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A NEGLECTED CHAPTER ON HANDL'S SOURCES: READINGS FROM THE SWEDISH MANUSCRIPTS

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Izyleček: Švedske knjižnice hranijo pomembno število prepisov skladb Jacoba Handla. V pri-spevku so obravnavane posebnosti tega reper-toarja. Glede na pisne vire je Handlova glasba kmalu našla mesto v luteranski glasbeni praksi na Švedskem.

Ključne besede: Jacob Handl-Gallus, Švedska, Salomon Frenzel, Västerås, Kalmar, Växjö

Abstract: Swedish libraries preserve an impor-tant amount of manuscript copies of Jacob Handl compositions. Specificities of the repertory are examined in this article, in relation with written evidence that Handl music had found its way al-ready at an early date within the musical prac-tice of Lutheran Church in Sweden.

Keywords: Jacob Handl-Gallus, Sweden, Salo-mon Frenzel, Västerås, Kalmar, Växjö

Handl sources yet to be studied

In his review commenting on volumes 26 and 27 of the *Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae* (MAMS) devoted to Jacob Handl's printed secular compositions,¹ Stephen Rose remarked² that the location of surviving copies was not mentioned in this edition, an omission judged unfortunate "given the patchy coverage of Hungarian and Polish li-braries in RISM (Répertoire international des sources musicales)."³ This remark indeed makes a point for every Handl scholar faced with the large number of preserved sources, their often fragmentary nature, and, most of all, their dissemination. The fact that source locations are limited or absent in the Handl volumes of the MAMS series probably needs no other explanation than this complexity, to which the RISM A/II listings with their

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¹ Iacobus Gallus, *Harmoniae Morales*, ed. Edo Škulj, *Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae* XXVI, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995; Iacobus Gallus, *Moralia*, ed. Edo Škulj, *Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae* XXVII, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995.

² Stephen Rose, Iacobus Gallus, *Harmoniae Morales*, *Moralia*, V rokopisu ohranjene skladbe, ed. Edo Škulj, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995–1996, *Notes* 58 (2001), 1, pp. 183–186.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

gradually increasing number of references also contributed in a rather spectacular way. Considering the manuscript source situation, it now seems clear that a significant share of Handl's compositions are preserved in manuscript form in a large variety of locations, a detailed account of which remains to be made in Handl studies. Among the many discoveries awaiting scholars browsing through this wealth of material, the many sources preserved in Swedish libraries deserve special mention because they appear to have been hitherto almost totally ignored by previous Handl scholars. Although the Polish collections are now well described with regard to Handl's music, especially thanks to the work of Tomasz Jeż,⁴ an account of the Swedish manuscript collections, which contain a large part of Handl's musical output, still remains to be realized.

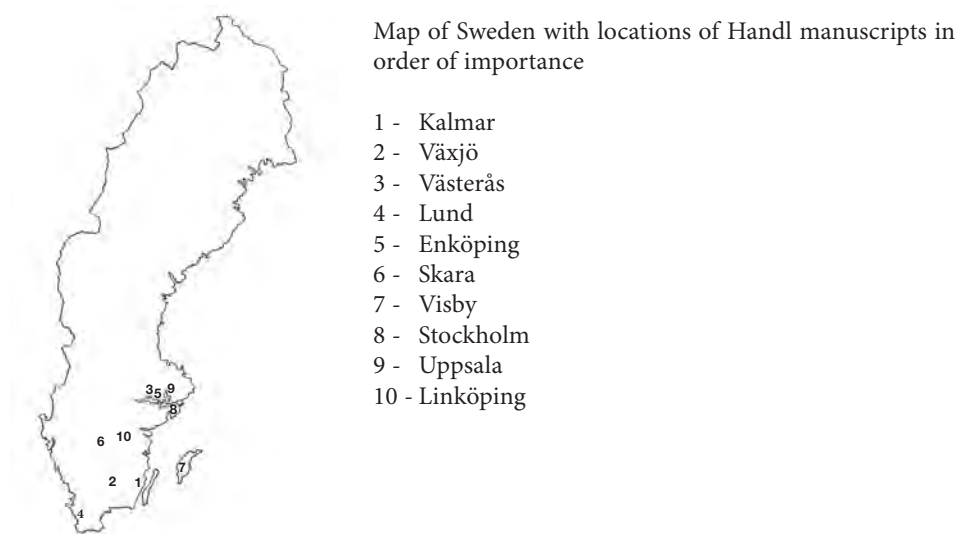
The reasons for this have a ready explanation. The first Handl scholars discovered what constitute the present-day Polish collections by the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly in Wrocław (*Breslau*).⁵ Listings of sources of Swedish provenience, on the other hand, have appeared only more recently, and this mostly through their inclusion in the A/II series of the RISM. They were unknown to previous Handl scholars,⁶ and until now have neither been studied nor compared with other manuscript collections containing Handl's music. Considered as a whole, these manuscript sources form a corpus of considerable size, which should occupy a significant share of a future thematic catalogue, something Handl studies is still in need of. This article presents this Swedish collection of manuscript sources, which is still in its first stages of study but is already opening some interesting perspectives on Handl's musical reception in northern Europe.

⁴ Tomasz Jeż, *Twórczość Jacoba Handla w źródłach proveniencji Śląskiej*, *Muzyka* 49 (2004), 4, pp. 27–62.

⁵ See, for example, the listings established by Robert Eitner, Handl (Händl, Gallus), Jakob, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon* 5, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1901, R/(fac-sim), Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959, pp. 13–15; and by Josip Mantuani, *Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* XII/1, Vienna, Artaria, 1905; R/(fac-sim), Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959, pp. V–XVII. For the Wrocław collections, both of these listings rely on the catalogues established by Emil Bohn in *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Breslau [Wrocław], Hainauer, 1890, as well as in the *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im 15., 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Cohn, 1883.

⁶ Although already well documented through articles published as early as 1901 by Tobias Norlind, such as *Schwedische Schullieder im Mittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 2 (1901), 4, pp. 552–607, and *Vor 1700 gedruckte Musikalien in den Schwedischen Bibliotheken*, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1908), 2, pp. 196–231. Åke Davidsson's catalogue, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques suédoises*, Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1952, also could have served as a testimony of the importance of the Swedish collections, although most of Handl's pieces are preserved in manuscript form and therefore do not appear in this source list.

Figure 1



Facts and figures

The Handl sources preserved in the Swedish collections comprise nearly 250 items, found in at least 21 manuscripts or groups of manuscripts. The precise number of sources is still difficult to establish because a few of these manuscripts do not bear a shelfmark and can be counted either as separate entities or as part books relating to identical collections. These sources are preserved in ten libraries, at Enköping, Kalmar, Lund, Linköping, Stockholm, Skara, Uppsala, Västerås, Växjö, and Visby. They contain copies of 77 compositions: one mass, 60 motets, and 16 secular pieces. This large collection is widely spread across the southern and central provinces of Sweden, in libraries and cities of various importance, among which the richest in terms of the number of manuscripts or contents are not necessarily the most important ones.

It is particularly noteworthy in this respect that the two main music libraries of Sweden, in Stockholm and Uppsala, represent less than 5% of the global number of sources. Adding to these two the manuscripts preserved in Linköping and Visby, one barely reaches 11% of the total. As a matter of fact, this uneven distribution gives particular emphasis to the libraries in Växjö, Kalmar, Lund, and Västerås, and it is to these collections that the following remarks specially refer. The Kalmar library alone is the richest of all, with 73 copies of Handl compositions preserved. Moreover, if one believes the RISM indications, these manuscripts were copied at a rather early date, and can all be dated to before or during the early 1650s. These figures are currently available on the A/II series of the RISM database online, and are shown in condensed form in the following table:

Library	Ms.	No. of Handl compositions
Kalmar, Stifts- och gymnasiebiblioteket	Series of part books without shelfmarks: a) Series of three separate parts (A1/2, B1). Mention: <i>Liber Scholae Calm.</i> b) – Single S2 part. Missing since 2002 (table of contents preserved). Mention: <i>Liber Scholae Calmariensis 1624.</i> – Single T1 part. Probably associated with the former according to the title list of related contents. – Series of three separate parts (S2, A2, B2), probably associated with preceding T1 and S2 parts. Mention: <i>Liber Scholae Calmariensis 1624.</i> Incomplete. – Series of two separate parts (A1, A2), probably associated with preceding. Mention: <i>Liber Scholae Calmariensis 1624.</i> c) – Series of four separate parts (A1, T, B, 6).	73
Växjö, Stadsbibliotek	– [Mus. Ms. 2. Series of six separate parts (S1/2, A1, T1, B1/2). Mentions: <i>Liber Harmonicus Gymnasii Wexionensis ... 1652; 1653; 1642</i> – [Mus. Ms. 3. Series of four separate parts (S, A, T, B). First half of 17th century according to RISM. – [Mus. Ms. 325–328. Series of four separate parts (S, A, T, B). First half of 17th century according to RISM. – [Mus. Ms. 4. Series of six separate parts (S1/2, A2, T1/2, B2). 17th century according to RISM.	47
Västerås, Stadsbibliotek	– [Molér 67 (8).⁷ Series of six separate parts (S2, A1, T1/2, B1/2). Mentions: <i>Liber Scholae Arhusiensis ... 1597; 1603 ;1622;1626.</i> – [Molér 68 (24).⁸ Series of eight separate parts (S1/2, A1/2, T1/2, B1/2). Mention: <i>1598</i> – [Molér 69 (26) = RISM A/II [190.007.571]. T2 separate part. 1619–1625 according to RISM.	35
Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	[Wenster Saml. 32 = RISM A/II [190.002.475]. T1 separate part. Mention: <i>Anno 1621.</i>	25

⁷ Complete source depiction available on the website of the DIAMM (Digital Archive of Medieval Music), at <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Source.jsp?navToggle=1&sourceKey=1081> (14 October 2009).

⁸ Complete source depiction available on the website of the DIAMM (Digital Archive of Medieval Music), at <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Source.jsp?navToggle=1&sourceKey=2622> (14 October 2009).

Enköping, St. Iliansskolan Biblioteket	– [Ij-R:3. Altus separate part. First half of 17th century according to RISM. – [Ij-R:6. S2 separate part, copied ca. 1600 on a volume also containing a Sexta printed part of RISM A/I [L 915 incomplete of four first compositions and a S2 printed part of RISM A/I [V 1424. – [Ij-R:7. Altus separate part, 17th century.	21
Skara, Stifts- och landsbiblioteket	[Ms. Mus. 6 = RISM A/II [190.009.289]. Discantus separate part. Mention: <i>Anno 1646</i> .	16
Visby, Landsarkivet i Visby	– Single Altus separate part. 17th century according to RISM.	16
Stockholm, Statens musiksamlingar	– [K-R. Single Altus separate part. Around 1600 according to RISM. – [Tyska Kyrhans ⁹ . Series of six separate parts (S1/2, A, T1/2, B) RISM A/II [190.011.872]. 17th century according to RISM – [Tyska Kyrhans 15.3 Series of six separate parts (S, A, T, B, 5, 6). Early 17th century according to RISM.	8
Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket	– [Vok. mus. i hs. 132. Keyboard tablature, ca. 1602 according to RISM. – [Vok. mus. i hs. 88. Score with added bc part, ca. 1620 according to RISM.	3
Linköping, Stiftsbiblioteket i stadsbiblioteket	– Series of five separate parts without shelfmark (S2, A1/2, T1, B2), before 1634 according to RISM	2

Origin of the Swedish collections: Central Europe?

Concerning the origin of the Swedish collections, it seems difficult at first, given the perfect coincidence in chronology, not to let one's imagination travel in space and time. Historians will note that during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) Swedish troops not only destroyed or took numerous precious collections and works of art from Central European cities, but also had carefully planned orders that precious libraries should be transferred to Sweden. Reports on the transfer of numerous libraries to Sweden have been kept and were published as early as the 1850s by two Moravian scholars: Christian d'Elvert¹⁰ and the Benedictine historian Beda Dudík in his *Forschungen in Schweden* published in 1852.¹¹ The latter states that the Prague collections of Malá Strana were severely affected by the

⁹ Complete source depiction available on the website of the DIAMM (Digital Archive of Medieval Music), at <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Source.jsp?navToggle=1&sourceKey=1080> (14 October 2009).

¹⁰ Christian d'Elvert, *Historische Literatur-Geschichte von Mähren und Österreich-Schlesien*, Brünn [Brno], Author, 1850, pp. 515–517.

¹¹ Beda Dudík, *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte*, Brünn [Brno], Carl Winiker, 1852, p. 5.

war, and that in Moravia the episcopal library in Olomouc (*Olmütz*), the residence library in Kroměříž (*Kremsier*), and the Dietrichstein library in Mikulov (*Nikolsburg*) were also completely destroyed and taken to Sweden. The route followed by the heavy book boxes is also mentioned with some precision in these early studies. Through Glybczice (*Leob-schütz*), Głogów (*Groß-Glogau*), and Szczecin (*Stettin*), books were transferred to Stockholm, and then to various places such as Drottningholm, Uppsala, Västerås, Linköping, and Lund. Reading these ancient but well-documented accounts as a continuation to the RISM A/II listings is very promising for musicologists. Could at least part of the Swedish musical collections have originated in Central Europe? Must these manuscripts, which are so rich not only in works by Handl, but in many central European compositions from the late Renaissance, be linked with places known by the composer himself? After all, surprisingly few manuscripts containing Handl's music have been found in Bohemia and Moravia,¹² where the composer was active, and this is especially true when comparing these few sources to the high number of manuscripts copied in central Germany or Silesia. If there were a direct connection between the Bohemian and Moravian sources and the Swedish collections, this would provide an immediate explanation.

Swedish copies

Examination of the Swedish sources rapidly puts an end to such imaginings. The Swedish manuscripts containing Handl's music are not part of the book collections transported from Central Europe to Sweden as booty during the Thirty Years' War. They contain no hint of a possible relationship between their contents and Handl's surroundings when the composer was active in Prague or in the Olomouc/Kroměříž area. Paradoxically, what is found instead is probably just as rewarding, and certainly says more about Handl's musical reception in northern Europe in a rather unexpected way.

In terms of provenience and dates, it is certainly important to emphasize the fact that Handl's compositions preserved in manuscript in Sweden were indeed copied in Sweden, if not directly on the spot where they can still be seen today. This is especially true of the Kalmar, Västerås, and Växjö collections, which all bear mentions of the Latin schools of these cities.¹³ Västerås appears to be the oldest, with copy years as early as 1597 and going up to 1626. The years 1623 or 1624 sometimes appear on the Kalmar manuscripts, and 1653 in Växjö.¹⁴ Two lesser collections in Lund and Skara were copied for the use of small parish churches: the parson of Hallaryd wrote his name "Andreas Petri Hallarydensis" in

¹² At least according to the present state of the RISM A/II Series listings. Jiří Sehnal, citing the catalogue of books established for the use of Saint Maurice's church in Olomouc in 1594, also mentions as surprising the fact that almost no manuscript source of Handl's music is to be found in the area where his printed edition was conceived. See Jiří Sehnal, *Die Musik in Mähren gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* und Jacobus Gallus, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa* 1, ur. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1991, p. 41.

