This, I think, explains Harnoncourt's turn to the observer's position:[48] for him "interpretation happens in the head of the beholder", interpretation is bound to the audience, and, to gather, for the musician such a category more or less flows into effectuation. Harnoncourt also urges "when interpreting, only the understanding of the work can be authentic" – e.g. neither the work itself nor its play[49], which neglects authenticity as an action and indicates another feature: the feature of a function.[50]

All this is remote from the understanding of 'authentic' in a meaning of 'warranted', as a matter of records, emphatically unfolded in music philology. Following the German rules and standards maintained in *Duden-Fremdwörterbuch* 'authentic' means veritable, reliable, warranted (echt, zuverlässig, verbürgt), and 'authenticity' veritableness, reliability, credibility (Echtheit, Zuverlässigkeit, Glaubwürdigkeit). To be credible needs a believer. Again a swinging between fact and function can be stated. According to an etymologic dictionary, *Kluge. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 'authentic' stands for definitive, true, from Greek 'authentikós' which means reliable and derives from 'authéntēs', author, with a meaning of self-accomplisher or rather suicide in its background. Might it be read as a hint on self-surrender? Anyway, as a concept that impulses various constructions of authorship and which at the same time releases a normative and a qualitative tendency, authenticity is decisively revealed as a potential function. With regard to music, authenticity as a coordinate of reception and interpretation comprises approaches how to deal with work-bound structures and insights, and modifies the ideal of a self-contained work.[51] Everyone, in her/his own understanding, creates anew what 'authentic' stands for. Yet it should be conceded, that within a coherent base in which casual problems can be settled, relevance, references and complexity of any approach become apparent.

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[46] Ibid., esp. 4f., 12f., 36, 180.

[47] Cf. Helga Lühning, "Komponist, Notentext und Klangwirklichkeit: Über die Autorisation des musikwissenschaftlichen Editors", in *Autor – Autorisation – Authentizität*, ed. by Thomas Bein, Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth, Bodo Plachta (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004), (Beihefte zu edition 21), 25–30, p. 30.

[48] Nikolaus Harnoncourt, "Über Authentizität und Werktreue", in *Was ist Wahrheit? Zwei Reden* (Salzburg/Wien: Residenz-Verlag, 1995), 28.

[49] Cf. "der Begriff 'Authentizität' als Chiffre für Historisch orientierte Aufführungspraxis stellt eine denkbar unglückliche Wortwahl dar"; Dagmar Hoffmann-Axthelm, ""Aus der Seele" oder "Wie ein abgerichteter Vogel"? Versuch über künstlerische Authentizität", in *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, vol. 27, 2003: *Alte Musik zwischen Geschichte und Geschäft*, 35–44, p. 44.

[50] This seamlessly corresponds to the fact that a discussion about authenticity has started in the Age of Enlightenment and since then continuously been upset in different ways of thinking.

[51] Cf. Klaus Kropfinger, "Überlegungen zum Werkbegriff", in Danuser, Krummacher, *Rezeptionsästhetik und …*, 115–131, esp. p. 127; Hinrichsen, "Musikwissenschaft und …", 84f.

## Povzetek

Glede na to, ali ga merimo z notnim zapisom ali prakso izvajanja, koncept dela niha. Takoj ko se pojavijo metodološke razpoke med temi različnimi vidiki in različnim vmesnimi stopnjami obstoja, postane očitno pomanjkanje zavedanja v zvezi z referenčnimi sistemi. Vendar pa se pokaže, da je te razpoke glede interpretacije in recepcije glasbe zelo težko zapolniti. Začetno točko za nadaljnjo razpravo lahko dobimo z aksiomsko hipotezo: vsako dejanje interpretacije ali recepcije ohranja in združuje tolmačenje in izvajanje, posledica tega pa je novo branje materialov; nad vsakim poskusom rekonstrukcije stoji postopek ustvarjanja in ponovno združuje teoretske, npr. zgodovinske, sociološke in estetske vidike s komponentami izvedbe, kot so fizični pogoji, tehnična realizacija in umetniški dotik. Presenetljivo lahko skupek opazujemo kot snov, ki se nanaša na določene strukture, ki sestavljajo glasbeno delo in ki jih predstavljajo konvencije (npr. običaji, ustna tradicija) ali besedila (npr. notni zapis). Vprašanje, v kolikšni meri lahko ali moramo te strukture brati kot avtorjevo oporoko, je spremljevalno in izvajalec ima prosto izbiro pri odločanju, ali jih bo upošteval ali ne, saj prepričljiva umetniška moč ne izvira nujno iz zveste predaje.

Muzikologija se je dolgo posvečala k natančnemu branju »glasbenega dela«. Max Friedlaender je na primer rokopise in prve izdaje cenil kot oporoke avtorjev (»letzte Willensmeinung«) in objavil katalog pojavov, ki jih je treba upoštevati pri delu na izdaji glasbe. Upoštevanje teh standardov je muzikologe napeljalo k ignoriranju kasnejših uredniških dodatkov pri fraziranju, dinamiki, nebistvenih potezah, poenotenju ključev (v starejši obliki), k pazljivosti pri dodajanju okraskov, z asimilacijo podobnih odlomkov, k vztrajanju pri ohranjanju izvirnih ključev in pozornem pregledu besedila. Do sedaj je bila orjaška zakladnica dodatkov, sprememb in dopolnil na podlagi tega, katere glasbene izdaje 19. stoletja so vodile sodobno glasbeno prakso, zanemarjena. Brisanje teh dejstev je pripeljalo do veljavnega koncepta avtentičnosti, medtem ko kontekst interpretacije in recepcije ter družbeni okvir glasbe nista bila v ospredju in sta bila označena kot drugorazredni temi.

Današnja muzikologija mora stremeti k ponovnemu ocenjevanju metodološkega repertoarja, prevrednotenju tega koncepta avtentičnosti. Vendar pa se študije o zgodovini recepcije in interpretacije glasbe, ki jih je treba vključiti v ta koncept, soočajo z različnim začetnim položajem: po eni strani jih lahko umestimo med jasno, včasih popolnoma uveljavljene pristope, preizkušene metode preučevanja in analize, po drugi strani pa jim manjka široko sprejeta terminološka in metodološka nadstruktura, ki bi pomagala pospešiti njihovo sistematizacijo. Čeprav je ujeta v obilici materiala, pa mora zgodovina recepcije in interpretacije glasbe iskati pomembne smernice, tudi če to zahteva ponastavitev razširjenega razmišljanja. Očitno je treba domnevati pregleden vzorec in njegove učinkovitosti očitno ne moremo prikazati v dvodimenzionalnem prikazu. Vizualizacija je bolj podobna telesu in hkrati masi, ki se neprestano širi, tako kot splet ali vesolje. Poleg tega to telo prečkajo številne osi, ki se povezujejo, zadevajo in dotikajo različnih fenomenov s svojo fiktivno usmerjenostjo. Znotraj tega konteksta ne bi smel biti edini cilj osredotočanje na en sam objekt, saj se takšni pristopi običajno odrekajo (ali vsaj spregledajo) koordinate in se držijo stran od organiziranega, morda celo reguliranega prostornega dostopa – mnogovrsten pristop, ki dopušča vožnjo po ovinkih ali »branje med vrsticami«.

Znotraj takšnega prostora dobijo mehanizmi recepcije uveljavljeno mesto v znanstvenem diskurzu, saj vse, kar kakor koli presega zgolj filološko tolmačenje dela, zahteva interpretacijo. Čeprav zdrava pamet zahteva, da se upošteva volja skladatelja, ni tekst, na katerega se mora opirati referenca, za interpreta nikoli enoumen in občinstvo pričakuje interpretov lasten prispevek, njegovo »barvo«.

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# The Old German Folksongs philological: Tracing a Fake[*]

## Staronemške ljudske pesmi s filološkega vidika: Sledenje ponaredkom

Prejeto: 2. september 2013
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**Ključne besede:** nemška ljudska pesem, tenorska pesem, Franz Magnus Böhme, Ludwig Erk, Thomas Stoltzer

Izvleček

Srednjeveške in zgodnje novoveške ljudske pesmi (*Volkslieder*), ki sta jih v publikaciji »Deutscher Liederhort« in drugih objavila Erk in Böhme, označujejo postopek izmišljene tradicije. Čeprav naj bi temeljile na znanstveni in jezikoslovni točnosti, so te zbirke vključevale potvarjanje virov in znatno ponarejena in zavajajoča izročila izvirnih pesmi.

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**Keywords**: German folk song, Tenorlied, Franz Magnus Böhme, Ludwig Erk, Thomas Stoltzer

Abstract

The middle age and early modern *Volkslieder,* published by Erk and Böhme in "Deutscher Liederhort" etc., mark the process of an invented tradition. Though pretending to be founded on the basis of scholarly and philological accurateness, these editions included manipulations of sources and substantially falsifying and misleading renditions of the original songs.

In 1877 Franz Magnus Böhme complained that the German poet and folk material collector Ludwig Uhland had only revealed half of the picture of medieval folk singing because the tunes belonging to the lyrics, although extant, were excluded.[1] Intending to complete through reconstruction what Uhland's text-oriented collection and edition of the *Volkslieder* already had offered, he now proposed as a musicologist's duty to "restore these folk songs approximately as they had existed in the *Volksmund* [popular oral tradition] and, by doing so, to give an approximate image of German folk music of the past"[2]. Consequently, he informs the user of his *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, as well as his *Deutscher Liederhort,* the latter published from Ludwig Erk's estate, that he "reproduced the melodies authentically from the sources [quellengetreu], so that the reader may be assured, that the old tunes have looked and sounded this and no other way"[3].

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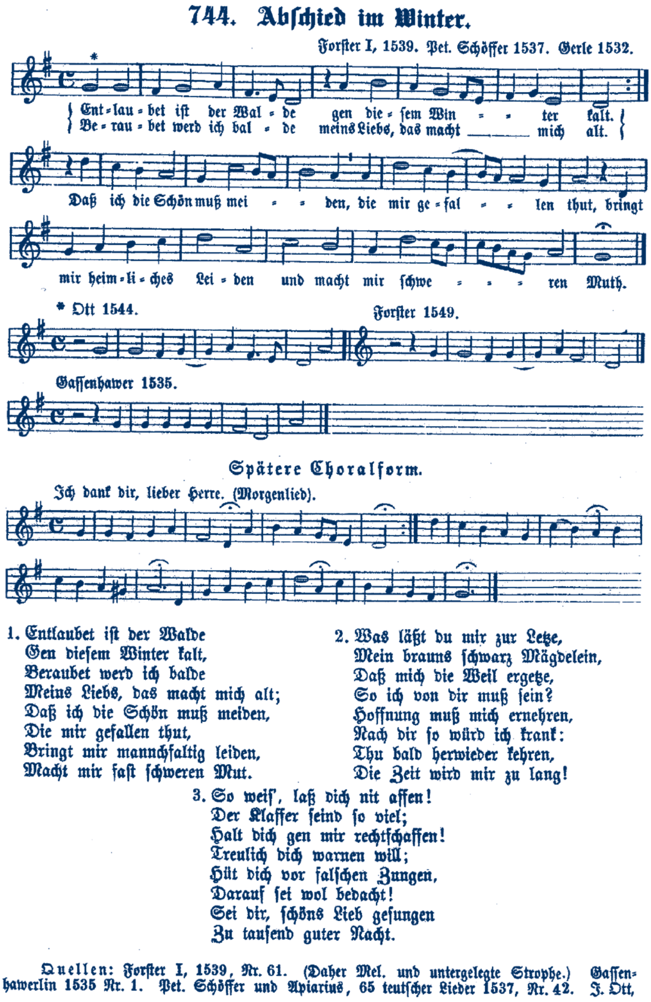
[*] This is a reworked version of my paper "Die ‚Altdeutschen Volkslieder' des 19. Jahrhunderts: Auf den Spuren eines editorischen Konstrukts", in , ed. by John Eckhard and Widmaier Tobias (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2010), 190–199. I owe many thanks to Daniel Müllensieffen, David Lewis, Tim Crawford, and Albrecht Classen for their help with the English version.

[1] Franz M. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuc: Volkslieder der Deutschen nach Wort und Weise aus dem 12. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1877), V.

This, for example, is how they looked:



**744. Abſchied im Winter.**

Forſter I, 1539. Pet. Schöffer 1537. Gerle 1532.
*
Ent=lau=bet iſt der Wal=de gen die=ſem Win = = ter kalt.
Be=rau=bet werd ich bal=de meins Liebs, das macht ——— mich alt.
Daß ich die Schön muß mei = = den, die mir ge=fal = = len thut, bringt
mir heim=li=ches Lei=den und macht mir ſchwe = = = ren Muth.
* Ott 1544.
Forſter 1549.
Gaſſenhawer 1535.
Spätere Choralform.
Ich dank dir, lieber Herre. (Morgenlied).

1. Entlaubet iſt der Walde
Gen dieſem Winter kalt,
Beraubet werd ich balde
Meins Liebs, das macht mich alt;
Daß ich die Schön muß meiden,
Die mir gefallen thut,
Bringt mir mannchfaltig leiden,
Macht mir faſt ſchweren Mut.

2. Was läßt du mir zur Letze,
Mein brauns ſchwarz Mägdelein,
Daß mich die Weil ergetze,
So ich von dir muß ſein?
Hoffnung muß mich ernehren,
Nach dir ſo würd ich krank:
Thu bald herwieder kehren,
Die Zeit wird mir zu lang!

3. So weiſ', laß dich nit affen!
Der Klaffer ſeind ſo viel;
Halt dich gen mir rechtſchaffen!
Treulich dich warnen will;
Hüt dich vor falſchen Zungen,
Darauf ſei wol bedacht!
Sei dir, ſchöns Lieb geſungen
Zu tauſend guter Nacht.

Quellen: Forſter I, 1539, Nr. 61. (Daher Mel. und untergelegte Strophe.) Gaſſenhawerlin 1535 Nr. 1. Pet. Schöffer und Apiarius, 65 teutſcher Lieder 1537, Nr. 42. J. Ott,

*Table 1: Edition Entlaubet ist der Walde, Böhme 1877, 549.*

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[2] Ibid., XIII.

[3] Ibid..

The publication claimed authenticity and philological correctness, and Erk's and Böhme's song editions were "meant for academic use"[4]. As Erk had done before, Böhme now distinguished his methods from the ones which had been applied in publications like those by Wilhelm von Zuccalmaglio: "None among the many German folk song collections had done more harm to the development of the authentic folk singing" than Zuccalmaglio's *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Originalmelodien* von 1840, as Erk stated, "containing excessive corruptions", "song fakes" as well as "disfigurements".[5]

This conflict, which might be seen as an expert's dispute from a long time ago (into which even Johannes Brahms had intervened in order to defend Zuccalmaglio) turns out to be paradigmatic for folk song scholarship even today.

By 1928, Erich Seemann among others had already accused Böhme of having committed grave inaccuracies and "manipulations" in handling songs from oral transmission that led Seemann to fundamental doubts about the "reliability of the authentic edition of the songs"[6]. And already John Meier[7] accused Böhme of "failing to preserve aesthetic value", "ludicrous prudery"[8] and of "a childish lack of orientation", "unparalleled hastiness and inaccuracy", and even the "incapacity to transcribe and quote properly"[9].

However, this criticism (that Brednich later tried to soften with factual arguments) was centered around philological deficiencies, most of them regarding the *Deutscher Liederhort*. The criticism, though, never focused on the fact that Böhme intentionally (and of course not accidentally) produced substantially falsifying and misleading renditions of the original songs. The purpose of this undertaking was obviously to lend legitimacy and authority to the image of the *Lied* genre (an image partly still persisting) and the corresponding terminology. This is the case despite the fact that most late-medieval and early-modern songs do not lend themselves to such an interpretation; the *Lied* is often thought of as a simple work comprising a melody and a multi-stanza text (usually limited in length), neither of which can be associated with a specific author. In the upper section of the edition, the musical sources are referred to in abbreviated form, which are then detailed in the apparatus: Prints, which can be identified with reference to the names of editors or printers, and which seem to indicate a stable unity of tune and text in the tradition of the respective songs as bimedial objects (i.e., consisting of text and melody). This suggests, that "these old songs, that once – without distinction – had been sung by princes and peasants, by bourgeois and nobles, clericals and profanes, minstrels and footpads, journeyman and country lasses etc." had been "transmitted orally over long periods until the present day", and "can still be heard in the lower classes in somewhat altered forms. They are songs from the folk's heart and mouth"[10].

Indeed, only a few of the songs, which were exploited commercially in the early 16th century, are documented during the pre-Gutenberg era. Important sources are the extensive late-fifteenth-century song manuscripts, for example: 'Der Wald hat sich entlaubet' (from *Lochamer Liederbuch*), 'Elslein, liebes Elselein' and 'Es liegt ein Schloss in Österreich' (from *Glogauer Handschrift*), which later reappear in printed anthologies.

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[4] Ibid., IX.

[5] Ludwig Erk, "Rezensionen und Anzeigen", *Cäcilia (Mainz) 27* (1848): 208–10, 220.

[6] Erich Seemann, "Ein Musterbeispiel zu den Ungenauigkeiten Böhmes in seinem Deutschen Liederhort", *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 1 (1928): 185.

[7] Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, [Rewiew of "Deutscher Liederhort"], *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 10 (1965): 162–163.

[8] Ibid., 163.

[9] Ibid..

[10] Franz M. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch: Volkslieder der Deutschen nach Wort und Weise aus dem 12. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1877), XXII.

As an example, 'Schloss in Österreich' until recently has been interpreted as a "paradigmatic model of a folk ballad", because it experienced a "rich and continuous tradition extending from the 15th to the 20th century", as Holzapfel[11] noted. However, a survey of all the extant sources for 'Schloss in Österreich'[12] reveals that a coherent tradition does not begin before the early 17th century, distributed by broadsheets being the predominant medium.

A 17 stanza broadsheet version from 1606 does not prove provenance from the Middle Ages, even though this has been claimed repeatedly as evidence.[13] The second part of Georg Forsters *Teusche Liedlein* from its second (1549) to its fourth edition (1565) had contained Caspar Othmayr´s four-part composition with the same incipit. Thus, this composition must have been reasonably widespread, and so this version alone might have inspired the later broadsheet version from 1606.

A connection between Othmayr's version and the three-part compositions that appeared seven decades earlier in the *Glogauer Handschrift* seems rather unlikely. There are no obvious musical similarities, and the lyrics are reduced to the incipit „Es leit ein schloß in Österreich", that is nothing more than a balladesque formula anyway. Nonetheless, Böhme/Erk along with later editors in their standard scholarly editions[14] combined the discantus part of this early version with the later lyrics with the intention of suggesting a continuous tradition. The former even separated the discantus part as monophonic melody from the composition's context without clearly annotating how scarce the evidence is for such an association.

At first sight, constructing a historiography in such a way seems easier in the case of the winter song 'Entlaubet ist der Walde', which is also documented in a fifteenth century manuscript (in *Lochamer-Liederbuch*), but its biggest push toward popularisation happened in the middle of the 16th century. The presence of an early exemplar made traditional scholars of the „Tenorlied" focus on this song as paradigmatic for their considerations regarding the Tenorlied genre.[15] This idea has to be corrected in some respects, particularly regarding the dating of the song as far back as to the middle of the 15th century. Again, the key to the sudden popularity of this song, which appeared in almost every important songbook of the 1530s, was a version identified in its 16th century print by a composers' name: the four-part composition by Thomas Stoltzer. It was first published in a tablature for strings in Hans Gerle's didactic work *Musica Teusch* (Nürnberg 1532)[16], in this instance without Stoltzer's name. In 1535 Christian Egenolff in Frankfurt printed the first version in mensural notation – as the first song in his popular *Gassenhawerlin*[17]. The initials H.H. were printed along with it, and as early as 1927 Moser suspected that this designated the Hessian court composer Johann (Hans) Heugel. Immediately afterwards, three printed anthologies borrowed Stoltzer's composition.[18]

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[11] Otto Holzapfel, *Das große deutsche Volksballadenbuch* (Düsseldorf, Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 2000), 507–508

[12] See the source list in John Meier, ed., *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien: Balladen 1*, ed. Deutsches Volksliedarchiv (Berlin, Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1935), 258–263.

[13] As in: Ludwig Erk and Franz M. Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort: Auswahl der vorzüglicheren deutschen Volkslieder* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893/94), vol. 1, 206–207; John Meier, ed., *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien: Balladen 1*, ed. Deutsches Volksliedarchiv (Berlin, Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1935), 252–253; Otto Holzapfel, *Das große deutsche Volksballadenbuch* (Düsseldorf, Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 2000), 308–309.

[14] Like Meier, *Deutsche Volkslieder ...*, 250 and Heribert Ringmann, ed., *Das Glogauer Liederbuch 1: Deutsche Lieder und Spielstücke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1936), vol. 4, 16.

[15] „Mit diesem und den anderen vier dreistimmigen Tenorliedern aus Lo [dem *Lochamer-Liederbuch*] beginnt die über 100 Jahre währende Blütezeit einer auf präexistenten oder im Hinblick auf die Bearbeitung geschaffenen Tenores basierenden mehrstimmigen, vorwiegend weltlichen deutschen Liedkunst." Kurt Gudewill, "Deutsche Volkslieder in mehrstimmigen Kompositionen aus der Zeit von ca. 1450 bis ca. 1630", *Handbuch des Volksliedes*, eds. Rolf W. Brednich et al. (München: Fink, 1975), vol. 2, 439.

It is impossible to assume a continuous and homogeneous tradition of the song that began in the middle 15th century and led to the song practice in the middle of the 16th century. The only existing musical version, which preceded the commercialization in print, is the three part *Lochamer* composition. And this one, with respect to its music, lyrics, and other features, is clearly dissimilar from its successor a century later. If we compare the *Lochamer* version to the existing records of the lyrics from before 1530, we will find, however, that a good number of elements contained in the *Lochamer*-version are preserved into the early 16th century:

Two broadsheets printed in Ulm around 1496 and in Erfurt in 1529, testify[19], a vast literal adoption of the first two stanzas' lyrics, as given in the *Lochamer Liederbuch*[20]. But thereafter a completely new continuation begins. Such a phenomenon can certainly not be explained through the processes of oral variation. This is specifically contradicted by the almost exact copying of the songs at the beginning. On the other hand, personal decisions of scribes or editors might perfectly explain this phenomenon.

From the 1530s on, the tradition of the song turns out to be very stable. Firstly, this is true, regarding the lyrics. The general characteristics that mark a second strand of this song's tradition, that was obviously much more influenced by its publication in music prints than in broadsheets can be summarised: a slight but eye-catching modification of the opening phrase from „Der Wald hat sich entlaubet" into „Entlaubet ist der Walde" and the reduction to only three stanzas while retaining the text motifs[21], the metrical structure and the rhyming scheme, and the general contents of the poem. Its typical form can be recognised by the altered initial phrase and the re-shaped second and third stanza.

As soon as this form emerged, the older one that originated in the 15th century, practically disappeared. In contrast, the three-stanza version can be found in four-part settings, firstly in the Southwest of Germany (1535 with Egenolff in Frankfurt, ca. 1536 with Schöffer/Apiarius in Straßburg), later as well in the Nuremberg music prints.[22] This version established also a musically stable strand that turned out to be canonic for the tradition to follow. For example, Heinrich Knaust's contrafactum, which was published in his 1571 ‘Gassenhawer, Reuter und Bergliedlin’ and which was probably based on Egenolff’s 1535 *Gassenhawerlin* edition (both the 1535 and 1571 *Gassenhauer* editions came from Egenolff’s press in Frankfurt), referred explicitly to that second, three-stanza version of the song.

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[16] Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), $1532_2$.

[17] RISM $1535^{10}$; Moser, ed., 1927.

[18] The Schoeffer/Apiarius Songbook $[1536]^8$ (cf. ); Newsidler: Brown 1965: $1536_6$; Forster: RISM: $1539^{27}$. In the following, the high index numbers refer to RISM (Lésure, ed., 1960), the low index numbers refer to Brown 1965.

[19] As shown by the synopsis in Christoph Petzsch and Walter Salmen, eds., *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch: Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1972), vol. 2, 52–53.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Notably the so called ‚Winterlied'-Konzept, that goes back to Neidhardt and already had become an often-repeated pattern; cf. Classen, 37–38.

[22] Cf. Forster's first volume of *Liedlein* by Petreius ($1539^{27}$), later prints by Berg und Neuber and Hans Ott ($1544^{20}$).

From the 1540s, the song was transmitted in abundance. The transmission was partly oral as indicated by the entries in private song manuscripts, including the *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* (titled here: „Untlovet is der walde“[23]). But it was transmitted in many popular printed anthologies as, for instance, the so-called *Frankfurt Songbooks* from the last third of the century.[24] The form of the song’s transmission here reveals the influence of the three-stanza design, introduced along with the Stoltzer version, that had been published in music books and lute tablatures. In the course of the century, this version established itself as a kind of ‘standard form’ of *Entlaubet*.

Also in musical terms, a stable and established form of the song seems to have been invented by the Stoltzer version. The distribution of this form was enhanced by the possibility of successful mass production of music prints which in turn depended on the invention of the single-phase impression technology introduced in the 1530s. It first appeared during the 1530s[25] in a tablature for strings (Gerle 1532), two mensural prints (Schoeffer/Apiarius 1536 and Forster 1539) and one lute book (Newsidler 1536).

By the same token, the four-part version by Heugel (in Egenolff 1535) contains much more of Stoltzer’s version than the mere tenor melody. In fact, the similarities affect all parts of the composition, as a short comparison may show: of special importance is the common disposition of pitches in the beginning of the piece, as well as in the further course of the composition, for instance, very prominently, in the parts with greater importance for the building of the cadences. Many of the modifications in the discantus, altus and bassus can be regarded as fundamental techniques of embellishment and diminution, that are, indeed, not covered in didactic prints before the second half of the 16th century. But, as Wulf Arlt has argued, these techniques must have been in use for centuries.[26] The comparison of these two versions (Heugel-Stoltzer), thus shows that they can hardly to be recognized as two “works” by different “composers,” nor as different arrangements of a pre-existing combination of tenor melody and lyrics. Rather they represent two different social and medial functions of the same musical substance, resulting from different communicative perspectives. Gerle and Forster (Stoltzer) present the piece as a didactic example for amateur string players. On the other hand, Heugel, the professional court musician, and along with him the Frankfurt printer and editor Christian Egenolff, already based on a ‘potential’ performance situation that would require a musical text, like the one provided by Gerle or Forster, as basis of departure. Hence, the Heugel version should not be interpreted primarily as a material for musical performance, but rather as the result of performance or as an attempt to translate it into a written form.

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[23] Cf. Brednich, Rolf Wilhelm, ed., *Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift, 1546–1565* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1976), nr. 32: 219–20.

[24] Cf. Wolfgang Suppan, *Deutsches Liedleben zwischen Renaissance und Barock* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1973), 64–65; Joseph Bergmann, ed., *Das Ambraser Liederbuch vom Jahre 1582* (Stuttgart: Literar. Verein, 1845).

[25] Brown 1965: $1536_6$, $1544_1$, $1544_2$ und $1547_4$.

[26] Wulf Arlt, “Einleitung/Zwischen ‚Improvisation’ und ‚Komposition’”, in Richard Erig, ed., *Italienische Diminutionen: Die zwischen 1553 und 1638 mehrmals bearbeiteten Sätze* (Zürich: Amadeus, 1979): 9–21.

An important indicator of the popularity of the song is the reference made to the melody (*Tonangaben)* indicating that other lyrics are to be sung with it, as we find in broadsheets. Broadsheets from before 1530 that name the incipit 'Der wald hat sich entlaubet', refer to other melodies as tune references. So, we can exclude the possibility that the song had been as popular before this time. Nevertheless, from the 1530s on, we find references to the *Entlaubet* melody itself in numerous broadsheet songs, and, we can consider that a clear indication, not only of the popularity of the song from now on, but as well of the fact, that the popularity of the music resulted from of the music prints. Obviously, broadsheet printers and editors tried to commercially exploit the success, which the song already had gained in music books, particularly in the *Gassenhawerlin*.

The popularity of the song determine the shape of the four part song, its lyrics and its musical configuration, as well as its commercial distribution in different forms in music books, tablatures or broadsheets. The chronological coincidence of the public invention of a musical shape that was from now on obligatory (in the songs' reception), is therefore no accident. It is not possible to reconstruct with certainty through what oral or other performative instances of mediation the song was transmitted - starting from the Egenolff prints – leading it to attain such public attention. But the decisive aspect that combined the well known poem with a new musical configuration (which means more than just a "tune") and converted it into an object of popular culture, was clearly the commercialisation by the early modern music industry.

I have briefly discussed the records of transmission and reception of the song *Entlaubet ist der Walde* in an attempt to clarify the process of its popularisation. In a paradigmatic sense, this example shows that during the period of the emergence of early modern songs we find hardly any evidence for popular oral transmission. But, of course, we can identify documents proving concrete fixation of the song in written sources, which by themselves might indicate traces of non-textual, artificial, oral music practices. Nevertheless, in the varying versions the intertextual influence of the written model always leaves its traces in the rewritten versions. Here, the impact of the printed media on the popular tradition becomes obvious – media that were distributed by a free market and were accessible to a wide audience.[27] The commercial success on the one hand, which is indicated by number of reissues and re-editions of songs in printed songbooks and broadsheets, and the wide demand and reception of these songs on the other, are obviously interrelated: the process of popularising the song lyrics coincides with the availability of letter printing (in broadsheets). The popularisation of the music (indirectly indicated also by tune references in broadsheets) coincides with the invention of music type. And the re-issuing of a song within a new composition reveals to be not a "polyphonic arrangement" of a "popular pre-existing melody" (the hypothesis of the pre-existence of tunes can neither be proved nor disproved), but a process of appropriation in performing a polyphonic model. These polyphonic works are often signed with their composers' names. Popular, unwritten, even monophonic transmission thus is not a *pre-condition*, but in fact the *result* of the new forms of distribution that did not exist before the early modern media revolution. Only in this way could a popular oral tradition emerge that was no longer primarily controlled by social adjustment factors like membership to a certain social class or alphabetization, and that could as well disappear rapidly.

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[27] Cf. Werner Faulstich, *Medien zwischen Herrschaft und Revolte: die Medienkultur der frühen Neuzeit 1400–1700* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); Flood, John L. „Das Lied im Verlagsprogramm deutscher Drucker des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Cyril Edwards et. al., eds. *Lied im deutschen Mittelalter: Überlieferung, Typen, Gebrauch* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), 335–350.