¹³ *Liber Scholae Calmariensis*, *Liber Scholae Arhusiensis* and *Liber Gymnasii Wexionensis*, respectively.

¹⁴ See table given above for details concerning mentions of years in the manuscripts.

the beginning of the tenor part book preserved in Lund, with the year 1621. The Skara volume is a fancy little book containing both a single discantus part book and, on the other side of the volume, a book of monodic canticles. The parson of the modest parish of Lyres-tad also wrote his name, "Jonas Benedikt Rudber," in this volume with the year 1646.

The contents of the manuscripts lead to open-ended conclusions. On the one hand, the same pieces are copied over and over again. With few exceptions, these pieces are taken out of the eight-part compositions found in the four volumes of motets,¹⁵ or in the secular Latin pieces named *moralia*.¹⁶ Because the motets were initially conceived for a Catholic context, it is hardly surprising that the copyists seem to select all possible adaptable pieces to Lutheran practice, and especially these related to Advent, Easter, or Ascension. The fact that most of these pieces also enjoyed widespread popularity in the printed anthologies from the beginning of the seventeenth century such as the *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum*¹⁷ is also a sign that this is Handl's most common repertory of motets.

On the other hand, these Swedish sources have an importance of their own in that they bring to light some very rare pieces, including intriguing *unica* from Handl's output. These include unpublished works attributed to Handl in the manuscripts. These works are of great value because they are compositions that previously were almost unknown. This is the case for two motets found in Växjö: *Laudem cantemus Domino*¹⁸ and *Jam de somno*,¹⁹ both for eight voices, out of which three survive for the first (A1, T1, B1), and only two for the second (A, B), thus unfortunately making any reconstruction nearly impossible. This is also the case for two *moralia*. The first is a four-part piece, *Ah quam difficile est falsos recognoscere fratres*, out of which three parts survive in Kalmar.²⁰ Josip Mantuani had already mentioned the piece in his Handl bibliography published in 1905,²¹ referring to the Wrocław sources containing all four parts, which are preserved in Berlin today.²² Another *morale* is also to be found, *Nescio cur hodie laetetur*, for eight voices, out of which five parts²³ are preserved in the Kalmar, Växjö, and Visby

¹⁵ Known as *Opus musicum* (1586–1591), hereafter abbreviated OM, of which printed sources are listed in RISM A/I [H 1980 to [H 1982 and [H 1985.

¹⁶ Published in the collections *Harmoniae morales* (1590–1591) and *Moralia* (posth., 1596), hereafter abbreviated HM and MO, respectively, and often improperly referred to as madrigals in current musicological literature. Printed sources are listed in RISM A/I [H 1983, [H 1986, [H 1987 and [H 1988.

¹⁷ Ed. Eberhard Bodenschatz, Leipzig 1603, reissued in 1618, and in which nineteen Handl motets are to be found. See RISM B/I 1603.1 and 1618.1.

¹⁸ Mus. Ms. 2 c-e, RISM A/II 190.013.063.

¹⁹ Ibid., RISM A/II 190.013.061.

²⁰ RISM A/II 190.026.639 mentions three parts (A1/2, B1), whereas the part books containing them are labeled A1, A2, and T1. It is to be noted that, at the time of publication of this article, a part book containing a single S2 part has been reported missing from Kalmar since May 2002; it may have contained the fourth and last voice of this piece.

²¹ Josip Mantuani, *Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus*, op. cit., p. XV.

²² Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek) [Ms. mus. Bohn 21 (organ tablature), no. 76 and [Ms. mus. Bohn 30B (series of eight separate part books), no. 38. See Jež, op. cit., p. 49.

²³ S2, A1, T1, B1/2.

libraries.²⁴ This piece is attributed to Handl in Växjö and is also preserved, but anonymously, in Wolfenbüttel.²⁵ It had never been mentioned before, but shows many distinctive stylistic traits of Handl.

Certainly less spectacular than these findings, some other special features of the Swedish collections also deserve mention. Copied anonymously among Handl's motets are some single pieces, which would call for a thorough analysis in order to establish whether they can be attributed to the Carniolian composer. This is the case for a *Dixit Dominus*, complete with eight parts preserved in Västerås,²⁶ and a *morale*, *Tu sine quo*, also a 8, of which six parts are preserved in the same library.²⁷ The same could be said for anonymous pieces whose stylistic features bear striking resemblances to Handl's compositions. This is the case for one motet preserved in Växjö, *Domine in tua misericordia*,²⁸ and for one *morale* found in Västerås on a Seneca text, *Nemo confidat nimium*.²⁹

Finally, mention should be made of specific contrafacta texts. The mythological *morale Adeste Musae* (MO 9) appears with a moral text, *Abstorta est mors*, in Kalmar³⁰ and Växjö,³¹ and the motet *Quam pulchra es* (OM IV, 4) appears with an added alternative text, *Iustus es Salvator noster*, in Västerås.³²

Mention should also be made of three anonymous *missae breves* (i.e., limited to the Kyrie, Gloria, and Agnus Dei), based on Handl compositions. Motets are quoted as models in a *Missa Quam dilecta* (based on OM III, 28) found in Västerås and Kalmar,³³ and the *Missa Gaudet in celis* (based on OM IV, 16) preserved in Kalmar,³⁴ but there is also a mass composed on the secular *moralium Sperne lucrum* (MO 7) in Enköping, Kalmar, Skara, and Växjö.³⁵ None of these three masses have yet been studied or attributed.

Considering the relatively high number of sources that can be considered rare in Handl's output, one question inevitably arises: how can the presence of these sources be explained in Sweden, and where could these *unica* have been copied from?

²⁴ RISM A/II 190.016.611 (Visby, single A part), 190.013.067 (Växjö, A1, T1, B1 [2 ex.] parts), 190.026.654 (Kalmar, A1, B1 parts) and 190.026.350 (Kalmar S1/2, A1/2, T1, B2). The depiction given in RISM for the Kalmar part books does not exactly coincide with the number of parts found during the author's own visit, which made possible the retrieval of only five parts: S2, A1, T1, B1/2. The S1 part mentioned in 190.026.350 could have been preserved in the now missing S2 part book already mentioned above, but no trace has been found of the A2 part also mentioned in the same reference.

²⁵ RISM A/II 451.511.238, consisting of three separate parts (A, T, B) preserved in the ms. [Cod. Guelf. 326 Mus. Hdschr. (nos. 1–40), listed and depicted in RISM A/II under 451.511.222.

²⁶ RISM A/II 190.007.363.

²⁷ RISM A/II 190.007.487.

²⁸ RISM A/II 190.012.513.

²⁹ RISM A/II 190.007.438.

³⁰ RISM A/II 190.026.638.

³¹ RISM A/II 190.013.041.

³² RISM A/II 190.015.745.

³³ RISM A/II 190.007.509 (Västerås [Molér 67 (8) A1, T2, B1/2), 190.007.510 (Västerås [Molér 68 (24), complete with 8 parts), and 190.026.840 (Kalmar A1/2, B1).

³⁴ RISM A/II 190.026.839 (Kalmar A1/2, B1) and 190.026.364 (Kalmar S1/2, A1, T1, B2 according to RISM).

³⁵ RISM A/II 190.026.841 (Kalmar A1/2, B1), 190.008.949 (Skara, S1) and 190.012.722 (Växjö, B1).

Mentions of performance practice

From the provenience details mentioned above, it is known that all of the sources preserved in Sweden were conceived to fit within a Lutheran context. Two interesting performance practice inscriptions found in the Västerås manuscripts provide another clue in this direction. Both are conceived as guidelines for the parson and indicate a choice of pieces to be performed during the religious service.

The first one appears on the last folio of the *bassus secundus* part in the Molér 67 series of part books. It consists of two different dispositions suggested for the liturgical sequence, with indications of either parody mass movements, or of motets as substitutes for the usual liturgical texts:

Disposition 1

Mention	Model - Reference
<i>Kyrie supra Deus misereatur</i>	on Lassus, <i>Deus misereatur</i> LV 266 ³⁶
<i>Loco Credo Domine Dominus noster</i>	Lassus, <i>Domine Dominus noster</i> LV 637
<i>Pro Graduale Deus misereatur</i>	Lassus, LV 266
<i>A suggest.: Salve nos Deus</i>	?
<i>Agnus Dei [supra Deus misereatur]</i>	on Lassus LV 266

Disposition 2

Mention	Model - Reference
<i>Kyrie super Quam dilecta</i>	From <i>Missa Quam dilecta</i> ³⁷ on Handl, OM III, 28
<i>Et in terra idem</i>	Idem
<i>Loco Credo Adeste Musae</i>	Handl, MO 9
<i>Pro Graduale Laudate Dominum</i>	Giovanelli, <i>Laudate Dominum</i> (ex <i>Motecta, partim quinis, partim octonibus vocibus</i> , Frankfurt/Main, Wolfgang Richterum, 1608)
<i>A suggest.: Quam pulchra es</i>	Handl, OM IV, 4
<i>Loco Agnus: Collaudabunt multi</i>	Handl, OM IV, 26
<i>Pro epistola: Sperne lucrum</i>	Handl, MO 7

The second one appears at the beginning of the *tenor primus* part of the Molér 68 series of part books. This time it contains a succession of four dispositions designed for the mass:

³⁶ Reference number taken from the *Gesamtregister der Werke Orlando di Lassos*, ed. Horst Leuchtman and Bernhold Schmid, Orlando di Lasso – Supplement, Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken 3, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 2001.

³⁷ Cf. footnote 33.

Disposition 1

Mention	Model – Reference
<i>Kyrie super Deus misereatur</i>	On Lassus, LV 266
<i>Ad Gradualement: Deus misereatur</i>	Lassus LV 266
<i>Loco Credo, a suggestion: Quam dilecta</i>	Handl, OM III, 28
<i>A suggestion: Serva nos Deus</i>	?
<i>Loco Sanctus: Sanctus super Quam dilecta</i>	On Handl, OM III, 28
<i>In Exitu: Laus et perennis gloria</i>	Handl, OM III, 57

Disposition 2

Mention	Model – Reference
<i>Kyrie super Quam dilecta</i> Crossed out and replaced by: <i>Hodie nobis</i>	On Handl, OM III, 28 Handl, OM I, 27
<i>Ad Gradualement: Laudate Dominum</i> Crossed out and replaced by: <i>Domine quinque talenta</i>	Giovanelli, cf. above Handl, OM IV, 28
<i>Loco Credo: Adeste Musae</i>	Handl, MO 9
<i>A suggestio: Quam pulchra es</i>	Handl, OM IV, 4
<i>Loco Agnus Dei: Collaudabunt</i>	Handl, OM IV, 26
<i>In Exitu: Sperne lucrum</i>	Handl, MO 7

Disposition 3

Mention	Model – Reference
<i>Post Kyrie: Ego flos campi</i> [other hand:] <i>Ecce sacerdos</i> <i>aut Salve nobilis</i>	Handl, OM IV, 5 Handl, OM IV, 25 Handl, OM IV, 3
<i>Loco Credo</i> [illegible]	
<i>A suggestio: Hodie nobis</i>	Handl, OM I, 27
<i>Loco Sanctus: Constitues eos</i>	Handl, OM IV, 10
<i>Loco Agnus: Haec est dies</i>	Handl, OM II, 32
<i>Loco Exitum: Caede repugnanti</i> [other ink:] <i>Collaudabunt</i>	Handl, MO 4 Handl, OM IV, 26

Disposition 4

Mention	Model – Reference
<i>Kyrie super Deus misereatur</i>	On Lassus LV 266
<i>Ad Gradualement: Salve nobilis</i>	Handl, OM IV, 3
<i>Credo: Hodie nobis</i> [in frame, crossed-out:] <i>Quam dilecta</i>	Handl, OM I, 27 Handl, OM III, 28
<i>A suggestio: Hodie nobis</i>	Handl, OM I, 27
<i>Loco Sanctus: Gaudet in celis</i>	Handl, OM IV, 16
<i>Loco Agnus: Omnes gentes</i>	Handl, OM II, 36
<i>Exitus: Domini est terra</i> <i>Laus et perennis gloria</i>	Handl, OM IV, 27 Handl, OM III, 57

From reading these lists, it appears that Handl's music was extensively used during services in Västerås, alongside the music of Lassus and Giovanelli, although these two composers are far less frequently represented than Handl. The page where these lists are copied bears the year 1598, with an extra mention of 1619 in column four. It is therefore clear that, alongside the fact that Handl was the composer most frequently copied in these manuscripts, his music had also found its way into Sweden at a very early date as part of the Lutheran services, at least in Västerås. Furthermore, the fact that the pieces that were sung during the liturgy include not only motets and parody mass movements on his motets, but also three secular pieces from the *Moralia* (*Adeste Musae*, *Sperne lucrum*, and *Cede repugnanti*),³⁸ shows that the reception of this collection posthumously published in Nuremberg in 1596 was probably much broader than what was initially thought. This leads back again to the question of the origin of the repertory, and of the route traveled by Handl's compositions to reach Sweden so early after their first publication.

Hypotheses on the origin of the repertory

This time, the *morale Nescio cur hodie laetetur* may offer a clue. This piece is almost a *unicum* in all of Handl's output because it is specific to the Swedish collections, with the exception of one copy preserved anonymously in Wolfenbüttel.³⁹ The text of the piece, celebrating a princely wedding, is an interesting account in itself. The poem is written in a conventional mythological mood, depicting the merriment of the muses and the dance they lead together with nymphs in order to celebrate the marriage of "the light of the homeland." The narration taking the form of a dialogue in echo, the eight voices are divided in such a way that the four parts forming "choir 2" are present only for the iteration of the echo.

³⁸ MO 9, 7, and 4, respectively.

³⁹ Cf. footnote 25.

*Nescio cur hodie laetetur turba sororum,
Quid facit ut resonet sydere clamor?*
- Amor!
*Vox sonat hic forsán manet Echo garrula nympha
Responde veram hanc mea Nais*
- Ais!
Dic igitur nympha: cur musae barbita captant?
- Aptant!
Hanc lucem quoque celebrant?
- Celebrant!
Forsán hymeneum cupiunt jam ducere saltum?
- Altum!
Lux ergo haec est tibi grata?
- Rata!
Ergo simul sponsum sponsamque abeamus!
- Eamus!
O sponsae O patriae candida lux, fave!
- Ave!
Dorothea *o salve candente candida flore!*
- Ore!
O sponsa nimis tu generosa!
- Rosa!
Vivite, concordés sint tibi coelica castra!
- Astra!
Sed Aonidum plaude decore!
- Core!
Applaudes sponsis caso quoque carmine honesto!
- Esto!
Diem tuum nunc celebrabis
- Abis!
Haud abeo, tu forte cupis si vis abeamus
- Eamus!
Sed donum sponsis des rogo quale
- Vale!

The name of the bridegroom does not appear in the text, but that of the bride is clearly repeated so as to be clear to the listener: Dorothea. It is interesting to note that in the Kalmar manuscripts this name is replaced by another one, Margaris (i.e., Margaret). Although it is easy to understand that the piece might have been reused for different occasions with replacement of the bride's name, this does not make the task of reconstructing an original context any easier.⁴⁰ The fact that, notwithstanding the Swedish collections,

⁴⁰ Let alone the fact that the versions preserved in Visby and Wolfenbüttel still need to be examined in order to know which bride's name they refer to.

the piece is found only in Wolfenbüttel, copied in Helmstedt with a sacred contrafactum for the church of Saint Stephen, may nevertheless lead to a decisive clue concerning its provenience, and point to a possible literary authorship by Jacob Handl's closest friend, Salomon Frenzel (1561–ca. 1601).

Figure 2



Salomon Frenzel's portrait

(Source: Salomon Frenzel, *Epigrammata*, Wittenberg, Muller, 1593.
Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, [9 J 275, with permission.]

One of the most gifted neo-Latin poets of Silesia at the end of the sixteenth century, Salomon Frenzel was born in Wrocław⁴¹ in 1561 the son of a parson, and was made imperial *Poeta laureatus* as early as 1584. He studied in Strasbourg under Johannes Sturm before spending some time in Prague in the service of Archduke Maximilian III when this latter was pretender to the throne of Poland. Frenzel was then in Helmstedt, the protégé of Duke Henricus Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1564–1613), who became his most important patron and in 1594 granted him a position at the newly founded Lutheran university of Helmstedt, the Academia Julia. In 1599, Frenzel left Helmstedt and settled in Riga, where he spent his last years as rector of the Latin schools of the Hanseatic city.

Although this brief biographical sketch is probably too schematic in order to argue in favor of a special role played by the *Nescio* piece within the Swedish collections, it offers a link between various aspects of the piece, which in turn serves to build a serious hypothesis. First of all, Frenzel's authorship of the text of *Nescio cur hodie laetetur* would appear to be a direct continuation of recent findings concerning Handl's two *moralia* collections. That the two men were close friends is revealed by a poem written by Frenzel and dedicated to Handl, with the title *Jacobo Hanel musico clarissimo, meo familiari*.⁴² Although this link between the two artists has been largely (if not totally) ignored in musicological literature,⁴³ it appears important in order to understand the context of Handl's collection of *moralia*. Browsing through Frenzel's numerous collections of epigrams, one can see that the poet indeed played a decisive role in furnishing Handl with some of the texts found in the *Moralia* and *Harmoniae Morales* collections, but which until now had remained anonymous. These texts include in particular the lengthy stanzas on marriage *Ergo mihi uxorem* (HM 8), but also (and most of all) the famous pieces *Gallus amat Venerem* (HM 6) and *Quam Gallina* (HM 7).

At a second level, the fact that Frenzel was last employed in Riga certainly facilitates the possibility of a link between his literary authorship in the *Nescio* piece and the presence of this composition in Visby and Kalmar, two Hanseatic cities in close contact with the Latvian capital and which have both inherited the piece. From Kalmar the piece could then have traveled to Växjö, where it is found on manuscripts copied at least two decades later than the Kalmar sources.

At a third and certainly even more decisive level, the importance of the Wolfenbüttel-Helmstedt area in Frenzel's career should be emphasized. Not only does the piece also appear precisely copied in this very district outside of the Swedish collections, but the role played by Duke Heinrich Julius in Frenzel's career at the Academia Julia seems to have been an important one. In terms of service rendered by the poet to the duke, Frenzel's participation in the princely wedding celebrations would have been nothing less than

⁴¹ For a short biographical notice on Frenzel and a detailed bibliography of his works, see *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* 2, ed. Antonín Truhlář and Karel Hrdina, cont. Josef Hejnic and Jan Martínek, Prague, Academia, 1966, pp. 164–170.

⁴² Published in Frenzel's first book of epigrams, first in Prague by Georg Nigrin in 1588, but without its title, and reprinted with more details in 1599 at Helmstedt by Iacobus Lucius.

⁴³ See Marc Desmet, Jacob Handl Gallus i Śląsk: między danymi biograficznymi a kwestiami stylometrycznymi, *Muzyka* 53 (2008), 4, pp. 39–66 and in particular pp. 44–46.

anticipated, and in this respect it is certainly an interesting clue that Heinrich Julius married Dorothea von Sachsen (1563–1587) on 26 September 1585.⁴⁴ Supposing that *Nescio cur hodie laetetur* is a Frenzel poem referring to Duke Julius' wedding, then the Handl composition might therefore well be the only musical testimony left by the composer for this occasion. It also means that the piece could not have been composed after 1585, and that the poet and the composer had probably therefore become acquainted some time before, either in Prague or even when Handl was present in Silesia, around 1579–1580.⁴⁵

Returning to the first question (i.e., the origin of the Swedish Handl repertory), there is an interesting clue here, in spite of the highly conjectural sequence of hypotheses that tend to surround the gathering of the pieces. There is no hint of the source from which the Swedish manuscripts might have been copied. Only in Växjö is there an interesting annotation on two Handl pieces, stating that they were copied out of "Mr. Hermann Dusaeus' book,"⁴⁶ a reference that could refer to Herman Busaeus, the dean of the Växjö cathedral. Because the *Nescio* piece is also found anonymously in the Wolfenbüttel manuscripts,⁴⁷ two hypotheses may be suggested, which will be used as a provisional conclusion.

1. The first hypothesis would suggest that the Swedish repertory has a central German and, more precisely, Helmstedt-Wolfenbüttel origin. This argument is favored of course by the *Nescio* piece, but also by the number of common pieces found in Swedish sources and in the Wolfenbüttel manuscripts, most of which originate from Saint Stephen's Church in Helmstedt.⁴⁸

2. The second hypothesis is that the repertory might also well have been part of Frenzel's personal estate. After all, it is known that the city of Riga, which was Frenzel's final place of residence, had close connections with other Hanseatic cities such as Visby and Kalmar, which have both inherited the *Nescio* piece.

The Handl composition may have followed other routes to Sweden. The Silesian route, for example, would be based on the heavy book boxes taken by the Swedes from central Europe to Scandinavia,⁴⁹ although the time of transport (1642–1645) excludes any link with the Swedish repertory. On the other hand, Olomouc, which was probably Handl's most stable position between 1579 and 1585, had a *Collegium Nordicum* founded in 1578 by the Jesuits in order to offer an advanced theological education to future Catholic priests before returning to Protestant Scandinavia.⁵⁰ Such an institution might have also

⁴⁴ See the genealogical reconstruction available at <http://www.thepeerage.com/p659.htm#i6588> (14 Oct. 2009).

⁴⁵ These dates seem to coincide exactly with the possible chronological origin for the earliest manuscripts containing Handl's music copied in Silesia; see Tomasz Jeż, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–62, and in particular the listings on pp. 42–48.

⁴⁶ Copies of OM III, 26 and OM I, 84 Växjö, on pp. 39 and 60 of the B1 part book in Växjö [Ms. Mus. 2, respectively].

⁴⁷ See RISM A/II 451.511.222.

⁴⁸ See RISM A/II 451.511.263, 451.511.412, 451.511.480, 451.510.610, 451.510.702 and 451.511.222.

⁴⁹ Dudík, *op. cit.* p. 5.

⁵⁰ Olivier Chaline, *La Réforme catholique dans les pays d'Europe Centrale*, Paris, Cerf, 1992, p. 26.

played a role, at least partially, in the transfer of some of Handl's compositions in manuscript form from Moravia to Sweden.

Further research is needed to determine with more precision which of these possible origins for the Swedish sources is most convincing. Whatever the result of this research may be, it is now necessary to include Sweden, and probably also the Baltic states, in the first reception circle of Handl's music, regardless of how unexpected this might seem at first. It is most probable that Handl's extraordinary musical creation met at least part of its greatest fame and diffusion much further north than what has been believed until now.

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PREZRTO POGLAVJE O HANDLOVIH VIRIH: POSEBNOSTI ŠVEDSKIH ROKOPISOV

Povzetek

Med ogromnim številom še neodkritih prepisov del Jacoba Handla Gallusa zaslužijo posebno omembo prepisi v švedskih rokopisnih zbirkah. Na Švedskem je najdenih dvesto-petdeset enot Handlove glasbe v enainvajsetih rokopisih ali zbirkah rokopisov, ki pripadajo desetim knjižnicam v mestih: Enköping, Kalmar, Lund, Linköping, Stockholm, Skara, Uppsala, Västerås, Växjö and Visby. So prepisi sedeminsedemdesetih skladb, maše, šestdesetih motetov ter šestnajstih posvetnih skladb, nastali med letoma 1597 in 1653.

Videti je, da nobeden od teh rokopisov ni del zbirk, ki so jih pripeljali iz osrednje Evrope na Švedsko kot »vojni zaklad« med tridesetletno vojno. Nasprotno, prepisi so nastali na Švedskem. Nekateri imajo celo navedbo latinskih šol mest, kjer jih danes lahko najdemo, kot je primer v zbirkah Kalmar, Västerås in Växjö. Izkazalo se je, da so v rokopisih predvsem Handlove najbolj razširjene osemglasne skladbe iz tiskanih zbirk motetov in *Moralie*, ki so najdene tudi v tiskanih antologijah zgodnjega 17. stoletja. V prepisih so ohranjena nekatera dragocena skladateljeva dela kot sta dva še neobjavljena moteta *Laudem cantemus Domino* in *Jam de somno* ter dve moraliji *Ah quam difficile est falsos recognoscere fratres* in *Nescio cur hodie laetetur*. Najdeni so tudi prepisi anonimnih skladb, ki so osupljivo podobne Handlovemu slogu. To sta dva moteta *Dixit Dominus* in *Domine in tua misericordia* ter dve moraliji *Tu sine quo* in *Nemo confidat nimium*. V švedskih zbirkah so ohranjene tudi tri anonimne maše, pisane po vzoru Handlovih skladb: *Missa Quam dilecta*, *Missa Gaudent in celis* in *Missa Sperne lucrum*. Ne nazadnje tudi dva napisa na rokopisih v Västeråsu izpričujeta, da je bila Handlova glasba v Västeråsu v pogosti rabi za bogoslužje že leta 1598 in da je že kmalu postala del luteranskega bogoslužja.

Skladba *Nescio cur hodie laetetur* razkriva verjeten izvor reportarja, če ga povežemo z verjetnim avtorjem besedila, šlezijским novolatinskim pesnikom Salomonom Frenzlom (1561–ca. 1601), sicer Handlovim tesnim prijateljem. Skladba je skoraj *unicum* v prepisih Handlove ustvarjalnosti, saj je z izjemo anonimnega prepisa, ohranjenega v Wolfenbüttlu, značilna le za švedske zbirke.

Pri postavljanju možne hipoteze o kroženju repertoarja med osrednjo Nemčijo in Švedsko je v pomoč dejstvo, da je bil Frenzel v službi vojvode dežele Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel v Helmstedtu, od koder prihaja wolfenbüttelški prepis, in rektor latinskih šol v hanzeatskem mestu, v Rigi.

SKUPNE FRAZE V TRAKTIH OSMEGA MODUSA: POSKUS RAZLAGE TVORJENJA GREGORIJANSKIH MELODIJ

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Izvleček: Traktom osmega modusa ni skupna le enaka modalna pripadnost, temveč je njihova povezanost vidna tudi v melodični tvarini – grajeni so namreč s skupnimi frazami. Na podlagi analize repertoarja je mogoče rekonstruirati proces njihovega snovanja. Prispevek prikazuje enega od možnih pogledov na to, kako so pred in v času zapisovanja glasbe obstajali in nastajali trakti osmega modusa.

Ključne besede: gregorijanski koral, trakti, skupne fraze

Abstract: Eighth-mode tracts represent a closely connected group of chants, both by their appurtenance to the eighth mode and through their use of standard melodic phrases. The analysis allows a reconstruction of their formation process. This article presents a hypothesis on how eighth-mode tracts have remained in existence and how they were created before and during the use of musical notation.

Keywords: Gregorian chant, tracts, standard phrases

Uvod

V osrednjem, glasbeno najizrazitejšem delu koralnega repertoarja – spevih mašnega proprija – ponuja spričo svoje enovitosti še posebej zanimiv pogled na srednjeveško glasbeno tvornost opazovanje skupnih glasbenih lastnosti traktov – medberilnih spevov, ki v nekaterih mašnih proprijih nadomeščajo alelujo, peto pred evangelijem. Znotraj gregorijanskega koralnega repertoarja iz več razlogov zavzemajo posebno mesto: z redkimi izjemami se namreč pojavljajo le v postnem obdobju liturgičnega leta, njihovo število je majhno, pojavljajo se le v dveh modusih (drugem in osmem), so edini solističnopsalmodični spevi brez odpeva (brez ponavljanj odpeti od začetka do konca), njihovi verzi so v osnovi vzeti le iz enega psalma ali kantika in z glasbenega vidika predstavljajo med seboj izrazito tesno povezan, sklenjen repertoar.¹

¹ Richard Crocker, *Liturgical Materials of Roman Chant; Chants of the Roman Mass*, *New Oxford History of Music, II: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ur. Richard Crocker in David Hiley, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990, str. 119–121, 211–214; David Hiley, *Tractus, Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Sachteil 9*, 2. izdaja, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 1998, stolp. 701; Jurij Snaj, *Gregorijanski koral: glasboslovni prikaz*, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, Založba ZRC, 1999, str. 17, 23, 28–30, 33, 98–100, 159.