Böhme and Erk scarcely mentioned in their edition of the *Alte Lieder,* that these were in most cases part of polyphonic compositions (whose composers originally even had been identified in numerous sources). This is also true for instances where the editor altered the structure of the composition, sometimes without annotating it. Similarly, the unproved hypothesis was never seriously scrutinised, that the *cantus firmi* of the polyphonic versions originated from pre-existing folk-tunes. Hence, Böhme's attempts to reconstruct these 'folk-tunes', turn out to be aesthetically motivated constructions. This includes even intentional fakes that were inspired by "fantasy" and "forgery", just like the ones of the criticized Zuccalmaglio. However, more strikingly and with severe consequences: as they claimed their edition to be the result of serious philological study and a striving for authenticity, they influenced the enduring picture of the early modern song as "folksong". This proved to be all the more significant, because the sources Böhme had used were not published in modern editions (let alone reprints or facsimiles). Therefore, the academic world has not been able to bypass this construct without consulting the original sources which often were rarely accessible at all. Thus, music history scholars (such as Robert Eitner) even when they started to treat this repertory with the methods of critical philology did not question this image of the "old German folksongs" that had been introduced so powerfully and efficiently.

The so-called „Tenorliedtheorie"[28] offered a way out of this problem: The polyphonic compositions were no longer considered "folksongs", but represented their primary sources, as Gudewill[29] argued later. The hypothesis of pre-existence was to be kept free from criticism by developing this argumentative circular statement, and Böhme's method remained intact from criticism to the present day.[30] In 1969, Wilhelm Seidel critically commented on Böhme's folksong achievements: "This enterprise, that originates from the 19th century's folksong enthusiasm, promptly exhibits a lack of appreciation for artificial polyphony. The fact that – to date – melodies, particularly folk tunes, or later also *Hofweisen*, are analyzed in an isolated manner, without considering their function in a composition, is due to this position in history."[31]

Nevertheless, Seidel adheres to the idea, that a considerable part of the repertoire are "folksong-settings" (*Volksliedsätze*). This assignment to the "Volkslied" genre has persisted since August Wilhelm Ambros.[32] However, any musicological criticism of song scholarship that limits itself, as Seidel does, to the artificial polyphonic structure of the composition and fails to question the folksong category itself, is invalid.

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[28] For this term see Stephen Keyl, "Tenorlied, Discantlied, Polyphonic Lied: Voices and Instruments in German Secular Polyphony of the Renaissance", *Early Music* 20 (1992): 434–442.

[29] Kurt Gudewill, "Deutsche Volkslieder in mehrstimmigen Kompositionen aus der Zeit von ca. 1450 bis ca. 1630", *Handbuch des Volksliedes*, eds. Rolf W. Brednich et al. (München: Fink, 1975), vol. 2, 445.

[30] Ibid., 453.

[31] Wilhelm Seidel, *Die Lieder Ludwig Senfls* (Bern: Francke, 1969), 11.

[32] August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik im Zeitalter der Renaissance bis zu Palestrina*. Geschichte der Musik 3. (Breslau: Leuckart, 1868), 399.

The association with the "Volkslied" genre that already has persisted since August Wilhelm Ambros[33] can not be questioned seriously by any musicological criticism that only accuses song scholarship to respect insufficiently the artificial-polyphonic structure of the composition as initial point of their analysis, like Seidel does, but at the same time leaves the folksong category per se unquestioned. The ideologically forced search for the folksong that, as Böhme[34] had put it, "was from the earliest time the Teuton's dear friend and loyal companion through the life", had directed historically-oriented folksong collectors toward a repertoire that they connected closely to an aesthetically- and ideologically-charged cultural practice of their present.

Their editions, manipulated and deliberately faked as they were, not only constitute a pseudo-academic key to a narrow focus upon the past, but also influence heavily a second tradition of reception of these songs *as* monophonic folksongs. As a result, the medially controlled intervention with the existing material contributed greatly to its modern standardisation and homogenisation that was similar in scale compared to the way their predecessors had treated the musical material four hundred years earlier.

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[33] Ibid..

[34] Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch* ..., XXI.

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## Povzetek

Nemške zbirke ljudskih pesmih iz 19. stoletja so sledile nareku Johanna Gottlieba Herderja, da morajo biti avtentične ljudske pesmi stare. Ker pa srednjeveški in zgodnjenovoveški viri dejansko niso posredovali jasnih ljudskih pesmi, ampak večglasne umetne pesmi, so ti viri zgodnje glasbe morali čez postopek reinterpretacije in re»konstrukcije«, posledica tega pa je bila izmišljena tradicija staronemške ljudske pesmi. Ta postopek je kljub temu, da naj bi temeljil na znanstveni in jezikoslovni točnosti, vključeval potvarjanje virov in znatno ponarejena in zavajajoča izročila izvirnih pesmi. Kljub temu pa so se staronemške ljudske pesmi, ki sta jih izdala Ludwig Erk in Franz Magnus Böhme v zbornikih »Altdeutsches Liederbuch« in »Deutscher Liederhort«, izkazale kot najvplivnejši vir za preučevanje pesmi in ljudskih pesmi ter so sprejete kot del repertoarja ljudskih pesmi.

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# Referential contexts of early Slovenian symphonic music

## Referenčni konteksti zgodnje slovenske simfonične glasbe

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**Ključne besede:** F. J. B. Dusík, V. Wratny, slovenska simfonična glasba, estetski referenčni sistemi, estetika glasbe

Izvleček

Zgodnja slovenska simfonična glasba Dusíka in Wratnyja kaže, kako glasba vstopa v kompleksno mrežo estetskih referenčnih sistemov. To potrjuje, da njenega pravega referenčnega okvirja ne določajo ozke etnične meje, temveč ga lahko razumemo kot provincialni okrušek širšega kulturnega konteksta.

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Abstract

Early Slovenian symphonic music, written by Dusík and Wratny serves as an example how music enters into a complex network of aesthetic referential systems. This confirms that the true referential framework of Slovenian music is not defined by narrow ethnic borders but can be interpreted as a kind of provincial chip of broader cultural context.

Music enters into a complex network of referential systems within a certain aesthetic reality. The unique relation among constantly varied parameters determines its aesthetic paradigm. With each crossing of the boundaries defined by the referential system comes also the establishment of new relations and terms. Such can be confirmed through an examination of some basic musical concepts in the past.

Early Slovenian symphonic music can serve as an example. We will explore the early symphonic works of two composers who were active in the Slovenian territory at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. They both contributed their first works to the treasury of Slovenian symphonic music. The first is František Josef Benedikt Dusík (Cormundi, Herzwelt, 1765 to sometime after 1816). He was a brother of the more famous pianist and composer Jan Ladislav, who was born into a renowned Czech musical family, as also noted by Charles Burney.[1] The second is Venceslav Wratny (Wenzel, Wenceslao, Václav, Wrattni, Vratny, 1748-1810), who was active as a musician together with Dusík in Gorizia (Gorica), which is at border region of ethnic Slovenes.[2] In the National and University Library of Ljubljana and in the Historical Archive of the province of Gorizia (*Archivio storico provinciale di Gorizia*) we can find some symphonic works of both composers.[3] These compositions present the very beginning of symphonic work in Slovenia: they were composed in this area, conceived for local instrumentalists and intended for a domestic audience. The aim of this paper is to describe the context of the respective performances and their aesthetic frame. In this we are led by a characteristic musicological aim – to search out the meaning and sense of these works during the time of their origin and at the same time by consequence the revelation of their place in our contemporary world.

In light of their broad education and knowledge, both composers directly represented the highest European musical heritage of their time. They came from the impeccably informed musical circles of the Hapsburg Empire as representatives of the valued Czech tradition of refined musical technique and aesthetic.

Since the middle of the 18th century onwards the latter included an almost self-evident knowledge of the theory of affects (*Affektenlehre*), which forms the basis of the every compositional process. Johann Mattheson, as one of the most important advocates of this theory, formulated in his treatise *Das forschende Orchestre* the famous motto: *„Alles was ohne löbliche Affekte geschieht, heißt nichts, gilt nichts, tut nichts*."[4]

In the 18th century the composers did not want to break the rule after which the composition should be written in one affect only. Athanasius Kircher listed in the year 1650 eight different affects (*„Liebe, Traurigkeit, Freude, Wut, Mitleid, Furcht, Mut und Verzweiflung*") and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg in the year 1760 already 27 affects.[5]

Affects were defined by musical-rhetorical figures (*Musikalisch-rhetorische Figuren*) that have, according to Amon: *„immer Gestaltqualität und in der Regel eine aussermusikalischen Bezug*".[6] As a specific language of symbols (*Symbolsprache*) they were formed as melodic figures, different kinds of pauses, figures of texture, and even as specific metric patterns. Some distinctive examples in the symphonies of Dusík and Wratny demonstrate an artful usage of those models. So, for example, in the first theme of Dusík's Second Symphony one can find different sorts of repetitive figures, such as *anaphora* (multiple repetition) or *repetitio*. In additon there is a figure of *katabasis* (ascent) and a rhythmically distinct figure of *trocheus*, derived from the *iambus* at the beginning of the second theme and developed in the recapitulation section.[7] The beginning of the theme in Wrattny's symphony is characterized by the ascent of the melody (*katabasis*) followed by a *circulatio* figure etc. Besides that, in both symphonies one can find the composers' distinct processing of a dramaturgical division of musical language after rhetorical models, attributed by Mattheson to a persuasive language of sounds (*Klangrede*).

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[1] Matjaž Barbo, *František Josef Benedikt Dusík: The Biography of an Eighteenth-Century Composer* (Wien: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011).

[2] Aleš Nagode, revision to *Missa in A*, by Venceslav Wratny (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2000): IX–X.

[3] Alessandro Arbo, *I fondi musicali dell'Archivio storico provinciale di Gorizia* (Gorica: Provincia di Gorizia, 1994).

[4] Reinhard Amon, *Lexikon der musikalischen Form: Nachschlagewerk und Fachbuch über Form und Formung der Musik vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien: Doblinger in Metzler, 2011), 19.

[5] Ibid., 112.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Barbo, *František Josef Benedikt Dusík ...*.

The craftsmanship of a skilful musical language most probably also represented one of the most important referential frames of the reception of Dusík's and Wrattny's works at the turn of the century. It was a symbol and at the same time a concrete response to the highest achievement of contemporaneous musical creativity, an elaborate Czech version of what was modern, fashionable, "*in trend*". Undoubtedly this was closely related to the notion of the shininess of the Hapsburg court. The transfer of the world of imperial superiority to the level of not only some bourgeois culture but also and foremost to that of a provincial milieu was one of the referential frameworks that essentially determined the reception of the symphonies of both composers.

This reception framework being Ljubljana or Gorizia was at that time not primarily established by a substitution of imperial or aristocratic snobbery with some bourgeois culture. It was more designed as a validation of the local dignitaries, such as the Attems or Codelli nobles in Gorizia or the aristocratic families in Ljubljana.[8] Through the symphony they actually legitimized their own (perhaps even only virtual) place within the wealthy circles of the world at large; thus also in front of their local audience demonstrated their own culture, raised far above provincial borders alone.

The high social status of composers such as Dusík, who travelled throughout the Hapsburg Empire and was active on all of the various and most valued theatrical stages from Milano to Graz, directly confirms the fact that the true referential framework of Slovenian music was not defined by narrow ethnic borders but for a long time (if not always even till today) was defined by a broader cultural space. It means that Slovenian music did not constitute some totally independent historical path referring only to itself. On the contrary, it always followed the style of Vienna's, Prague's, or Venice's fashion; its development was modelled after the steps already taken in large centres.

This might seem as a kind of a demolition of a national myth about the autochthony of Slovenian culture. This was, after Dragotin Cvetko, self-referentially affirmed in the successive stages of musical styles by means of historical cause-effect relations ("the line of progress", "razvojna linija") between individual events in the closed Slovenian ethnic space, where a compositional idea would activate some other idea, followed then by another and so on.[9] On the contrary, Slovenian music can be interpreted only as a kind of provincial chip of some broader historical, geographical, or cultural context. The title of this paper thus has to be understood in the sense of a representation of broader connections within which "Slovenian symphonic music" is included.

The same symphonic works of Dusík and Wratny, which emanate the tempting image of a sophisticated, celebrated event, so dear to the audience of the early 19th century, were at the same time illuminated by the attractive glitter of profane greatness dressed in religious refinement. Undoubtedly, if there would be any trace of the performances of these works some decades later, a romantic spirit would discover the traces of an aesthetic trance – of a spirit who flies over the material world demanding the conditions of concentrated contemplation.

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[8] Alessandro Arbo, *Musicisti di frontiera: Le attività musicali a Gorizia dal Medioevo al Novecento, Monografie storiche Goriziane* (Gorica: Commune di Gorizia, 1998).

[9] Gregor Pompe, "Miselna izhodišča Dragotina Cvetka", *De musica disserenda* 8, no. 1 (2012): 45–52. Matjaž Barbo, "Pomen Dragotina Cvetka za razvoj slovenskega glasbenega zgodovinopisja", *De musica disserenda* 8, no. 1 (2012): 53–65.

Pioneer works in the field of symphonic music expose their first place namely in the sense of the autonomy of instrumental music. So are the considered symphonies witnesses of instrumental music as independent of the yoke of vocal or any other determination, and rather as a musical language itself. The latter does not represent only the importance of a musical event as such, but also the sophistication of aesthetic contemplation above all other kinds of contemplation. Seemingly boring religious contemplation is replaced by a tempting profane aesthetic contemplation. Nevertheless, the basic principle remains the same: divine Parnassum is replaced by a sophisticated line of musical creators, the religious texts are substituted by »*Monumenta Artis Musicae*« (or „*Denkmäler der Tonkunst*“), divine commandments are now Adler's „*zuhöchst stehende Gesetze*“, and the temples are transformed into the "houses of art". The apparent autonomy thus degenerates into a new "religious" consecration, which can be understood, interpreted and enjoyed only by chosen admirers. They push away all those, who cannot understand the "high art" and can not speak its language. The former aristocratic elitism is replaced by a cultural elitism that is in no means more human or accessible to all.

Instrumental music – together with the symphony as its highest achievement – became a symbol of the magnificent autonomy of the human spirit. Mahler's *Symphony of a Thousand* represents the monument of this monument. His and Beecham's colourful orchestrations of Handel's music are an expression of the understanding of the splendour of this instrumental spirit. It is easy to imagine how some of Dusík's or Wratny's symphonies would sound under such an interpretation. By all means they perfectly suit these standards as an expression of the national autonomous spirit and of a Slovenian symphonic style that is a monument of a highest grade.

Without doubt this would activate a reaction to search for a historically authentic interpretation. A necessary condition for this would be (in Dusík's case this has even been realized,[10] a critical source treatment and potential historical-critical edition (*historisch-kritische Ausgabe,*) with critical commentary (*kritische Bericht,*). This would be followed by a true historically "authentic" interpretation of the same symphonies, played on the old instruments, with historically testified instrument tuning and size of orchestra, original tempo, ornamentation, agogic, and appropriate rhetorically founded interpretation. Even thus, the basic idea would be transformed into a metaphorical distance, distinctive even for some Harnoncourt: „*indem er rhetorischen Prinzipien generell anerkennt, ohne sie aber auf einzelne Teile eines Werks zu projizieren*“.[11]

Searching for an authentic interpretation of music is actually only an extreme consequence of the metaphysics of absolute music, which conceived its parallel peak with the self-referent structure of some dodecaphonic or serial music. Music does not speak anything else but its own language; it is not related to any metaphysical content, or to the unspeakable transcendence of Wackenroder, or to any data about the time, place, circumstances of its origin, or to the composer's biographical information, or to any other broader cultural references.

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[10] František Josef Benedikt Dusík, *Simphonia grande in G*, ed. by M. Barbo (Ljubljana: Muzikološki inštitut Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, 2007).

[11] Reinhard Amon, *Lexikon der musikalischen Form* ..., 183.

A closed system of a pure structure was yet loosed by the deconstruction of its borders and with an opening of its barriers. On the one hand, this was reached by the demolition of the rigorous organisation of the serial system by the aleatorical rupture of its hermetic structure. On the other hand, the same was achieved by interpretation that declined the pure structural elements of Schenkerian or Fortean analysis and brought back (with a little help of hermeneutics) the broader interpretation of music through Foucault's (musical) practices.

In our case the hermeneutics would bring the interpretation of the *sense and meaning* (*Sinn und Bedeutung*) of Dusík's or Wratny's symphonies through the conditions of the emergence of these works, together with the tradition of *Affektenlehre,* thus getting closer to the idea of the authentic interpretation of music from the past.

The semiotics of music would spread the understanding of the process of the creation of musical meaning from connections to rhetorical models to inner musical elements, as formulated by Kofi Agawu: contrasts, conflicts, musical ideas in sequences, articulation.[12] Ratner would on the other hand try to find the meaning of the harmony and cadences in Dusík's music.[13]

Parallel to that phenomenology would be the search for a "scientifically provable" aesthetic recognition. The understanding of symphonic structure would thus in our case be based on the traces of the pure elements of the phenomenology of sound:

„*Das Unhörbare im Hörbaren betrifft einmal den Hintergrund der Stille, von dem alle Tongestalten und Tonfolgen sich abheben. Dieser Hintergrund darf nicht verwechselt werden mit einem bloßen Mangel an akustischen Reizen, er gleicht vielmehr dem Schweigen in der Rede, dem leeren Schreibblatt oder der Leinwand, die sich mit Farbgestalten und Farbkontrasten füllt.*"[14]

In this sense, Waldenfels can imagine soundscapes (*Klanglandschaften*) of New York as „*eine gigantische Alltagskomposition*".[15] This idea reminds us of Stockhausen's famous and at the same time highly and critically rejected definition of the events of 9/11 as the highest achievement of art.

Waldenfels is right in the belief that:

„*Musik gleicht* [...] *der Sprache darin, daß sie als multifunktionales und multivalentes Phänomen auftritt*."[16]

Thus his analysis of an "*auditory world*" (*Hörwelt*) is based on the persuasive concept of "*lifeworld*" (*Lebenswelt*). Nevertheless, the question remains as to whether a phenomenological "cleaning up" to the elements of the phenomena does not reduce it to only the essentials, i.e., just that through which "*multifunctionality and ambiguity*" are defined. Soundscapes (*Klanglandschaften*) of New York cannot be „*eine gigantische Alltagskomposition*" without being *understood* as such. Ambiguity has its sense and meaning only through the addition(s) of a different single "unambiguity" in the search for different referential relations that define a single sense and meaning. Thus the complex network of relations between meanings, understanding, even *wonder* is weaved. One can also find in seemingly incompatible phenomena surprisingly convincing parallels. So for instance: were not the eager advocates of absolute and programme music of the 19th century led by the same idea of the magnificence of musical expression of the absolute Me (*Ich*)? And could we not compare the principle of the aesthetical valuation of Schubert's Lieder to the liturgical legitimization of Palestrina's motets – apparently persuasive but at the same time indefinable. The same is true even for the seemingly firm aesthetics of Boulez' *Structures*. Our reception and valuation is led by a similar seeking of a pure musical language, recognizable in some unique cultural space and seasoned by a hint of metaphysical dignity.

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[12] V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing With Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[13] Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980).

[14] Bernhard Waldenfels, "Lebenswelt als Hörwelt", *Netzwerk junge Ohren*, 2008 (http://www.jungeohren.com/netzmagazin_beitrag.htm?ID=69&rubrik=7, accessed August 25, 2012), 22.

[15] Ibid., 17.

[16] Ibid., 14.

The logic of a similar vindication of apparently diverse systems enables different interpretations of musical works, as we have seen in the case of Dusík's and Wratny's symphonies (this, however, can not be true for instance in the case of some empty virtuosity of a violin etude, or in a dry dance rhythm, or in a trivial march). In the same time, musical works allow a constantly fresh "aesthetic" valuation when such music enables an ambiguous interpretation and a multi-layered understanding, and is opened up into a metaphysical space.

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## Povzetek

Glasba vstopa v kompleksno mrežo referenčnih sistemov z določeno estetsko realnostjo. Enkratno razmerje med stalno spreminjajočimi se parametri določa njeno estetsko paradigmo. Z vsako prekoračitvijo meja, ki jih določa referenčni sistem, se vzpostavijo nova razmerja in odnosi, kot nam kaže raziskava nekaterih temeljnih preteklih glasbenih konceptov.

Za primer si lahko vzamemo zgodnjo slovensko simfonično glasbo. Članek se osredotoča na dva skladatelja, ki sta bila dejavna na Slovenskem konec 18. in na začetku 19. stoletja, F. J. B. Dusík in V. Wratny. Napisala sta nekaj simfoničnih del, ki pomenijo začetek slovenskega simfoničnega ustvarjanja: bila so napisana na tem področju, namenjena tukajšnjim instrumentalistom in namenjena domačemu občinstvu. Članek opisuje kontekst njihovih izvedb ter njihov estetski okvir.

Oba skladatelja sta nedvomno s svojo pojavo, s široko izobrazbo in razgledanostjo s sabo nosila najvišjo dediščino takratne evropske glasbene kulture. Oba sta prihajala iz glasbeno odlično informiranih krogov habsburškega imperija, zlasti kot zastopnika med glasbeniki cenjene češke tradicije obrtno suverenega in zglednega glasbenega stavka. Nekaj izbranih primerov iz njunih simfoničnih del tako dokazuje umetelno rabo tedaj popularnih glasbeno-retoričnih modelov, ki po Matthesonu zaznamujejo prepričljiv glasbeni jezik (*Klangrede*).

Obrtno spretna glasbena govorica je predstavljala verjetno tudi enega od pomembnih referenčnih okvirjev recepcije del Dusíka in Wratnyja v njunem času. Nedvomno je s tem v korak hodila tudi predstava o bleščavi habsburškega dvora in njegovega privzdignjenosti. Svet dvorne vzvišenosti, prenešen ne le na raven meščanske kulture, temveč tudi pod okrilje provincialnega miljeja, je tisti referenčni okvir, ki je nedvomno določal recepcijo njunih simfoničnih del.

Nedvomno ta recepcijski okvir tedanje Gorice ali Ljubljane ni postavljal v ospredje kake meščanske plačljive kulture, ki bi nadomeščala snobizem zaprtega aristokratskega oziroma dvornega kroga, temveč je bil bolj namenjen potrditvi lokalnih veljakov. Tako je bil torej pravi referenčni okvir slovenske glasbe zamejen s širšim kulturnim prostorom kot pa ga določajo ozke etnične meje.

To sicer morda navidez ruši razširjen nacionalni mit o avtohtonosti slovenske kulture in z njo glasbe, ki jo lahko v skladu z naslovom interpretiramo kot provincialni okrušek nekih širših zgodovinskih, geografskih oz. kulturnih povezav.

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# The organ and „Kunstreligion“ – A Fatal liasion

## Orgle in »religija umetnosti« – Usodna zveza

Prejeto: 18. september 2013
Sprejeto: 7. oktober 2013

**Ključne besede:** orgle, religija umetnosti, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, orgelska sonata

Izvleček

Na začetku 19. stoletja so mladi nemški intelektualci svojo pozornost usmerili na navidezno zastarel in nemoderen instrument ter ga začeli zavzeto sprejemati. Rezultat je zanimiva in nenavadna zveza med častitljivim starim liturgičnim instrumentom, orglami, in novim ter izvirnim konceptom, namreč konceptom religije umetnosti, ki zajema tako religijo kot umetnost.

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 19th century young German intellectuals turn their attention to a seemingly outdated and oldfashioned instrument and start embracing it wholeheartedly. The outcome is an exciting and unusual liasion between a reverend old liturgical instrument, the organ, and a novel and original concept, namely that of Kunstreligion, encompassing both religion and art.

### 1

At the end of the 18th century churches in Germany suffered from a steady loss of church goers. Religion lost its hold on society yet did not completely disappear. Out of the old traditional institutions new and less visible forms grew. For the middle classes it was art that took over the role of religion as a guidance to God.[1] The protestant theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher was one of the first who extensively described the relationship of art and religion: neither art nor religion, he says, have to do with knowledge or doing, but with emotion and both originate in the absolute. Also, both have suffered from the dominance of rationality advocated in the Age of Enlightment. Therefore he concludes that right now there needs to be a unity between inner awareness and the perception of the world. This can be accomplished with the help of art as a path to one's inner self and by converging art and religion. No one has been able to put it more precisely with his dictum: Die wahre Ausübung der Kunst ist religiös.[2]

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[1] See Jan Brachmann, *Kunst – Religion – Krise: Der Fall Brahms* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003) (Musiksoziologie Band 12), 72–118.

Schleiermacher 's idea was taken up by many of his contemporaries and led to a religion that became increasingly aesthetisized and secularized disassociating itself from liturgy, institutions and formal structures. The philosophical concept of Kunstreligion emerged. There are two aspects to this concept: on the one hand it is critical of religion but on the other hand a sincere wish for a new and deep understanding of religion arises. Not only theologians and philosophers but also writers such as Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck started reconsidering the relationship of art, especially of music, and religion.

*Sie kommen durch ganz andere Wege zu unserm Inneren, als durch die Hülfe der Worte, sie bewegen auf einmal, auf eine wunderbare Weise, unser ganzes Wesen, und drängen sich in jede Nerve und jeden Blutstropfen, der uns angehört. Die eine dieser wundervollen Sprachen redet nur Gott; die andere reden nur wenige Auserwählte unter den Menschen, die er zu seinen Lieblingen gesalbt hat. Ich meine: die Natur und die Kunst.*[3]

*Wenn alle die inneren Schwingungen unsrer Herzensfibern, - die zitternden der Freude, die stürmenden des Entzückens, die hochklopfenden Pulse verzehrender Anbetung, - wenn alle die Sprache der Worte, als das Grab der innern Herzenswuth, mit einem Ausruf zersprengen, - dann gehen sie unter fremdem Himmel, in den Schwingungen holdseliger Harfensaiten, wie in einem jenseitigen Leben in verklärter Schönheit hervor, und feyern als Engelgestalten ihre Auferstehung.*[4]

They stressed the fact that Kunstreligion is something genuinely new and does not fit into the existing concept of art solely as a contributing factor in referential systems that serve other purposes. It is no wonder, then, that these thoughts favoured the idea of absolute music, in which music becomes autonomous from functional contexts and therefore becomes »art par excellence« as Mario Vieira de Carvalho pointed out in his paper on *Musical autonomy as a referential system*[5]. His point was that art as philosophy is the new paradigm of autonomous music and the change of paradigm in the structure and the function of musical communication leads to the emergence of a new self-referential system. Furthermore musical meaning is no longer subsumed in the codes of other communication systems such as, for example, those of liturgy.[6]

I'd like to add that this development posed a great challenge to composers and interpreters of church music, especially organists. The question was: How is the organ to be interpreted in this new light? Has it become a liturgical dinosaur, doomed to extinction? Or will the enthusiasm of the German romantics concerning Kunstreligion offer the possibility of a new approach to this ancient instrument?

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[2] See Friedrich Schleiermacher, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007), 113–116.

[3] Wilhelm H. Wackenroder, Ludwig Tieck, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2001), 61.

[4] Wilhelm H. Wackenroder, Ludwig Tieck, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000), 82.

[5] Mario Vieira de Carvalho,"Musical autonomy as a referential system",in , ed. by Matjaž Barbo, Thomas Hochradner (Wien: Hollitzer, 2012), 1–20.

[6] See ibid., 19.

## 2

It can be safely assumed that the old referential frame which church musicans were wont to rely on started breaking up. Religion turned into a more and more private affair which among other things triggered the disestablishment of the profession of church musician.[7] The symptoms of this decline were already mentioned by Johann J. Quantz in his publication *Versuch, einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*[8]. Johann N. Forkel, too, complained that "Organisten nicht mehr im Stand seien eine Musik zu extemporieren, die wenigstens den Affekt mit dem Gemeindelied gemein habe"[9]. In churches organists even fell back on popular music taken from operettas and operas, which naturally aroused the anger of the clergy. The musical education of organists deteriorated. In addition employment as a church musician became less and less attractive particularly as the pay was poor at best. This in turn lowered expectations concerning performance and brought about a decline in daily usage.[10] At the same time, let's not forget the general development of music: the rise of the middle class brought about a shift of music performance in churches to the concert hall - the referential frame for music has now definitely changed. Within a very short time the focus on public concerts led to the strengthening and predominance of absolute music and made the formerly well-established structures obsolete. The demand for sophisticated music was met in public concerts, where even sacred church music was staged. It is not surprising then, that citiziens of Berlin demanded that churches be opened for musical entertainment, just to have more room for concerts.[11]

## 3

The young philosophers and artists of the times were very enthusiastic about these changes and expressed their ideas in different ways. No artist was able to capture the spirit of the Romantic Age as well as Caspar David Friedrich. In his works of art Caspar David Friedrich does not merely aim at beauty but at infinity, which in last consequence leads to God. As mentioned before, this path to your inner self is also described by Friedrich Schleiermacher, who explains that music leads to the core of your being. A similar idea is expressed by the writer E.T.A. Hoffmann, who declares infinity to be the nature of music. It is music in particular that takes you to these unfathomable and inexpressible depths.[12]

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[7] See Friedrich Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 219–221.

[8] See J. J. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen (...)* (reprint Leipzig: Bärenreiter, 1983), 329–330.

[9] J.N. Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben: Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig: 1802), 24.

[10] See Michael Maul, "„aber sey auch seiner werth!" – Überlegungen zum Bild des Organistenstandes im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert, in *„Diess herrliche, imponierende Instrument". Die Orgel im Zeitalter Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys"*, ed. by Anselm Hartinger, Christoph Wolff, Peter Wollny (Wiesbaden: : Breitkopf und Härtel, 2011), (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bach-Rezeption Band 3), 245–257.

[11] See Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Erste Denkschrift* (Brief vom 28. 9. 1803 an Staatsminister von Hardenberg), quoted in Bernhard Schmidt, *Lied – Kirchenmusik – Predigt im Festgottesdienst Friedrich Schleiermachers. Zur Rekonstruktion seiner liturgischen Praxis*, Berlin, Schleiermacher Archiv 20, 2002, 109.

[12] See Wilhelm Seidel, "Absolute Musik und Kunstreligion", in *Musik und Religion,* ed. by Helga de la Motte-Haber (Laaber: Laaber,1995), 106–111.
Furthermore Friedrich W. Riedel, "Evangelische Kirchenmusik im Spiegel musikästhetischer Schriften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts", in *Neues musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 12 (2004): 79–94.

It is remarkable that the organ became connected with the ideas of infinity and transcendency in all areas of art. In Robert Schumann's *Haus- und Lebensregeln* we can find the following:

*Gehst du an einer Kirche vorbei und hörst du Orgel darin spielen, so gehe hinein und höre zu. Wird es dir gar so wohl, dich selbst auf die Orgelbank setzen zu dürfen, so versuche deine kleinen Finger und staune vor der Allgewalt der Musik.*[13]

Other's felt the same way. The philosopher Friedrich T. Vischer marked:

*Die Orgel sei das rechte Organ für eine Musik, aus welcher dem Menschen ein Höheres als er selbst, ein Ansichseiendes, Substantielles, Universales entgegentönen soll.*[14]

This reawakened interest in the organ went hand in hand with efforts to renew church music, focusing especially on the use of chorals. Schleiermacher for his part felt committed to support this renaissance, in particular as it coincided with his concept of Kunstreligion, bringing together music and religion. First of all he acquired a small organ to accompany the singers in his church. Also, it was his aim to enrich church services with music by bringing in all sorts of unconventional instruments. Furthermore he urged that the repertoire be enlarged. Doubtlessly this can be seen as an attempt to strengthen churches in times of secularisation by being host to music and art and thereby binding the philosophical notion of Kunstreligion to the institutional church.[15]

In fact the actual liaison of traditional church music and the main trend of romantic thinking seemed to take place outside of church walls. The Berliner Singakademie founded by Johann Fasch is the most obvious example. Its repertoire was limited to sacred music, mainly polyphonic. This academy, however, was not identical with a church community, being not indebted to the service, but can be taken as the voice and expression of the middle class citizen. Correspondingly it became very popular to further and promote one's spiritual growth through interpreting sacred music – outside of churches and away from church authorities. Therefore performances of the Singakademie soon came to be celebrated as an expression of both true religion and true art:

*Kirchenmusiken kennen wir im Grunde nur dem Nahmen nach. Das vortreffliche Oratorium von Ramler und Graun, der Tod Jesu, ist die einzige Musik dieser Art, welche wir einmal des Jahrs zu hören bekommen. Will man sich in Berlin in diesem Fache einen ächten Künstlergenuss verschaffen, so ist der einzige Weg dazu, sich zu der von dem verdienstvollen Fasch gestifteten, Singakademie Zutritt zu verschaffen. Es ist wahrlich im höchsten Grade interessant ein beynahe aus hundert Personen bestehendes Chor zu hören, welches die schwersten vielstimmigen Gesänge mit einer Reinheit und Präcision executirt, welche allen Glauben übertrifft.*[16]

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[13] Robert Schumann, *Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln: Faksimile mit Übertragung und Textabdruck* (Sinzig: studio, 2002), 30–31.

[14] F.T. Vischer, *Ästhetik oder Wissenschaft des Schönen* (reprint Hildesheim: Fischer, 1975), 324.

[15] See Ilsabe Seibt, *Friedrich Schleiermacher und das Berliner Gesangbuch von 1829* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht Gm, 1998). (Veröffentlichungen zur Liturgik, Hmynologie und theologischen Kirchenmusikforschung 34). Furthermore Bernhard Schmidt, *Lied – Kirchenmusik - Predigt im Festgottesdienst Friedrich Schleiermachers: Zur Rekonstruktion seiner musikalischen Praxis*, Berlin, Schleiermacher-Archiv 20, 2002.

[16] AMZ 1800, Sp. 585–588, quoted in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "Zum Musikbetrieb Berlins und seinen Institutionen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts", in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1980), (Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts 56), 30.

Fanny Mendelssohn described this in a very impressive way:

*Der überfüllte Saal gab einen Anblick wie eine Kirche, die tiefste Stille, die feierlichste Andacht herrschte in der Versammlung, man höre nur einzelne unwillkürlich Äußerungen des tief erregten Gefühls.*[17]

And what about the organ? Is this instrument bound to remain in the subservient role of accampaniment although it was acclaimed as the most transcendental instrument of all by many prominent thinkers of the time?

## 4

Talking about organ music in the first half of the 19th century is unthinkable without mentioning Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. He is the first to achieve a combination of traditional choral music with contemporary musical developments, such as the sonata or the *Charakterstück*. This resulted in an exciting new form – the organ sonata, which offered a completely new way of handling and interpreting this instrument.[18] This new approach was enthusiastically embraced in the very first review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Organists were seen as being torn between profanity and spirituality, which led to confusion about the general direction of the organ and its music. Two kinds of organ music could now be made out: traditional organ music that used to be exclusively an expression of institutionalised religion, mainly represented by Johann Sebastian Bach and, on the other hand, the music of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy:

*Die Sonatenform auf die Orgel übertragen – was heißt das? Fragt die besonnene Kritik. Soll die Weltlichkeit damit ausgesprochen sein – oder die Ausführlichkeit – oder die Virtuosität – oder die Gliederung?* [...] *Ihr ist eigenthümlich, dass sie ein größeres ganzes Tonbild in abgeschlossener Freiheit, ohne andere Tendenz als das Tönen und Tonbildern selbst darstelle; und hierin ist sie von Bach´s Präludien und Fugen für die Orgel unterschieden, da diese immer die bestimmte Tendenz des Kirchlichen vor und hinter sich haben, d.h. immer als Eingang, Zwischenspiel, Ausgang die Empfindung frommer Herzen begleiten sollen, niemals aber die eigentliche schweifende, doch selbständige Freiheit eines musikalischen Concertes annehmen. Es scheint nicht, dass zu Bach´s Zeit eigene Orgel-Concerte stattgefunden haben: auch bedurfte es deren nicht, um das Volk in die Kirche zu locken. Von dieser Seite angesehen wäre das außerkirchliche Element bei M. entschieden ausgesprochen, da diese größeren Gebilde durchaus concertartig sind. Aber es giebt noch vieles Heilige, was darum noch nicht kirchlich ist; und auf diesem Standpuncte stellt M. auch hier wie im Paulus, minder in den älteren Orgelfugen, deren schöne zweite näher an die Kirche anklingt. Heilige (vielleicht besser: geistliche), nicht kirchliche Töne – man kann sie das eigene Gebiet unserer Zeit nennen, und darin einigen Trost finden zum Ersatz des Reinkirchlichen, das uns verschwunden,*

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[17] Quoted in Arnd Richter, *Mendelssohn: Leben – Werke – Dokumente* (Mainz: Atlantis Musikbuch Verlag, 1994), 122.

[18] See Arnfried Edler, "Die neue Orgelmusik und die Wandlungen des Gattungsgefüges", in *Gattungen der Musik für Tasteninstrumente, Teil 3: Von 1830 bis zur Gegenwart* (Laaber: Laaber, 2004), (Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen 7, 3), 131–137. Furthermore Hermann J. Busch, "„Es kommt ... auf richtige Wahl der Register sehr viel an". Zur Orgelpraxis Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys", in *Zur deutschen Orgelmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Hermann J. Busch, Michael Heinemann (Sinzig: studio, 2000), (Studien zur Orgelmusik 1), 138–146.

*womit wir keineswegs blos das Typische, Confessionelle, Priesterliche bezeichnen wollen – nur das unvermischt-abgeschlossene Genügen im Durchwallen seliger Räume, die der Lärm des äußeren Lebens nicht rührt. Dieses letztere nun finden wir begreiflicherweise so wenig in Mendelssohn wie in unserem Zeitalter: und außer dem Zeitalter zu stehen ist ein Märchen der lügenhaften Weisheit* [...]. *Also machen wir diese weltlichen An- und Zwischenklänge unserm Tondichter nicht zum Vorwurf, und untersuchen nur, wie weit er gewusst hat, dieselben dem Heiligen dienstbar zu machen.*[19]

It is Mendelssohn's accomplishment to create the organ sonata which elates organ music to a level of spirituality without necessarily being in accordance with the referential frame of the church. The liberation of the genre and its orientation towards the newly estalished system of autonomous music is thereby fullfilled: the choral as the symbol for sacred music is now combined with the virtuosity of the sonata, and thereby its liturgical function is no longer central. Yet its deeply religious origin has a profound impact on the exclusively profane sonata. It is this new type of the organ sonata, incorporating both the wordly sonata and the religious choral, that henceforth can be found in concert halls.

This liasion was definitely fertile: Mendelssohn's success in England as an interpreter of his own organ music and that of Bach are evidence of a growing popularity of this instrument.[20] Huge instruments were built in town halls and concert halls all around England and the continent. Moreover later composers of the 19th century were inspired by Mendelssohn’s revolutionary new ideas and developed new forms of the organ sonata, like the phantasy sonata and the organ symphony. So, despite having its roots in the church the organ conquered the concert halls.

## 5

The newly established concept of Kunstreligion which developed parallel to the idea of absolute music changed musicians’ perception of the organ and its traditional usage. As a result the organ was employed more and more in concert halls besides remaining a liturgical instrument. The integration of the organ in the public sphere, the combination of the choral and the sonata, the experience of spirituality in concert halls were hailed as milestones. Looking back, however, this developement did not turn out quite as successful as originally thought. The hold of the church on the organ never seems to have been completely severed. In Prussia it was the King himself, William IV., who bound the organ to liturgy by enforcing the Prussian Agenda, which was an attempt at a comprehensive reform of church music.[21] This is one reason why new ways of treating the instrument were crippled at this promising moment. Other reasons can be found in the strenghtening of conservative circles in the clergy and in the further development of Kunstreligion, whose proponents now claimed all music to be of a religious nature. In the last consequence this of course means that people can taste infinity even by listening to military marches, implying that they can reach the same level of transcendency as with traditional church and organ music. Needless to say this hampered a new approach to the organ. Moreover this instrument could not contribute anything to the many musical developments of the 19th century: neither could it satisfy the need for performing music in private, nor did it fit in with the rising sentiment of patriotism, which it is unsuitable to express.

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[19] Eduard Krüger, “Mendelssohns neueste Werke”, in *NZfM* 24 (1846): 2, quoted in Cordelia Miller, *Virtuosität und Kirchlichkeit: Deutsches Orgelkonzertwesen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Dohr, 2010), (Musicolonia 7), 65.

[20] See Wm. A. Little, “Mendelssohn in Birmingham 1837 und 1840 – der Komponist als Organist”, in *„Diess herrliche, imponierende Instrument“. Die Orgel im Zeitalter Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys*, ed. by Anselm Hartinger, Christoph Wolff, Peter Wollny (Wiesbaden, 2011), (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bach-Rezeption Band 3), 187–202.

[21] See Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, “Zum Musikbetrieb Berlins und seinen Institutionen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts”, in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1980), 27–284.

Yet this new approach to the organ inspired by the romantic enthusiasts was not completely in vain: for the first time in its history the organ was disentangled from the embrace of the church and consequently was capable of entering a different referential system, and it broke free of a century-old inflexibility. Henceforth new opportunities opened up: Think of Max Reger's choral fantasies or an organ symphony by César Franck – it was for this kind of music that these Romantisists forged the way.

## POVZETEK

V začetku 19. stoletja so ljudje v Nemčiji obrnili hrbet cerkvi. Odtujitev od institucionalizirane religije in s tem privatizacija religije sta imela velik vpliv na najpomembnejši liturgični instrument, orgle: poklic cerkvenih glasbenikov in organistov sta izgubila svoj prestižen značaj, umetnost igranja na orgle pa je propadala. V valu sekularizacije so bile orgle v nevarnosti, da postanejo odvečne in le ostanek preteklosti.

To je čas, v katerem so vsi močno uveljavljeni in zanesljivi sistemi odnosov skoraj razpadli. Vendar so premeteni umi iz tako različnih polj, kot so glasba, umetnost, filozofija in teologija, vzeli orgle in spremenili paradigmo: orgle in njihova tradicija se povežejo z »religijo umetnosti« kot filozofsko stvaritvijo in s tem dobijo vsaj delno novo legitimacijo. Ta kreativna misel v končni usodni zvezi med religijo umetnosti in orglami pripelje do novega ocenjevanja orgelske glasbe, ki ga vodi Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy.

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# The End of the “Grand Narrative”? Understanding Slovenian Church Music of the Late 19th and Early 20th Century

## Konec »velike pripovedi«? K razumevanju slovenske cerkvene glasbe poznega 19. in zgodnjega 20. stoletja

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IZVLEČEK

Cerkvena glasba 19. in 20. stoletja je bila do sedaj v glasbenem zgodovinopisju opazovana le s pomočjo umeščanja v »velike pripovedi«. Ta metoda nujno zabrisuje ali celo potvarja velik del podrobnosti o tem zgodovinskem pojavu. Zdi se, da je edina pot za odkritje primernejše interpretacije uporaba metod mikro-zgodovinskega raziskovanja.

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ABSTRACT

Observation of the late 19th and early 20th century religious music in Slovenia was so far incorporated into different historiographical “grand narratives”. These attempts have in general led to selective use and distortion of information about historical reality. It seems that the only feasible method left is the micro-historical observation.

Historians of all periods in human history have attempted to solve the same basic problem: to spin a multidimensional and complex array of historical facts into the thread of a linear historical narrative. Myths and legends were the first tool to accomplish this task. They crystallised historical events around the reel of fictitious heroes or social groups. Hence, a focus on historical protagonists was the basic methodological point of departure of ancient Greek and Roman historiography.

A profoundly new approach was introduced in the Middle Ages. Christian historiography, with its teleological view of human history, stretching between creation and final glorification, introduced the first truly "grand narrative". Its fundamental theological suppositions were discarded in later centuries. However, it still inspired ever new "grand narratives", such as the idea of continuous progress towards perfection, the notion of national self-fulfilment, the Marxist-style idea of history resulting from changing socio-economical relations and many others. The conviction that there was some sort of purposefulness to history remained one of the basic traits of western historiography.

Music historiography developed in a similar way, though at times diachronically. A variety of "grand narratives" was proposed in the last two centuries in order to bring to light the putative purposefulness of music history: the idea of continuous progress (Forkel), the development of formal and stylistic traits on the basis of physical, physiological and psychological laws (Riemann), the notions of Zeitgeist and organic development (Ambros), a focus on cycles of growth, maturity and demise (Fetis), the history of style (Adler) and others. Thus, the criticism with regard to the epistemological value of such "grand narratives" as noted by Jean-Francois Lyotard[1] can also be applied to the basic suppositions of modern music historiography. We will try to reassess the validity of such suppositions relative to late 19th-century Slovenian church music and reconsider their usefulness in an endeavour to answer the fundamental question of *why* history happened as it did.

The subject of Slovenian church music has not been chosen randomly. It lies in the nexus of several meta-narratives that have thoroughly determined 19th- and 20th- century discourse in the humanities: firstly the idea of national self-fulfilment, secondly the rise of liberalism as opposed to conservatism and thirdly the idea of stylistic progress as driven by „Zeitgeist" in contrast to simple historicism.

Unfortunately, I must test the readers' patience and outline some basic facts concerning the development of mid- and late-19th- century church music in the territory of the Austrian „Erbländer", inhabited by a predominantly Slovene-speaking population. In the middle of the 19th century the basic traits of this music included a clear distinction between urban and rural environments. In the former, modest remains of the solemn music of the 18th century still lingered, since the Napoleonic wars bereft it of sufficient financial means for artistically adequate performance.[2] In the countryside, the focus of musical activities was on the parish organist. He had to train a handful of local amateur performers and gather or mostly create his own repertoire, the sources of which were usually secular songs with sometimes only slightly changed texts.[3] In many cases only the pet names of adored young damsels were interchanged with name of Virgin Mary or one of the saints.[4]

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[1] Jean-François Lyotard, "Introduction", *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), XXIII–XXV.

[2] Janez Höfler, "Glasbena kapela ljubljanske stolnice 1800-1810", *Muzikološki zbornik* 17, nr. 2 (1981): 7–21.

[3] Matija Japelj, "Prosto mnenje o cerkveni godbi", *Učiteljski tovariš* 2, nr. 20 (1862): 321. - Anton M. Slomšek, "Cerkveno petje nekdanjo in sedanjo po Štajerskem", *Drobtinice* 12 (1857): 216, 293, 298–9.

[4] Especially drastic example was song in honour of Virgin Mary, which was sung on tune 'Naša mačka mlade mela' (Our Cat has delivered Little Kittens). Cf. Ferdinand Vigele, "O cerkveni glasbi", *Učiteljski tovariš* 8, nr. 8 (1868): 121–124.

The first attempt to improve the state of church music was made by a group of clergy gathered around the parish priest Blaž Potočnik. He contributed new, dogmatically impeccable texts, which were then set to music mostly by Gregor Rihar, *regens chori* at the Ljubljana cathedral. The songs were published in several sets during the 1840s and 1850s and were widely disseminated. They enjoyed a high popularity at the time and have been an integral part of many church celebrations ever since.[5]

The next major initiative began in 1868 with the arrival of the Czech musician Anton Foerster. He moved to Ljubljana following an invitation from Slovenian nationalist cultural societies, however, they weren't able to provide the previously agreed-upon fee. Hence, shortly afterwards he accepted an offer to become *regens chori* at the Ljubljana cathedral. The invitation wasn't coincidental. While it was a sign of an effort to retain the gifted composer in Ljubljana, where musicians of his stature were scarce, it also appears to have involved some other considerations. The invitation was mediated by Janez Zlatousti Pogačar, the provost of the cathedral chapter and one of the cleric intellectuals who promoted the reform of church music along the guidelines established through the German Caecilian movement. We can also assume that the *spiritus agens* behind the idea was the prelate Josip Smrekar, a sympathiser with and one of the first members of *Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verband für Deutschland*.[6]

The result of their endeavour was a program of reform, which was published in the periodical *Triglav* in 1868.[7] It comprised the establishment of a new, numerically superior choir, with boy singers instead of women, and above all the performance of stylistically appropriate music with liturgically correct texts. Foerster's efforts were only partly successful. It proved impossible to maintain boy singers, so he changed to female singers shortly thereafter.[8] Nevertheless, in a few months he was able to establish a body of very decent repertoire, comprised of Gregorian chant, 16th- and 17th-century vocal polyphony and modern Caecilian music. He proudly reported his achievements in the chief Caecilian magazine *Musica sacra*[9] but incentivised very few imitators in the Slovenian part of the „Erbländer".

The reform gained ground in the mid-70s. In 1876 the regular biannual general meeting of *Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verband* was held in Graz. Some participants from the Slovenian part of the „Erbländer" promptly formed an initiative committee to found a Caecilian Society for the diocese of Ljubljana.[10] The statutes were attested a year later.[11] Caecilian Societies for the dioceses of Gorica (Gorizia) and Lavant followed in 1884 and 1887, respectively. Nevertheless, the members of the Caecilian Society of the diocese of Ljubljana were the most industrious. They established the *Orglarska šola* (School for Organists) in 1877 in order to educate a new breed of church musicians, well trained musically and with an impeccable taste for proper church music. They also initiated the publication of the journal *Cerkveni glasbenik* (The Church Musician), which promoted the Caecilian cause through articles with programmatic and practical content, musical criticism, and exemplary musical compositions. Complementing these efforts were regular meetings and courses for earlier-employed church musicians. The Caecilian societies prospered until the end of Second World War, being then suppressed by the new communist government.

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[5] Frančišek Lampe, "Blaž Potočnik, župnik šentviški", *Dom in svet* 4, nr. 11 (1891): 481–4.

[6] Cf. Fran Ferjančič, "Poživimo iznova naše Cecilijino društvo", *Cerkveni glasbenik* 32, nr. 2 (1909): 13.

[7] *Triglav* 4, nr. 60 (1869): 4 and attachment p. 1.

[8] Andrej Karlin, *Spominska knjižica* (Ljubljana, 1902), 6.

[9] *Musica sacra* 9, nr. 11 (1876): 101–102.

[10] Karlin, *Spominska knjižica*, 7.

[11] *Učiteljski tovariš* 17 (1877): 123–125.

The first, and for decades only valid and partially still accepted, historiographical interpretation of the Caecilian movement was formulated by Dragotin Cvetko in his magistral work *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem* (History of Art Music in the Slovenian Territory), published in late '50s.[12] His historical narrative was based on the three aforementioned meta-narratives, which were very common in western historiography. He made no attempt to explain his methodological premises, but took them to be self-evident or even occurring by nature.

The first of the three meta-narratives concerns national self-fulfillment. Contrary to the concept one would assume from the title he chose, his interpretation of music in Slovenian lands was clearly nationalistically motivated. He regards the Slovenian nation as an indisputable historical entity, defined by unique biological and cultural characteristics. It is considered constant, unchangeable in time and independent of a political structure. It also manifests itself in his view of genuine Slovenian music being characterised by a "national spirit" and closed to all foreign influences. With that notion he silently accepted the aesthetic norms of 19th-century Slovenian nationalism, so pointedly expressed in a line from a typical nationalistic song (in my feeble translation): "foreign customs, foreign people / are just friends and never brethren".[13]

The second meta-narrative, also crucial for the Cvetko's interpretation of Slovenian church music in late 19th century, was the conflict between liberalism and conservatism. As did almost all Slovenian historians of his time, he projected quite without thought this basic European political dichotomy onto that part of the Austrian „Erbländer" that was predominantly Slovene-speaking. The complex patchwork of different and interrelated individuals, social groups and institutions, each with its own system of values and symbols, was thus dismembered and rearranged into two dialectically opposed blocks of conservatives and liberals. He constituted the former to include the ruling dynasty, state apparatus, right-wing political parties, aristocracy, ethnically conscious German minority, ethnically indifferent part of the Slovene or German speaking population, rural population altogether, and certainly not least, the Roman Catholic Church. This vast agglomeration of forces was viewed as opposed only by the liberal faction of the ethnically conscious Slovenian middle class and its political representatives.

The third meta-narrative intertwined in Cvetko's interpretation is his belief in the necessity of progress in music. It is somewhat fused with the Zeitgeist idea, but still the notion of progress dominated. His criticism expressed the conviction that only modern innovative music can gain true aesthetic validity and lasting artistic value. The history of music in the Slovenian territory as written by Cvetko is thus forcefully one-dimensional. It becomes a description of a constant race to catch contemporary developments in alleged "European music", which is nothing less than the complete canon of European art music as was *post festum* defined by music historiography.

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[12] Dragotin Cvetko, *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana, 1960), Vol. 3, 231–262.

[13] Benjamin Ipavec, "Domovini", besedilo Radoslav Razlag, *Glasbena matica, Zv. 4, Zbirka slovenskih napevov ubranih za čvetero ali petero moških glasov* (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1877), 15–16.

Cvetko's strained efforts to preserve the validity and internal coherence of the meta-narratives led to a harsh verdict with regard to the Slovenian Caecilian movement, whose basic principles were clearly opposed to all three. The most controversial was the movement's proclaimed universality. Cvetko recognised the anti-nationalistic character of the Caecilian movement in its efforts to replace liturgically improper Slovene songs with Latin Church music. Moreover, he sharply criticised their opposition to the expression of "national spirit" in church music, which was in his view fundamental for any true art. He stressed the reproach voiced by contemporary opponents that the Caecilian movement was a tool of Germanization.

The Caecilian movement was also politically suspect. Cvetko presupposed an organized involvement of conservative political and cultural institutions in the Caecilian reform. The activity of the Church in the movement was in his view evident due to the leading role played by some high-ranking clerics, such as Janez Z. Pogačar, Josip Smerkar, Andrej Karlin and Frančišek B. Sedej. On the other side, the liberal intelligentsia was represented as the sole bastion of progress and national liberation. In his interpretation, the divide between supporters and opponents of the Caecilian reform was almost identical to the divide between conservatives and liberals.

Last but not least, the Caecilian reform was considered anachronistic and thus irreconcilable with idea of progress in music. The restoration of Gregorian chant and 16th century vocal polyphony or even the introduction of their compositional elements in modern compositions was regarded by Cvetko to be an irreparable breach with the "natural" flow of music development and therefore with the fundaments of art itself.

If we try to observe the historical facts independently of Cvetko's three meta-narratives, a very different and, above all, multi-layered picture emerges. The replacement of liturgically improper Slovene songs with Latin church music wasn't characteristic for the Slovenian Caecilian movement. It was part of the reform in all Catholic European lands – German-speaking lands included - where church songs had been tolerated in solemn liturgy since Council of Trent. The number of occasions for which the change was necessary was so small that no significant decline of church music with Slovenian texts would have been noticeable.

The second argument in favour of the alleged Caecilian participation in a conservative Germanising scheme is its critical stance on traditional Slovenian church music, especially the works of Gregor Rihar. The replacement of his songs and their adaptation to standards of modern composition were interpreted as an attack on the very core of Slovenian musical culture. A thorough inspection of historical facts shows clearly that the contemporary reactions repeated by Cvetko were without doubt exaggerated. The Caecilian movement made an effort to continue the tradition of Slovenian church songs. This aim was clearly stated in the first Caecilian action programme in 1868.[14] The main Caecilian reproach against Rihar's music wasn't its "Slovenian spirit" but its compositional weaknesses. Many prominent Caecilian composers, especially Anton Foerster, took great effort to correct them. Their adaptations of Rihar's songs were included in Caecilian songbooks in equal proportion with the new, Caecilian repertory. The relatively large number of its copies ensured an even broader than previous dissemination and permanent presence of Rihar's work.[15]

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[14] *Učiteljski tovariš* 17 (1877): 123–125.

The other overwhelming argument against the validity of Cvetko's interpretation is the sheer number of compositions with Slovenian text that Caecilian composers produced in just a few decades. The new compositions on Latin texts were more or less an exception. We are faced with curious paradox: the alleged antinationalistic movement produced and published a many-times-greater volume of Slovenian church music than did its predecessors and opponents.

Cvetko overlooked another impact of Caecilian activities on the development of Slovenian musical culture. Their efforts to establish centres of church music produced additional unforeseen results. Numerous church musicians schooled in Caecilian institutions founded new church choirs in various parts of the territory inhabited by Slovenian populations. Many of those extended their activities beyond the church walls and thus founded the tradition of amateur choir singing, which remains one of the main segments of amateur musical culture in modern Slovenia. Their repertoire was for decades constituted of songs with Slovenian texts exclusively and was in many cases the only remnant of national identity among Slovenian emigrants and minorities in foreign lands.

Similarly weak is Cvetko's argumentation about conservative support of the Caecilian reform. In fact, the opposite is true. If we analyse the position of the Church, the emerging picture isn't simple. The bishops were honorary patrons of Caecilian societies, and some distinguished dignitaries were active supporters of the movement. However, local ecclesiastical authorities never openly endorsed the reform. Their decrees were always written in a non-obligatory manner. On the other side was the vast majority of parish priests who ignored or even resolutely opposed the Caecilian reform. Many of them stated their position openly in a series of attacks on leading Caecilians, especially on Anton Foerster. In 1879 and 1880 he was the target of a malicious and prolonged media campaign, launched by the conservative newspaper *Slovenec* and the conservative satirical magazine *Brencelj* (Horsefly). His defenders – though also clerics – weren't even able to present their responses in the conservative press. Astonishingly, they were given the opportunity in the liberal newspaper *Slovenski narod*.[16]

One of Cvetko's primary pieces of evidence for political influence in the Caecilian movement was the conflict between the Caecilian society and *Glasbena matica*, which was the central musical institution of the Slovenian nationalistic movement. The main issue of contention was whether or not *Glasbena matica* should also publish church music. The Caecilians feared that a rival publisher would have easily enabled composers of inappropriate church music to disseminate their works. *Glasbena matica,* on the other hand, tried to broaden its circle of customers and members to clerics and church musicians. Nevertheless, the Caecilians did prevail and *Glasbena matica* refrained from publishing any church music. A thorough investigation of the conflict and its circumstances revealed that the key cause had been the economic crisis of the late 1880s. Given the situation, with their membership shrinking, both societies tried to attract as many of financially independent clerics as possible.[17]

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[15] Aleš Nagode, "Starejše slovensko cecilijanstvo in Gregor Rihar", *Muzikološki zbornik* 34 (1998): 89–99.

[16] Cf. Aleš Nagode, "Foerster – cecilijanec", *Foersterjev zbornik*, ed. Edo Škulj (Ljubljana, 1998), 49–56.

Finally, we must reconsider Cvetko's assessment of Caecilian musical creativity. He clearly overlooked the variety of creative concepts the Slovenian Caecilian movement was able to incorporate in its work. There were compositions in which some traits of earlier historical styles were revived, mostly written by Anton Foerster, who was the only composer skilled enough to attempt such a task. Another group of composers, most prominently f. Hugolin Sattner and Danilo Fajgelj, produced rather utilitarian works not much different from the repertoire produced in mass by some German Caecilian authors. The third layer of Caecilian productivity was comprised of works with Slovenian texts that partly incorporated some elements of the pre-Caecilian Slovenian tradition.

We can observe similar variety in the repertory of reformed church choirs. On one hand, Anton Foerster made an effort to write the note „Sonatine für kleine Kinder!" on the performance parts of Mozart's C-major mass, K. 317.[18] On the other hand, board members of the Caecilian society organized a solemn mass during which Mozart's „Krönungsmesse" was performed.[19] In historical reality the Slovenian Caecilian movement was at the same time universalist and nationalist, conservative and liberal, historicist and contemporary.

Cvetko's inability to find a satisfactory explanation for the extreme variety of Caecilian musical activities shows most clearly the collapse of the historiographical concept that involved the three concurrent meta-narratives. In an attempt to save his methodological concept his historical narrative became more and more one-dimensional and thus more and more removed from historical reality. He silently assumed that history is a bundle of autonomous processes that determine the actions of individuals, institutions and social groups who unknowingly comply with them. In the end his historiographical narrative had to be uniform. Any process determining the development of human history as a whole would also have to determine the development of its parts. Thus, not only the history of music in the Slovenian lands but also the actions of any of its participants must have been determined by the same processes as also determined the course of western European history as a whole. The task of the historian would be, in his case, to put the historical facts in a prefabricated dialectical grid of the three intertwined meta-narratives.

Cvetko's failure lies in his ignorance of the fact that musical history is made by humans and not the other way around. Although their decisions are always to some extent predetermined by a number of different parameters, it is impossible to predict the outcome. Individual decisions are that which weave the fabric of history. In this view, the diversity of Caecilian activities becomes understandable. Anton Foerster composed his music in historic styles, because he thought it was proper to do so, because he was able to, and because he hoped to achieve some reputation in the circles of German Caecilian movement. Ignacij Hladnik composed a totally different sort of music, because he thought it was proper to do so, because he wasn't able to compose in any other way, and because he wanted to achieve some reputation in provincial town of Novo mesto, where he lived.