Pomen latinskega samostalnika *tractus* je 'vlečenje', 'vleka', '(po)vlek', '(po)teg'. Povezava med terminološkim in neterminološkim pomenom sicer ni razjasnjena, predvideva pa se, da se izraz nanaša na dolžino speva.² V slovenskih liturgičnih knjigah se za trakt dosledno uporablja izraz nadaljevalni spev. Prvo omembo termina, nanašajočega se na obravnavane speve, zasledimo v obrednem priročniku *Ordo Romanus I*, ki opisuje papeško liturgijo v Rimu okoli leta 700.³ Besedila najstarejše plasti spevov se prvič pojavijo v šestih rokopisih frankovskega izvora, nenevmiranih gradualih, nastalih v 9. stoletju, glasba repertoarja pa v kodeksu St. Gallen 359, kantatoriju iz okoli leta 900. Sanktgallenski kantatorij obsega 21 traktov, 6 v drugem modusu in 15 v osmem (enako je število traktov v nenevmiranih gradualih).⁴ Njihovo število je v naslednjih stoletjih naraščalo, tako da je povprečen poznosrednjeveški kodeks vseboval nekaj čez 30 traktov, *Graduale Romanum* v izdaji iz obdobja tik pred drugim vatikanskim koncilom pa denimo vsebuje kar 90 traktov, od tega jih je v osmem modusu 52.⁵

Dosedanja pisanja o traktih osmega modusa v gregorijanski tradiciji so raznolika in segajo od splošnih opisov do poglobljenih študij. Prav vsi raziskovalci so pri ukvarjanju s trakti odkrivali sorodno ali enako melodično tvarino, pojavljajočo se v več ali celo v vseh spevih skupine, ter pogosto verze traktov povezovali s psalmodičnimi toni. Pri prikazovanju so zato uporabljali pojme, kot so inicij, medianta ipd., vezane na opise psalmodičnih obrazcev. David Hiley je pri tem opozoril na nevarnost zreduciranja melodij na nekakšen osnovni obrazec, kar bi lahko vodilo do prenatrjenih hipotez o razvoju traktov iz domnevnega praobrazca.⁶ Na previdnost je opozoril tudi James McKinnon in se pri tem skliceval na Hileyovo trditev o glasbenem členjenju, ki sledi ustreznemu podajanju prav tako členjenih besedil; oblikovanje melodičnega toka, kot se kaže v traktih, torej nima nujno izvora v enostavnih psalmodičnih obrazcih. McKinnon je sicer podal obe možni razlagi: po eni naj bi melodični tok spevov ostal praktično nespremenjen od samega začetka, po drugi pa naj bi nastal iz osnovnejše melodične zasnove, ki jo ponujajo psalmodični toni.⁷ Pred obsežnejšimi študijami Olivierja Cullina, Xaverja Kainzbauerja in še posebej Emme Hornby se je pri prikazih traktov osmega modusa precej opiralo na

² Trakti osmega modusa so nekoliko krajši od traktov drugega modusa, ki sodijo med najdaljše speve koralnega repertoarja. D. Hiley, nav. delo, stolp. 698; J. Snoj, nav. delo, str. 31; James W. McKinnon, *Tract*, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/subscriber/article/grove/music/28249> (25. avgust 2008).

³ James W. McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000, str. 4, 280.

⁴ *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, ur. René-Jean Hesbert, Rome, Herder, 1935, str. 244; *Cantatorium*, rkp. 359, Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gallen, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0359> (15. februar 2009).

⁵ *Graduale Romanum*, Paris, Desclée, 1961.

⁶ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993, str. 85. Nekateri raziskovalci so celo mnenja, da so vse gregorijanske melodije – v obliki, kot jih poznamo – danes nastale iz enostavnih recitacijskih obrazcev s postopnim melodičnim okraševanjem; Peter Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1995, str. 112.

⁷ J. McKinnon, nav. delo.

analizo Williija Apla.⁸ Tako še Hiley v svoji veliki sintezi podaja devetnajst fraz (štirinajst fraz s končnim tonom *g*, štiri fraze z *f* in eno s *c*), ki po Aplu predstavljajo melodično tvarino celotnega repertoarja traktov. Helmut Hücke je za prikaz uporabil le en trakt (*De profundis*), zaradi česar je njegova predstavitev repertoarja pomanjkljiva, saj ta primer ne dopušča natančnejšega pogleda v značilnosti skupine kot celote.⁹ Apel in Cullin pa sta se osredotočila predvsem na kantike; izsledke analize kantikov sta prenesla na celotno skupino ter tako nekoliko zmanjšala pomen nekaterih fraz, ki se sicer pogosto pojavljajo v ostalih traktih.¹⁰ Podobno je za izhodišče analize kantike prevzel tudi Kainzbauer.¹¹ Njihova struktura je, kot bo razvidno iz nadaljevanja, nekoliko posebna, zato ne predstavljajo primerne analitičnega izhodišča, iz katerega bi se dalo učinkovito izpeljati prikaz celotnega repertoarja. Posledica tega je premalo poudarjena formalna vloga posameznih fraz. To pa je uspelo doseči Emmi Hornby. V svoji monografiji je podrobno analizirala vsako frazo obsežne skupine traktov osmega modusa, s poudarkom na starejši plasti spevov. Ob primerjavi spevov starorimskega in gregorijanskega koralnega repertoarja je prišla do ugotovitve, da so trakti osmega modusa oblikovani z dvajsetimi različnimi frazami, pri čemer v nobenem primeru ni prisotnih vseh dvajset. Glede na formalno vlogo fraz je določila šest tipov, vsak obsega od ene do pet skupnih fraz. Pri opisih povezav med melodičnim potekom fraz in njihovim besedilom se je Emma Hornby v veliki meri naslonila na Kainzbauerjevo študijo.¹²

Namen pričujočega prispevka je prikazati enega od možnih pogledov na ureditev melodične tvarine, ki sestavlja razlagane speve, na podlagi česar je mogoče izpeljati določene principe glasbenega oblikovanja, ki nudijo neposreden vpogled v del glasbenega mišljenja snovalcev gregorijanskega koral. Pri tem je za analitično izhodišče služil repertoar traktov osmega modusa, kot jih podaja kritična rekonstrukcija spevov v *Graduale triplex*, ki velja za najbolj avtentično rekonstrukcijo gregorijanskih melodij. Ta obsega 25 traktov, od katerih jih je 17 v osmem modusu. *Graduale triplex* vsebuje večino najstarejše ohranjene plasti repertoarja, poleg te pa še nekatere kasnejše dodatke, kar zadostuje za reprezentativen vpogled v strukturo celotne skupine spevov (gl. preglednico 1).¹³

⁸ Cullin je svoje ugotovitve objavil v več prispevkih, kratek vpogled nudi članek Olivier Cullin, La Psalmodie directe romaine et grégorienne, *Musica e storia* 1 (1993), str. 273–283; Xaver Kainzbauer, Der Tractus Tetrardus: Eine centologische Untersuchung, *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 11 (1991), str. 1–131; Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002.

⁹ Helmut Hücke, Tractus, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 13, 1. izdaja, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 1966, stolp. 610–611; Helmut Hücke, Tract, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 19, 1. izdaja, London [...], Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, str. 108–110.

¹⁰ Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1990, str. 315; O. Cullin, *Psalmodie directe*, str. 279–280.

¹¹ X. Kainzbauer, nav. delo, str. 18.

¹² E. Hornby, nav. delo, str. 9–10, 14.

¹³ *Graduale triplex*, Solesmes, Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1979. Od traktov osmega modusa, ki se pojavljajo v nenevmiranih gradualih, v *Graduale triplex* ni vključen le *Qui regis*.

Preglednica 1

Besedilni izvor in liturgična razporeditev traktov osmega modusa (v *Graduale triplex*) v najstarejših virih

Besedilni incipit	Besedilni vir	Liturgična razporeditev v nenevmiranih gradualih	Liturgična razporeditev v sanktgallenskem kantatoriju
Ab ortu solis	Mal 1,11; Prg 9,5	/	/
Absolve, Domine	neznani	/	/
Ad te levavi	Ps 123 (122),1–3	3. postna nedelja	3. postna nedelja
Attende caelum	5 Mz 32,1–4	velika sobota	velika sobota
Beatus vir	Ps 112 (111),1–3	sv. Feliks, sv. Gregor	sv. Gregor
Cantemus Domino	2 Mz 15,1–3	velika sobota	velika sobota
Commovisti	Ps 60 (59),4.6	2. predpostna nedelja (šestdesetnica)	2. predpostna nedelja (šestdesetnica)
De profundis	Ps 130 (129),1–4	1. predpostna nedelja (sedemdesetnica)	1. predpostna nedelja (sedemdesetnica)
Desiderium	Ps 21 (20),3–4	sv. Valentin, skupni proprij za škofe (v kvadragezimi), posvetitev škofa (v kvadragezimi)	sv. Valentin
Iubilare Domino	Ps 100 (99),1–3	praznik Marijinega očiščevanja, 3. predpostna nedelja (petdesetnica)	3. predpostna nedelja (petdesetnica)
Laudate Dominum	Ps 117 (116)	kvatrna sredo v postu, kvatrna sobota v postu, velika sobota, sobota pred binkošti, kvatrna sobota v septembru	kvatrna sobota v postu, velika sobota, sobota po binkošti, kvatrna sobota v septembru
Qui confidunt	Ps 125 (124),1–2	4. postna nedelja	4. postna nedelja
Qui seminant	Ps 126 (125),5–6	sv. Priska, sv. Agata, sv. Feliks	sv. Agata
Saepe expugnaverunt	Ps 129 (128),1–4	5. postna nedelja	5. postna nedelja
Sicut cervus	Ps 42 (41),2–4	velika sobota	velika sobota
Veni sponsa Christi	neznani; Ps 45 (44),8.5	/	/
Vinea facta est	Iz 5,1.2	velika sobota	velika sobota

Besedila najstarejšega sklopa traktov sestojijo iz dveh do petih verzov psalma ali starozaveznega kantika. Praviloma je zaporedje psalmovih verzov v traktih tako kot v Svetem pismu, pogosto začenši s prvim; le malokrat je kakšen verz v sosledju izpuščen (npr. v *Commovisti*). Besedila kasnejših traktov pa so lahko prevzeta tudi iz drugih delov Svetega pisma ali pa so celo nesvetopisemska. Sem sodijo spevi *Ab ortu solis*, *Absolve, Domine* in *Veni sponsa Christi*. Besedilo prvega je prevzeto iz dveh različnih delov stare zaveze (knjige preroka Malahija in knjige Pregovorov), drugo je v celoti nesvetopisem-

sko, tretje pa je delno psalmsko, delno nesvetopisemsko. Besedila traktov osmega modusa imajo, v nasprotju s tistimi v drugem, bolj veder ali celo vesel značaj.¹⁴ Obravnavani spevi so del mašnih proprijev v postnem obdobju liturgičnega leta, kjer nastopajo pred evangelijem. Izjemo predstavljajo spevi velike sobote (v *Graduale triplex* velikonočne vigilijs), ki ne nastopajo neposredno pred evangelijem, temveč posamično po vsakokratnem berilu.¹⁵ V srednjem veku so bili trakti prisotni tudi v mašnih proprijih nekaterih dni izven postnega in predpostnega časa (npr. na praznik Marijinega očiščevanja in nekatere kvatrne dni). Iz zgornje preglednice je razvidno, da je repertoar traktov osmega modusa v najstarejših liturgičnih knjigah precej stabilen, tako znotraj temporalnih kot tudi sanktoralnih mašnih proprijev.

Skupne fraze v traktih osmega modusa

Princip oblikovanja oz. sestavljanja s skupnimi frazami je v tesni povezavi s strukturo besedil. Fraze, ki se končujejo s kadencami, navadno sovpadajo s sintaktičnimi oz. retoričnimi enotami besedila, pri čemer bi bilo frazo »mogoče določiti kot del melodije oz. oblikovno sestavino speva z razpoznavno zaključnostjo, kadenco pa kot zaustavitev glasbenega toka na določenem toku«, ¹⁶ povezane pa so tudi z akcentuacijsko podobo besedila. Fraze so običajno razporejene na tak način, da je vidna dvodelna struktura verzov. Glede na njihovo mesto v spevih lahko razberemo šest skupin fraz (vrstni red obravnave skupnih fraz (oz. skupin fraz) sledi običajnemu zaporedju, kot si navadno sledijo v dejanskih spevih, pri čemer je razdelitev fraz mestoma drugačna, kot jih podajajo dosedanje raziskave).¹⁷ Za začetke spevov so predvidene tri skupne fraze (A1–A3), tako da se kateri koli trakt osmega modusa začne z eno od navedenih treh. Vsi trakti osmega modusa se končajo z isto, edino skupno frazo (F), ki se pojavlja le kot zaključna fraza spevov. Osrednji del pa je nekoliko bolj raznolik: za začetke verzov (razen prvega) obstojita dve skupni frazi (E1–E2), za zaključke prvega dela verzov pet (B1–B5), za začetke drugega dela verzov štiri (C1–C4) ter prav tako štiri skupne fraze za zaključke verzov razen zadnjega (D1–D4). Sorodnost fraz znotraj posameznih skupin je različna; pri enih je sorodna le kadenčna figura, pri drugih pa je melodično gibanje skorajda enako, odvisno od dolžine besedila (tj. števila zlogov). Snojevo opažanje v zvezi s trakti drugega modusa lahko prenesemo tudi na obravnavo tistih v osmem; tudi tu namreč »dejanski sestav posamičnih verzov vendarle ni tako tog, kot bi si bilo mogoče misliti iz zgornjega opisa«, ¹⁸ saj se nekateri odmikajo od predstavljenega formalnega okvirja. Za način oblikovanja spevov s kombiniranjem že

¹⁴ Olivier Cullin, Pour une réévaluation des formes littéraires de la psalmodie sans refrain: *Canticum & tractus*, *Modus: Revista do Instituto Gregoriano de Lisboa* 3 (1989), str. 41–47.

¹⁵ V nekaterih liturgičnih virih so spevi velike sobote oz. velikonočne vigilijs zato označeni z izrazom 'canticum' in ne 'tractus', vendar s stališča glasbene strukture nedvomno sodijo v skupino traktov osmega modusa.

¹⁶ J. Snoj, nav. delo, str. 85.

¹⁷ Način označevanja sledi Emmi Hornby: vsaka skupina je označena s svojo črko, skupne fraze znotraj posamične skupine pa so označene s številkami. Prim. E. Hornby, nav. delo, str. 57–99.

¹⁸ J. Snoj, nav. delo, str. 160.

obstojećih sestavin – skupnih fraz – se je včasih uporabljal termin centonizacija, vendar so novejša razprava pokazale na neustreznost tega pojma na področju koral.¹⁹

Na začetkih spevov se pojavljajo tri različne skupne fraze, med njimi je najpogostejša fraza A1.²⁰ Primeri fraze A1 izkazujejo zelo veliko mero enotnosti, vsakršna odstopanja pa so neposredno povezana z besedilom. Nastopajo, kjer besedilo fraze ne presega sedmih zlogov in nima več kot dveh poudarjenih zlogov.²¹ Tipičen primer predstavlja prva fraza speva *Absolve, Domine* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 1).²² Melodični tok se le redko spusti pod ton *g*, ki je izhodiščni in zaključni ton. Za prvi del fraze je značilna kratka recitacija na tonu *g* (dolžina je odvisna od števila zlogov pred tistim, ki je poudarjen), dvig in rahel spust na poudarjenem zlogu ter figura na tonih *g a a g* (vse skupaj v obsegu ene ali največ dveh besed). V drugem delu sledi na zadnjem poudarjenem zlogu dvig s tona *g*, preko *c'*, na *d'*, nato na naslednjem zlogu spust na ton *a*, zaključna figura (na zadnjem zlogu) pa v ozkem obsegu (*f–a*) zaniha okoli tona *g* (zanjo je značilen kadenčni postop *g a a g*, ki zaključuje tudi prvi del fraze).

Glasbeno ponazorilo 1

Absolve, Domine, prva fraza.



Nekoliko manj pogost je nastop skupne fraze A2, ki se od zgoraj opisanih v precejšnji meri razlikuje.²³ Primeri fraze A2 ne izkazujejo tolike enotnosti v melodičnem oblikovanju, ambitus fraz je večji (*c–d'*) in so obsežnejše, kajti nastopajo pri daljših besedilih (osem zlogov ali več). Frazi A1 in A2 sta sorodni v tem, da imata enako kadenčno figuro *g a a g*, poleg tega pa imata na poudarjenem zlogu prav tako skupno figuro *g c' c' d'*, ki ji sledi tudi *a*. Kot tipično obliko fraze bi lahko izpostavili prvo *Ad te levavi* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 2) z značilno začetno figuro *d f g* (zadnja tona na poudarjenem zlogu), ki ji sledijo toni *g e f g*, spust na *d c d*, nato postop *f g*, dvig s tona *f* na *b* ter zaključna figura *g a a g*. Drugi del se začne s figuro *g c' c' d'*, sledi nihanje okoli tona *a*, dviganje in spuščanje na tonih *c'*, *h*, *a* ter zopet kadenčna figura *g a a g*.

¹⁹ Geoffrey Chew in James W. McKinnon, Centonization, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/subscriber/article/grove/music/05279> (26. avgust 2008); Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming To Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2003, str. 200; Philippe Bernard, David Mutatus in melius?: L'origine et la signification de la centonisation des chants liturgiques au VI^e siècle par la 'Schola cantorum' romaine, *Musica e storia* 4 (1996), str. 24–26.

²⁰ Fraza A1 nastopa na začetku desetih traktov; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

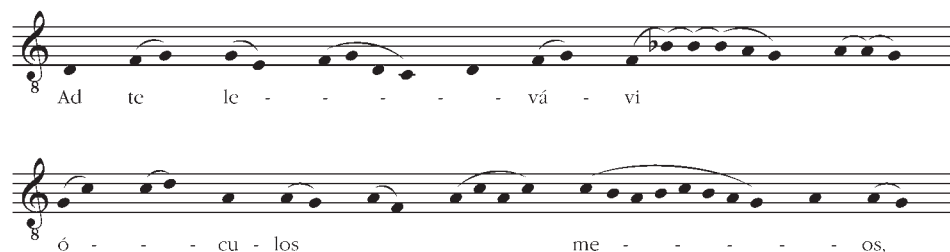
²¹ E. Hornby, nav. delo, str. 57; X. Kainzbauer, nav. delo, str. 78.

²² Vsi primeri fraz, prikazani v glasbenih ponazorilih, so povzeti po vatikanski izdaji koralnih spevov, kot jih podaja *Graduale triplex*. Transkripcije melodij podajajo posamične tone z notnimi glavicami brez repov, lokovanje pa označuje nevmatske znake.

²³ Fraza A2 se pojavi v petih traktih; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 2

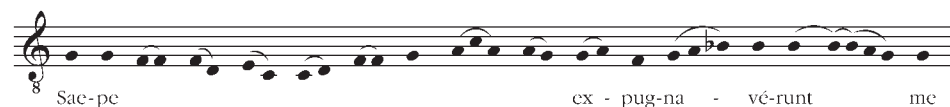
Ad te levavi, prva fraza.



Zelo redka pa je uporaba fraze A3. Ker se ne pojavlja pogosto, raba njenega nastopa ni jasno razvidna. Kot samostojna, zaključena celota se pojavi le v traktu *Saepe expugnaverunt* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 3). Melodični tok se giblje v obsegu $c-c'$, z začetkom in koncem na tonu g . V prvem delu izstopa daljši melizem, za katerega je značilen spust s tona g na c , postopen dvig na c' in spust nazaj na ton g . V drugem pa melodični tok zaniha okoli tona g , se dvigne na b in spusti na sklepni ton g .

Glasbeno ponazorilo 3

Saepe expugnaverunt, prva fraza.



Zgoraj opisanim trem skupnim frazam navadno sledi fraza B1, ki pogosto nastopa kot druga v prvem delu prvega verza, če se ta deli na dve frazi in ima prva od teh popolnoma jasno kadenco.²⁴ Tudi ostale štiri fraze v skupini B so povezane s koncem prvega dela verzov, podobno kot je omenjena v prvem verzu. Poleg tega vseh pet fraz družijo še enaka kadenca, edina s sklepnim tonom f . Vsako skupno frazo skupine B je moč prepoznati po začetku zaključnega melizma. Pri frazi B1 je to zaporedje tonov $c' c' c' d'$, ki mu sledi nihanje med tonoma a in g , dvig na c' ter spust na g z zaključnim tonom f , kar je značilno za vse fraze skupine B. Glasbena podoba fraze je odvisna od dolžine besedila. Značilen primer fraze B1 je druga fraza speva *Desiderium* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 4), njen melodični potek pa je sledeč: začetek na tonu g , njegovo rahlo obkroženje, okrašena recitacija na c' z odkloni navzdol do h in a ter navzgor do d' , vmesnim spustom do figure v nihanju med tonoma a in g ter kadenca na f , ki je skupna značilnost vseh fraz skupine B.

²⁴ Skupna fraza B1 je druga fraza prvega dela prvega verza v sedmih traktih, pojavlja pa se še v drugem verzu *Ab ortu solis* (četrti fraza) ter tretjem in četrtem verzu *Saepe expugnaverunt* (sedma in enajsta fraza); gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 4

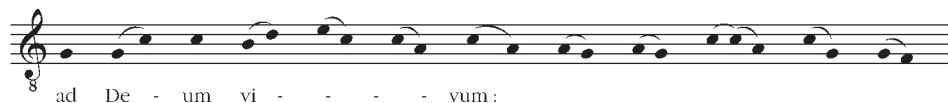
Desiderium, druga fraza.



Druha fraza – fraza B2 – običajno zaključuje prvi del verzov razen prvega.²⁵ Zanj je značilen dvig melodične linije s tona *g* na *c'*, na katerem poteka daljša ali krajša recitacija (odvisno od dolžine besedila), temu sledi na zadnjem poudarjenem zlogu figura, ki se s tona *h* dvigne na ton *e'* in spusti na *a*, sklepni melizem pa se začne s postopom *c' a* in nadaljuje z zaporedjem tonov, značilnim za vse fraze skupine B. Eden izmed najbolj značilnih primerov fraze B2 je peta fraza speva *Sicut cervus* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 5): zelo kratka recitacija na tonu *g*, postop *g c'* na prvem poudarjenem zlogu, recitacija na *c'* (običajno so besedila daljša, zato je daljša tudi recitacija), značilna sredinska figura s postopi *h d'*, *e' c'* in *c' a* ter sklepni melizem, ki je, kot rečeno, razen okrajšane začetne figure (namesto *c' d' a* le *c' a*) enak tistemu v frazi B1.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 5

Sicut cervus, peta fraza.



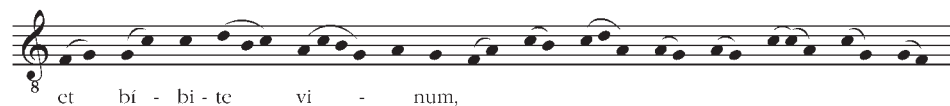
Mesto uporabe tretje fraze v skupini B je težko določljivo. Zdi se, da je običajna, kadar je prva polovica verza enovita (sestoji le iz ene fraze oz. njeno besedilo tvori stavki), razen v zadnjem verzu, kjer je praviloma pogostejša fraza B4. Vendar pa se kaj hitro izkaže, da je pri tem veliko izjem, saj v takšnih okoliščinah fraza nastopa le v drugem verzu trakta *Commovisti* (tretja fraza) in *Saepe expugnaverunt* (tretja fraza brez začetnega dela).²⁶ V primerjavi s prvo in drugo frazo primeri fraze B3 ne izkazujejo tolikšne enotnosti. Značilnosti fraze B3 so jasno vidne na primeru osme fraze speva *Ab ortu solis* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 6): dvig melodičnega toka s tona *g* na *c'*, spust na *f*, ponoven dvig na *c'* in na koncu zaključne figure s kadenco na *f*, pri čemer se na zadnjih štirih zlogih pojavljajo značilni postopi *c' d'*, nato *d' h c'*, zatem *a c' h g (a)* (praviloma je ta zlog poudarjen), ki jim sledi zaključni melizem na zadnjem zlogu. Začetek melizma zaznamujejo postopi *g, f a, c' h* in *c' d' a*, preostali del pa je enak kot pri frazah B1 in B2.

²⁵ Fraza B2 je prisotna v osmih traktih, v nekaterih od teh nastopi večkrat (skupaj osemnajstkrat); gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

²⁶ Gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 6

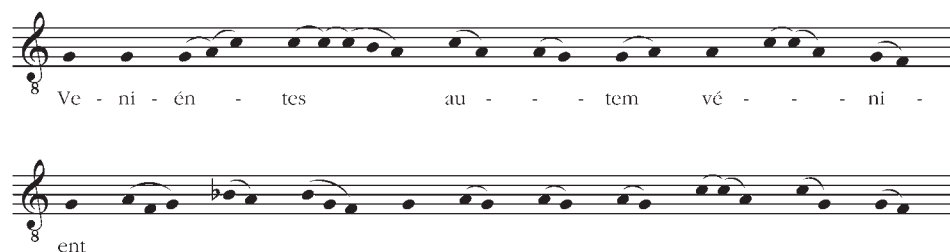
Ab ortu solis, osma fraza.



Fraza B4 je prav tako običajna, kadar je prva polovica verza enovita, le da praviloma nastopa v zadnjem verzu.²⁷ Tipičen melodični potek fraze izkazuje peta fraza speva *Qui seminant* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 7): recitacija na tonu *g*, dvig na *c'*, sledi figura *c' c' c' h a*, zatem nastopi figura *c' a g*, sledi postop *g a* (v drugih primerih lahko tudi samo *a*), figura z začetnim in končnim tonom na *a* ter vmesnim dvigom na *c'* (pojavljajo se tri oblike: *a c' h a*, *a c' c' a* in *a h c' a*; v primeru pete fraze *Qui seminant* nastopi druga), postop *g f* ter zaključni melizem. Značilen začetek melizma predstavlja rahlo obkroženje tona *g* (*g a f g*), dvig na *b*, nato spust, ki se zaključi na *g* (s potekom *b a b g f g*), preostali del melizma pa se od drugih v skupini B razlikuje le po daljšem nihanju med tonoma *a* in *g*.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 7

Qui seminant, peta fraza.



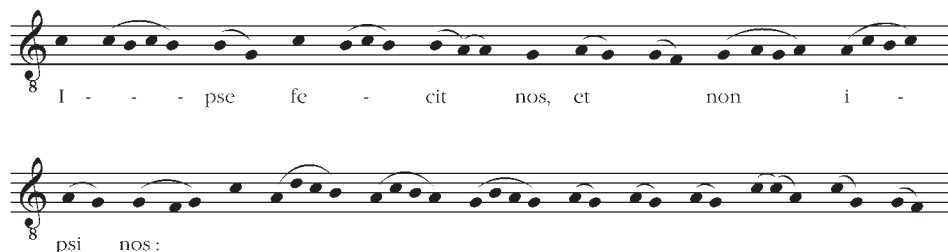
Fraza B5 naj bi sledila prvi frazi v verzih, kjer ta nima običajne, popolnoma jasne kadenca.²⁸ V svoji skupini so primeri fraze B5 najmanj enotni in ustaljeni, zaradi česar Emma Hornby domneva, da ta fraza ni bila pogosta in zato tudi ne tako znana, kar je botrovalo temu, da njena oblika ni bila standardizirana.²⁹ Fraza B5 je lahko zelo kratka, kot v primeru druge fraze speva *De profundis*, kjer nenavadna kadenca prve fraze predstavlja tako rekoč most v drugo in postane meja med njima nejasna, lahko pa tudi obsežnejša melodična tvorba, kot v primeru devete fraze speva *Iubilate Domino* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 8). Zanj je značilna daljša okrašena recitacija na tonu *c'* z vmesnim spustom do *fin* zaključni melizem z dvigom s tona *g* na *d'*, od koder se v spuščajočih se figurah melodični tok izteče v nihanje med *a* in *g* ter končno zaključi kot vsaka fraza skupine B.

²⁷ To drži v primeru *Ad te levavi* (deseta fraza), *Desiderium* (sedma), *Qui seminant* (peta), ne pa v *De profundis*, kjer je fraza B4 deveta in ne enajsta, kot bi bilo pričakovati; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

²⁸ Pojavlja se v traktih *Qui confidunt* (deveta fraza), *Iubilate Domino* (deveta fraza), *Veni sponsa Christi* (deveta fraza) ter *De profundis* (druga in šesta fraza); gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

²⁹ E. Hornby, nav. delo, str. 77.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 8

Iubilate Domino, deveta fraza.

Kot je ugotovila Emma Hornby, so vse skupne fraze, povezane z začetki drugega dela verzov, med seboj izjemno sorodne. Uporaba določene skupne fraze skupine C je (v nasprotju s prejšnjo skupino) povezana le z dolžino besedila in njegovo akcentuacijsko podobo.³⁰ Če ima prvi del verza dve frazi, lahko drugi del sestoji tudi samo iz ene fraze. Zaradi precejšnjih podobnosti vseh štirih skupnih fraz Apel med njimi ne razlikuje (vse so označene kot G2).³¹ Fraza C1 nastopa pri dovolj dolgih besedilih, ki na sredini fraze dopuščajo recitiranje na tonu g.³² Tipičen primer fraze C1 je osma fraza speva *Attende caelum* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 9) z enajst zlogov obsegajočim besedilom. Na začetku ima značilno figuro *f a c'*, običajno vezano na poudarjen zlog (figura je lahko razporejena nad enim ali dvema zlogoma; pred tem se lahko pojavi krajša recitacija na *f*), tej sledi *h g a*, nato *g f g a* (v nekaterih primerih je figura razdeljena nad dvema zlogoma: *g f g* in *g a*, v enem tudi *g f* in *g a*). Na sredini poteka krajša ali daljša recitacija na *g* (občasno z odkloni za ton navzgor, v enem primeru z odklonom do *h*), sledita figuri *g a c' h c'* in *c' a h c'* (slednja praviloma na predzadnjem, poudarjenem zlogu) ter zaključni melizem, kjer v spuščajočih se figurah (*c' c' c' h a*, *h a g* in *a g*) nastopi kadenca na tonu *g*.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 9

Attende caelum, osma fraza.

Fraza C2 nastopa pri nekoliko krajših besedilih s šestimi in sedmimi, izjemoma tudi osmimi zlogi.³³ Njen melodični potek je enak kot v frazi C1, le da je na sredini fraze C2 izpuščeno recitiranje na tonu *g*, prav tako pa v figuri pred tem manjka tudi *a*. Najbolj značilni primeri fraze so osma fraza speva *Cantemus Domino* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 10), dvanajsta *De profundis* in tretja fraza speva *Laudate Dominum*. Njihova besedila

³⁰ E. Hornby, nav. delo, str. 81.