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[17] Aleš Nagode, "Prvih dvajset let Glasbene matice", *130 let Glasbene matice,* ed. Aleš Nagode (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 2005), 25–33.

[18] Arhiv Stolnega kora Ljubljana, A M 195 [Ljubljana Cathedral Musical Archive, A M 195].

[19] Miroslav [Tomec], "Dopis", *Cerkveni glasbenik* 7, nr. 8 (1884): 69–70.

This example demonstrates that answers to historians' persisting question of *why* something happened the way it did lie not only in all-encompassing meta-narratives but also and above all in micro-historical research. He must always keep in mind that every person is a referential system of himself. His decisions are the result of his abilities and ambitions, and only through his active participation can the environment influence his deeds. The historian must keep in mind that his craving for a broad synthesis can lead him away from historical reality. On the way, he traverses the borders of different referential systems and the validity of his analytical results thus diminishes. He must – as all the historians of the past – find his own way in the open field, spanned between seemingly chaotic reality and the neat historical "grand-narrative".

### Povzetek

Opazovanje cerkvene glasbe poznega 19. in zgodnjega 20. stoletja v Sloveniji je dobra priložnost za ponovno epistemološke ovrednotenje nekaterih v preteklosti uporabljanih glasbeno-zgodovinopisnih metod. Cerkvena glasba je bila zaradi ključne vloge Katoliške cerkve v Slovenskem nacionalnem gibanju nenavadno pomemben del vzpostavljajoče se nacionalne culture. Dejstvo, da je delovanje cerkve zajelo vse družbene sloje, je pred glasbenike soočalo z različnimi okolji in specifičnimi referenčnimi sistemi. Dosedanje zgodovinopisne interpretacije, vključno z historističnimi, so bile zato nepopolne ali cello zavajajoče. Poskusi, da bi zgodovinska dejstva umestili v zgodovinopisno »veliko pripoved«, so po pravilu vodila k potrebi po selekcioniranju in popačitvi znanih dejstev o zgodovinski stvarnosti. Zdi se, da ustrezne rezultate daje le mikro-zgodovinsko opazovanje, ki zmore prikazati večino podrobnosti tega kompleksnega zgodovinskega pojava.

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# Wagner on Ljubljana's Concert and Opera Stages

## Wagner na ljubljanskih koncertnih in opernih odrih

Prejeto: 19. avgust 2013
Sprejeto: 7. oktober 2013

**Ključne besede:** Richard Wagner, Filharmonična družba v Ljubljani, Deželno gledališče v Ljubljani, SNG Opera in balet Ljubljana

### IZVLEČEK

Članek prikazuje najpomembnejše mejnike v ljubljanski koncertni in operni poustvarjalnosti del Richarda Wagnerja. V povezavi s programskimi usmeritvami vodilnih glasbenih institucij v 19. in 20. stoletju na Slovenskem in sočasnimi kulturnopolitičnimi spremembami skuša določiti razloge za (ne)uprizarjanje Wagnerjevih del in tako opraviti z nekaterimi pri nas žal še vedno aktualnimi stereotipi, povezanimi z Wagnerjevo glasbo.

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### ABSTRACT

The contribution presents the most important milestones in Ljubljana's concert and opera stagings of Richard Wagner's works. In connection with the programme orientations of the leading music institutions in the 19th and 20th centuries in Slovenia and the concurrent cultural-political changes, it attempts to determine the reasons for the (non)staging of Wagner's works and in this way deal with some of the, unfortunately, still existing stereotypes related to Wagner's music in Slovenia.

If anyone, then it is Wagner and his music that always arouse many conflicting emotions. On the one side, his admirers transform into true Wagnerian worshippers who often make pilgrimages to the mecca of Wagner's music, Bayreuth, while his opponents are usually unwilling to perceive Wager merely as a genial composer, but reproach this in reality often anti-Semitic artist and his music – which was evidently abused by various despots before, during and after Second World War – primarily with having a major ideological impact in the historical transformation of the world.

It is therefore not surprising that Wagner's earlier masterpieces, in which he evidently started to choose new ways of expression, had met with sharp opposition in his native Germany and triggered a strong wave of complaints from both audiences and critics. Nevertheless, his operas *The Flying Dutchman*, *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* were from the mid 19th century onward constantly performed on most of the leading opera stages around the world.[1]

While the sounds of Wagner's revolutionary music were shaking up all major opera theatres in the Habsburg Monarchy, the central German music theatre in Ljubljana, also known as the Ljubljana Provincial Theatre (Deželno gledališče v Ljubljani), was, due to its poor financial situation and temporary visiting ensembles, far away from such artistic intentions.[2] Although the Provincial Theatre did not have the capabilities for performing Wagner's operas in the mentioned period, certain possibilities for Ljubljana's audiences to become acquainted with Wagner's music nevertheless existed already in the mid 19th century. The credit for the fact that Wagner's music first publicly sounded in Ljubljana goes to the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society (Filharmonična družba v Ljubljani), which, in comparison with other cities, relatively early, in 1858, included individual pieces from Wagner's operas in its concert programs.[3]

## Wagner's Works in the Concert Programmes of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society

The Ljubljana Philharmonic Society was the leading concert institution in Slovenia in the pre-war period. Founded as early as in 1794, the Society began its significant rise in 1856 with the arrival of an exceptional Czech musician, Anton Nedvěd, who just two years later became Musical Director of the Society.[4] As an excellent bass-baritone who had been performing both at the Prague and Brno opera theatres, Nedvěd realised the exceptional meaning of Wagner's music even before his arrival in Ljubljana.[5] Under his direction, Wagner's first piece was performed for the Slovenian public on 19th March 1858 – the famous Sailor's Song (Matrosenlied) chorus from *The Flying Dutchman*.[6] So thanks to Nedvěd, the concert public listened to several concert performances of excerpts from Wagner's operas in subsequent seasons as well. It is therefore not surprising that Ljubljana's main newspaper, *Laibacher Zeitung*, soon recognised Nedvěd's merits for the reproduction of Wagner's music, which "guides us towards the future"[7]. Namely, at that time the still mainly German-speaking bourgeois concert public in Ljubljana was becoming increasingly more enthusiastic about Wagner's music, which resulted in a steadily growing demand for his works.

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[1] The most important region for the production of his works in the second half of the 19th century was, besides his homeland, certainly the Habsburg monarchy, where *Tannhäuser* was premiered in Graz as early as on 20th January 1854. Gernot Gruber, "Art. Nachmärz und Ringstraßenzeit", in *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* (Wien: Böhlau, 1995), 46. See also: Roswitha Karpf, "Die erste Tannhäuser-Aufführung in Graz", in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Graz* (Graz: Stadt Graz, 1975), 165–184 and Erdmute Tarjan, "Oper und Singspiel in Graz", in *Musik in der Steiermark* (Graz: Styria, 1980), 285–286.

[2] Jože Sivec, "Wagner na slovenski glasbeni sceni", in *Opera na ljubljanskih odrih od klasicizma do 20. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2010), 201.

[3] Primož Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919* (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2005), 595.

[4] Jernej Weiss*, Češki glasbeniki v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja na Slovenskem* (Maribor: Litera & Univerza v Mariboru, 2012), 179.

[5] Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki* ..., 175.

[6] The reviewer in the *Laibacher Zeitung* wrote: "The particularity of this representative of music of the future was to a smaller extent, but not fully, shown with the Matrosenlied choir. If we wished to discover it in its fulness, we would have to listen to the entire composition [...]." *Laibacher Zeitung*, March 20, 1858.

In the following years, the concert public of that time was able to hear a number of symphonic and also a few chamber concerts of Wagner's music. On 22nd April 1880, the Philharmonic Society achieved an overwhelming success with an evening of Wagner's music in an almost sold-out concert hall. Only two performances were on the repertoire: first the violinist Hans Gerstner and pianist Josef Zöhrer played Wagner's *Albumblatt*, which was followed by the entire first act of the music drama *The Valkyrie*, with piano accompaniment. The *Laibacher Zeitung* devoted a feuilleton to the concert, in which an unsigned critic wrote that "the question for or against Wagner is no longer relevant in Slovenia"[8]. Evidently, after the birth of certain Slovenian music institutions, primarily the central Slovenian music institution *Glasbena matica* in 1872, Wagner's music raised quite a number of questions for or against Wagner among the mixed Slovenian-German speaking citizens.[9]

Especially after the arrival of a new musical director, Viennese musician Joseph Zöhrer, in the year of Wagner's death in 1883, the number of Wagner's works performed at philharmonic concerts increased strongly. Thus, in the storms of enthusiasm sparked among the public by the performances of the above-mentioned compositions, the question whether Ljubljana, too, was becoming a "Wagnerian city"[10] was repeatedly being asked in the music reviews of that time. Very frequent were the so-called memorial concerts held on several of Wagner's anniversaries, which were subjected to various ensemble improvisations due to the inconsistent orchestra membership of the Philharmonic Society. One such concert took place on 5th March 1883 with a performance of the Overture to the opera *Tannhäuser*, at which the Philharmonic Society paid tribute to the memory of "a great master of music, the greatest musician of the present times, Richard Wagner", who died on 13th February[11]. The fifth anniversary of the composer's death was celebrated at a Wagnerian evening where, among others, the first act of the opera *The Valkyrie* was performed once again, with piano accompaniment. This was why, only a few days later, one of the most influential reviewers at the *Laibacher Zeitung* and certainly one of the best connoisseurs of Wagner's music of that time in Slovenia, Julius Ohm Januschowsky[12], did not keep silent about his reservations regarding the replacement of the orchestral part with piano,[13] which seemed particularly controversial to his perception of Wagner's music. Hence it seems that already in the 1880's, Ljubljana's critics and audiences were not pleased with the less complete performances of Wagner's music on piano,[14] but expected increasingly better results also as regards performance from the then management of the Philharmonic Society headed by Zöhrer.

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[7] *Laibacher Zeitung*, April 4, 1859.

[8] *Laibacher Zeitung*, April 24, 1880.

[9] In the 19th century, Ljubljana was the capital of the crown land of Carniola in the Habsburg Monarchy. The capital had a population of approximately 30,000, of which 5000 to 6000 were German speaking citizens. Primož Kuret, "Wagner in den Konzert-und Opernprogrammen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Ljubljana/Laibach", in *Richard Wagner - Persönlichkeit, Werk und Wirkung* (Leipzig: Sax Verlag, 2013), 471.

[10] *Laibacher Zeitung*, December 21, 1880.

[11] *Laibacher Zeitung*, March 5, 1883.

[12] Januschowsky has seen numerous stagings of Wagner's opera in Bayreuth, Vienna and Graz. Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki* ..., 481–484.

[13] *Laibacher Zeitung*, March 5, 1883.

Criticism towards the performance practice of Wagner's works even increased after the construction of a new philharmonic building named *Tonnhalle* in 1891. In the spring of 1893, a famous star of the Vienna Court opera, Amalie Friedrich-Materna, was among the first artists to perform some of Wagner's most important arias in the new philharmonic hall.[15] She was certainly one of the greatest Wagnerian sopranos of her time. Thus she sang the role of Brünnhilda 151 times between 1877 and 1894 at the Vienna Court opera.[16]

1702-1891
PHILHARMONISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

*Picture 1: The new "Tonnhalle" building of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana built in 1891 (Source: Emil Bock, Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach 1702–1902, Laibach: Direktion der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft, 24).*

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[14] This was the most common performance practice until then, since the Philharmonic Society did not have a permanent orchestra ensemble in Ljubljana.

15 On 26th June 1870 she sang Brünnhilda in a worldwide premiere of *The Valkyrie* in Munich on 26th July 1882, and also shone in the role of Kundry at the world premiere of *Parsifal* in Bayreuth.

16 "Vorstellungen mit Amalie Friedrich-Materna", *Homepage der Wiener Staatsoper*, accessed July 19, 2013, http://db-staatsoper.die-antwort.eu/search/person/5959.

Among the more important concerts of Wagner's music in the new philharmonic hall, the performance of the *Berliner Philharmonicker* under the leadership of the famous conductor, Hans Richter, should be mentioned, which took place on 28th April 1901.[17] Richter was reputed as one of the greatest interpreters of Wagner's music in his time, who had participated as Assistant Conductor in the Munich premiering of Wagner's *The Master-Singers of Nuremberg* as early as in 1868, and more than three decades later presented an overture of this work to the Ljubljana public.

Another first-class event in the exceptionally rich performance history of philharmonic concerts was the guest performance on 8th March 1903 of the *Berliner Tonkünstler Orchestra* under the conduction of Richard Strauss.[18] At this concert, Strauss also performed the previously mentioned overture that had been presented to the Ljubljana public for the first time already in 1896.[19]

In spite of the obvious performance progress, the always extremely critical Januschowsky wrote, after one of the many concerts of Wagner's works at the turn of the century, that "Ljubljana in comparison to other cities was falling behind in the realisation of Wagner's stage works [...]"[20]. His criticism was more or less justified, because at that time a large number of Wagner's stage music compositions had still not been performed in Ljubljana. But Januschowsky's warnings did not remain unheard. Just before the end of the century, Ljubljana's audiences became acquainted with fragments from *Tristan and Isolde* and *Parsifal*.[21] So, at the beginning of the 20th century, fragments from almost all of the Wagner's masterpieces were at least orchestrally performed at philharmonic concerts.

Until the beginning of the first WW, Wagner's music was thus played at different concerts of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society, which, according to more than 80 concerts with Wagner's music, places the composer in high second place among composers of the second half of the 19th century, immediately after Brahms.[22] By the number of stagings of his orchestra works alone, he even surpasses Brahms. Therefore, at concerts of the Philharmonic Society held before the beginning of the First World War, Wagner was the most frequently performed composer in Slovenia, which from today's perspective is almost inconceivable.[23]

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[17] Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba* ..., 301–303, 706.

[18] Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba* ..., 318–319, 718.

[19] Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba* ..., 696.

[20] *Laibacher Zeitung*, January 30, 1901.

[21] On 6th March 1898, the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana hosted a concert performance of Good Friday Magic from *Parsifal*, and on 27 November 1898 the Overture to and Isolde's Love-Death from *Tristan and Isolde*. Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba* ..., 700–701.

[22] Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba* ..., 595–770. See also: Sara Železnik, *Koncertni sporedi Filharmonične družbe 1816–1872* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2013), 390 pp.

[23] Yet in contrast to Brahms (1885), Wagner did not become an honorary member of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society. Especially Josef Zöhrer was one of the strongest promoters of Brahms's music. Ivan Klemenčič, "Častni člani ljubljanske filharmonične družbe", in *Evropski glasbeni klasicizem in njegov odmev na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1988), 123–134.

## Wagner's Numerous Opera Performances up to the Beginning of the First World War

### German Opera at the Ljubljana Provincial Theatre

The situation regarding Wagner's opera performances was by all means less favourable than that of his orchestral performances. Due to changing artistic ensembles and the consequently lower income, the opera at the Ljubljana Provincial Theatre encountered considerable difficulties. It was not until the arrival in the early 1870's of a new music director, Josef Kotzian-Kotzky, previously a longstanding opera director in Salzburg, the complexity of opera performances gradually began to rise. Kotzky extended the previously dominant Italian and French repertoire by adding some German operas, among which he also placed *Tannhäuser*, whose first premiere in Slovenia was on 6th March 1874.[24] The opera audience and critics were enthusiastic.[25] However, the first staging of Wagner's opera didn't bring any major changes in the program policy of the mentioned theatre. Certainly one of the main reasons why this was only the first and for a long time the only entirely performed Wagnerian opera in Slovenia were the limited stage possibilities at the Provincial Theatre. Namely, the operas of the Bayreuth master demanded a much larger theatrical and orchestral infrastructure than what the very small Ljubljana theatre had to offer.

In the year of *Tannhäuser's* premiere in Ljubljana, a number of other events helped to augment Wagner's popularity in Slovenia. Emil Scaria (Škarja), a bass-baritone of Slovenian descent,[26] was on 22nd May 1872 the first Slovenian singer to be accepted as a member of the Vienna Court Opera.[27] Scaria was certainly one of the most important Wagnerian bassists of his time. Among his many successful Wagnerian roles was that of Knight Gurnemanz on 26th July 1882 at the world premiere of *Parsifal* in Bayreuth under the conduction of the master himself. After one of the repetitions of *Parsifal,* Scaria is even said to have turned to Wagner with the words: "by the word King I miss the solemn tympani in the orchestra"[28]. Wagner supposedly accepted his suggestion and subsequently included the timpani in the score.

In spite of its promising beginnings, the financial breakdown of the Provincial Theatre at the end of the 1870's once again stopped the performances of Wagner's operas for a decade and a half. So until the autumn of 1892, when a new theatre building was built in Ljubljana after the old theatre burnt down in 1887, which became the location of

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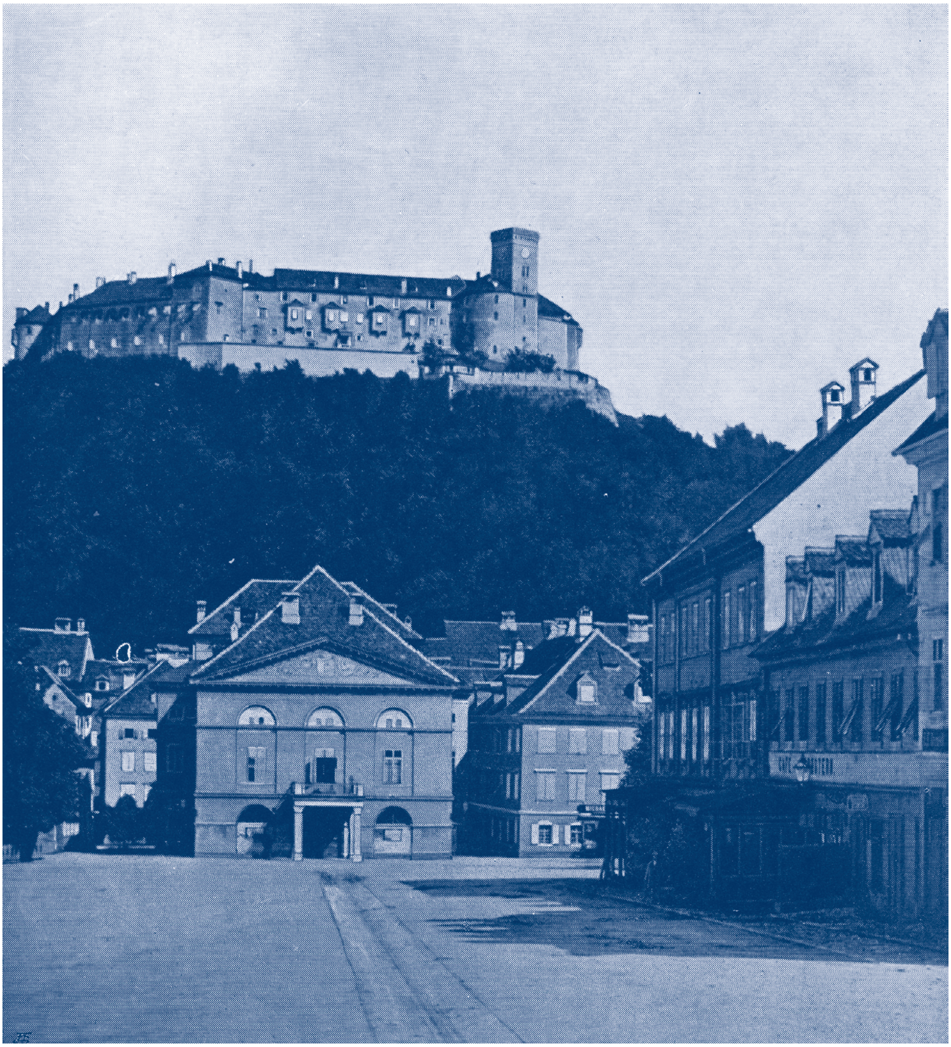
[24] Sivec, *Opera na ljubljanskih odrih* ..., 203. Compared to the other capitals of the former Yugoslavia, this is not too bad. The opera in Zagreb had the first staging of Wagner's opera (*Lohengrin*) in 1895, and the Belgrade opera not before 1923, when *The Flying Dutchman* was staged for the first time. However, it should be mentioned that the Opera of the National Theatre in Belgrade did not begin to work as an independent ensemble until 1919. Melita Milin, "Die Rezeption der Werke Richard Wagners in Serbien", *Richard Wagner: Persönlichkeit, Werk und Wirkung* (Leipzig: Sax Verlag, 2013), 465.

[25] *Laibacher Zeitung*, March 7, 1874.

[26] Scaria was born on 18th September 1838 in Graz, where his father, a doctor from Kranj (Slovenia), was employed at the time. Kuret, "Wagner in den Konzert-und Opernprogrammen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Ljubljana/Laibach ...", 475.

[27] "Vorstellungen mit Emil Scaria", *Homepage der Wiener Staatsoper*, accessed September 13, 2013, http://db-staatsoper.die-antwort.eu/search/person/5964.

[28] Werner Otto, *Richard Wagner, Ein Lebens-und Charakterbild in Dokumenten und zeitgenössischen Daerstellungen* (Berlin: Buchverlag der Morgen, 1990), 616. See also: Kuret, "Wagner in den Konzert-und Opernprogrammen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Ljubljana/Laibach ...", 476.



*Picture 2: The old German Opera building at the Ljubljana Provincial Theatre, which was destroyed by fire in February 1887 (Source: Emil Bock, Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach 1702–1902, Laibach: Direktion der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft, 10).*

both the Slovenian and German Provincial Theatres, there were no stagings of Wagner's operas in Ljubljana. However, the new director of the German opera, Rudolf Frinke, managed to put together an ensemble with soloists from Bratislava, Posen, Klagenfurt and Troppau for a short cycle of opera performances, during which the premiere of Wagner's *Lohengrin* was presented on 12th April 1893 as the second Wagnerian opera staged in Slovenia.[29] Although the theatre was sold out, the opera was staged only once. A reviewer at the *Laibacher Zeitung* wrote that this opera represents one of the most important cultural events in Ljubljana.[30] Yet the first production of *Lohengrin* in Slovenia was unfortunately an isolated example of surpassing the "lighter", mainly operetta repertoire of the German Theatre.

### *The Slovenian Opera at the Ljubljana Provincial Theatre*

Given the increasingly more distinct national divisions between the Slovenian and German citizenry in Ljubljana towards the end of the century, an interest in more sophisticated opera reproduction could surprisingly be seen at the end of the 19th century at the Slovenian Provincial Theatre, which opened its doors in the autumn of 1892. The opera's new director, Slovenian composer and tenor Fran Gerbič, together with an excellent Czech conductor, Hilarion Beníšek[31], was obviously well aware of the exceptional meaning of Wagner's works for the gradual development of opera in Slovenia. So if the Slovenian opera theatre wished to be equal to the German theatre at least in terms of quality, it certainly could not overlook Wagner's repertoire. At the turn of the century, the Slovenian theatre supported the performances of Wagner's music even much more systematically than the German theatre. So we can find Wagner's name on the repertoire of the majority of seasons from 1899/1900 to 1912/13, when the theatre was closed shortly before the war.

Largely owing to the Slovenian translations of Wagner's operas,[32] the interest of Slovenian audiences in Wagner's music was growing constantly. An unsigned critic of the magazine *Slovenski narod* (Slovenian Nation) enthusiastically wrote that after the performances of three of Wagner's operas – *Lohengrin*,[33] *The Flying Dutchman* and *Tannhäuser*[34] – "our musical audiences finally understand even the most complex opera music"[35]. For utmost attractive staging, the theatre administration decided to reach deep into the treasury and pay more than 1000 florins for new costumes that arrived from Berlin. The reports of critics undeniably reveal enormous national enthusiasm and pride at the beginning of the 20th century.[36] The most resounding of Wagner's operas staged in the period discussed was the premiere of *The Flying Dutchman* on 27th January 1900 under the conduction of the previously mentioned Beníšek.[37] The Slovenian theatre thus even surpassed the German theatre, as this was the first staging of this opera in Slovenia.[38] Alongside *Parsifal*, this was Wagner's only opera that was first staged at the Slovenian theatre.

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[29] Sivec, *Opera na ljubljanskih odrih* ..., 207.

[30] J., "Opern – Stagione", *Laibacher Zeitung*, April 13, 1893.

[31] Hilarion (Hilarij) Beníšek (14 Jan. 1863, Veliké Prosenice – 19 Sept. 1919, Belgrade), conductor. After completing secondary school in Přerov, he studied philosophy at Charles University in Prague. From 1889–1990 he was bandmaster of the František Trnky Society. In December 1890 he became a member of the Jan Pištěk theatre family (1890–1892), which performed in Plzeň. In 1892 he joined the Ladislav Chmelenský theatre family (1892–1894), with which he went in 1893 on a long tour to Vienna and in 1894 to Dalmatia. He left the theatre family in December 1894 after being engaged as a conductor at the Slovenian Provincial Theatre (1894–1910). In this period he participated as conductor at almost all stage-music productions at this theatre. Particularly noteworthy were his endeavours to perform certain Slovenian stage music works. Among these, the operas that were premiered at the Slovenian Provincial Theatre under his conduction were *Gorenjski slavček* by Anton Foerster (30th October 1896), *Ksenija* by Viktor Parma (5th January 1897), and the operetta *Caričine amazonke* by Viktor Parma (24th March 1903). He also contributed as a composer, particularly music for folk plays with singing (*Around the World in 80 Days* by Adolph Denny and *Miklova Zala* by Jakob Špicar). He was also among those reproducers who put some of Wagner's works on the repertoire of the Slovenian Provincial Theatre. In the 1901/02 season, Beníšek was replaced as conductor by Bogomil Tomáš, and in the 1909/10 season the staging of operettas at the theatre was assumed by Václav Talich. In 1910 he went to Belgrade, where he worked as a private teacher and headed various salon orchestras. During World War I (1914–1916) he was interned in Macedonia and then returned to Belgrade in 1917, where he died after the end of the First World War. Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki* ..., 245.

[32] Particularly *The Flying Dutchman* and *Tannhäuser* in the translation by Anton Štritof (1859–1917).

[33] On 19th January 1899 *Lohengrin* was staged for the first time in the Slovenian language.

[34] *Tannhäuser* was first staged in Slovenian on 20th December 1900.

[35] *Slovenski narod*, 1899, no. 14.

From today's perspective, the 1910/11 season was particularly successful, because two exceptional conductors took their place before the orchestra of the Provincial Theatre: the then twenty-seven-year-old Czech, Václav Talich, and his five years younger Hungarian colleague, Friderik (later Fritz) Reiner. At that time, Talich was principal conductor of the Slovenian Philharmonic,[39] newly established in 1908, and Reiner was the new principal conductor of the Provincial Theatre. And what a coincidence: Reiner, who was later surely one of the most important conductors of Wagnerian music of all time, had to stage *Tannhäuser* as one of his first tasks in Ljubljana's theatre. Alongside *Lohengrin* and *The Flying Dutchman*, this was one of the most popular Wagnerian operas in Slovenia. To make the challenge even more difficult, the young and inexperienced Reiner, accompanied by only 35 permanent orchestra members[40] had to study, conduct and even stage the opera all by himself. So, for the very first time in his life, he struggled with a great Wagnerian opera as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This certainly was a rare opportunity which, until then, had been given to very few conductors, that is, to shape one of Wagner's masterpieces in all its greatness. The successful premiere of *Tannhäuser* on 27th November 1910 was followed by four repetitions until the end of 1910.[41]

Although at the turn of the century one would not expect to find Wagner on the stage of the Slovenian Provincial Theatre due to the growing opposition between Slovenian and Habsburg orientated citizens, exactly the opposite was true. Under Gerbič's leadership, the number of stagings of Wagnerian operas in this theatre was extremely high. And so at the beginning of the 20th century in both opera houses operating in Slovenia – German and Slovenian – Wagner was represented as never before and never afterwards.[42]

## Renaissance of Wagner's Music at the Slovenian National Theatre Opera and Ballet Ljubljana in the Interwar Period

After the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, the activities of Ljubljana's opera house were renewed. However, the initial circumstances were not too favourable for Wagner's music. The reason for this lay in the fact that the theatre's principal, Friderik Rukavina, was not too artistically inclined towards German opera.[43] It seems that in the post-war demonstration of power over everything German, guided by Slovenian composer and jurist, Anton Lajovic, under the influence of his famous article later published in the central Slovenian daily newspaper of that time, *Slovenec* (The Slovenian), "on the eternal beauties and poison of Beethoven's, Bach's and Wagner's works"[44], Rukavina also accepted the cultural politics that was rejecting everything German. The fact that this was not merely one of Lajovic's caprices, but an increasingly more established ideological doctrine, is also evident from the writings of a post-war cultural ideologist, Josip Vidmar.[45] In an essay dating from 1932, entitled "Kulturni problem slovenstva" (The Cultural Issue of Slovenianness), Vidmar wrote: "I have often wondered why examples of horrific human vampirism so frequently appear in the German nation"[46]. These and similar outbursts were common in the mentioned period. Immediately after the end of the First World War, both the German Opera and the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, which was also considered a German institution, were dissolved.

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[36] *Slovenski narod*, 1899, nos. 14–17, 19–20, 23, 26. See also: *Slovenec*, 1899, nos. 14, 16, 18, 24, 28.

[37] Ed. Dušan Moravec, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč 1867–1967* (Ljubljana: Slovenski gledališki muzej, 1967), 185.

[38] Fran Gerbič, "Večni mornar [*The Flying Dutchman*]", *Glasbena Zora*, 2 (1900): 7, 10, 14.

[39] Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki* ..., 388–414.

[40] Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki* ..., 235.

[41] In this period, the number of season ticket holders in Ljubljana filled four opera theatres. Moravec, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč* ..., 200.

[42] For example, in the 1906/07 season no less than three Wagnerian operas were staged in Ljubljana: *The Flying Dutchman*, *Lohengrin* and *The Valkyrie*.

Fortunately, the situation regarding Wagner's operas changed in 1925, soon after the artistic leadership of the central opera house had been taken over by the previous conductor of the Trieste National Theatre, Mirko Polič, who multiplied the number of instrumentalists in the orchestra, and reorganized the soloist ensemble as well. One of the young singers who managed to attract spectators to Ljubljana's opera house for a short time was the famous Slovenian[47] opera singer Anton Dermota, who later appeared at the Vienna State Opera in the role of David in *The Master Singers of Nuremberg*, and is also known for his recording of the Shepherd in the opera *Tristan and Isolde* under the conduction of Carlos Kleiber.