³¹ W. Apel, nav. delo, str. 319.

³² Najdemo jo v enajstih traktih, v katerih se pojavi dvajsetkrat; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

³³ Frazo C2 najdemo v sedmih traktih, v enem izmed teh nastopi dvakrat; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

obsegajo sedem zlogov. Začetna figura *f a c'* je razporejena nad dvema zlogoma kot v nekaterih primerih fraze C1, v nadaljevanju sledi spust, nato ponoven vzpon na *c'* ter počasno spuščanje do končnega tona *g*. Ko pride melodični tok malo pred sredino fraze do tona *f*, je običajna melodična figura *g f g*, le v osmi frazi speva *Cantemus Domino* je figuri dodan še ton *a*. Melodični obris fraz je razen recitacije na *g* v srednjem delu torej enak obrisu fraze C1.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 10

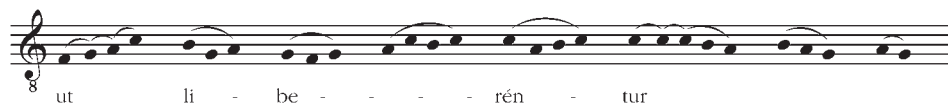
Cantemus Domino, osma fraza.



Fraza C3 nastopa, kjer je premalo besedila, da bi lahko uporabili popolno obliko prejšnjih dveh fraz.³⁴ Najbolj običajen melodični potek izkazuje šesta fraza speva *Commovisti* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 11). V prvi figuri je med tonoma *f* in *a* dodan *g*, figuri *g f g* in *g a c' d c'* pa nastopata na enem zlogu. Glasba nad ostalimi zlogi je enaka kot v frazah C1 in C2.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 11

Commovisti, šesta fraza.



Fraza C4 je praviloma prisotna, če je v besedilu poudarjen predpredzadnji zlog.³⁵ Podoba prvega dela fraze je odvisna od dolžine besedila (primere fraze z osmimi ali devetimi zlogi praviloma lahko primerjamo s frazo C2, tiste s sedmimi ali šestimi s frazo C3), v drugem delu je figura, navadno povezana s poudarjenim zlogom, razbita tako, da je na poudarjenem zlogu ton *c'*, na naslednjem (nepoudarjenem) pa preostanek *a h c'* (v predhodni figuri je zadnji ton *c'* praviloma izpuščen), v zaključku pa se kažeta dve ustaljeni obliki konca fraze s sledečim potekom: zaključni melizem ima lahko standardizirano obliko kot v vseh frazah skupine C, pogosta pa je tudi okrajšana oblika na tonih *h c' a a g*. Okrajšana oblika zaključnega melizma nastopa v sedmi frazi spevov *Iubilare Domino* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 12) in *Laudate Dominum*.

³⁴ Primeri fraze C3 so šesta fraza trakta *Commovisti*, osma *Desiderium*, osma in deseta *Qui confidunt* ter dvanajsta fraza trakta *Saepe expugnaverunt*; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

³⁵ To je v primeru šeste fraze trakta *Attende caelum*, tretje in sedme *Iubilare Domino*, sedme *Laudate Dominum* in četrte fraze trakta *Saepe expugnaverunt*, izjemi pa v tem oziru predstavljata tretja in začetek desete fraze *De profundis*; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 12

Iubilate Domino, sedma fraza.

Frazam skupine C pogosto sledi fraza D1; navadno zaključuje verze razen zadnjega, če obsega drugi del verzov dve frazi. Primeri skupne fraze D1 so oblikovno izjemno enotni, brez odstopanj. Njihovo besedilo je razmeroma kratko – obsega štiri do pet zlogov.³⁶ Tipičen primer fraze D1 je četrta fraza trakta *Beatus vir* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 13), z besedilom, obsegajočim štiri zloge. Zanj je značilen krajši začetni melizem *f a b a b g*, ki mu sledi ton *c'*, na katerem poteka krajša recitacija, nato na poudarjenem zlogu nastopi daljši melizem, v katerem se velikokrat pojavi ton *c'* (predstavlja težišče; z odklonoma do *h* in *g* navzdol), spust do tona *g*, vzpon na *b*, ponoven spust (tokrat do tona *f*) ter dvig, ki mu sledita postopa *c' a* in *h g*. Za melizmom pa nastopi kadenčna figura *g a a g*.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 13

Beatus vir, četrta fraza.

Fraza D2 nastopa v podobnih okoliščinah kot D1, le da ima obsežnejše besedilo; zaradi večjega števila zlogov je bolj razvejana.³⁷ Tipičen primer glasbenega poteka fraze ponuja druga fraza speva *Saepe expugnaverunt* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 14): krajša ali daljša recitacija na tonu *g*, sledita figuri *a g a h c'* in *g a f*, nato značilni postop *f a c'*, kratka recitacija na *c'*, zatem enak melizem kot v frazi D1, le da je med tretjim in četrtnim tonom melizma še *a*, in prav tako enaka kadenčna figura.

³⁶ Nastopajo v traktih *Beatus vir* (četrta fraza), *De profundis* (četrta in osma), *Iubilate Domino* (četrta in osma fraza) ter *Laudate Dominum* (četrta fraza); gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

³⁷ Pojavi se v petih traktih, v nekaterih večkrat (skupaj devetkrat); del fraze nastopa še v zaključnem delu šeste fraze trakta *Ab ortu solis* in drugem delu osme fraze trakta *Veni sponsa Christi*; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 14

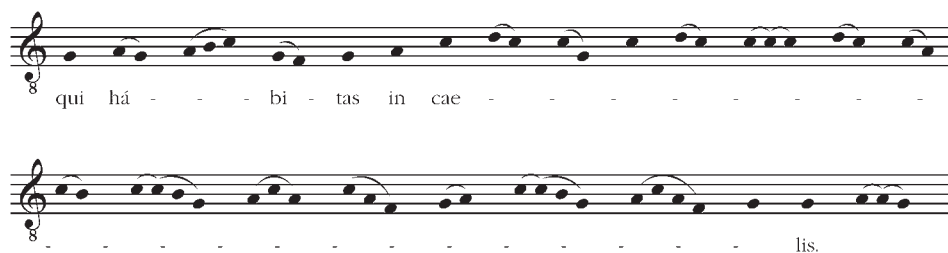
Saepe expugnauerunt, druga fraza.



Fraza D3 praviloma zaključuje prvi verz, če njegov drugi del obsega le eno frazo.³⁸ Najbolj običajno podobo fraze kaže druga fraza speva *Ad te levavi* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 15): začetek fraze D3 enako kot prejšnji dve zaznamuje ton *g* in figura *a g a h c'*, vendar temu sledi postop *g f*, nato *g* in *a*, zatem na zadnjem poudarjenem zlogu nastopi melizem, ki je še daljši in bolj razvejan kot v frazi D2 ter vsebuje nekatere melodične postope, ki se ponavljajo. V melizmu je pogosto ponavljanje na tonu *c'* ter značilni odkloni navzgor (do *d'*) in navzdol (vse do tona *f*). Kot je običajno za fraze skupine D, se konča s kadenčno figuro *g a a g*.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 15

Ad te levavi, druga fraza.

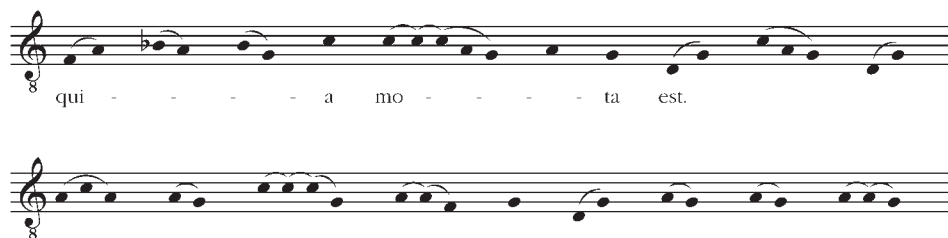


Jasne okoliščine uporabe fraze D4 niso razvidne. Pojavi se samo dvakrat – v traktih *Commovisti* (četrti fraza) in *Qui confidunt* (šesta fraza). Kot se kaže v prvem primeru, se fraza (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 16) začne s krajšim melizmom *f a b a b g* kot v frazi D1, ki mu prav tako sledi ton *c'*, zatem nastopi figura *c' c' c' a g a* in za njo ton *g*, fraza pa se zaključi z dolgim melizmom – tudi tu je povezan s poudarjenim zlogom, vendar je zaradi njegove končne pozicije v melizmu vključena zaključna figura *g a a g*. Glasba melizma se v primerjavi z ostalimi frazami D zdi kot prosto gibanje na tonih *d*, *g*, *a*, *c'* (enkrat se pojavi tudi *f*); ambitus je velik, poleg tega prihaja tudi do skokov, kot npr. *d g c'*, ki v koralnem repertoarju niso prav pogosti.

³⁸ Nastopa kot zadnja fraza prvega verza traktov *Ad te levavi* (druga fraza), *Commovisti* (druga fraza), *Desiderium* (četrti fraza) in *Veni sponsa Christi* (četrti fraza), konec fraze se pojavi tudi v zadnjem delu druge fraze *Ab ortu solis*, ki prav tako zaključuje prvi verz, poleg tega pa še v šesti frazi brez začetnega dela na koncu drugega verza trakta *Desiderium*; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 16

Commovisti, četrta fraza.



Prvi verz se vedno začne z eno izmed skupnih fraz A, na začetku ostalih verzov pa stoji ena izmed dveh skupnih fraz E. V svoji skupini je najbolj običajna fraza E1. Praviloma se pojavlja, kjer je prvi del verza razdeljen v dve frazi.³⁹ Kot druge skupne fraze se tudi ta prilagaja različno dolгим besedilom in njihovi akcentuacijski podobi. Najbolj značilni primeri fraze E1 so tretja fraza speva *Ab ortu solis* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 17), četrta fraza *Attende caelum*, osma fraza *Sicut cervus* in četrta fraza speva *Vinea facta est*: vsebujejo recitiranje na tonu g, za vse fraze pa je značilen dvig s tona g na c', na katerem poteka recitacija (ta je nekoliko okrašena). Prehod med obema recitacijama je, kot se kaže v prikazanem primeru, najpogostejše figura g a h c'. Sledi melizem (navadno na poudarjenem, običajno predzadnjem zlogu) z rahlim dvigom na ton d', spustom do g, zatem pa se giblje na tonih a, h, c', dokler se fraza ne zaključi s postopom a g.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 17

Ab ortu solis, tretja fraza.

Fraza E2 pa se pojavlja, kjer prvi del verza obsega le eno frazo. Njene primere predstavljajo tretja (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 18) in peta fraza trakta *Ad te levavi*, tretja *Qui confidunt* ter tretja *Qui seminant*. Glasba prvih dveh je skoraj v celoti enaka, saj sta podobni tudi njuni besedili: začetek fraz zaznamuje dvig na recitacijski ton c' s potekom g a (h) c', gibanje na a, h, c', nihanje okoli g, ponoven dvig na c', nato spust na zaključna tona a g.

³⁹ Fraza E1 je navzoča v dvanajstih traktih, v katerih se pojavi osemnajstkrat; gl. preglednico 2 na str. 41.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 18

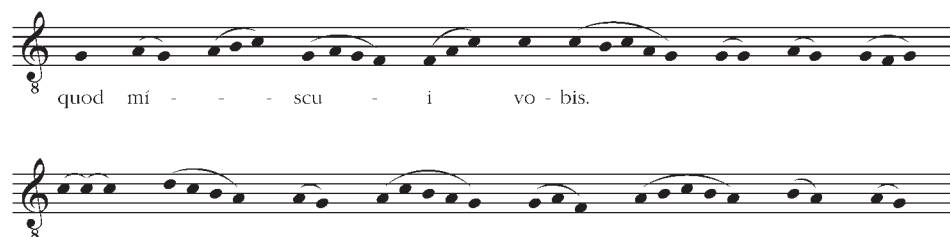
Ad te levavi, tretja fraza.



Fraza F je edina sklepna fraza vseh traktov. Njena običajna podoba, kot se kaže v deveti frazi speva *Ab ortu solis* (gl. glasbeno ponazorilo 19), enajsti frazi *Ad te levavi* in enajsti frazi speva *Iubilate Domino*, je sledeča: dvig s tona *g* (na katerem v primeru daljšega besedila poteka recitacija, lahko tudi okrašena) na *c'*, spust na *f* (na prvem glavnem poudarku je običajna figura *a g a h c'*, za njo *g a g f*), ponoven dvig na *c'* (na katerem poteka krajša recitacija), sledi dolg sklepni melizem s spustom na *g*, nihanjem okoli njega, še enkrat dvigom na *c'*, nato na *d'*, zatem sledi nekaj spustov (do *g* in *f*) in dvigov (do *c'*), vse dokler fraza dokončno ne kadencira na tonu *g*. Začetek fraze F je skoraj enak frazi D2, kar pa ni presenetljivo, saj se obe uporabljata za zaključke verzov. Odkloni od prikazanega modela so običajno povezani z akcentuacijsko podobo besedila in številom zlogov.

Glasbeno ponazorilo 19

Ab ortu solis, deveta fraza.



Trakti osmega modusa so napravljeni iz standardnih, skupnih fraz, katerih nastop in razporeditev sta vezana na njihovo funkcijo in besedilno podobo. Razdelitev verzov na fraze sledi sintaktični oz. retorični podobi besedila, pri čemer je v nekaterih primerih mogoča več kot ena sama rešitev.⁴⁰ Določena razdelitev besedilnih enot tako izkazuje snovalčev pogled na členitev besedila.⁴¹ Kot je bilo predstavljeno, so torej fraze A omejene le

⁴⁰ To se kaže v prvi polovici prvega verza trakta *Beatus vir*.

⁴¹ Kot je opozorila Emma Hornby, je členjenje besedil v starorimskih traktih osmega modusa, ki so primerljivi z gregorijanskimi, mestoma drugačno. Emma Hornby, *Two Expressions of a Single Idea: Using the Eighth-Mode Tracts to Describe the Relationship between Old Roman and Gregorian Chant*, *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th Meeting*, ur. László Dobszay, Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2001, str. 415–429; Emma Hornby, *The Transmission of the Proper Chant for St Gregory: The Eighth-Mode Tract Beatus uir*, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 12 (2003), str. 97–127; Edward Nowacki, *Text Declamation as a Determinant of Melodic Form in the Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*, *Early Music History* 6 (1986), str. 193–225.

na začetke spevov, fraze B na prvi del oz. zaključke prvega dela verzov, fraze C na drugi del oz. začetke drugega dela verzov, fraze D na zaključke verzov razen zadnjega, frazi E na začetke oz. prvi del verzov razen prvega in fraza F zgolj na zaključke spevov. Natančnejša analiza je pokazala, da se na začetkih spevov pojavljajo tri različne skupne fraze. Najpogostejša je prva (A1), katere besedilo ne presega sedmih zlogov in ne obsega več kot dveh poudarjenih zlogov, nekoliko manj druga (A2), nastopajoča pri daljših besedilih, tretja (A3) pa nastopi le redko, v okoliščinah, ki jih ni mogoče nedvoumno pojasniti. Njihova melodika se druga od druge precej razlikuje; vse tri torej družijo le njihova funkcija. Fraze B so v nasprotju s prejšnjimi melodično tesneje povezane; podobnost je najbolj očitna ob primerjavi njihovih zaključkov. Zanje je značilno, da edine kadencirajo na tonu *f*, zaključni ton vseh ostalih je namreč *g*. Prvi dve skupni frazi skupine B nastopata kot drugi v prvem delu verza, prva (B1) v prvem verzu, druga (B2) v vseh ostalih. Naslednji sta omejeni na prvo polovico verza, če ta izkazuje glasbeno ali sintaktično enovitost, četrta (B4) na zadnji verz, tretja (B3) na ostale. Uporaba zadnje (B5) ni ustaljena. Skupne fraze C so melodično med seboj najbolj sorodne. Analiza je pokazala, da se na začetku druge polovice verzov pojavljajo štiri le nekoliko različne skupne fraze. V nasprotju s frazami B je tu nastop določene fraze povezan samo z akcentuacijsko podobo besedila in njegovo dolžino. Prve tri so vezane na besedila, kjer je poudarjen predzadnji zlog, prva (C1) z najdaljšim besedilom, druga (C2) z nekoliko krajšim in tretja (C3) z najkrajšim besedilom. Zadnja fraza (C4) pa je vezana na besedila s poudarjenim predpredzadnjim zlogom. Frazam C pogosto sledijo fraze D, ki so melodično nekoliko manj povezane od prejšnjih. Prvi dve zaključujeta vse verze razen zadnjega, pri čemer prva (D1) nastopa pri krajših besedilih, druga (D2) pri daljših. Tretja (D3) se pogosto pojavlja na koncu prvega verza, uporaba četrte (D4) pa ni jasna. Tudi skupne fraze E med seboj niso tako sorodne kot fraze C. Prva (E1) nastopa na začetku prve polovice verzov razen v prvem, druga (E2) pa v prvi polovici verzov nastopa sama. Zadnja skupna fraza (F) je v vseh traktih ista. Na uporabo določene fraze tako vpliva število in razporeditev fraz znotraj verza, dolžina besedila ter število in razporeditev poudarjenih zlogov. Odkloni od prikazane ureditve so pogosto povezani z besedilom, vendar vseh odklonov ni moč pojasnjevati na ta način. Kot je bilo rečeno, je znotraj teh oblikovnih okvirjev veljala tudi določena svoboda. Pogled v tabelni pregled obravnavane skupine traktov (gl. preglednico 2)⁴² pokaže, da ni melodične tvarine, ki se ne bi pojavila v vsaj dveh spevih skupine.⁴³ Iz tabelnega prikaza je prav tako razvidno, da se skupne fraze v posamičnih spevih ne vrstijo v naključnem vrstnem redu, temveč sledijo opisanemu sistemu, ki na nekaterih mestih vključuje tudi odklone.

⁴² Preglednica je pripravljena po zgledu Aplovega tabelarnega prikaza; prim. W. Apel, nav. delo, str. 319.

⁴³ V nekaterih traktih se mestoma pojavljajo določene melodične tvorbe, ki se ne ujemajo z melodičnim potekom nobene od skupnih fraz; v tabeli so označene z znaki °, * in †. Znaka ' in " pa označujeta drugačno uresničitev oz. varianto določene fraze. Dvoje fraz, ločenih z vezajem, označuje frazo, ki vsebuje melodično tvarino obeh skupnih fraz.

Preglednica 2

Sestav traktov osmega modusa s stališča skupnih fraz

	Prvi verz	Drugi verz	Tretji verz	Četrti verz	Peti verz
<i>Ab ortu solis</i>	A2-B5 °D2-D3	E1 B1 C2' C4-°D2	*C1 B3 F		
<i>Absolve, Domine</i>	A1 B2 C1	B2 C1	B2 F		
<i>Ad te levavi</i>	A2 D3	E2 †D2	E2 †D2	*A2 B2'-B3 C1	B4 F
<i>Attende caelum</i>	A1 B1 C1	E1 B2 C4	B2 C1	E1 B2 C1	E1 F
<i>Beatus vir</i>	A1 B1 C2 D1	E1 C1 D2	E1 C1 F		
<i>Cantemus Domino</i>	A1 B2 C1 B2 C1	E1 B2 C2	E1 F		
<i>Commovisti</i>	A2' D3	B3' D4	B3' C3 F		
<i>De profundis</i>	A1 B5 C4 D1	E1 B5 C2 D1	B4 C4-D1	B3 C2 F	
<i>Desiderium</i>	A2" B1 C1 D3	E1 B1-D3	B4 C3 F		
<i>Iubilare Domino</i>	A1 B1 C4 D1	E1 C2	C4 D1	B5 C1 F	
<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	A1 B1 C2 D1	E1 B1-B2 C4 F			
<i>Qui confidunt</i>	A1 B3 E2' B2 C1	D4 B2 C3' B5 C3 F			
<i>Qui seminant</i>	A2 D2	E2 D2	B4 C2 F		
<i>Saepe expugnaverunt</i>	A3 D2	*B3' C4 D2'	E1' B1 C2' D2	E1' B1 C3 F	
<i>Sicut cervus</i>	A1 B2 C1	E1 B2 C1 D2	E1 B2 C1 F		
<i>Veni sponsa Christi</i>	A3-A2 B1 C2 D3	E1 *B4 °D2-B3 °D2	B5 °F		
<i>Vinea facta est</i>	A1 B1 C1	E1 B2 C1	B2 C1 F		

Sklepna razmišljanja

Ob primerjanju traktov osmega modusa lahko glede na njihovo strukturno podobo izluščimo več tipov melodij. Čeprav je tak prikaz le shematizacija, ki jo je mogoče aplicirati na repertoar spevov, ponuja zaokroženo sliko pogleda na sestav traktov osmega modusa in na tak način povzema celoto. Opozoriti velja, da večina spevov ne izkazuje značilnosti samo enega tipa, pač pa se jih med seboj pogosto družijo več. Pri prvem tipu se verzi delijo na štiri dele; to je najbolj običajna struktura verzov. Prvi verz se najpogosteje začne s frazo A1, ostali z E1. Druga fraza je praviloma B1 ali B2, mestoma se pojavlja tudi B5, tretja C2, lahko tudi C3 ali C4, verz z izjemo zadnjega pa se zaključi s frazo D1, včasih tudi D2. Ta tip melodije najbolje ponazarja trakt *Laudate Dominum*. Drugi tip je tisti, kjer se verzi delijo na dve frazi. Te melodije se navadno začnejo s frazo A2. V prvem delu verza so običajno fraze B3 ali B4 oz. E2, v drugem delu pa D2, redko C1. Značilen primer melodije opisanega tipa predstavlja glasba trakta *Ad te levavi*. Pri tretjem tipu se verzi delijo na tri dele. Na začetku prvega verza nastopi fraza A1, na začetku ostalih ponavadi E1. Na sredini verza običajno stoji fraza B1 ali B2, na koncu (razen v zadnjem verzu) pa C1. Značilnost melodij tega tipa je odsotnost fraz D. Primer z opisanim zaporedjem fraz je trakt *Vinea facta est*. V tretji tip sodijo kantiki velike sobote, ki se od ostalih spevov ne ločijo samo po strukturi verzov (kar vpliva na njihovo glasbo), temveč tudi po besedilu in

mestu, ki ga imajo znotraj liturgije. Ta tip melodij tvori posebno homogeno skupino spevov, ki se od ostalih ločijo tudi s tekstualnega in liturgičnega vidika, ne le melodičnega. Kot je bilo omenjeno, veliko traktov ni mogoče enostavno razvrstiti v enega izmed treh naštetih tipov. Najbolj izstopajoč primer predstavlja s petimi frazami v prvem in šestimi v drugem verzu trakt *Qui confidunt*. Njegova nenavadnost se kaže tudi v razporeditvi fraz, ki nekoliko očitneje odstopa od opisanega sistema.

Glede na nespremenljivost sestave traktov osmega modusa že od prvih ohranjenih glasbenih zapisov ter spričo dejstva, da se ista besedila v veliki meri pojavljajo na istih liturgičnih mestih že pred tem – opazna je kar precejšnja liturgična stabilnost repertoarja, je mogoče domnevati, da je bila struktura traktov ustaljena že pred 9. stoletjem. Vendar natančnejše določevanje starosti posamičnih spevov ni mogoče – ne glede na njihove glasbene lastnosti, prav tako ni zanesljivo postavljanje hipotez glede na njihov liturgični kontekst, če omenim samo najočitnejše poskuse tovrstnega početja.⁴⁴ Razlike v starosti med nekaterimi trakti pa vendar lahko ugotovimo ob primerjanju repertoarja skozi čas, saj se nekateri trakti pojavljajo v rokopisih šele kasneje. Iz preglednice 1 je razvidno, da trakti *Absolve*, *Domine*, *Ab ortu solis* in *Veni sponsa Christi* niso navzoči v najzgodnejših ohranjenih rokopisih, kar kaže na njihov kasnejši izvor. Med njimi je prvi še mlajši od ostalih dveh. Na to kaže med drugim pojavljanje fraz, ki vsebujejo melodično tvarino več skupnih fraz, poleg teh pa nastopajo še določene svojske melodične tvorbe (npr. °D2-B3, tj. sedma fraza trakta *Veni sponsa Christi*). Take fraze – imenovali bi jih lahko mešane fraze – so značilne za najmlajšo plast repertoarja traktov osmega modusa.⁴⁵

Ob vsem tem se zastavlja vprašanje, kako je bila dosežena stabilnost repertoarja pred uvedbo notne pisave. Ali nam ohranjeni glasbeni zapisi kaj povedo o repertoarju, ki je obstajal v ustnem izročilu? Možen odgovor ponuja prav prikazana uporaba skupnih fraz. Kantor, ki je besedilo dobro poznal, saj gre v večini za psalmska besedila, je tekst najprej razdelil na fraze. Nato je verjetno vsaj približno pripravil potek fraz glede na njihovo funkcijo. Zatem se je lahko sproti odvijal proces prilagajanja njihovih melodij posameznemu besedilu glede na število ter razporeditev poudarjenih in nepoudarjenih zlogov. Če je snovalec naletel na besedo, ki je pogosto povezana s prav določeno frazo, je lahko z njo povezano frazo uporabil tudi na neobičajnem, nepričakovanem mestu. Kantor je moral zelo dobro poznati strukturne principe repertoarja in seveda glasbo vsake fraze. Kenneth Levy je zato opozoril, da se kantorju tako ne bi bilo potrebno naučiti vsakega trakta na pamet, temveč bi lahko le temeljito poznal strukturne in organizacijske principe.⁴⁶ Pri tem je imel zagotovo veliko vlogo spomin. Znano je, da v nekaterih skupnostih pri bogoslužju niso uporabljali notiranih liturgičnih knjig tudi po uvedbi glasbenega zapisovanja, ponekod celo vse do 16. stoletja.⁴⁷ To jasno kaže, da je ustno izročilo soobstajalo hkrati s pisnim in da je omenjeno znanje kantor potreboval tudi, ko se je pojavilo glasbeno za-

⁴⁴ J. McKinnon, nav. delo, str. 284.

⁴⁵ E. Hornby, nav. delo, 2002, str. 206–208.

⁴⁶ Kenneth Levy, On Gregorian Orality, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990), str. 217.

⁴⁷ P. Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, str. 69; L. Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, str. 133. Sodeč po tem in glede na majhnost notiranih knjig so bile te verjetno le spominsko pomagalo pred začetkom bogoslužja; James W. McKinnon, The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in

pisovanje. Poleg tega je tako znanje potrebno tudi za branje nediastematskih nevmatskih zapisov, iz katerih niso razvidna intervalna razmerja med posamičnimi toni.⁴⁸ To potrjuje tudi zgradba trakta *Absolve, Domine* nekoliko kasnejšega datuma, ki je popolnoma v skladu s principi oblikovanja najstarejše plasti traktov. Šele s prihodom intervalne, diastematske pisave se je odvisnost od pomnjenja lahko začela rahljati. Ta proces je viden pri najmlajših traktih (*Ab ortu solis, Veni sponsa Christi*), katerih fraze v primerjavi s tistimi v starejših ne izkazujejo več opisane formalne rigoroznosti.

Prikazani način oblikovanja z že obstoječo glasbeno stvarino je mogoče izvesti iz primerjalne razčlenitve traktov osmega modusa. Ob pogledu na druge gregorijanske oblike se izkaže, da jih ni moč razlagati na tak način in da je potreben drugačen analitični pristop.⁴⁹ Možno funkcioniranje spevov koralnega repertoarja v ustnem izročilu je pri različnih koralnih oblikah namreč različno. Konstrukcija traktov osmega modusa torej omogoča stabilnost obsežnega repertoarja, ki ni zapisan. Poleg tega ponuja osnovni spominski okvir, na podlagi katerega je mogoče obvladovanje večjega števila spevov. Kot se je izkazalo, so ostali (vsaj osnovni) principi oblikovanja traktov v zavesti še ves čas nastajanja novih spevov. Vse kaže na to, da so se snovalci melodij zavedali oblikovnih značilnosti in da proces snovanja torej ni bil samo podzavestno dejanje.

the Carolingian Era, *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the 15th Century*, ur. James W. McKinnon, London, Macmillan Press, 1990, str. 111–112.

⁴⁸ Levy, *Gregorian Chant and Oral Transmission, Essays on Medieval Music: In Honor of David G. Hughes*, ur. Graeme M. Boone, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1995, str. 280.

⁴⁹ Oblikovanje s skupnimi frazami je značilno še za graduale, delno tudi za responzorije, sorodna melodična tvarina pa se pojavlja celo v nekaterih antifonah.

STANDARD PHRASES IN EIGHTH-MODE TRACTS:
AN ATTEMPT AT EXPLAINING THE FORMATION
OF GREGORIAN MELODIES

Summary

The study presents the results of a parallel musical analysis of a prominent set of chants; namely, the Gregorian eighth-mode tracts. The findings provide a basis for a model that elucidates both how the genre functions and how a professional singer or a scribe would have gone about his project of creating a tract.