Unlike his forerunner, Polič systematically promoted Wagner. Very soon, Wagner once again occupied the place he deserved in the repertoire of the Slovenian theatre, and remained an important part of it until the beginning of the Second World War. In his very first opera season, after not a single Wagnerian opera had been performed on Ljubljana's stage for thirteen years, Polič staged on 17th February 1926 *The Flying Dutchman*, which was performed as many as 23 times.[48] The opera aroused great interest from both the public as well as critics. Writer and critic Fran Govekar wrote that such enthusiasm should be a waymark for the management to devote even more attention to Wagner's creativity in future. He remarked that we had nothing to fear from Wagner, because he would always attract and satisfy our audiences again and again.[49]

An adequate response and the fulfilment of expressed desires were not long in coming. At the beginning of the next season, Polič included *Tannhäuser* in the opera programme, and also significantly contributed to the expansion and enrichment of the repertoire of Ljubljana's opera house with the first Slovenian staging of the opera *The Valkyrie* (on 17th November 1929),[50] which had already been performed at the German Opera on 20th February 1907.[51] On 14th April 1933, *Parsifal* was staged in Slovenia for the first time, in a translation by Marjan Rus.[52] With this performance of Wagner's last masterpiece, the Slovenian theatre wished to pay tribute to Wagner on the fiftieth anniversary of his death. It should be mentioned that both of these operas, as well as all other Wagnerian operas performed until then on Slovenian opera stages, were strictly sung in Slovenian. In particular Anton Štritof's translations of *The Flying Dutchman* and *Tannhäuser* perfectly captured the essence of these operas.

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[43] Sivec, *Opera na ljubljanskih odrih* ..., 215.

[44] Anton Lajovic, "O večnih krasotah in o strupu Beethovnovih, Bachovih in Wagnerjevih del", *Slovenec*, April 6, 1924.

[45] Katarina Bedina, "Slovenska percepcija Richarda Wagnerja – Wagnerjanstva in Wagnerizma do tridesetih let dvajsetega stoletja", in *Zbornik ob jubileju Jožeta Sivca* (Ljubljana: Slovensko muzikološko društvo in ZRC SAZU, 2000), 194–195.

[46] Josip Vidmar, *Kulturni problem slovenstva* (Ljubljana: Tiskovna zadruga, 1932), 43.

[47] Later on he also obtained Austrian citizenship.

[48] Moravec, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč* ..., 218.

[49] *Jutro*, 1926, nos. 40, 42.

The period between the two wars brought yet another famous protagonist of Wagnerian roles: Julij Betteto, a Slovenian bass who, alongside Ljubljana, sang as many as ten leading Wagnerian bass roles in Vienna and Munich.[53] Already in Ljubljana, he gave a brilliant performance as Daland in *The Flying Dutchman*. Critics in particular praised his acting abilities. "With such a voice and performance as Mr. Betetto has, it is easy to win over the public"[54], wrote Fran Govekar after one of his performances. Betteto was by all means one of the greatest interpreters of Wagner's operas in Slovenia, and one of the leading Slovenian bass singers of all time. Among other things he masterfully reproduced, on several occasions, one of the most difficult and longest bass roles – that of Gurnemanz in *Parsifal*. Polič's departure from the Opera house in 1939 was again followed by a dry period for Wagner's music in Slovenia.

It is therefore quite obvious that director Marko Polič was the one who, irrespective of the circumstances, pursued his artistic vision and included Wagner in the opera programme. Thanks to him, Wagner's works were among the most popular operas in Slovenia in the period between the two wars.

## Rare Stagings of Wagner's Works at the Slovenian National Theatre Opera and Ballet Ljubljana after Second World War

After 1945, Wagner was entirely overlooked in the repertoire of Ljubljana's opera house for quite some time. Although the strong artistic rise of opera began precisely in this period, the post-war repertoire – despite the return of Mirko Polič as director of the opera house from 1945 to 1948 – was ideologically correctly dedicated more or less to Slovenian and Slav operas of the 19th century. This was a purely logical consequence of the Second World War, which had left a greater mark on the world of music than all previous events. After the end of the Second World War, the opera's management thus attempted to achieve at least one goal: "to stage all new and so far unstaged or less known Slovenian operas and ballets."[55] And more or less "forgot" about Wagner. So in the initial post-war years, one could observe some disinclination towards Wagner's works, which can at least partly be attributed to the fact that his music seemed much too German.

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[50] Moravec, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč ...*, 224.

[51] Sivec, *Opera na ljubljanskih odrih ...*, 212. See also: *Laibacher Zeitung*, February 22, 1907.

[52] Moravec, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč ...*, 231.

[53] Peter Bedjanič, "Wagner in Slovenci", in *Wagner na kratko* (Celje: Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2009), 123.

[54] Ciril Cvetko, *Julij Betetto, umetnik, pedagog in organizator glasbenega šolstva* (Ljubljana: Slovenski gledališki in filmski muzej, 1990), 67.

The nonstaging of Wagner's works was a more or less logical consequence of the Second World War, where one had to distinguish between winners and losers in all areas. According to the relatively precise instruction of the Central Department for Agitation and Propaganda (or "agitprop"), all communist members of the Eastern Block had to continue their cultural silence in the first years after the war as well. This meant that all cultural publics had to boycott all artistic events that were reminiscent of Nazi ideology.[56] So it seems more or less logical that, immediately after the end of the Second World War, Wagner could not be found in the repertoires of the main artistic performance institutions in Slovenia of that time.

A similar situation existed in all other former socialist republics of the Eastern Block, where, after the Second World War, Wagner's operas were not to be found on repertoires until the mid 1950's. Only a few years after Stalin's death could the first signs of cultural liberalization be observed in the Eastern Block. Specially after the concert performance of *Lohengrin* at the Bolschoi Theatre on the 28th June 1956, the other countries of the Eastern Block were allowed a little more artistic freedom.[57] Thus, Wagner's operas saw their first post-war stagings inside the Eastern Block on 7th November 1956 in Riga.[58]

In comparison to the Eastern Block the cultural-political situation in Yugoslavia from the beginning of the 1950's onward was slightly more liberal. One should be aware that after Tito's break with Stalin in 1948, the Yugoslav Communist Party was expelled from the Informbiro.[59] Stalin's main reproach against Tito was precisely Yugoslavia's departure from Marxist ideology. The real reason for the clash of titans was Tito's desire for more independent decision-making in Yugoslav politics. Thus, at the Sixth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party in November 1952 in Zagreb, the Yugoslav agitprop apparatus was dissolved, which finally ended a period of the most brutal interference of politics in culture.[60]

It is therefore not unusual that Wagner's first opera could be heard in the second Yugoslavia several years before its first post-war staging in the Eastern Block. Almost immediately after the mentioned liberalisation of cultural politics, it suddenly became necessary for Wagner to be staged again in Yugoslavia. So, less than two years after the "agitprop" was abolished, the central Yugoslav opera house staged *The Flying Dutchman* in Belgrade on the 5th May 1954 with great success.[61] Wagner's stigma of being a messenger of German art was thus forgotten overnight and he became a true symbol of the Yugoslav national socialist cultural policy in its new, pragmatic struggle against the Soviet enemy.

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[55] Jože Sivec, *Dvesto let slovenske opere* (Ljubljana: Opera in Balet SNG, 1981), 43.

[56] Aleš Gabrič, "Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika", *Borec* (Ljubljana: Založba Mladika, 1991), 481.

[57] Lolita Fūrmane, "Über die Aufführungen einiger Werke Wagners in Riga: Inszenierungspraxis und Kulturkontexte", *Richard Wagner: Persönlichkeit, Werk und Wirkung* (Leipzig: Sax Verlag, 2013), 388.

[58] Ibid.

[59] "The period of the most serious interference of politics in culture ended after the Informbureau dispute between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union". Aleš Gabrič, "Slovenska kultura v drugi Jugoslaviji", in *Slovenska kultura in politika v Jugoslaviji*, (Ljubljana: Modrijan, 1999), 117.

[60] Gabrič, "Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika ...", 650.

[61] Milin, "Die Rezeption der Werke Richard Wagners in Serbien ...", 468.

Even the principal ideologist of Yugoslav "people's democracy", Edvard Kardelj, the top political leader of post-war Slovenia, from then on loved "titanic Beethoven and suggestive Wagner"[62]. It seems that between the communist leaders in Slovenia, Kardelj had the most practical views in culture. This is, among others, evident in his involvement in the polemic that appeared in Slovenia in the early 1950's in connection with jazz music. At the fifth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia held in mid February 1951 in Ljubljana, he stressed that "we would do a great deal more if we showed the people that our socialism is not so very boring as it appears at first glance, and that people are not forbidden [...] to laugh, dance, make fun, and do foolish things. We simply have to let people loosen up a little [...]"[63]. In short, the gloomy atmosphere from the first phase of Soviet "building of socialism" had to be driven away at all costs. Kardelj was therefore openly enthusiastic about "taking" life from the humorous side. Like Tito, he, too, enjoyed light music.[64] In contrast to numerous Slovenian apparatchiks who attempted to wipe the operetta from the face of the Earth, Kardelj did not find it harmful at all.

However, it is a fact that Kardelj's refined aesthetic view of music was quite an isolated case in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia. Unfortunately, even after the Yugoslav liberalisation of culture in the early 1950's, Slovenia was still mainly dominated by a social-realist lack of taste.[65] Despite the fact that Yugoslav political leaders, including the last head of the Agitprop of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Milovan Đilas[66] had made a 360-degree pragmatic turn in their views of culture already in the beginning of the 1950's, the situation in Slovenia was more or less the opposite. The rejection of elements that were considered to be harmful to socialism, such as operetta, jazz, modern and church music,[67] as well as Wagner, more or less remained a common practice.

In particular Boris Ziherl, the leading cultural ideologist of the Slovenian Communist Party and the last head of the Agitprop of the Central Committee of the Slovenian League of Communists, was also in the 1950's quite extreme in his demands.[68] That is evident in his request that the art review "must be based on Marxist foundations"[69]. Particularly relentless was his attitude towards German art. After the staging of Strauss's *The bat* in

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[62] Josip Vidmar, *Obrazi* (Ljubljana: DZS in Založba Borec, 1985), 269.

[63] Aleš Gabrič, "Al prav se piše Županova Micka ali Predsednikova hči. Amaterski odri na Slovenskem 1945–1955", *Zgodovina za vse: vse za zgodovino*, II, No. 2, (Celje: Zgodovinsko društvo, 1995), 50.

[64] In particular the Viennese operetta did not leave him indifferent. Vladimir Dedijer, *Josip Broz Tito: Prispevki za življenjepis* (Ljubljana: CZ, 1953), 736.

[65] Igor Grdina, "Opereta ali peklenski nesmisel", in *Ideologija operete in dunajska moderna*, by Moritz Csáky (Ljubljana: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), 269. In the first half of the fifties, the leaders of the Slovenian League of Communists supported only the cultural-political concept of Boris Ziherl. Aleš Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija: Slovenska kulturna politika 1953–1962* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1995), 37.

[66] Already in the early fifties, Đilas's views were much more liberal than the concurrent Slovenian standpoints. Ibid., 31.

[67] Jernej Weiss, "Vprašanje avtonomnosti glasbene kritike v slovenskem dnevnem časopisju ob praizvedbi kantate Stara pravda Matije Tomca: med estetsko sodbo in političnim konstruktom", *De musica disserenda* 3, no. 1 (Ljubljana: Muzikološki inštitut ZRC SAZU, 2005), 101–115.

[68] Aleš Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija: Slovenska kulturna politika 1953–1962* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1995), 25–37.

[69] Boris Ziherl, in *Naša sodobnost*, 1953, nos. 7–8, 577–585.

1954 in Ljubljana, Ziherl stated in the Central Committee of the League of Communists that the reviews should in particular emphasize the renewed threat of German nationalist tendencies.[70]

With such statements it is, of course, not surprising that Wagner could only be heard in post-war Ljubljana two decades after the last performance of his opera in Slovenia. Not earlier than on the 6th March 1958 *The Flying Dutchman* was staged once again.[71] Similarly, also other German operas, except for Beethoven's *Fidelio* and Strauss's *The Knight of the Rose*, were not to be found on the repertoires of Ljubljana's opera house.[72] It thus seems that a more liberal cultural policy did not emerge in Slovenia until after the transition to the "casual sixties"[73] when it became evident that also the central Slovenian opera house could no longer avoid Wagner. The fact that Wagner was one of the first symptoms of the liberalisation of Slovenian cultural policy is ultimately evident also in the cycle of eight 60-minute programmes, with commentaries, broadcast by Radio Slovenia in 1960, entitled *Sketches from the Life of Richard Wagner*.[74] On 13th May 1961 the opera *Lohengrin* was staged as the second Wagnerian opera to be performed in Slovenia after the war, with an outstanding performance by Josip Gostič in the leading role.[75]

Alongside Gostič, some other soloists also deserve mention. One of these is Marjan Rus, a bass of the Vienna State Opera, who reproduced Klingsor and Titurel in *Parsifal*.[76] The prematurely deceased bass-baritone, Anton Orel, who appeared in the role of Landgrave Hermann in *Tannhäuser* at the Ljubljana opera house in the interwar period, also possessed all the dispositions of an exceptional interpreter of Wagnerian roles. Worth mentioning from the recent period is above all mezzo soprano Marjana Lipovšek. It is very regretful that Lipovšek, perhaps the greatest among Slovenia's Wagnerian singers, did not have the opportunity to perform any Wagnerian roles on Slovenian opera stages.

The reason for this lies in the fact that from the 1960's to the present, there were only three new stagings of Wagner's operas in Slovenia. On 24th May 1984 *The Flying Dutchman* was repeatedly staged with resounding success[77]. This opera was, besides *Lohengrin*, certainly the most popular and the most easily performable Wagnerian opera in Slovenia. Alongside the slightly changed repetition of *The Flying Dutchman* in 1987[78] and the staging of *The Flying Dutchman* on 18th January 2013 by the Slovenian National Theatre Opera and Ballet Ljubljana at the Cankarjev Dom cultural centre, this was the last Slovenian staging of a Wagnerian opera. An exception is the Ljubljana Festival, which in the past two decades has included in its programme two stagings of *The Valkyrie* and, for the first time in Slovenia, staged the first two music dramas of Wagner's tetralogy, *The Ring of the Nibelung*, performed by the Mariinsky Theatre from Saint Petersburg under the direction of Valery Gergiev (*The Rhine Gold* on 2nd September 2013 and *The Valkyrie* on 3rd September 2013, both at Cankarjev Dom, Ljubljana).

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[70] Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija ...*, 36.

[71] Danilo Merlak gave an outstanding performance as the Dutchman. Moravec, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč ...*, 268.

[72] Tjaša Ribizel, "Glasbena praksa v Ljubljani 1945–1963" (PhD diss., University of Ljubljana, 2012), 56, 68.

[73] Aleš Gabrič, *Slovenska kulturna politika v času »Socialistične demokracije« 1953–1962* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino Ljubljana, 1993), 245.

[74] Ribizel, "Glasbena praksa v Ljubljani 1945–1963 ...", 108.

[75] After a long time, the Opera once again had a heroic tenor whose interpretations of Wagner's characters, especially Lohengrin, gained recognition on some of Germany's leading opera stages. Moravec, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč ...*, 271.

[76] "Vorstellungen mit Marjan Rus", *Homepage der Wiener Staatsoper*, accessed September 13, 2013, http://db-staatsoper.die-antwort.eu/search/person/2467.

[77] Ed. Štefan Vevar, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč 1982–1987* (Ljubljana: Slovenski gledališki in filmski muzej, 1987), 14.

[78] Jože Sivec, "Wagnerjev Večni mornar", *Gledališki list* (Ljubljana: Opera in balet SNG Ljubljana, 1987), 1–6.

There were also very few concert performances of excerpts from Wagner's operas after the Second World War. Other than the concert performance of *Tristan and Isolde* (5th February 1975) with the visiting Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra, two ballets accompanied by Wagner's music[79], and a staging of the third act of *Parsifal* within the scope of the Slovenian Philharmonic's orange subscription concerts series (22nd April 2010), there were no other major concert performances of Wagner's music. At Slovenia's second opera theatre, the Opera of the Slovenian National Theatre Maribor, Wagner's music has after the Second World War never been on the repertoire to this day, with the exception of isolated concert performances.[80]

It would, of course, be unfair to attribute the nonstaging of Wagner's works at the Ljubljana opera after the Second World War entirely to the cultural policy of the post Second World War policy in Slovenia, since the staging of Wagner's operas always depended on the demands of the public, the greater or lesser absence of Wagnerian soloists, as well as various space and other financial capacities of individual opera theatres. However, in comparison with the pre-war period, the mentioned factors did not essentially change in the Ljubljana opera house after the war. Namely the strong artistic rise of opera began in this period, opera had amazing singers such as tenor Josip Gostič and even impresario Polič remained. Also the aesthetic taste of Ljubljana public didn't changed so rapidly after the War. For example, the staging of *Lohengrin* in 1961 attracted 4320 spectators, which was one of the highest number of the season.[81]

On the other hand the change with respect to the staging of Wagner's works at the Ljubljana opera house, which, I should mention, was the only opera house in Slovenia that staged Wagner's operas, was so obvious that it points to a relevant change in the cultural policy. These policies depended primarily on the presidents of various committees and their subordinated mostly anonymous apparatchiks who, through various levers, were able to preserve a surprisingly high degree of political supervision over the organisation and programmes of cultural institutions in Slovenia at least up to the end of the 1950's.

A historical overview of Wagner's performing practice shows that after the first performance of a Wagnerian opera in Slovenia in 1874, approximately half of Wagner's works were staged in Slovenia. Prevalent among these were the more accessible operas, such as *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, and in particular *The Flying Dutchman*, while the later ones, such as *The Valkyrie* and *Parsifal*, were more or less isolated staging attempts. By the end of the Second World War, *Lohengrin* was the most frequently performed Wagnerian opera in Slovenia: seven times. It was followed by *The Flying Dutchman* with six and *Tannhäuser* with four performances.[82]

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[79] *Matilda* and *Siegfried Idyll* on 29th April 1986 at Cankarjev Dom in Ljubljana. Vevar, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč...*, 16.

[80] Pianist Margareta Gregorinčič on 27th October 2011 reproduced Liszt's arrangement of the Overture to Wagner's *Tannhäuser* at the Kazina Hall within the scope of the Plus SNG Maribor subscription series. Some of Wagner's Overtures were on 18th February 2013 at the Large Hall also performed within the scope of the SNG Maribor Symphony Orchestra subscription series.

[81] Ribizel, "Glasbena praksa v Ljubljani 1945–1963 ...", 75.

In the history of Ljubljana's opera, we can therefore observe two short periods in which the central Slovenian opera house was more devoted to the reproduction of Wagner's operas. These were the periods from 1899 to 1913 and from 1926 to 1933, during which it may be said that Wagner's operas were regularly on the opera repertoire. The most surprising is the first period, when the newly-established Slovenian opera, under the direction of Fran Gerbič, surpassed the German musical theatre in Ljubljana by its number and quality of Wagnerian performances. In spite of the increasingly stronger national struggles in the mentioned period, it appears that artistic ideas were still more important than ideological ones. This was last but not least proven also in Mirko Polič's period, which was marked by a new renaissance of Wagner's works. It seems that, up to the Second World War, the decisions whether to put Wagner on the repertoire or not depended more on the competences of individual artistic leaders than on cultural politics, which would dictate one or another repertory framework to opera institutions.

Until the end of the Second World War, one can speak of an outstanding reproduction practice as regards the staging of Wagner's operas in Slovenia. Subsequently, however, there appear to have been some significant shifts in post-war program policies in Slovenia, when Wagner almost completely disappeared from the opera repertoire. A long series of opera seasons passed without a single Wagnerian opera being performed.

The question is, therefore, why did Wagner disappear from the iron repertoire of operas in Slovenia after the Second World War? Although up to the end of the 1950's one of the reasons certainly lies also in cultural politics, it is a fact that cultural politics at least from the transition in the "casual sixties" never did lead any further than to the self-censorship of individual actors of opera production. Even the too small stages and the even smaller shells of both Slovenian opera houses, which today would probably still render difficult any more frequent Wagnerian reproductions in both Slovenian opera theatres, should not prove too great an obstacle from the 1984 when the country's largest concert hall – Gallus hall of the Cankarjev Dom – has been built in Ljubljana. Slightly more problematic could be the lack of adequate Wagnerian soloists, especially a heroic tenor, but do we not live in a time of temporary artistic ensembles with numerous guest soloists? Perhaps the reason for not staging Wagner's works lies more in the lack of continuity on the part of the artistic management, and even more in the lack of quality artistic concepts of such management, whose efforts are mostly directed towards filling the theatre's treasury.

It should, however, not be forgotten that the new sound media, together with the professionalization of some leading orchestra ensembles in the second half of the 20th century in Slovenia, stimulated a growing awareness and consequently the higher expectations of audiences. So the performance practice of Wagner's works also evolved gradually, from piano performances of the orchestra part to performances of some of the leading orchestra ensembles. Due to the ever-growing expectations of audiences, the staging of Wagner's operas in Slovenia became an increasingly more risky activity in which conductors, stage managers and stenographers had to reach a compromise in advance. So it is not at all surprising that especially in the golden period of Ljubljana's opera house in the 1960's, critics in Slovenia began to deal with the question whether it was more proper to offer Wagner's art to audiences in a form that cannot achieve artistic perfection, or perhaps, due to the unfavourable conditions, simply avoid staging his music. Although any pure objective judgement would probably convince us to forget Wagner in Slovenia, the performance practice in some smaller opera theatres with technical and personal capabilities similar to those of Ljubljana's opera house shows that Wagner's works certainly belong on the repertoire of these opera houses.

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[82] Sivec, *Opera na ljubljanskih odrih ...*, 218.

One could probably find countless other reasons why Wagner's works were not staged, none of which, as the history of Wagner's reproduction in Slovenia clearly reveals, should be decisive. Namely, both Gerbič and Polič managed to achieve, in terms of finance, space and ensemble, what their numerous successors in the position of artistic director at both Slovenian opera houses were unable to achieve, and they did so in much less favourable circumstances. Above all, the two of them never underestimated their audiences, but as well-educated musicians constantly strove to provide an artistically most demanding repertoire, irrespective of potential cultural-political pressures. That is why one can observe, in the period of their leadership, not only numerous stagings of Wagner's works, but in general an exceptional stylistic relevance of the opera repertoire.

Wagner was therefore always a kind of touchstone in Slovenian opera reproduction, which separated the successful from the less successful, almost forgotten conductors, reproducers and, last but not least, directors or artistic directors. In observing the reception and performance practice of Wagner's music in Slovenia, it certainly isn't difficult to realise that the performances of his works always positively stimulated opera ensembles, which, in spite of the limited possibilities, were later capable of reproducing some of the most demanding works in opera literature. For this reason we can only hope that the 200th anniversary of Wagner's birth will not only be an act justifying the historical debt of Wagner's post-war absence from concert and opera stages in Slovenia, but also the beginning of a new renaissance of Wagnerian music that had already been so popular in Slovenia's past. It is therefore a strong necessity that both Slovenian opera houses soon welcome some new "Polič's" who are capable of giving Wagner's operas the place they deserve on Slovenia's opera stages.

## Povzetek

Zgodovinski pregled Wagnerjeve poustvarjanosti pokaže, da je bilo vse od leta 1874, ko beležimo prvo uprizoritev Wagnerjeve opere (*Tannhäuser*) na Slovenskem, iz skladateljeve zrele ustvarjalnosti uprizorjena približno polovica njegovih del. Med njimi prevladujejo izvedbeno dostopnejše opere kot so *Večni mornar*, *Tannhäuser* in *Lohengrin*, pri poznejših kot sta *Walküre* in *Parsifal* pa gre za osamljene poizkuse njune postavitve na oder.

Tako sta po nadvse bogati Wagnerjevi koncerni poustvarjalnosti druge polovice 19. in začetka 20. stoletja v okviru delovanja Filharmonične družbe v Ljubljani, v zgodovini ljubljanske opere opazni dve krajši obdobji, v katerih se je osrednja slovenska operna hiša v večji meri posvečala reprodukciji Wagnerjevih oper. To sta bili obdobji med 1899 in 1913 ter 1926 in 1933, za kateri lahko trdimo, da so bile Wagnerjeve opere stalnica na opernem repertoarju. Preseneča predvsem prvo obdobje, ko je novoustanovljena slovenska opera s tedanjim ravnateljem Franom Gerbičem na čelu po številu in kvaliteti Wagnerjevih uprizoritev celo prehitela nemško glasbeno gledališče v Ljubljani. Tako se zdi, da je bilo navkljub vedno močnejšim narodnostnim bojem v omenjenem obdobju umetniško še vedno pred ideološkim, kar je v obdobju med obema vojnama nenazadnje dokazal tudi Mirko Polič z novo renesanso Wagnerjevih del.

Po drugi svetovni vojni pa je v programski politiki opaziti večji ideološki preobrat, saj je Wagner čez noč skoraj povsem izginil s koncertnega in opernega repertoarja. Zdi se torej, da je bil vsaj do prehoda v »sproščena šestdeseta« vpliv kulturne politike na Wagnerjevo poustvarjalnost pri nas izrazitejši kot kadarkoli poprej. Kljub temu da si je denimo Verdi v obeh naših opernih gledališčih že sorazmerno kmalu pridobil domovinsko pravico, ki jo je brez prekinitve obdržal vse do današnjih dni, pa tega za Wagnerja ne bi mogli trditi. Seveda bi lahko našli še vrsto drugih razlogov za neuprizarjanje Wagnerja, med katerimi pa, kot nam jasno kaže zgodovina Wagnerjeve poustvarjalnosti na Slovenskem – in to je bistveno –, nobeden ne bi smel biti ključen. Tako Gerbič kot Polič sta namreč v finančno, prostorsko in zasedbeno veliko manj ugodnih razmerah uspela tisto, česar številni njuni nasledniki na mestu umetniških vodij obeh slovenskih opernih hiš niso bili sposobni.

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# Vítězslav Novák in the Context of Czech Music as a Whole: Thoughts about the Composer's Fate

# Vítězslav Novák v kontekstu češke glasbe kot celote: Nekaj misli o skladateljevi usodi

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**Ključne besede:** Vítězslav Novák , češka glasba, modernizem, ljudska glasba, recepcija

Izvleček

Razprava se posveča vlogi Vítězslava Nováka v okviru češke glasbe okoli 1900. Vítězslav Novák (1870-1949) sodi med tiste skladatelje, pri katerih se v številnih ozirih kažejo značilna nasprotja, ki jih je mogoče opisati s funkcijami *centralno-obrobno*, *globalno-lokalno*, *heterogeno-homogeno*. Nakazane kategorije pa niso kakšne naravno dane konstane. Prav tako ne predstavljajo kategorij, ki bi si jih Novák sam „predpisal", temveč izhajajo iz diskurza o Nováku vsaj v češkem okolju.

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**Keywords:** Vítězslav Novák, Czech music, Modernism, Folk music, Reception

Abstract

Discussion is devoted to the role of Vítězslav Novák in the frame of Czech music around 1900. Vítězslav Novák (1870-1949) is one of the composers where the characteristic contrasts can be found in many respects that can be described with functions *central-marginal, global-local, heterogeneous-homogeneous.* But indicated categories are no naturally given constants. They also do not represent categories that had been prescribed by Novák himself but that spring from the discourse on Novák at least in Czech environment.

I present this paper as a reflection on the reception of Novák's oeuvre, a composer who played a prominent role in 20th century Czech music and whose music is not heard in concert halls these days. Vítězslav Novák is the type of composer whose development is marked by a dynamic change in aesthetic norms. In his oeuvre there are canonical (classic) works and works that do not contribute to his process of development and overlooked and forgotten works worthy of our attention. Such distinctions are obviously undergoing vast changes.

A side note by way of introduction: when Jiří Fukač pondering in an article the reception and further possibilities for Novák's music, he chose an apt title: "Novák's Time Will Still Come."[1] Fukač's title was allegedly inspired by a quote from Kurt Blaukopf, who said it on 5 September 1989 during a coffee break at a Mahler conference in Hamburg. Lest this prognosticating proclamation be forgotten forever, I'd like to use it as the main thesis of my paper.

I owe a foreign audience an answer to an important question: Who is the composer whose "time will come?" Vítězslav Novák (1870-1949) composed 79 opuses, which cover a wide range of genres from opera to large orchestral and vocal compositions to small chamber works. Together with Josef Suk and Otakar Ostrčil, Vítězslav Novák belongs to a generation of composers that was later termed Czech musical modernism. These composers had the difficult task of extending the tradition of Czech nationalist music of Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák while at the same time seeking their own path. Novák took up this task beautifully and after 1896 Novák's music was the greatest phenomenon on the Czech music scene.

Novák studied composition under Antonín Dvořák. With Dvořák came the first institutionalized Czech school of composition and he became the most renowned Czech composition teacher second only to Dvořák. Novák trained numerous Czech composers in addition to a whole generation of Slovak composers. Even many of Janáček's students left Brno for Prague in order to perfect their compositional craft. Further, Novák trained a handful of German and Yugoslav composers. In 1912, he applied for a professorship at the Viennese Academy. Later he received numerous honors and awards both at home and abroad (France, Yugoslavia, Italy, Sweden). Premieres for his works were notable social occasions and each of his life anniversaries are publically celebrated. But even though Novák belonged to the renowned giants of Czech music, he was no longer able to overcome a creative crisis, which had begun in 1918. It was apparent for instance at the Prague festivals of new music (ISCM), where he remained in the shadows of other composers (Suk, Janáček, Martinů, Hába).

As a representative figure of the late nineteenth century, he did not share the strong optimism of the 20th-century avant garde composers. Novák shared a fate with a whole generation of composers who were uncertain how to proceed as the avant garde was beginning. Novák was too old to learn a new expressive language and too young to cease composing. A similar fate met Sibelius and Busoni, among others. At the beginning of the 20th century, Novák imitated canonical works of the late 19th century, so after World War I he was criticized by avantgardists for his traditionalism (some even found fault with his technical prowess). The prime metric by which artworks were judged was innovation worthy of the Zeitgeist of the early twentieth century.

Nevertheless, Novák was later considered a composer of primary significance. In 1970, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Novák's birth, Czech musicologist Jaroslav Volek called him in an article a "pivotal figure of Czech music."[2] In comparison to other composers and considering Novák's pedagogical activity, these words are certainly true.

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[1] Jiří Fukač, "Novákova doba musí ještě přijít (V. Novák – problémy stylu a recepce)" [Novák's Time Will Still Come (Style and Reception Problems)], in *Zprávy společnosti Vítězslava Nováka* 15 (1989): 23–32.

[2] Jaroslav Volek, "Novák – 'osová' osobnost české moderní hudby" [Novák – "Axial" Personality of Czech modern music], in *Národní umělec Vítězslav Novák – studie a vzpomínky k 100. výročí narození*, ed. K. Padrta – B. Štědroň (České Budějovice, 1972,) 21– 42.

At the same time, we cannot overlook the polemical tone of Volek's article. What is the truth about Novák? *Will Novák's time actually come?* Kurt Blaukopf was not announcing an historical thesis, but rather an aesthetic judgment, which has clear biographical connotations. Blaukopf played Novák's string quartets in his youth and this fact forever determined his opinion of the composer. Blaukopf of course overlooked the substantial difference in the reception of Mahler and Novák. In the 1960s, when Mahler's music was finding its way into concert halls around the world, interest in Novák's music began to decline.

Right now I don't want to reflect on the many causes for the lack of interest. The fact is that his compositions remain on the periphery of Czech musical art. Time and historical remove is one of several factors in the judgment of classical works that plays in Mahler's favor. His music seems "timeless," to use the misleading category aesthetic platonism. By coincidence Blaukopf made his statement at a conference dedicated to Mahler's oeuvre, so a comparison of the two composers suggest itself.

Vítězslav Novák tried to summarize his relationship to Mahler's music in his memoirs:

*"To use Dvořák's words, I like Mahler, but I cannot stand him. What do I like about the music? His sincerity. Whichever mood he expresses, everything is intensely felt. Mahlers second positive trait is his talent for melody. His expositions never rest on choppy motives. Some of his themes I would call songs without words.* [...] *One more thing I like about him: Mahler as a person. As director of the Hamburg and later Viennese opera houses, he didn't composer a single opera, even though he had the compositional talent and promotional possibilities. He made up for it with several of his symphonies, even those non-programmatic.* [...] *What do I dislike about him? The lack of self-criticism. He rarely ends at the right time. Whether he is mourning or exulting, he knows no limits. The result of this excess is the listener's fatigue. In addition to their length, these works increase the fatigue with their insufficient rhythmic interest and modulation. Mahler often persists in the same rhythm and sometimes even tempo for the whole movement, in stark contrast to Richard Strauss.* [...] *With a fleeting glance at Mahler's score we find whole sections in one key without deviation. The key signatures make things easier for us."*[3]

Words intended for Mahler, as if they boomeranged back to their speaker. They appear to reveal weaknesses in Novák's own music. Novák also liked to cite other works, and anyway, the use of stylistically foreign "precomposed" material is typical for music around 1900. With Mahler began a system of units—Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht called it *Vokabeln*—which make a musical work polystratified.[4] Novák worked similarly as Mahler did, and yet at the same time differently. The source of the heterogenization of structure are quotes of various provenance and notational level—folk song, melodic thoughts of choral character, citations from his own works. Novák does not use quotes in a superficial manner—they go deep into the structure. From a technical point of view, this is done by means of thorough motivic-thematic development and counterpoint. Novák weaves his new thoughts into a complicated tapestry of voices—the intellectual character of his music comes from this. Novák's oeuvre this way takes on a clear biographical cast. In relation to the "tonal environment" in the structure, these elements are foreign objects. Their borrowing does not have anything in common with quotes like those found in Mahler's music, where the mutual connection of low and high evoke a feeling of modern existential alienation.

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[3] Vítězslav Novák, *O sobě a o jiných* [Of His Self and of the Other] (Prague: Supraphon, 1970), 64–65.

[4] See Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers* (Munich: Piper, 1982), 67.

In this sense, Novák's relationship to folk music is clear. A connection to folksong is something that makes him similar to (and distinguishes him from) Janáček. Around 1900, Janáček was the prototype of a "homegrown" composer who attempted to create a Moravian variant of Czech national music. Janáček stopped composing in the 1890s and devoted himself to the collection and study of folk music, which meant for him protection from the influences of Neoromanticism. At this time, however, Novák developed a new canon of European modern music. If Janáček's (like Hába's) relationship to folk culture was experienced, it was led so to speak from below (*von unten*), while Novák's relationship to folk culture was mediated (*von oben*). Or in other words, Novák does not flee the center for the periphery in order to avoid the stream of late Romantic music, but rather to give tradition new strength. Novák came to Moravia from the salon, and this statement is true both figuratively and literally. Like Dvořák before him, Novák wanted to enrich Czech music with new "exotic" idioms. For a composer who came from one of the important centers of a monarchy, this was at the end of the 19th century and at the threshold of fin-de-siecle modernist art a quite expected "attempt." Novák, who used authentic folk melodies in a method similar to that of Beethoven's or Brahms's thematic work, was long acknowledged as a discoverer of a meaningful stylistic direction for Czech modern music. Janáček chose another way. He simplified and freed musical structure; his music did not strictly maintain contrapuntal lines and voice independence. He avoided direct citation of folk songs and took inspiration there only in the most general manner into the areas of tonality, modality, and rhythm.

Folk inspiration of Novák and Janáček found many critics. Among the most strident was Zdeněk Nejedlý, whose aesthetic judgments were determinative for Czech music in the first third of the twentieth century. Nejedlý's negative opinion of "folk music" had several causes. One was his perception of such music as a return to an older aesthetic; another could be described as an ethical problem.

Novák's and Janáček's musical styles were at first hearing distinguishable from each other, and Nejedlý also saw their folk inspiration and development in different ways. With Janáček he found a regressive style coming from the periphery. In Janáček's opera *Jenůfa* (*Její pastorkyňa*, 1903), he saw a clear similarity to an older Romantic aesthetic of the 1860s, where the character of the work was consciously determined by the quoting of folk songs and reaching out to a wider folk public. (I would like to note here that Janáček does not quote, but in certain places in the opera he places melodies that paraphrase melodic types of Moravian folk music.) From this point of view, "pre-Smetana" Janáček seemed typologically regressive.[5] This judgment also reflects the public's reaction. For

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[5] Zdeněk Nejedlý, "Leoše Janáčka Její Pastorkyňa" [Jenůfa by Leoš Janáček], *Smetana* 6 (1916).

Moravian patriots, *Jenůfa* was the model for Moravian opera and was perceived this way during its performance in Viennese Hofoper (Hofoper, 1918).

On the other hand, criticism of Novák's interest in "falsified citations" of folk song and in too naturalistic descriptiveness sounds much more muted. For Nejedlý, Novák's music is on a developmentally higher level in its involvement with folk music. If aesthetic and stylistic qualities of such music differ from work to work, this "unusual compositional style" certainly enriched Novák's music with new material qualities.[6] Nejedlý's critical view of both composers' use of folk music has two clear causes. Here Nejedlý develops T.G. Masaryk's notion of the function of folk culture in a national context. At the very least at the beginning of the 1920s Nejedlý distinguishes between folk culture and its use between the art of a particular composer and the tastes of the wider public. The concertgoing public is in its essence conservative. A truly progressive composer is not supposed to cater to the whims of this public. Despite the suffering that the composer endures, he is able to resist public pressure and to develop his musical individuality.

It would of course be interesting to compare Nejedlý's rhetoric with Adorno's critique "Blut und boden Musik," as it appears in *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (1949). According to Adorno, late Romantic music lost its national character, for which it paid a necessary price. Overcoming alienation, the music entered the realm of nationalist reactionary ideology. Progressive tendencies of occidental music appeared without the "shameful stain" only in the exterritorial music of Janáček and Bartók.[7] If Janáček survived Adorno's critique, Novák certainly failed. Adorno would likely pronounce Novák's music as nationalistically reactionary—affirmative and holding to tradition.

As if Czech music could not do anything other than cultivate some sort of local historical hypothesis of a composer whose time has long ago past. Although I like the aforementioned quote from Adorno's work, I am not completely certain of the correctness of such a characterization. Novák's style did not allow full use of archetypes of folk music, as is the case with, for example, Janáček.

His music also does not approach Bartok's authentic rawness. The aforementioned composers of course cannot be the measure of the greatness of Novák's music; that would be at a minimum historically incorrect, because Novák worked in a different way with folk music.

What is today's role of a composer in the context of Czech music? Novák distinguished himself only marginally among the standard-setting classics of Czech or central European music of the early twentieth century (in some cases this evaluation can sound optimistic). In artworks there is a differentiation between canonical and overlooked works. A work does not enter the canon on the basis of its timeless qualities alone. Classicization or canonization is an historical process in which on the basis of a tendentious reshuffle of values a group of works and composers is chosen, a group which represents the prevailing and enduring stylistic norm. Novák's position in the register of "important works" has gone through notable changes over time. The result was not always that Novák's works were seen as timeless or himself as a prevailing composer. Even though reception of Novák's works was never without controversy, we can hope that no aesthetic norm

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[6] Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Vítězslav Novák – studie a kritiky* [Vítězslav Novák: Studies and Reviews] (Prague: Melantrich, 1921), 40.

[7] Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), 41.

is forever. Can Novák's time still come? Possibly. At least Blaukopf's memory from his youth—a private history of a type—can give us that hope.

## POVZETEK

Razprava se posveča vlogi Vítězslava Nováka v okviru češke glasbe okoli 1900. Vítězslav Novák (1870-1949) sodi med tiste skladatelje, pri katerih se v številnih ozirih kažejo značilna nasprotja, ki jih je mogoče opisati s funkcijami *centralno-obrobno*, *globalno-lokalno*, *heterogeno-homogeno*. Nakazane kategorije pa niso kakšne naravno dane konstane. Prav tako ne predstavljajo kategorij, ki bi si jih Novák sam »predpisal«, temveč izhajajo iz diskurza o Nováku vsaj v češkem okolju.

Vítězslav Novák sodi skupaj z Josefom Sukom in Otakarjem Ostrčilom v generacijo skladateljev, ki so jo pozneje poimenovali češka moderna. Ti avtorji so stali pred zahtevno nalogo, kako nadaljevati dediščino češke glasbe Bedřicha Smetane in Antonína Dvořáka, pri tem pa poiskati svojo lastno pot. To nalogo je vzorno rešil Novák in njegova glasba predstavlja po 1896 osrednji fenomen češke glasbe. Novák se je kompozicije učil pri Antonínu Dvořáku. Pri njem je češka kompozicijska šola prvič postala profesionalna institucija, Novák pa je po Dvořáku postal njen najbolj ugleden učitelj. Poleg vrste čeških skladateljev je Novák izučil tudi celo generacijo slovaških skladateljev. Tudi Janáčkovi študenti so zapustili Brno, da bi si pridobili kompozicijskega obrtnega znanja v Pragi. O tem priča tudi nekaj imen nemških in južnoslovanskih skladateljev. V letu 1912 je Novák kandidiral celo za profesuro na dunajski akademiji. Pozneje je prejel vrsto priznanj, tako v tujini (Francija, Jugoslavija, Italija, Švedska) kot doma. Izvedbe njegovih del so predstavljale poseben socialni dogodek in praznovali so vsak njegov jubilej. Čeprav je Novák sodil vse do konca svojega življenja med prepoznavne velikane češke glasbe, ni zmogel premagati ustvarjalne krize, ki je bila po 1918 vse bolj vidna. Posebej jasno se je to videli na primer na Praškem festivalu nove glasbe (ISCM, 1924, 1925), ko je ostal v senci drugih skladateljev (kot Suk, Janáček, Martinů, Hába). Pri tem ni težko najti razloga, ki je veljal za celotno generacijo. Kot otrok 19. stoletja je Novák doživel protisloven razpad liberalno-meščanske kulture, pri čemer ni mogel deliti suverenega optimizma z avantgardisti 20. stoletja. Novák je delil usodo celotne generacije skladateljev po nastopu glasbene avantgarde. Bil je prestar, da bi spremenil svoj glasbeni jezik, obenem pa premlad, da bi prenehal skladati.

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# Postmodern referentiality: playing with texts and contexts in Petar Bergamo's Second Symphony

## Postmoderna referencialnost: Igra tekstov in kontekstov v Drugi simfoniji Petra Bergama

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**Ključne besede:** Petar Bergamo, modernizem, postmodernizem, tekst, kontekst, referencialnost, intertekstualnost

IZVLEČEK

*Drugo simfonijo* (1967) hrvaškega skladatelja Petra Bergama je potrebno analizirati v kontekstu zagrebškega Bienala, torej v kontekstu prevlade modernizma, ki ga je skladatelj razumel kot slepo ulico. Simfonija je zasnovana kot niz citatov in aluzij, ki lahko sprožajo široko polje asociacije, povezanih z logiko toka glasbene zgodovine. Takšni postopki so podobni postmodernističnim tehnikam, zato je mogoče skladbo Bergama razumeti kot proto-postmoderno delo.

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ABSTRACT

Petar Bergamo's *Second Symphony* (1967) must be analyzed in the context of Zagreb Biennale and therefore in the context of modernist domination which Bergamo understood as *cul-de-sac*. His *Second Symphony* is conceived as set of quotations and allusions that are able to trigger wide filed of associations connected to the logic of music history. Such a procedure resemble postmodernist technique, therefore it is possible to understand Bergamo's symphony as a proto-postmodern work.

The questions of referentiality are predominantly connected with the acts of the reception and the interpretation. However it is possible to broaden this horizon – a kind of a "play" with referentiality can be found also at the level of production/composition: the composer deliberately choses to position his work in the complicated net of different referential frames. Such procedures are typical of postmodern music but I would like to choose for my analysis a symphony of Croatian composer Petar Bergamo who is rarely brought in connection with postmodern praxis.

First of all we should contextualize and localize Bergamo’s symphony both historically and geographically. Petar Bergamo finished his symphony in 1967 at the time of the second modernistic “wave”. If the aim of the first “wave” was to ultimately “destroy” the last remnants of the traditional expressive gestures, and establish a new music paradigm stemming from the liberated sounds and isolated fragments of tones (punctualism) as was used in strict serialism (P. Boulez’s total serialism) and radical chance operations (J. Cage’s indeterminancy), the second one recognized the problem of nivellization of sound material (all the pitches, intervals, chords, dynamics and durations were of equal importance and distributed evenly, which made it hard to establish the specific character of composition in purely musical terms). Composers such as G. Ligeti, I. Xenakis and members of the so called “Polish school” (K. Penderecki, T. Baird, W. Lutosławski, K. Serocki) tried to establish a new musical “logic”, which would be related to the immanent physical and acoustic characteristics of sound – it was the time of postserialism and sonorism (*Klangkomposition*[1]).

But in Yugoslavia the course of stylistic changes occurred differently and there were several reasons for such a stylistic independence. First of all, the tradition of art music was not very strong, since national schools were established as late as in the late 19th Century. Without a strong tradition, there was no need to depart from it, as there was no strong opposition to the modernistic or avant-garde rejection of old norms and modernistic “negations” were not so radical. The need for fundamental changes in music syntax and material was further weakened by the new political system in Yugoslavia, established after 1945, which desired and partially demanded the “comprehensibility” and “optimism” of the socialist realism. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the most convenient style in the postwar years seemed to be the neoclassical one: with its roots in classism it made possible composing in traditional forms (symphonies, concertos, sonatas), which in view of the special historical situation were not often used until that time, and secondly, the seemingly unproblematic expression with an unstoppable metric pulse went hand in hand with the idea of socialist realism. However the most notable influence of the political situation was associated with a certain degree of cultural isolation and reservation towards contemporary modernistic trends in music. The first contacts with avant-garde music and modernism were made by Yugoslav composers attending the Warsaw Autumn Festival (established in 1956). The composers were not restrained from visiting the festival because of the geopolitical affinities with Poland. In this way Yugoslav composers “actually received contemporary musical thought second hand.”[2]

The Zagreb Biennale, established in 1961, provided new impulses. In the sixties came the gradual thaw of political pressures and this helped re-establish connections with musical culture abroad. The cultural success of the Biennale is the context in which Bergamo conceived his symphony. At that time, he had finished his studies at the Belgrade Academy of Music and slowly began to establish himself as one of the leading Yugoslav composers. Yet he felt himself stuck in the dichotomy between the traditionalism of neoclassicism and modernist destruction. While the former offered a link to the missing tradition of the well-crafted works, the latter threatened to break the communication chain between the composer and the broader spectrum of his audience with their uncompromising negative attitude towards the traditional musical language. He felt that both ways lead to a dead end. He saw the modernism of the Zagreb Biennale as "an organized breakthrough of the avant-garde"[3], but at the same time he knew that he "must go forward, but with steps that would not pull one away from the ears of the listeners in order not to break something that has not yet started properly in this country."[4]

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[1] Hermann Danuser, *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1984).

[2] Cvetka Bevc, “Glasba je zveneča metafizika”, *Slovenec*, June 11, 1992, 21.

Bergamo was aware of the shortcomings of the neoclassical style, but on the other hand he understood the new trends, which were presented at the Biennale as a kind of paradoxical totalitarianism: "Free thought was actually suppressed in the name of 'freedom'."[5] Therefore he searched for his own musical language,[6] his own way out of the crisis. The composition *Musica Concertante* (1962) can be regarded as his first step in that direction. The piece is written in a form of "double variations" – the material is derived from the piano composition *Variazioni sul tema interrotto* (1957) and the variation process is inverted with gradual crystallization of the theme. However, there is another ongoing variation process: the whole piece could be understood as a kind of "music about music."[7] Each variation could be regarded as a an exercise or study in a particular musical style, reaching back historically from Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Bartók, Schönberg to the sonorism of Ligeti, Lutosławski or Penderecki. Besides the purely musical play with contrasts, themes, rhythm, forms and orchestral colors Bergamo was evidently interested also in evoking stylistic allusions and stimulating reflection about musical evolution and historical development.

This idea was further developed in Bergamo's *Second Symphony*. It is even possible to observe the symphony as a kind of calculated composer's retreat from composition or renunciation of the power of the subject. At that level the composition could be compared with famous modernistic pieces such as Boulez's *Structures Ia* (the logic of the composition is controlled via strict serial organization, the main material - the twelve-tone row - is "borrowed" from O. Messiaen or Cage's *Music of Changes* (the material is distributed according to the "laws" of chance). Bergamo perceived the problem of the new musical material:

> *When I was writing my Symphony no. 2, I realized that I did not have any disposable musical material, not even a brick, so to say. The destructors had taken everything that I would need to build the house which could be recognized by the human ear. The house can be built in many different ways, but it must have its own programme, doors, windows and floors. But I have lost the chance to build a house which would be used by someone. How was I to work then? How was I to establish communication? At that time I did not have any other choice so I used [...] the method of palimpsest, collage, a method with which I used parts of the beautiful temples from the past as the material for the house, which could be used by someone even today.*[8]

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[3] Branimir Pofuk, "Plovidba morem besmisla", *Nedjeljna Dalmacija*, June 9, 1991, 20.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Melita Milin, "Prožimanje tradicionalnog i novog u posleratnoj srpskoj muzici" (PhD diss., University of Ljubljana, 1994), 154.

[7] Ibid., 161.

[8] Erika Krpan, "Radost od krhotina", *Danas*, June 4, 1991, 55.

Bergamo's response to the crisis of material and style in the sixties was typically dichotomic: he wrote a big, traditional, cyclic form (symphony) and in that way he lined himself up with the great historical symphonic tradition, while on the other hand he refused to choose his own material and so seemingly stepped out of the composition as a subject, which could be regarded as a typical modernistic procedure. In that way, one can interpret Eva Sedak's remark that "Bergamo was among those who opposed the intolerance of the avant-garde of the sixties not with tolerance but with abstinence"[9] not only word for word but also as a metaphor – Bergamo in fact reduced his compositional activities in the seventies but it seems more important that traces of some kind of "abstinence" can be recognized already in the use of "foreign" material in his *Second Symphony*.

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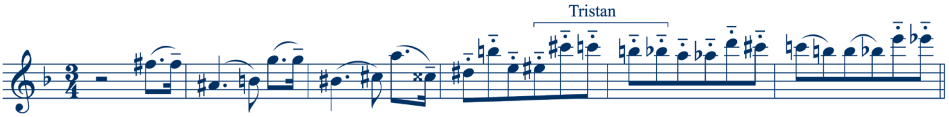
The main compositional idea of the symphony is the uniformity: the whole cycle stems from the main theme, which is a typically Beethovenian concept. Bergamo takes this central theme from Stjepan Šulek's *Second Symphony.* The obvious fact that Bergamo also writes his *Second* is as important as the other reasons for borrowing this theme. Šulek's symphony is subtitled *"Eroica"* and thus clearly alludes to Beethoven's *Third symphony*. However, not only the symphony as a cycle, but also the theme itself is full of allusions. The analysis of the theme, which in the developmental section of the second movement of Šulek's symphony forms the basis for a fugato, and is at the same time a variation of the first theme of the movement, reveals a strange historical dichotomy: it contains the characteristic motif from Wagner's music drama *Tristan und Isolde* and at the same time introduces all twelve chromatic tones and thus the idea of the twelve-tone field. It seems as if Šulek's theme somehow demonstrates the historical development.



*Example 1: Theme from the central section of the Šulek's Second Symphony.*

This kind of historical permeation – ranging in Šulek's case between Wagner's leitmotivic work and touches of dodecaphony – precisely represents the idea of historical development that was often argued by Bergamo: "If the convention is about to change, it should be changed imperceptibly like society changes. And as a rule society does not change with revolutions."[10] Bergamo is convinced that in order not to damage the fragile communicative link between the musical system (syntactic rules with their semantic potential) and the audience the historical development should not unwind in a sequence of abrupt revolutions but as a continuous evolution. Therefore "the new" should always be organically linked with "the old". This kind of evolution is represented in Šulek's symphony. Although the piece was written in 1946, in the post-war years, stretched between pre-modernistic silence (the new generation in Darmstadt was getting acquainted with the pre-war tradition) and neoclassical optimism (Šulek's *Eroica* clearly commemorates the end of the Second World War), with its material and compositional procedures Šulek evokes not only allusions to Beethoven, Wagner and dodecaphony, but also some other associations. Especially the last movement abounds in stylistic quotations. The idea of the march theme that becomes louder and thicker in texture with each consecutive appearance seems to be taken from the first movement of Shostakovich's famous *Seventh Symphony*. The theme itself is modeled as in Shostakovich's work, and fanfare-like figures in brass suggest Respighi's influence (the finale of the *Pini di Roma*). Heroic figurations, heard just before the end of the symphony resemble a similar passage in the finale of Brahms' *Second Symphony* (again the number of the symphony seems to be of great importance), and the conclusion itself, with the pounding fourths in timpani, brings to mind the conclusion of Schumann's *Second* (note the number again) or even Mahler's *Third Symphony.*

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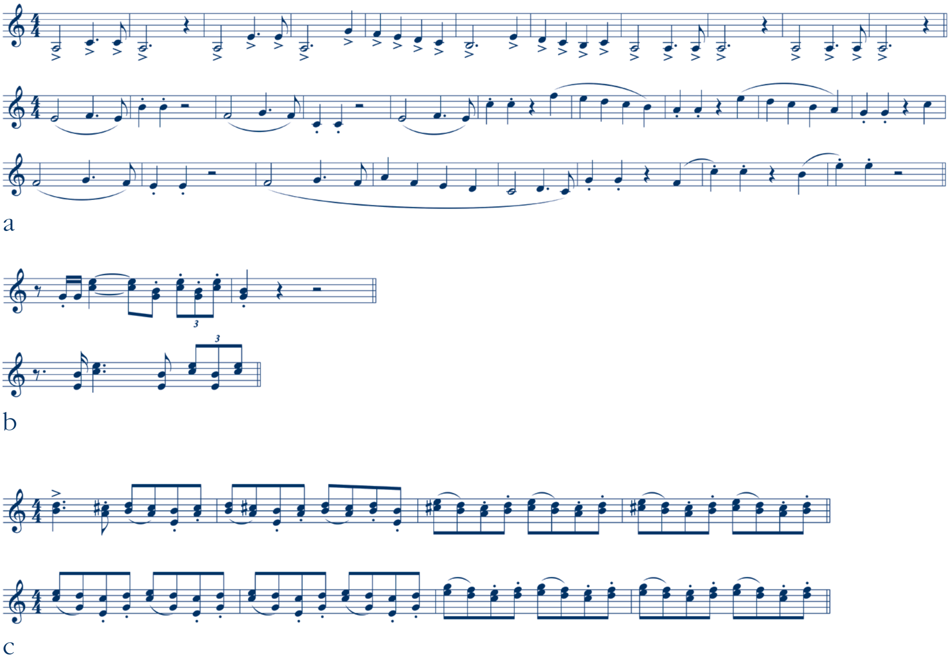
[9] Eva Sedak, "Componere necesse est", *Danas*, June 10, 1986, 42.

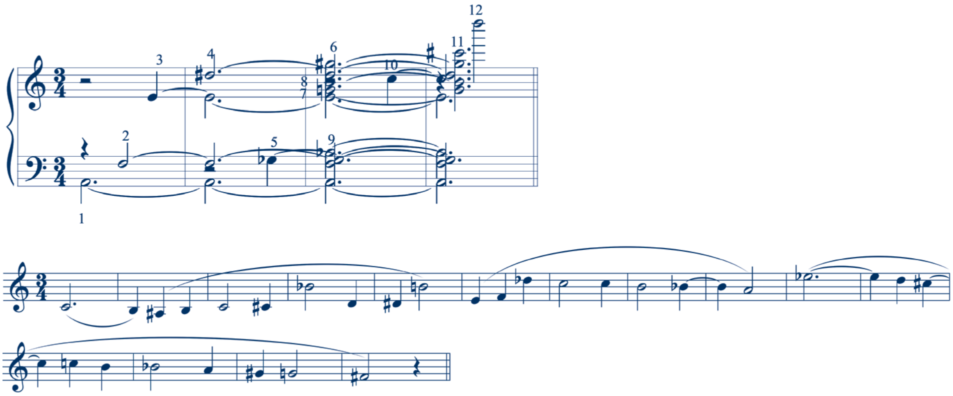
[10] Krpan, "Radost od ...", 55.



*Example 2: Allusions in Šulek's Second Symphony: a – Šulek's march theme compared to the theme from Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, b – fanfare like figures in Šulek's symphony and Respighi's symphonic poem, c – figuration near the closure of Šulek's and Brahms' symphonies.*

With the borrowed theme Bergamo inherited also all the allusions that are connected with Šulek's symphony, and made a few steps further: (1) contrary to Šulek, Bergamo does not make any motivic allusions, but he simply borrows the "old" material and (2) he does not borrow only the thematic material but also some of Šulek's compositional procedures and "situations".[11] The material itself has lost the importance of the carrier of originality and aesthetic value – in the focus of Bergamo's work is a concept: his understanding of music and composition history. In that way, Bergamo achieves his central goal: his symphony communicates. Not with the aid of the traditional system of motivic work, thematic contrasts, harmonic tensions or formal shapes but via the semantic potential of allusions, reflections and the narrative "lustre" of his palimpsest folio.

The whole symphony should be analyzed according to its context (bearing in mind the time of the radical modernism of the third Biennale in Zagreb, the crisis of neoclassicism and the avant-garde's rejection of traditional musical "language"), whereas the traditional analysis of form and material represents only a starting point for deeper reflection about music history and its development. The play with texts and contexts is suggested already at the opening of the symphony. On a purely structural level, we can recognize the building-up of a twelve-tone chord, but a closer look reveals that the distribution of the tones of the chromatic chord follows the melodic logic of the beginning of Wagner's *Tristan*. This simple procedure represents the idea of the whole symphony: it namely merges Wagner's tonal material with the idea of total chromaticism. At the opening of the piece it is presented vertically and immediately afterwards follows the horizontal presentation in the form of a quotation of Šulek's theme.



*Example 3: Wagner's motif, masked as a twelve-tone chord and exposition of Šulek's theme.*

After another twelve-tone chord Bergamo does not only quote Šulek's theme, but also travesties Šulek's procedure of building the climax with the help of sequential fragmentation of the theme and the gradual shortening of durations. Nevertheless, Bergamo adds some of his own "spice": the entries of strings are mainly half a tone apart, so they slowly build up a kind of chromatic cluster. In that way, Šulek's theme with its allusions to Wagner and dodecaphony is brought in touch with the contemporary context. In other words: Bergamo plays with different texts (Wagner, Šulek) and contexts (traditional music, dodecaphony, modernistic sonorism). His musical narration springs from the collision between different – even disparate – texts and contexts.

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[11] Eva Sedak, "Skladatelj ne zna što se nalazi u crnoj kutiji", *Zarez*, March 30, 2000, 35.

The second movement, Scherzo, has a clear tripartite form ABA'. Its first part is built as a sequence of short fragments: *a* – strong pulsating rhythm (measures 1–9), *b* – Šulek's main theme distorted with the use of parallel seconds, *c* – segment with predominating steps in seconds and *d* – a circular chromatic movement, which is to play a prominent role in the third movement. It seems that Bergamo is inverting his play with texts and contexts: if in the first movement his main procedure is connected with the horizontal layering of different texts and folios this time the allusions spring from the consecutive clashes. A strong irony also pervades the middle section – "the trio" – where Bergamo quotes the theme from *Tristan*: the typical alienation arises from the fact that Bergamo uses Wagner's leit-motif idea in a strictly melodic fashion, although the motif in the primary text is essentially related to the famous harmonic formation known as the "Tristan chord". Bergamo, in fact, musically analyzes this chord: its fragmentation in two parts (the rising sixth followed by the falling chromatics and the chromatic rising) confirms the notion that the Tristan chord actually has a polyphonic structure[12] and that it is built out of two leit-motifs: the motif of suffering (falling chromatics) and the motif of longing (rising chromatics). With these successions Bergamo gives us a new interpretation of the motifs that can be linked to the context of the sixties: modernism brought suffering (destruction of tradition) and then also longing for the reestablishment of music communication.

The third, slow movement brings another version of ironic blending or "parallel constructing"[13] of different music worlds. Again, as in the first movement, the first part of the movement grows out of the idea of the thickening of texture, reaching the climax in a thick harmonic aggregate close to the vast cluster. The semantic potential stems from the fact that this gradation is built from the circular thematic movement, which Bergamo already presented in the scherzo (segment *d*) and is actually developed out of Šulek's motif from example 4. Another contextual clash is brought by the tam-tam, revealing strict control: the durations and number of attacks are clearly numerically controlled (12 attacks of 2 quavers, 9 attacks of 3 quavers, 6 attacks of 4 quavers etc.). After the climax come the insertion of Šulek's main theme and more "free" texture dominated by many halftone steps that can be found in all movements (the second part of the first movement, section *c* of scherzo and in the preparatory phrase of the march theme). A short reminiscence on the circular chromatic movement ends the movement, which is again without a pause glued to the next one – the finale.

The finale brings another "double variation" of Šulek's. This time the composer works with Šulek's formal model – like the middle section of Shostakovich's *Seventh Symphony* or the finale of Respighi's *Pini di Roma* (Ravel's *Bolero* also comes to mind) also the finale of Šulek's *Second Symphony* is conceived as a massive orchestral gradation of a march theme, consisting of two parts: "the preparatory" part with several accompanying figures (chords with halftone steps, fanfare figures to which Bergamo adds the passages derived from the circular chromatic movement of the third movement) and with the main theme. Bergamo uses Šulek's model and fills it with some more of Šulek's material: Šulek's main theme. Ironically Bergamo's model comes even closer to the square periodicity (Šulek's relation between the preparatory phrase and the main theme is 17:11, whereas Bergamo with his relation 12:12 obeys the rules of strict symmetry). This kind of strictness is also preserved for the closure of the symphony – while Šulek introduces some semantic gestures by bringing back the main material of the slow movement, now modulated in a heroic major tonality, Bergamo just ends "drily", fully respecting Šulek's formal model and his faithfulness to the economically chosen material of Šulek's theme.

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[12] Heinrich Poos, "Die -Hieroglyphe", in , ed. Hainz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (München: Edition Text + Kritik 1987), 46–103.

[13] Brian McHalle, (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

* * *

Bergamo's symphony is not a simple collage, neither is it a palimpsest or sequence of quotations. He indeed uses all the procedures mentioned above, but they are not important *per se* – the narrative potential they inspire and the wide scope of the allusions evoked are far more important. Bergamo uses, travesties and plays with different texts (Wagner, Respighi, Shostakovich), which open further semantic potential in relation to the main material from Šulek's symphony (allusions to Beethoven, Brahms and Schumann). But such crossing of different texts only serves a higher level of play – play with contexts. By quoting Šulek's theme and the orchestral situations from his *Second Symphony,* Bergamo addresses the issues of Croatian music history, and raises questions about the abyss that separates the avant-garde from traditional neoclassicism. By doing that, he touches on the problems of originality and plagiarism as well.

However, such opening of reflective potential with the aid of music reveals stylistic procedures that are usually connected with postmodernism. Therefore the central question of the analysis of Bergamo's *Second Symphony* should be that of whether we are not dealing with a characteristic postmodern piece or even the first postmodern piece written even before L. Berio's famous *Sinfonia* (1969) or B. A. Zimmermann's *Requiem für einen jungen Dichter* (1969)? This dilemma becomes even more frustrating when faced with Bergamo's clear rejection of postmodernism which he values similarly to modernism: "But in the world of postmodernism, untalented people and dilettantes who believe they can compose make their way into the world of postmodernism because there seems to be no precondition for disciplined musical thinking."[14] In that way, postmodernism is not far away from modernism: its driving force is once again disorder, the incapability of creating a music system that would make communication possible. For Bergamo "postmodernism works in the gaseous state and since there is no charismatic individuality any more, gravitational forces do not develop: each particle of musical energy is independent – conditions for the rules of the game cannot be created."[15]

When one first listens to Bergamo's work it is difficult to recognize different texts and contexts – the symphony is a homogenous work of art, at the level of the structural surface it does not bring a shock, and the play with different, "parallel" worlds is difficult to recognize. Bergamo himself acknowledged this problem in describing his experiences with the reception of the symphony: "I expected focusing on the subject, opening of polemics, a social scandal, if you want, but instead of a feed-back I got only silence, a shot in the air."[16]

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[14] Maja Stanetti, "Apstrakciju i avangardu režim je podržavao!", *Večernji list*, August 16, 1998, 31.

[15] Igor Brešan, "Sugestije iz zdenca prošlosti" *Slobodna Dalmacija*, August 17, 1999, 21.

At the same time Bergamo is painfully aware of the reasons for the silence of the reception: the absence of the awareness of the music history, especially national history. Bergamo plays with Šulek's symphony in the context where the nation's own music history, and therefore also Šulek's *Second Symphony*, is practically unknown. This is why it is virtually impossible for a listener to recognize Bergamo's travesty of Šulek's work, his play with different levels and the rich scope of allusions. Bergamo is very precise in defining the context of Croatian music:

> *A community living at a specific historical time and place must leave its own frequent imprints, if not, that social group does not exist.* [...] *We do not have our own music history. History is awareness of crossed path* [...] *But, a music history which would live in individuals and be part of the cultural heritage of the community – that we do not have. We are in that respect a nation without a history.*[17]

Such kind of unexpected receptive silence comes close to the problems of different referential frames: the public was not able to recognize the implicit referentiality, hidden in Bergamo's symphony and they listened the symphony in an inadequate referential frame. Or more poetic: the public at the time of the first performance expected modernist piece, then realized that it was a kind of neoclassical symphony although, observed from our historical distance, what they really got, was a proto-postmodern work – complicated net of referentiality, a kind of rhizome.

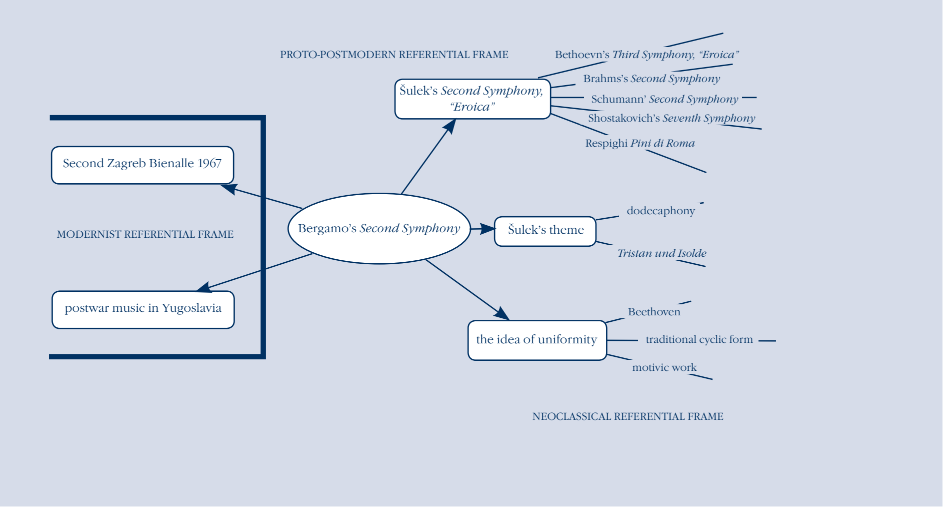
PROTO-POSTMODERN REFERENTIAL FRAME
Bethoevn's Third Symphony, "Eroica"
Brahms's Second Symphony
Šulek's Second Symphony, "Eroica"
Schumann' Second Symphony
Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony
Respighi Pini di Roma
Second Zagreb Bienalle 1967
MODERNIST REFERENTIAL FRAME
Bergamo's Second Symphony
Šulek's theme
dodecaphony
Tristan und Isolde
postwar music in Yugoslavia
Beethoven
the idea of uniformity
traditional cyclic form
motivic work
NEOCLASSICAL REFERENTIAL FRAME

*Table 1: The net of different referential frames in Bergamo's* Second Symphony.

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[16] Sedak, "Skladatelj ne zna ...", 35.

[17] Aleksandra Wagner, "S onu stranu povijesti", *Oko*, June 28, 1990, 8

## Povzetek

Večinoma so vprašanja referencialnosti povezana z akti recepcije in interpretacija, toda analiza *Druge simfonije* Petra Bergama omogoča odkrivanje »igre« med različnimi referencialnimi okvirji tudi na ravni zasnove/produkcije. Skladatelj je svojo simfonijo zasnoval leta 1967 za zagrebški Bienale, na katerem je v tistem času že prevladoval modernistični slog, ki pa ga je Bergamo že od vsega začetka občutil kot slepo ulico. S svojo *Drugo simfonijo* je skladatelj segel onkraj modernizma, vendar »preteklih« pokrajin ni »obiskal« brez jasne izkušnje sedanjosti – v svojo skladbo je jasno šifriral lastno dojemanje logike zgodovinskih preobračanj, ki po skladateljevem mnjenju ne poteka v smislu abruptnih revolucij, temveč kot evolucija predhodnega. Simfonija je zasnovana kot niz citatov in aluzij, ki pa so zelo jasno sprepleteni v semantično mrežo: Bergamo komunicira z občinstvom, toda ne zgolj na ravni znanega, preteklega glasbenega stavka, temveč predvsem prek nenavadnih referencialnih trkov med različnimi kontekstualnimi ravninami: med Šulekovo *Drugo simfonijo,* ki je že sama polna aluzij, neoklasicistično idejo glasbene poenotenosti in modernističnim okvirjem zagrebškega Bienala. Glede na zgodnjo letnico nastanka dela, bi bilo mogoče trditi, da je Bergamo s svojo *Drugo simfonijo* zasnoval zgodovinsko izstopajoče, proto-postmodernistično delo.

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# The Symphonic Poem in Slovene Music

## Simfonična pesnitev v slovenski glasbi

Prejeto: 5. september 2013
Sprejeto: 7. oktober 2013

**Ključne besede**: simfonična pesnitev, slovenska glasba, simfonična glasba

Izvleček

Članek bo predstavil značilnosti simfonične pesnitve na Slovenskem s pomočjo zunajglasbenih programov, ki so jih skladatelji izbrali za svoje simfonične pesnitve in preko analize izbranih del.

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**Keywords**: symphonic poem, Slovene music, symphonic music

Abstract

The article will outline the characteristics of Slovene symphonic poems through the programmes on which the composers referenced their symphonic poems and with musical analyses of selected works of the genre.

The present article aims to present the characteristics of the genre of the symphonic poem in Slovene music. The main characteristics of the genre will be presented through a chronological review of the composers who have worked with the symphonic poem, with special emphasis on specific works that seem particularly interesting. The article will also investigate the reasons for the belated "popularity" of the symphonic poem in Slovene music, as the first examples of this genre by Slovene composers were created when the symphonic poem was already part of the past in most of Europe, and only rare examples were still occasionally created.

In the second half of the 19th century, the rise of national consciousness had a very powerful influence on musical development, as it forced all activities, including art, to subject themselves to the purposes of the national movement. In light of this, only works that expressed patriotic content were welcomed, the most convenient form thus being vocal musical works. For the sake of the national movement, "Slovene music [...] renounced the high positioned creating force of the European West, which could not serve [its] purpose,"[1] and for a while terminated all relations with it,[2] which had long-term consequences. We should also bear in mind that the lack of concert reproduction did little to encourage composers to complete new symphonic works. These circumstances hindered the development of instrumental music, and orchestral works were rare until the 20th century. During the first decades of the 20th century, the conditions improved to such an extent that composers were able to dedicate themselves largely to symphonic music.

The first three great Slovene symphonists were Blaž Arnič, Marjan Kozina and Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, all followers of the 19th century compositional tradition and all composers of symphonic poems to a greater or lesser extent.

With eleven symphonic poems, Blaž Arnič is the most representative figure of this genre. The extra-musical content to which he refers in his symphonic poems mostly derives from Slovene folk tales or patriotic themes. In most cases, they do not have strictly defined subjects. Consequently, Arnič attempts to capture the general atmosphere, instead of representing a specific action. Thus, he approaches Franz Liszt's idea of expressing mood rather than depicting a story.

All of Arnič's symphonic poems have a similar scheme; he always contrasts lyrical, calm themes with dramatic, agitated themes. In his symphonic poems, the mood changes multiple times, there is always a gradation, and it seems that, although the form and the extra-musical content of the poems are different, their course follows exactly the same pattern. Moreover, the composer uses the same musical means to achieve these contrasts in themes and gradation (ostinato, similar figures and gradation procedure).

Arnič created his first symphonic poem *Ples čarovnic (The Witches' Dance)* in 1936. The subject matter is taken from a folk tale about a farm worker who has sinned and is punished by witches, who dance around him faster and faster, until they lose all of their power. The course of the music is similar, beginning calmly, gradually increasing in intensity and then calming down again. *Divja jaga* (*The Tempest,* 1965) and *Povodni mož* (*The Water Sprite*, 1950) are also based on folk tales. In contrast, *Pesem planin (Song of the Highlands*, 1940) supposedly paints a mountain landscape with a calm atmosphere and during a storm, while *Pričakovanje* (*Expectation*, 1943) and *Gozdovi pojejo* (*The Forests Sing,* 1945) refer to the Second World War. The aforementioned musical course and means are also evident in the symphonic poem *Zapeljivec* (*The Seducer,* 1939), which stands out for its extra-musical content as it deals with one's inner world. The work supposedly illustrates one's inner struggles, depicted in the musical work as the constant superposition of two contrasting themes.

The second great symphonist, Marjan Kozina, compiled four symphonic poems – *Ilova gora* (*The Ilova Mountain*), *Padlim* (*To the Fallen Heroes*), *Bela krajina* in *Proti morju* (*Towards the Sea*) – into one work entitled *Simfonija* (1946–1949). All of the compositions refer to patriotic themes. Later, Kozina began work on a new cycle entitled *Novo mesto*; however, he only finished the symphonic poem *Davnina* (*The Dawn of Time,* 1959). In this work, he captured the atmosphere of ancient times with a simple rhythm and a very simple, melodically stunted theme.

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[1] Cvetko Dragotin, *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1991), 278.

[2] Ibid., 288.

Lucijan Marija Škerjanc composed only one symphonic poem, entitled *Mařenka* (1940), which is based on a story by Ivan Cankar and is actually a choreographic piece. The composer tried to follow the content of the story consistently in the music, with various contrasting atmospheres representing the dark domestic environment of the main character of the story and her optimistic imagination.

A great contribution to the genre of the symphonic poem in Slovene music was made by Anton Lajovic, a composer of a slightly earlier generation. Anton Lajovic was not a typical symphonic composer, as most of his works are vocal compositions. Nevertheless, in his late creative period, he composed a work that is supposedly a distinctive representative of Slovene romantic symphonic music,[3] his only symphonic poem, *Pesem jeseni* (*Autumn Song*, 1938). This is a lyrical symphonic poem without a firm programme. The main connection with the extra-musical content, autumn as a motive of fleetingness, is found in the lyrically formed first theme and the general course of the harmony. The adding of non-harmonic tones, the use of altered chords, the design of unusual harmonic connections (mostly a result of scalar or chromatic voice leading), and the interrupted cadences give the composition a melancholic frame that is invoked by a punctuated rhythm in the percussion. With these compositional means, the composer achieved an exceptional degree of expression. The composition does, however, have one deficiency: the merging of ternary song form with sonata form is not very affective, as the constant repetitions slow down the musical development and prevail in length over the short development section.

There are some interesting parallels between the works *Zapeljivec* by Blaž Arnič and *Pesem jeseni* by Anton Lajovic. Both approach Franz Liszt's concept of a symphonic poem, as they are more an account of an atmosphere and do not follow a strict narrative. Moreover, both composers adopted Liszt's compositional idea – motivic transformation – in their compositional process. Even the structure of the works coincides with Liszt's realisations, as they are both in modified sonata form (or at least tend towards sonata form – *Pesem jeseni*), thus not reflecting the plot of the extra-musical programme formally.

The composers and works mentioned thus far all remained loyal to the musical tradition of the 19th century. However, the symphonic poem *Mati* (*Mother*, 1940) by Slavko Osterc stands out strikingly from this time, as the composer used the newest compositional techniques, adopting free atonality in the work. *Mati* is based on the homonymous poem by France Prešeren. Osterc also contributed to the development of the symphonic poem with the three symphonic pictures he created in his youth. *Krst pri Savici* (*The Baptism at the Savica*, 1920), *Ubežni kralj* (*The Fugitive King*, 1922) and *Povodni mož* (*The River Man*, 1924), which could very well be considered to be the first Slovene symphonic poems. *Krst pri Savici* and *Povodni mož* follow the extra-musical programme very strictly, as specific events are even indicated in the score; moreover, Osterc assigned specific motives to the two main subjects in *Krst pri Savici*.

The musical language in the symphonic poem *Mati* by Slavko Osterc is by far the most progressive; even Osterc's student Demetrij Žebre, in his symphonic poem *Svo-*

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[3] Ivan Klemenčič, *Musica noster amor* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2000), 127.

*bodi naproti* (*Towards Liberty, 1944*), returned to the use of some traditional compositional practices (the use of sonata form, periodically and symmetrically constructed themes, traditional motivic work) as a result of the pressures of socialist realism to make music accessible to a wider public.[4] Marijan Lipovšek also used some traditional musical means in his symphonic poem *Domovina* (*My Native Country*, 1950), which refers to a short story by Ferdo Kozak about an exiled writer who wants to return to his homeland.

Interest in symphonic poems later started to decrease. Although single-movement orchestral works with extra-musical programmes were still created, they were in principle not marked as symphonic poems. Examples of this include *In memoriam* (1955) by Igor Štuhec, who composed a "real" symphonic poem in 2010 entitled *Od Save do Mure* (From Sava to Mura); *Korant* (1969) by Lojze Lebič, which, like some other symphonic poems, refers to the folk figure of the *kurent*; and the historically oriented *Slava vojvodine Kranjske* (*The Glory of the Duchy Carniola*,1989) by Pavel Mihelčič.

There are, however, two composers who continued to compose symphonic poems. The modernist composer Ivo Petrić composed three symphonic poems *Tako je godel Kurent* (*Thus Played the Kurent,* 1976), *Slika Doriana Graya I and II* (*The Picture of Dorian Gray I,II*; 2007). His reference to the traditional type seems less odd if we observe his overall opus, in which programmatic instrumental works prevail. Nonetheless, his symphonic poem *Slika Doriana Graya II* distances itself greatly from the original concept of the symphonic poem. The connection to the extra-musical programme can only be found in the concept of the form, which is nonetheless very affective. The rondo form represents Dorian's constant returning to the painting, which is more disfigured with each return. The progressive deformation of the painting, reflecting Dorian's decay, is symbolically represented by the repetitive solo trumpet part, which is slightly changed with every appearance. The episodes in between supposedly represent "the sound vision of one's life journey",[5] although there are no musical means that could be associated with this. Petrić uses a special compositional technique, simultaneously developing singular melodic lines in different instruments. He then constructs denser sections with simultaneous groups made up of several instruments that play variations of the same melodic line.

Slovene contemporary composer Marko Mihevc stands out with his eight symphonic poems, making him one of the two key representative figures of the symphonic poem in Slovene music. Mihevc belongs to an era that did not strictly reject tradition – a mentality characteristic of the movement of modernism – instead attaching itself to the heritage in some ways. The so-called postmodern era stimulated a retrospective view of the tradition and an acceptance of its elements in order to make art that would be comprehensible to a wider public.[6] Thus, we can understand the work of Mihevc and his combination of new and old techniques as a means of approaching the public. Mihevc found the "comprehensible" side of his work in referring to music of the *fin de siècle*.

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[4] Karmen Salmič Kovačič, "Orkestralni opus Demetrija Žebreta" (master's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2006), 135–136.

[5] Ivo Petrić, preface to the CD *Ivo Petrić* by Ivo Petrić, Loris Voltolini and Orkester Slovenske filharmonije, Slovenska filharmonija, 2010, 1.

[6] Gregor Pompe, "Nekaj nastavkov za razumevanje postmodernizma kot slogovne usmeritve", *Muzikološki zbornik* 38, nr. (2002): 42.

It appears that he is primarily influenced by the music of Richard Strauss, to whom his own works very clearly refer.

Mihevc's first three symphonic poems, *Equi* (1990), *In signo tauri* (1992) and *Miracula* (1993), are mutually connected by thematic material. An intriguing fact is that all of the main themes of these symphonic poems are related to the main theme of Strauss's symphonic poem *Don Juan*;[7] they are comprised of the same two motives: the triplet figure and the punctuated rhythm.[8] *Equi* in particular closely approaches the idea of the symphonic poem cultivated by Richard Strauss. In contrast to Liszt, Strauss sought to depict dramatic events. In order to achieve this, he made use of extensive tone painting and even introduced some new instruments and playing techniques. It is precisely tone painting that denotes the symphonic poem *Equi*. The programme linked to this musical work is a poem entitled *Konji* (*Horses*). Mihevc set the storm and the gallop of the horses mentioned in the poem to music in a very picturesque way. The storm is depicted with frequent long trills in the woodwinds and strings, glissandos in the strings, numerous small percussion and a special playing technique on the violoncello and contrabass, whereby the performers must tap the body of the instrument with their fingers, giving the sonic impression of "rain drops".[9] The gallop of the horses is represented by a simple three-note motive, a compound of a very simple rhythm and an ascending and quickly descending melodic line, and the use of woodblocks.

None of the other symphonic poems bare such a strongly defined programme, nor do they demonstrate such vivid connections between the music and the programme. For instance, *Mar Sabo* (1999) and *Jamal* (2004) (and, judging by the title, also *Alibaba* (1996)) only express the general atmosphere of the programmes, as they are pervaded with oriental melodies.[10] Whereas *Karneval* (*Carnival*, 2002) consists of strong dance rhythms that could be related to the general nature of a carnival, the programmes of *Planeti* (*The Planets*, 1998) and *In Signo Tauri* are too loosely based to be connected to the music.[11]

To summarise, the main characteristic of the Slovene symphonic poem is that most of the works of this genre were created in the 1940s, in the period dominated by the Second World War. The National Liberation Struggle (NOB) had taken over every aspect of life, including art. The most convenient form for expressing national consciousness and the experienced horrors of war in music was the symphonic poem, due to its programmatic nature. As a result, the topics of the extra-musical programmes of the symphonic poems are pervaded with war and patriotic themes. The second reason for the flourishing of the symphonic poem was the founding of the *Ljubljana Philharmonic*, which offered better performance opportunities and gave rise to the increased number of symphonic works.

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[7] Gregor Pompe, "Avtonomno in uporabno: lokalna zgodovinska dilema ali transhistorično dejstvo?", *De musica disserenda* 2, nr. 2 (2006): 62.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Matjaž Barbo, preface to the score *Equi* by Marko Mihevc (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 1993).

[10] This is connected to their programmes: *Mar Saba* depicts a monastery near Bethlehem, while *Jamal* depicts a journey of three friends through a desert in search of the stone of wisdom.

[11] *In signo taurus*, named after the composer's astrological sign, is supposedly an "autobiography set to music" (Quoted from: <http://www.markomihevc.com/cd.php> accessed July 19, 2011), while *Planeti* (1998) brings a musical image of the play of the moving planets. (Abstracted from: Leon Stefanija, preface to the CD *Biconcentus* by Marko Mihevc, Loris Voltolini, Orkester Slovenske filharmonije; David de Villiers, Žarko Prinčič, Simfonični orkester RTV Slovenija, Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 200869, 6.

Most of the Slovene symphonic poems follow loosely determined programmes, typically with war themes, and in most cases involve the representation of an atmosphere (for example *Pesem planin* and *Pričakovanje* by Blaž Arnič, *Ilova Gora* and *Padlim* by Marjan Kozina). With regard to the extra-musical content chosen, there are some compositions that follow literary works; the most salient example is *Mařenka* by Lucijan Maria Škerjanc, who tried to transfer the story to the music, but there are also other works that follow folk tales, such as *Ples čarovnic* by Blaž Arnič and *Kurent* by Matija Braničar.

The first composers of symphonic poems were explicit traditionalists, as can be seen in the use of traditional compositional techniques in their works. These examples presumably follow the idea of the symphonic poem acquired from Slavic composers, as it was they who adopted the Lisztian concept and used it to express national ideas. These works by Slovene composers do not essentially differ from those by other European composers, except, of course, with regard to their time of creation. It is interesting that the symphonic poem has not lost its appeal even to some contemporary Slovenian composers and is still composed in the 21st century.

| Composer | **Na Title** | **Programme** | **Date of composition** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Slavko Osterc | *Krst pri Savici (The Baptism at the Savica)* | Homonymus epic poem by France Prešeren | 1920 |
| Slavko Osterc | *Ubežni kralj (The Fugitive King)* | (possibly: Poem *Ubežni kralj (The Fugitive King)* by Fran Levstik) | 1922 |
| Slavko Osterc | *Povodni mož (The River Man)* | Homonymus ballad by France Prešeren | 1924 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Ples čarovnic (The Witches' Dance)* | Folk tale | 1936; 1955 |
| Anton Lajovic | *Pesem jeseni (Autumn Song)* | Autumn | 1938 |
| Karol Pahor | *Tuje življenje (Foreign Life)* | Homonymus short story by Ivan Cankar | 1938 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Zapeljivec (The Seducer)* | One's inner fights | 1939 |
| Slavko Osterc | *Mati (Mother)* | Poem *Nezakonska mati (The Unmarried mother)* by France Prešeren | 1940 |
| Lucijan Marija Škerjanc | *Mařenka* | Short story *Spomladi (In the Spring)* by Ivan Cankar | 1940 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Pesem planin (Song of the Highlands)* | Mountain landscape | 1940 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Pričakovanje (Expectation)* | War theme | 1943 |
| Demetrij Žebre | *Svobodi naproti (Towards Liberty)* | War thene | 1944 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Gozdovi pojejo(The Forests sing)* | War theme | 1945 |
| Marjan Kozina | *Bela Krajina* | War theme (first liberated Slovene territory) | 1946 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marjan Kozina | *Ilova Gora (The Ilova Mountain)* | War theme (memory of a battle during WWII) | 1947 |
| Marjan Kozina | *Padlim(To the Fallen Heroes)* | War theme | 1948 |
| Marjan Kozina | *Proti morju* | War theme (Hope) | 1949 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Povodni mož (The Water Sprite)* | Folk tale | 1950 |
| Matija Bravničar | *Kurent* | Folk figure | 1950 |
| Marijan Lipovšek | *Domovina (My Native Country)* | Homonymus story by Ferdo Kozak | 1950 |
| Zvonimir Ciglič | *Obrežje plesalk (Dancers' shore)* | Homonymus poem by Jan Havlasa | 1952 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Divja jaga (The Tempest)* | Folk tale | 1956 |
| Marjan Kozina | *Davnina (The Dawn of Time)* | The ancient times | 1959 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Prvi polet (First Flight)* | unknown | 1960 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Pastoral Symphonic Poem* for Violoncelo and Orchestra | The pastoral | 1960 |
| Blaž Arnič | *Temporal Symphonic Poem* for Trombone and Orchestra | unknown | 1969 |
| Blaž Arnič | Vasovalec (The Lover) | | 1969 |
| Ivo Petrić | *Tako je godel Kurent (Thus Played Kurent)* | Folk figure | 1976 |
| Radovan Gobec | *Dražgoše* | War theme (place of battle during WWII) | 1979 |
| Ivo Petrić | *Slika Doriana Graya (The Picture of Dorian Gray)* | Novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde | 1984 |
| Marko Mihevc | *Equi* | Poem *Konji (Horses)* by Matej Mihevc | 1990 |
| Marko Mihevc | *In signo tauri* | Composer's autobiography | 1992 |
| Marko Mihevc | *Miracula* | Fairytale *Singing bones* by the Grimm brothers | 1993 |
| Marko Mihevc | *Alibaba* | Tale of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* | 1996 |
| Marko Mihevc | Planeti (The Planets) | The moving of the planets | 1998 |
| Marko Mihevc | *Mar saba* | A monastery near Betlehem | 1999 |
| Marko Mihevc | *Karneval* | Carnival | 2002 |
| Marko Mihevc | *Jamal* | Journey of three friends through a desert in search of the stone of wisdom | 2004 |
| Ivo Petrić | *Slika Doriana Graya II(The Picture of Dorian Gray II)* | Novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde | 1987;<br>2007 |
| Igor Štuhec | *Od Save do Mure (From Sava to Mura)* | Slovenian landscape | 2010 |

*Table 1: List of Slovene symphonic poems.*[12]

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[12] Composers used for their programme adapting works a variety of terms, which complicates their genre definition. With the exception of early symphonic pictures by Slavko Osterc, (which are considered here because of their strict adaptation of their programmes and time of creation,) the list consists only of the works that were referred as symphonic poems, omitting other programmatic one-movement orchestral works.

## Povzetek

Simfonična pesnitev se je v slovenski glasbeni ustvarjalnosti pojavila šele v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja, saj so bile šele takrat okoliščine dovolj spodbudne, da so se skladatelji lahko večinsko posvetili ustvarjanju simfoničnih del. K razmahu zvrsti v štiridesetih letih je pripomogel narodnoosvobodilni boj, ki je vplival tudi na umetnost. Zaradi svoje programske narave je bila simfonična pesnitev namreč najbolj primerna oblika izražanja narodne zavesti in opozarjanja na grozote vojne. Zunajglasbeni programi slovenskih simfoničnih pesnitev so tako prežeti z narodnimi, patriotskimi in vojnimi temami. Večina slovenski simfoničnih pesnitev temelji na ohlapno zastavljenih programih, nekatere se opirajo na ljudske pripovedke, redke na literarna dela.

S simfonično pesnitvijo se je srečalo mnogo slogovno različno orientiranih slovenskih skladateljev, ki pripadajo različnim časovnim okvirom. V veliki meri sta se ji posvetila tradicionalista Marjan Kozina in Blaž Arnič, ki sta uporabljala tradicionalne kompozicijske tehnike. Tudi napredni Slavko Osterc se je lotil pisanja simfonične pesnitve, ki izstopa zaradi skladateljeve uporabe svobodne atonalnosti. Simfonična pesnitev je na Slovenskem ostala zanimiva tudi skladateljem današnjega časa. Marko Mihevc je z osmimi simfoničnimi pesnitvami najbolj izrazit slovenski ustvarjalec simfoničnih pesnitev poleg Blaža Arniča.

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# Moonlight, Nightingales and Dreams of Hawaii – Referential systems of “Kitsch” in the German Musical Cabaret of the late Weimar Republic*

# Mesečina, slavci in sanje o Havajih – Referenčni sistemi »kiča« v nemškem glasbenem kabaretu pozne Weimarske republike

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## Izvleček

Kabaret in popularna kultura weimarske republike sta dokaz o popolnoma sodobnem odnosu do kiča, ki zasenči slabšalne eseje o degeneracijskem vplivu kiča. To je prikazano na primeru dela »Kitsch-Tango« Friedricha Hollaenderja, napisanega za kabaretsko revijo, in referenčnih sistemov, na katere se nanaša pesem – na svet popularne kulture in znanje o vrednotenju določenih klišejev, ki jih je akademski svet takrat označeval kot kič.

## Abstract

Cabaret and the popular culture of the Weimar Republic are evidence of a thoroughly modern attitude towards kitsch, which outshines pejorative essays about the degenerating impact of kitsch. This is shown by the example of Friedrich Hollaenders “Kitsch-Tango”, composed for a cabaret revue, and the referential systems, the song refers to – the world of popular culture and the knowledge about the evaluation of certain clichés as “kitsch” by the academia then.

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In 1932 a gramophone record named “Kitsch Tango” was published in Berlin and quickly became a hit song on the dance floors of the clubs and cafés in the city. In this song, Curt Bois, famous German actor and cabaret artist, whispered “the whole sweet kitsch of love” in the ear of his beloved. The dance floor hit originated from a show named “Frankensteins unheimliche Geschichten” (“Frankenstein’s scary stories”), staged in the big cabaret theatre “Kabarett der Komiker” (Cabaret of the Comedians) in November 1932. It was a grotesque one-act play, parodying the theatre- and film-scene of that time, including references to genres (e.g. gothic movies) or actual films, like the name giving “Frankenstein”, which premiered in the US in 1931 with Boris Karloff playing the monster.[1]

One of the authors of “Frankensteins unheimliche Geschichten”, Kurt Robitschek (with co-author Friedrich Hollaender), sketched the intentions of the parodist play in the cabaret’s program magazine:

*“The form of parody, the form of grotesque gives the opportunity to turn everything that we take seriously in life into absurdity two minutes before becoming a tragedy.* […] *We want to find out if it’s possible, to put all the caricatures about the small and big absurdities of the stage, of the world, of life, randomly side by side, so that they will suddenly form a whole, that can be taken seriously again, because it is so absurdly ridiculous.”*[2]

The things “we take seriously in life” and the “absurdities” of the stage and the world form the background knowledge which the audience needs in order to understand the humour and the satiric potentialities of the parody. It forms a referential system which authors refer to in different ways.

In the “Kitsch Tango” for example, as one hit song of the cabaret play, the system referred to is the world of “Kitsch”, as it is presented mainly in the songs of the recently invented sound films, but also in the world of operetta. The authors avail themselves of numerous clichés which are suspected to be kitsch and use various keywords, obviously picked from real talkie songs. But used out of context and in great accumulation, they turn into meaningless verbal gestures, revealing their function as pure catchwords without any deeper sense. By using these catchwords (like “moonlight”, “red roses” or “Hawaii” for example) the authors evoke a set of possible associations in the listener, all linked to the notion of “Kitsch”. In addition, the only purpose of Kitsch is revealed in the text, i.e. to seduce women, who seem to be especially susceptible to this kind of fake sugary aesthetics:

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[1] The libretto of the show seems to be lost. In 1931 the first sound film of “Frankenstein”, directed by James Whale, premiered in the cinemas. There was also an earlier silent film directed by J. Searle Dawley (1910). In Germany “Frankenstein” was shown in the cinemas in May 1932, thus the parody show was quite up to date.

[2] „Die Form der Parodie, die Form der Groteske gibt Gelegenheit, all das, was wir im Leben ernst nehmen, zwei Minuten vor Abfahrt in die Tragödie ins Lächerliche umzubiegen. […] wir wollen versuchen, ob es möglich ist, die Karikaturen über die kleinen und großen Lächerlichkeiten des Bühnenbetriebes, des Weltbetriebes, des ganzen Lebensbetriebes sinnlos nebeneinander zu stellen, damit sie plötzlich ein Ganzes sind, das ernst genommen werden kann, weil es so unsinnig lächerlich ist“, Kurt Robitschek, “Klamauk”, in *Die Frechheit. Ein Magazin des Humors* (Potsdam: Plock, Oct. 1932), 2–4, here 2.

„Wie erobert man die Frauen in der ganzen Welt?
Einesteils als Held mit Geld...
Oder wenn man gar in Liebessachen weit gereist,
tut man es zumeist mit Geist.
Fliegt sie aber weder auf den Geist noch auf das Gut,
weil zu kühl ihr Blut, nur Mut!
Sing ihr nur den letzten Tonfilmschlager schmelzend vor,
zärtlich im Tenor ins Ohr...

‚Sing mir den ganzen süßen Kitsch der Liebe ins Ohr
Ist's auch nur Talmi und Flor
Ach Liebling, mach mir was vor, mach mir was vor!
Sing mir von Nachtigallen und vom Taubenpaar
und ist auch nichts dran wahr –
Es klingt so wunderbar!
Sing mir vom weißen Tarragona
und von der wilden roten Rose
und von der Nacht in Monte Carlo
ach du, gib mir Honig, Honig, recht viel Honig...
Sing mir den ganzen süßen Kitsch der Liebe ins Ohr
und lass mich träumen dabei
von Hawaii...‘

Selbstverständlich braucht man immer wieder Mondenschein
und den Vater Rhein voll Wein.
Oder man nimmt zwanzig Meter Sternenpracht von Wien,
da liegt alles drin, mein Wien!
Außerdem empfiehlt sich eine Sommernacht in Rom
lächelnd steht ein Gnom am Dom
oder der Señora in Madrid singt der Señor
einzeln und im Chor ins Ohr:

‚Sing mir den ganzen süßen Kitsch der Liebe ins Ohr
Ist's auch nur Talmi und Flor
Ach Liebling, mach mir was vor, mach mir was vor!
Sing mir von Nachtigallen und vom Taubenpaar
und ist auch nichts dran wahr –
Es klingt so wunderbar!
Sing mir vom roten Tarragona
und von der blauen weißen Rose
und von dem Tag in Monte Carlo
ach gib mir Zucker, Zucker, recht viel Zucker...
Sing mir den ganzen süßen Kitsch der Liebe ins Ohr
und lass mich träumen dabei
von Hawaii...‘“[3]

„How do you win the hearts of women all over the world?
On the one hand with money...
Or if you are experienced in matters of love
you do it with esprit.
But if she's crazy neither about esprit nor property
because she's cold-blooded, be brave!
Just sing the latest sound film hit into her ear,
in a mellow, tender tenor voice...

‚Sing the whole sweet kitsch of love into my ear
even if it's just fake and gauze,
Sweetheart, please fool me, fool me!
Sing about nightingales and the couple of doves
even if nothing's true about it –
it sounds so wonderful!
Sing about the white Tarragona
and of the wild red rose
and of the Night in Monte Carlo
oh give me sweet honey, honey, lots of honey...
Sing the whole sweet kitsch of love into my ear
and in doing so, let me dream
about Hawaii...

Naturally you need moonlight time after time
and Father Rhine full of whine.
Or you take twenty lots of starlight from Vienna,
everything is in there, oh my Vienna!
Furthermore a summer night in Rome is warmly recommended
a gnome smiles at the cathedral's dome
or in Madrid the Señor sings to the Señora
solo or chorusing:

Sing the whole sweet kitsch of love into my ear
even if it's just fake and gauze,
Sweetheart, please fool me, fool me!
Sing about nightingales and the couple of doves
even if nothing's true about it –
it sounds so wonderful!
Sing about the red Tarragona
and of the blue white rose
and of the Day in Monte Carlo
oh give me sugar, sugar, lots of sugar...
Sing the whole sweet kitsch of love into my ear
and in doing so let me dream
about Hawaii...“

For more than one of Robitschek's text references concrete examples can be considered as models. By looking at popular culture or hit songs on gramophone records of that time, it becomes obvious that there are several possibilities as to what certain allusions may refer to. Some examples:

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[3] The German text was transcribed from the gramophone disc recording from 1932, republished on the CD *Reizend: 100 Jahre Curt Bois; sämtliche veröffentlichte Schallplatten 1908–1932* (Berlin: Duo-phon, 2001) (Edition Berliner Musenkinder), Duo-phon 05263. Curt Bois is accompanied by the Paul Godwin Tanz-Orchester. English translation by the author.

- The term “white Tarragona” may refer to the Tango “Zwei rote Lippen und ein roter Tarragona” (“Two red lips and a red Tarragona”), which was published on record in 1930 in several German versions.[4]
- The “red rose” appears in several songs. Still popular in 1932 were for example the hit songs “Blutrote Rosen” (“Bloody red roses”) by Hermann Hünemeyer, text Alfred Krönkemeier (a Slowfox originating from 1929)[5], Robert Stolz’s “Rosen, flammend rote” (“Roses, flaming red”) from the operetta “*Eine einzige Nacht*” (1927)[6] or the foxtrot “*Zwei rote Rosen*” (“Two red roses”) by Walter Kollo from 1926, for which Robitschek himself had written the text[7].
- „My Vienna“, a term where “everything [lies] inside”, can be associated with numerous operettas, e.g. *Gräfin Mariza* by Emmerich Kálmán („Grüß mir mein Wien“) or Léhars *Land des Lächelns* („Ich liebe dich, und du liebst mich, / und da liegt alles drin“, “I love you, and you love me / and there lies everything inside”). But the listener may also think about Robert Stolz’s hit song “Im Prater blühn wieder die Bäume”, because evokes a very popular and stereotyped picture of Vienna.
- „Eine Nacht in Monte Carlo“ (“One night in Monte Carlo”) cites the tango of the same name by Werner Richard Heymann from the film “Bomben auf Monte Carlo”[8], which was the second most successful film in the year 1931 (after “Der Kongress tanzt”) and featured several stars.
- After the premiere of Paul Abraham’s operetta “Die Blume von Hawaii” (1931) the alien world of Hawaii with exotic accessories was very much en vogue.[9] Several hit songs toyed with the exotic dreams of the South Pacific, Honolulu or Hawaii, often by using the clichéd sound of the Hawaiian Guitar[10], e.g. Walter Kollo’s “Grüß mir mein Hawaii” (1930), which was sung by Richard Tauber.[11] Robitschek links his lyrics to this exoticism with the term “dreams of Hawaii”, but also alluding to other exotic regions with keywords like Rome or Madrid.

The examples show, that the models for allusions in the “Kitsch-Tango” remain (purposely) unclear, leaving the listener a wide space for association to link his own experiences to the song.

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[4] The original *Adios muchachos* was composed by the Argentinian Julio César Sanders in 1927. Some versions on old gramophone records were published by collectors on youtube, for example (all references dated June 27, 2011): the Fred Bird Rhythmicans with Luigi Bernauer singing (Homocord 4-3515-I, Matr. H-62451), www.youtube.com/watch?v=GJdRauAmKMw; Saxophon-Orchester Dobbri with Max Mensing (BEKA B 6942-II, Matr. 38226), www.youtube.com/watch?v=_LSloY0oCG4; and, likewise from the year 1930, the Paul Godwin Tanz-Orchester and Leo Monosson (Grammophon B 51759-I, Matr. 2573 1/2 BR II), www.youtube.com/watch?v=HsD6jAqEbI8&feature=related). A further version by Dajos Béla (Odeon O-11229, Matr. Be 8849) is not yet accessible on the internet.

[5] Versions e.g. by Saxophon-Orchester Dobbri with Max Mensing (Parlophon 22579or Beka B 6837), by Paul Godwins Orchester with Leo Monosson (Grammophon 22603), by Odeon Tanz Orchester (Odeon o-11065), the Orchester Marek Weber with Austin Egen (Electrola EG 1486) and by a “Jazz-Orchester” with refrain singing (Phonycord 125 mx. 3768). The recordings by Odeon (www.youtube.com/watch?v=DJ1VXWgRwhs&NR=1), Beka (www.youtube.com/watch?v=M35O9mH7oKY), Phonycord (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zf8HRnViNHw) and Marek Weber (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ptMtJ0AGaNU&feature=related) can be found on youtube (all June 27, 2011).

[6] Recordings by Tanz-Orchester Dajos Béla (Odeon O-2360, Matr. Be 6509), Saxophon-Orchester Dobbri (Beka B 6365, Matr. 34668), the Homocord-Orchester with Luigi Bernauer (Homocord 4-3345, Matr. H-62149), by the Paul-Godwin-Tanzorchester (Grammophon 22029-II/B 50764, Matr. 1306 BH IV) and the Jazz-Sinfonie-Orchester (Artiphon 3043).

[7] In the catalogue of historic records of the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek are listed 45 recordings for this title. On youtube: Kapelle Merton (Beka B 6090-I) (www.youtube.com/watch?v=6-jOLvEad0I), Fred Bird und The Salon Symphonie Jazzband (Homocord 4-2382/M 19366 3), recording from 1927 (www.youtube.com/watch?v=_hV1WCC9kwc&feature=watch_response), Tanz-Orchester Dajos Béla (Odeon O 2087 b) (www.youtube.com/watch?v=r_aMcrj9PGg&feature=related), Saxophon-Orchester Dobbri with the Steier-Quartet (Beka) (www.youtube.com/watch?v=dC-o1hOiWUo&feature=related) and Paul Godwin with his “Jazz-Sinfoniker” (Grammophon 21028/B 41 808) (all accessed June 27, 2011).

[8] On CD: *Das gab’s nur einmal: Werner Richard Heymann – ein musikalisches Porträt in Originalaufnahmen* (edel 0014612TLR). In the film played Hans Albers, Anna Sten, Heinz Rühmann, Peter Lorre, Kurt Gerron, Ida Wüst or Otto Wallburg

[9] Numerous songs from the operetta were successfully merchandised in sheet music and on gramophone record.

[10] See Mantle Hood, “Musical Ornamentation as History: The Hawaiian Steel Guitar”, in *Yearbook for Traditional Music. East Asian Musics* 15 (1983): 141–148.

[11] Richard Tauber and the Dajos Béla Künstlerorchester (Odeon O-4959a).

Robitschek's text was set into Tango music by Friedrich Hollaender. He used a musical style that had an expressive and emotional image and was therefore closely linked to kitsch. By referring to the Tango as a form of dance music, which was brimming with sexual meaning, Hollaender used a musical reference beyond the text to add to the irony of the content. As early as 1922, Heinz Pollack had named the Tango a "deep prayer of the body"[12] in his essay about radical change in ballroom dance (*Die Revolution des Gesellschaftstanzes*) using an accumulation of emotional adverbs to describe it:

*"There has never been and will never be a rhythm, which like the Tango gives the body so much room to softly hint at colourful dreams or subdued pleasures of love or tearful grief or overflowing joy or feverish longing or wistful renunciation"*[13]

By using the exaggerated connotation of Tango, Hollaender added an ironic flavour to the text.

Thus both, Hollaender and Robitschek, used (musical and textual) clichés for evoking connotations of kitsch, and subversively caricatured it by means of overblown images and accumulation. The stereotypes used by the authors were also common in contemporary and later aesthetic essays about kitsch, which were, however, void of any ironic level. For example, Fritz Karpfen's "Der Kitsch. Eine Studie über die Entartung der Kunst"[14] ("Kitsch. A Survey of Degeneration in the Arts"), published in 1925, places "exotic kitsch", similar to Robitschek's allusion to Hawaiian dreams, beyond other forms of "kitsch". Karpfen mentions the carvings of "South Pacific Indians" as an example for the degenerating influence of European tourists and colonialists to originally unspoiled crafts: "It [the exotic kitsch] was brought about by the whites, originally it wasn't known. [...] Only as the antipodes [the natives] recognized the superficial minds of the aliens, they produced the worthless trash for them."[15] Thus, the production of kitschy artisan products was motivated by, or almost invented for, a degenerated European wish for triviality.

One characteristic for "Kitsch", according to Karpfen, is the industrial production and marketing of the products:

*"In China, whole urban districts have come into existence, where residents live exclusively from the fabrication of 'antique' artwork. There are temples of Fo in the central regions of Asia, whose statue of Buddha was sold to eager Europeans a hundred times. The procedure is always the same:* [...] *The compliant merchant in Shanghai, who gives the tourist a hint, the captain of the junk, the monk and prior of the monastery make up a registered corporation* [...] *The company members sneeringly rake in the money of the white chump."*[16]

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[12] Heinz Pollack, *Die Revolution des Gesellschaftstanzes* (Dresden: Sibyllen-Verlag, 1922), 20.

[13] „Nie hat und nie wird es wieder einen Rhythmus geben, der gleich Tango dem Körper so viel Spielraum gibt, bunte Träume hauchend anzudeuten oder verhaltene Liebesglut oder tränengetränkte Trauer oder sprudelnde Freude oder fiebergeschüttelte Sehnsüchte oder wehmütiges Verzichten." Ibid., 27.

[14] Fritz Karpfen, *Der Kitsch: Eine Studie über die Entartung der Kunst* (Hamburg: Weltbund, 1925).

[15] „Durch die Weißen entstand er, ursprünglich kannte man ihn nicht. [...] Erst als die Antipoden den seichten Sinn der Fremden erkannten, schufen sie für sie den wertlosen Kitsch", ibid., 34.

[16] „Längst schon sind in China ganze Stadtviertel entstanden, deren Bewohner ausschließlich von der Erzeugung ‚alter' Kunstwerke leben. Es gibt Tempel des Fo im Innersten Asiens, deren Buddhabild zum hundertstenmal an gierige Europäer verkauft worden ist. Der Vorgang ist immer derselbe. [...] Der gefällige Händler in Schanghai, der den Tip [sic] gibt, der Kapitän der Dschunke, Mönch und Prior des Klosters bilden eine registrierte G.m.b.H. [...] Die Gesellschafter streichen hohnlächelnd das Geld des weißen Gimpels in die Kasse", ibid., 25ff.

The mass production and the organized sales strategy imply something soulless, a "fake"[17], which is played off against something "original", authentic, unique. Although Karpfen even concedes a certain artistry to the imitations, he does not consider them as „real artwork"[18]: "Because art is something that is created with the lifeblood of the creator, who endows it with all the spiritual vibrancies of his time, raised to highest rank."[19] Karpfen draws a line to distinguish between art and industrial (mass) production ("Kitsch") on the one hand, on the other hand he distances both from a sort of unspoiled folk handcraft: "Not the poorest soul in areas not yet contaminated by Europeans would consider to have his simple, pretty goods replaced by useless rubbish".[20] Thus imitations of foreign origin especially designed for Europeans would come under "exotic kitsch" in Karpfen's sense of the word. Furthermore, any imitation of exotic objects of European origin – for example a "Hawaiian"-like song – or any copy of an exotic style – like the Argentinian Tango – would be kitsch: it's not an "original", but a fake.

Thus Karpfen and the "Kitsch Tango" share a fundamental definition of kitsch: it is the distinction between original and fake, between "true" art and "false" kitsch. If Robitschek uses the words "Talmi und Flor"[21] ("fake and gauze") he signalizes, that kitsch is nothing authentic or real, but deception. The phrase "und ist auch nichts dran wahr, / es klingt so wunderbar" ("even if nothing's true about it – it sounds so wonderful!") further underlines this. But while Karpfen discredits the consumers of kitsch as an "army of naive and careless people"[22], Robitschek sees them as intentionally calling for and enjoying kitsch: „Ach Liebling, mach mir was vor" ("Honey, please fool me"). For them, kitsch is an aesthetic play with a special attraction of ambiguity, because it is not known, if they deal with it consciously or naively. Although Robitschek and Hollaender implicitly criticize kitsch in the "Kitsch Tango", they are far away from any "kulturkritik" opinion, which sees Kitsch as a degenerated and harmful variety, like Karpfen or later Hermann Broch ("Das Böse im Wertsystem der Kunst"[23]). Instead, the authors even seem to enjoy a witty play with the subject of kitsch and have a relaxed attitude towards it.

This attitude, shown in the song of 1932, resembles an approach to kitsch, which was referred to as "postmodern lifestyle"[24] by Ute Dettmar and Thomas Küpper in the editorial to the reader "Kitsch. Texte und Theorien" (2007). They closely link it to Gerhard Schulze's concept of an "Erlebnisgesellschaft" ("adventure society") and the "deverticalisation" ("Entvertikalisierung"[25]) of social space in the second half of the twentieth century, which manifests itself in it:

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[17] Ibid., 9. The connection between mass produced goods and kitsch is not only topic of this chapter but through the whole book of Karpfen.

[18] Ibid., 28f.

[19] „Denn Kunst ist etwas, was mit dem Herzblut des Schöpfers geschaffen wird, der in sein Werk die geistigen Ausstrahlungen seiner Zeit, zur höchsten Potenz erhoben, hineinträgt", ibid., 32f.

[20] „In den noch nicht von Europa durchseuchten Gebieten fällt es dem ärmsten Kuli nicht ein, seinen einfachen, schönen Hausrat durch sinnlosen Schmarren verdrängen zu lassen", ibid., 34. See also ibid., 100f.: „Es gibt eine Kunst, die aus dem Volke ganz ursprünglich aufsteigt und es gibt den Kitsch, der, fabrikmäßig erzeugt, vom Volk verdaut wird."

[21] Talmi is a term, also used by Karpfen, ibid., 8.

[22] „Heer von Leichtgläubigen und Gleichgültigen", ibid.

[23] Hermann Broch, "Das Böse im Wertsystem der Kunst" [1933], in: Broch, *Geist und Zeitgeist: Essays zur Kultur der Moderne*, ed. by Paul Michael Lützeler (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 7–42.

[24] Ute Dettmar, Thomas Küpper, "Einleitung", in Dettmar, Küpper, *Kitsch: Texte ...*, 9–16, here 10.

*"Nowadays, Kitsch is in many people's homes– putting a garden gnome in one's front yard, or decorating one's living room with a belling stag, does not necessarily mean being narrow-minded, bourgeois or over-sentimental. Such a person might simply master the playful dealing with kitsch, lead a 'postmodern' lifestyle and does not expect dismissive, but rather approving comments about his taste preferences.* [...] *– as a bogeyman, Kitsch had its day."*[26]

Thus, the dealing with kitsch as described above is not only a "postmodern" attitude, but is already indicated in the Cabaret of the twenties and thirties, in songs like the "Kitsch Tango" or in Robitschek's foreword to "Frankensteins unheimliche Geschichten". Therefore, it is quite convincing when Wolfgang Ruttkowski transfers the concept of "camp" on performance in Cabaret, as early as in the Weimar Republic:

*"In cabaret songs, and especially in prostitute songs, we notice again and again a basic attitude of the writer as well as the performer of the text, which can only be described by the aforementioned term 'camp'. It is reflected in witty puns, innuendos, and asides; in exaggerations, which are not meant to be taken seriously; and in pathos, which nobody believes in, neither the performers nor the audience. In short, 'camp' involves the exaggerated use of stylistic elements, which previously had been taken seriously, for the purpose of entertainment."*

Being aware of using kitsch, dealing with it consciously, is thus the crucial point for Ruttkowski, too. Only self-consciousness makes a performance "camp":

*"It is the 'decadent' ennui (boredom) with social seriousness and the socialist agenda that produces the 'camp' attitude. Sentimentality? Yes! But the camp performer always knows that s/he is being sentimental and enjoys the indulgence."*[27]

There are many examples of this conscious dealing with kitsch respectively camp in the staging of chansons in cabaret, not only in the genre of prostitute songs. Ruttkowski sees the "attitude of 'camp'"[28] already unfolded in Yvette Guilbert. As one of the most significant figures of "camp" he states the prototype of the Vamp, first in Cabaret, later in films: "In her grotesque attire, make-up, and behaviour she is also always 'camp' in Sontag's and Ruttkowski's understanding of the word."[29] According to this picture of a seducing, man-eating woman, Marcellus Schiffer wrote a chanson titled „the Vamp" (from the operetta *"100 Meter Glück"*), which exaggerates the attributes, thereby ironizing it:

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[25] „Im mehrdimensionalen Raum ist oben und unten nicht mehr eindeutig bestimmbar. Gruppen, die sich an verschiedenen Stellen in diesem Raum zusammenklumpen, könnten sich nur dann gegenseitig in einer Hierarchie wahrnehmen, wenn es ein privilegiertes alltagsästhetisches Schema gäbe. [...] Statt auf einer gemeinsamen Leiter stehen die sozialen Gruppen auf einem Podest, jede für sich, und jede stellt sich auf die Zehenspitzen, um auf die anderen herabschauen zu können. Die Entvertikalisierung der Alltagsästhetik ist Teil einer umfassenden Entvertikalisierung des Verhältnisses sozialer Großgruppen." Gerhard Schulze, *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft. Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2005), 167.

[26] „Kitsch ist heutzutage bei vielen zu Hause – wer sich einen Gartenzwerg in den Vorgarten stellt, das Wohnzimmer mit einem röhrenden Hirsch schmückt, weist sich nicht unbedingt als kleinbürgerlich, spießig, oder übermäßig sentimental aus. Möglicherweise beherrscht er den spielerischen Umgang mit dem Kitsch, pflegt einen ‚postmodernen' Lebensstil und rechnet ob seiner Geschmacksvorlieben nicht mit abschätzigen, sondern anerkennenden Blicken. [...] – als Feindbild hat der Kitsch weitgehend ausgedient.", Dettmar, Küpper, "Einleitung", 10.

[27] Wolfgang Ruttkowski, "Cabaret Songs", in *Popular Music and Society*, 25, nr. 3 (2001): 45–71, here 59.

[28] Ibid., 58.

[29] Ruttkowski is referring to Susan Sontag, "Notes on, Camp", in *Against interpretation and other essays* (London: Penguin Book, 2009), 275–292, hier 275; Ruttkowski: "Cabaret Songs", 59f.

| | |
|---|---|
| „Ich bin das Gift der Medici, | "I'm the poison of the Medici, |
| bin eine Hexe wie Jeanne d'Arc; | I'm a witch like Jeanne d'Arc; |
| ich trag den Strumpf der Dubarry, | I wear the stockings of the Dubarry, |
| ich bade nackt in einem Sarg. | I'm bathing naked in a coffin. |
| Ich bin ein Vamp! | I'm a vamp! |
| Ich bin ein Vamp, ich bin halb vertiert! | I'm a vamp, I'm half animal! |
| Ich saug' die Männer an und aus! | I suck men in and suck men out! |
| Ich mache Frikassee daraus! | I'm making mincemeat out of them! |
| Ich bin ein Vamp!"[30] | I'm a vamp!" |

The music, which Mischa Spoliansky composed for the text, also uses the style of Tango to put the song in an appropriate mood.

In the "Kitsch Tango" and also in the exaggerations of the chanson "The Vamp" the conscious application of elements of "kitsch" in cabaret and closely related art forms becomes apparent. Two reference systems can be detected, which make the allusions and the irony work for the listeners. Firstly the reference system of popular culture of the time, like films, songs and operettas, which must be known to be associated with the texts of the chanson. Second it is the knowledge about the evaluation respectively condemnation of certain clichés as "kitsch" by art reviewers or other people, who dominated the discourse in arts journals, academia and schools.

The playful but reflected dealing with elements which were stigmatised as kitsch, gains a particular aesthetic attraction by flirting with a bourgeois cultural lifestyle and simultaneously turning it into ridicule. Thus, the cabaret and the popular culture of the Weimar Republic are evidence of a thoroughly modern attitude towards kitsch, which outshines pejorative essays about the degenerating impact of kitsch. The authors recognized the wish of the audience to laugh about themselves through the mirror of caricature and to "be fooled" in a carefully pleasant, not too harmful way. Or, as Robitschek puts it:

*"But we want to see the lunacy around us in the distorting mirror. We couldn't stand all the festivities, excitements, the slapstick comedies of our existence, if we didn't see from time to time, how ridiculously we behave even in this slapstick world."*[31]

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[30] Marcellus Schiffer, Mischa Spoliansky, *Ich bin ein Vamp! Lied und Tango aus der Operette „100 Meter Glück"* (Wien: Doblinger, 1932 (sheet music)).

[31] „Aber wir wollen doch den Irrsinn um uns herum im Zerrspiegel der Karikatur sehen. Wir könnten ja diese Festlichkeiten, diese Aufregungen, diesen Klamauk unseres Daseins gar nicht ertragen, wenn wir nicht von Zeit zu Zeit sähen, wie ulkig wir uns selbst in dieser Welt voll Klamauk benehmen", Robitschek, "Klamauk", 2.

## Povzetek

Leta 1932 sta Friedrich Hollaender in Kurt Robitschek v Berlinu izdala gramofonsko ploščo z naslovom »Kitsch-Tango«, ki je postala uspešnica na plesiščih klubov in lokalov v mestu. Pesem, ki je bila najprej del kabaretske predstave, se je nanašala na dva različna referenčna sistema:

Najprej je občinstvo moralo poznati popularno kulturo tistega časa, zlasti film, opereto in popularne pesem, da je lahko razumelo namigovanja v besedilu. S krilaticami, kot so »mesečina«, »rdeče vrtnice« ali »Havaji« sta avtorja v poslušalcu zbudila komplet možnih povezav, ki so bile vse povezane s pojmom kiča. Z nanašanjem na tango kot glasbeno obliko, nabito s seksualnim pomenom, je skladatelj povečal ironijo vsebine, ki je govorila, da je edini namen kiča zapeljevanje žensk.

A poleg tega so morali biti poslušalci seznanjeni z diskurzom o kiču in njegovem degenerativnem učinku, da so lahko dešifrirali satirični pomen pesmi. Robitschek in Hollaender se v svojem opisu kiča kot »Talmi und Flor« (»ponaredek in koprena«) strinjata s konceptom, ki ga je Fritz Karpfen skiciral v svoji knjigi „Der Kitsch. Eine Studie über die Entartung der Kunst“ (»Kič. Študija o izrojenosti umetnosti«, 1925). Karpfen je razlikoval med izvirnim in ponarejenim, »pravo« umetnostjo in »ponarejenim« kičem. A medtem ko Karpfen porabnike kiča diskreditira kot »vojsko naivnih in brezskrbnih ljudi«, jih Robitschek vidi kot množico, ki namerno zahteva kič in uživa v njem, ter tako kaže svoj prefinjeni um. S kičem se ukvarjajo zavestno, zavedajo se, da ga uporabljajo.

Z zasledovanjem obeh referenčnih sistemov in pregledov drugih primerov kabareta se pokaže povsem sodoben odnos do kiča v kabaretu pozne weimarske republike: kič je estetska igra s posebnim dodatkom dvoumnosti, domiselna igra, v kateri uživajo avtorji in porabniki kiča, ki imajo do njega sproščen odnos. Na ta način je funkcija kiča podobna odnosu, ki so ga pripisovali »postmodernemu« življenjskemu slogu avtorjev, kot sta Ute Dettmar in Thomas Küpper, in je močno povezana s konceptom Gerharda Schulzeja o »družbi doživetij«. A kot kaže ta članek, zavestno ukvarjanje s kičem, kot je opisano zgoraj, ni samo »postmoderen« odnos, saj je nakazan že v kabaretu dvajsetih in tridesetih let.

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