Eighth-mode tracts consist of a group of standard melodic shapes, known as standard phrases; their appearance is connected with a specific formal and textual context. Six phrase types have been identified. Type A phrases are used for the beginning of a tract, type E phrases for the beginning of verses other than the first, type B phrases to end the first half-verse, type C phrases to begin the second half-verse, and type D phrases are used at the ends of verses other than the final one, where type F phrase is used. Apart from type F phrases, each of the six phrase types comprises two or more standard phrases. The most characteristic examples of typical phrases are set out in order to demonstrate their melodic substance, which also brings melodies of the same type into comparison with each other.

Three groups of eighth-mode tracts can be identified. The first group has a quadripartite verse structure, with A1, B1, B2, C2, D1, and E1 being used most frequently; the structure of the second group is tripartite, with A2, B3, B4, D2, and E2 being most common; and the third group has a bipartite verse structure, with A1, B1, B2, C1, and E1 being commonly used. Although some tracts fit closely with the formal scheme presented, others deviate from it, as can be seen from the table displaying deployment of the stock phrases (see p. 41). The structure of the eighth-mode tracts thus provides an insight into the oral tradition of Gregorian chant.

ENTERTAINMENT FOR OFFICERS, NOBLEMEN, AND CITIZENS: THREE SOCIAL INITIATORS OF THE SECULAR MUSICAL STAGE IN SLAVONIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Izyleček: V Slavoniji na Hrvaškem so posvetno glasbeno gledališče v 19. stoletju organizirali in obiskovali predstavniki treh družbenih slojev: častniki osiješke vojaške utrdbe, člani plemiških družin in novonastali premožni meščani, ki so v Osijeku prirejali predstave. Prispevek obravnava njihovo organizacijo, repertoar in recepcijo.

Ključne besede: Slavonija, 19. stoletje, glasbeno gledališče, opere, operete, potujoče gledališke družine slog

Abstract: Three representative social strata in Slavonia, Croatia organized and enjoyed secular musical theater during the nineteenth century: officers at the military fortress in Osijek, members of aristocratic families, and new wealthy citizens in Osijek. This article examines their organization, repertory, and reception.

Keywords: Slavonia, nineteenth century, musical theater, operas, operettas, itinerant theater companies

It was only during the eighteenth century that Osijek, one of the important Austrian imperial military outposts facing the Ottomans, slowly started to develop an urban infrastructure based on German military officers, merchants, and craftsmen. It consisted of the fortress (Tvrda), with its churches, houses, printing office, and other facilities, the Upper Town, the Lower Town along the Drava River, and the New Town, developed only from the end of the eighteenth century. In addition to Osijek, a similar transition from military stronghold to urban center was experienced by other towns along the Turkish border, mostly on the banks of the Sava and Danube rivers: Sisak, Slavonski Brod (at that time called Brod, later Brod na Savi), and Vukovar. During this changeover, which took place during the eighteenth century following the withdrawal of the Ottoman Turks, the need for entertainment preoccupied members of the new urban society; this need was felt even more acutely in the early nineteenth century.

At the same time, the effect of the sacred musical play was never underestimated. In Osijek and Požega, the clergy, along with Jesuits and Franciscans, oversaw performances of educational and moralizing sacred plays, including their musical interpolations.¹ For example, the pupils of the Osijek Jesuit high school organized a “theatrum” in 1766, but in German, “so as to teach the Croatian people that language, as our Empress desired.”² Plays with

¹ They are known only from secondary sources.

² *Diarium missionis essekinensis Societatis Iesu, Osječki ljetopisi 1686.–1945.*, ed. Stjepan Sršan, Osijek, Povijesni arhiv u Osijeku, 1993, p. 246.

Biblical topics were also translated and printed: in 1783 the Franciscan monastery guardian and high school teacher Ivan Velikanović published a play in Buda on the martyrdom of St. Susanna, and another one in Osijek about St. Theresa, in 1802.³ In Osijek in 1791, the Franciscan Aleksandar Tomiković translated and published the well-known text *Giuseppe riconosciuto* by Pietro Metastasio, which was frequently set to music throughout Europe. In 1819 Vukovar students of both genders performed a *singspiel* on a similar topic (*Joseph, the Son of Jacob the Patriarch*), containing 23 musical compositions, in honor of Đakovo-Srijem Bishop Emerik Karl Raffaj. The play was composed by Grgur Čevapović from Slavonski Brod, the guardian of the Vukovar monastery, and was published in Buda in 1820. Following the tradition of religious school plays, this Franciscan monk and teacher of church history and law in Brod and Vukovar put together original folk tunes, some newly composed songs with elements of Slavonic folk tradition, and fourteen “borrowed” melodies from central European art music heritage (e.g., W. A. Mozart, J. Haydn and some others).⁴

Nonetheless, the requirement for secular entertainment of the urban population along with a relatively safe environment enabled itinerant theater companies to visit this remote multiethnic⁵ region of the monarchy. It seems that by the 1750s a small public theater (*theatrum stabile*) was housed in the adapted central military building of the fortress – the *Generalatshaus*. No plans or project documentation remain, but according to some descriptions the theater must have been narrow, illuminated only by oil lamps, with a modest stage “as primitive as possible.”⁶ The sources of its description and repertoire can be found in diaries, a very small list of posters and programs, sporadically published theater journals and almanacs, and prompters’ notices, all of which constantly became more frequent during the course of the nineteenth century. Although the first sporadic information on actors in Osijek dates back to the mid-eighteenth century,⁷ the names of theater directors are noted from 1801 onwards, and regular archival documents start to supply opera announcements only from 1825 onwards.⁸ In this dark improvised military environment,

³ Vjera Katalinić, Musical Culture and the “Kleinmeister” of Central Europe in the Period between 1750 and 1820: General Remarks Concerning the Topic and Their Application to the Research in Croatia, *Off-Mozart: Musical Culture and the “Kleinmeister” of Central Europe 1750–1820*, Proceedings of the International Musicological Symposium held in Zagreb, Croatia, on 1–3 October 1992, ed. Vjera Katalinić, Zagreb, Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1995, p. 27.

⁴ Lovro Županović, *Centuries of Croatian Music 2*, Zagreb, Muzički informativni centar, 1989, p. 26.

⁵ The handicrafts were of Hungarian, Austrian, and Croatian origin. Osijek (similarly to Vukovar) was also a place with multiple religions because, in addition to Roman Catholics, there were Calvinist, other Protestant, and Eastern Orthodox faithful, and later, in the nineteenth century, also Jews (Cf. Josip Bösendorfer, *Diarium sive prothocollum, Starine* 35 (1916), p. 199).

⁶ Oskar Friml Antunović described it as “so primitiv als möglich” in his manuscript *Die Theaterverhältnisse in Esseg 1846–1866*, according to Gordana Gojković, *Njemački muzički teatar u Osijeku 1825.–1907.*, Osijek, Hrvatsko narodno kazalište u Osijeku, 1997, p. 9.

⁷ Information on mid-eighteenth-century actors has been found in marriage and birth certificates (cf. Josip Bösendorfer, *Glumci na njemačkom kazalištu u Osijeku, Osječki zbornik* 1–2 (1948); Kamil Firingier, *Prvih 85 godina osječkog kazališta. Spomen-knjiga o pedesetoj godišnjici Narodnog kazališta u Osijeku*, Osijek, Hrvatsko narodno kazalište u Osijeku, 1957).

⁸ The valuable lists of conductors, directors, and their repertoire are collected in: G. Gojković, op. cit., pp. 81–100.

various types of light theatrical plays, some of them probably with incidental music or simple songs, were staged by itinerant theater groups of actors, who also had to sing and (occasionally) dance. As was typical of public theater functioning, its administration had to pay a certain percentage of income from each performance to the fortress captain or senator, and a sum was set aside to support the local hospital, the orphanage, and so on, or else the company had to offer a benefit performance for these town institutions.⁹ The repertoire depended upon the ability of the company and its director. They came largely from the Austrian part of the monarchy and the organization of the company, as well as the need for performers, was usually announced in Viennese journals. Their repertoire at that early stage of theater development has been regarded as “pre-operative,”¹⁰ although the first among them – *Ida die Büssende oder das Todtengewissen* – was described as a heroic opera by the local regiment conductor Gyron to a libretto by Franz Ignaz von Holbein. The festive performance was announced on a poster printed on silk, which also informed the audience that the military orchestra was completed by some “respectable amateurs.”¹¹ A new announcement has been found only for the year 1834, and from then onwards they became more regular: various types of light theatrical plays with music by Ferdinand Raimund, Johann Nestroy, Therese Krones, and others formed the repertoire. In addition, it had to be approved by the town censor, who was usually the high school principal and, at the same time, a member of the theater board, who had to send the repertoire to Buda for final revision.¹² The military band was the core of the orchestra, but it also took part in other occasions such as visits by prominent political and military dignitaries,¹³ church feasts, carnival balls of the fortress command, and private occasions. Their “Turkish music”¹⁴ – played by wind- and percussion-based ensembles – was also mentioned in various diaries.

This undemanding public entertainment for the officers and all those that could purchase tickets had its complementary activity for private audiences in the homes of the Slavonian feudal aristocracy. Based on what is currently known, two families stood out in particular: the Prandau family at their estates in Valpovo and Donji Miholjac, and the Pejačević family in Osijek and Našice. The members of these families lived part of the year in centers of the monarchy such as Vienna and Pest and other towns with developed cultural activity, such as Pécs, where they also owned palaces and residences. They brought their big-city entertainment manners back to Slavonia and thus connected the Slavonian

⁹ Stanislav Marjanović, Kazalište i kazališni angažman, *Od turskog do suvremenog Osijeka*, ed. Ive Mažuran, Osijek, Zavod za znanstveni rad HAZU u Osijeku, Gradsko poglavarstvo Osijek, and Školska knjiga d.d. Zagreb, 1996, p. 119.

¹⁰ G. Gojković, op. cit., p. 84.

¹¹ G. Gojković, op. cit., p. 10.

¹² S. Marjanović, op. cit., pp. 118–119.

¹³ For example, when the commander-in-chief, Andreas de Mathesen, was leaving Osijek with other officers on 26 January 1778, the band of the Palfy regiment played at the gates of the city. (Cf. *Diarium sive prothocollum venerabilis conventus Sanctae Crucis inventae essekini intra muros ab anno 1686 usque ad annum 1890*, *Osječki ljetopisi 1686.–1945.*, ed. Stjepan Sršan, Osijek, Povijesni arhiv u Osijeku, 1993, p. 82).

¹⁴ On the topic of military music at the Turkish border, see also: Koraljka Kos, Osten und Westen in der Feld- und Militärmusik an der türkischen Grenze, *Imago musicae* 5 (1988), pp. 109–127.

province with the centers, introducing models of a noble pastime and its accompanying artistic infrastructure: literature, sheet music, musical instruments, and so on. Aristocrats usually received elementary music training as part of their general education, but some of them acted not only as art devotees and Maecenases (e.g., Gabriela and Lila Pejačević, who were both Croatian governors' wives during the late nineteenth century and supported the Croatian Music Institute), but also were active and creative musicians.

The rich archival documentation of the Prandau family, partially studied only recently,¹⁵ provides more concrete data. The musically gifted brothers Karl (1792–1865) and Gustav (1807–1885) Prandau, together with their brothers and sisters, were educated in an artistic atmosphere.¹⁶ Baron Karl Prandau, a lawyer and an amateur composer,¹⁷ took lessons from Mirko (Emmerich) von Turanyi, a teacher from Osijek, and the father of the composer Dragutin (Carl) von Turany (1805–1873, also one of his father's pupils), who continued his career in Zagreb and Aachen.¹⁸ Later he continued his musical education while studying law in Bratislava. He adapted some compositions by Viennese classical composers and his contemporaries for the favorite house instrument in Slavonia – the physharmonica – accompanied by strings, and composed some original works as well.¹⁹ Prandau proposed some innovations in the construction of the physharmonica, while collaborating with the Vienna instrument-builder Johann Georg Staufer.²⁰ His brother Gustav, who inherited Valpovo Manor after the death of their father (Karl moved to Miholjac), also enjoyed music, but he was active more as an organizer and supporter of musical life in Osijek. Their education in the arts also included a small house theater erected by their father Joseph in 1809 at their estate in Valpovo. The preserved documents (orders, contracts, and invoices from carpenters, bricklayers, locksmiths, and other craftsmen) concerning the “Kometij-Haus” (probably meaning *Komödie-Haus*) and other household buildings (e.g.,

¹⁵ This documentation, with the major part of the Prandau family heritage, has been kept in the State Archives in Osijek. Since 2005 it has been studied by Ljerka Perči.

¹⁶ “The early deceased Josip (1 March 1801–19 July 1804) started to learn violin at the age of three.” (Cf. articles by Ljerka Perči on this topic: Prilog poznavanju glazbenog života u Valpovu od 1790. do 1825. godine u svjetlu arhivskog fonda obitelji Prandau i Normann, *Analiza Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku* 22 (2006), pp. 115–139; Kazalište u Valpovu od 1809.–1823. godine. Prilog poznavanju kazališnog života u Valpovu od 1809. do 1823. godine u svjetlu arhivskog fonda HR-DAOS 476, *Krležini dani u Osijeku* 2006, ed. Branko Hećimović, Zagreb and Osijek, Zavod za povijest hrvatske književnosti, kazališta i glazbe HAZU, Odsjek za povijest hrvatskog kazališta and Pedagoški fakultet Osijek, 2007, p. 52).

¹⁷ During his stay in Vienna, after the March Revolution of 1848, he also composed a *Jellačić-Marsch* for piano, along with Johann Strauss Sr., Alexandar Morfidis Nisis, and others (Cf. Andrija Tomašek, Ustani bane. *Musicae Jellachichiane*, in: *Glasi crljene zemlje*, Zagreb, Cantus, 2004, pp. 13–90).

¹⁸ Zdenka Kapko-Foretić, *Carl von Turanyi. Eine Monographie*, Köln, Arno Volk Verlag, 1973.

¹⁹ Kuhač published his biography with a list of compositions in the Zagreb journal *Vienac* (1876), and later partly incorporated it in his book on Illyrian composers (cf. Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, Karlo barun Prandau, in: *Ilirski glazbenici*, Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1893, pp. 120–148).

²⁰ An example of a physharmonica in good shape, almost ready to be played on, was recently found by Branka Ban in the parish church of Michael the Archangel in the fortress of Osijek. Most probably it was connected with Johann Nepomuk Hummel, the founder of the *Esseker Kirchenmusikverein* in the mid-nineteenth century.

stables) confirm Franjo Ksaver Kuhač's statements from 1867, published in the Zagreb cultural newspaper *Vienac*, that "Baron Joseph arranged a small but beautiful and complete theater in his castle, the first one in Slavonia. Various pieces by members of the family and by invited volunteers" were often performed there.²¹ The material studied points only indirectly at the physical appearance of the theater because the designs (which existed in two copies) have not yet been found. The reconstruction of costs shows that the Prandau family invested about 3-3100 gulden in its building, which was still less than the costs of erecting the stable for dairy cows (!).²² Inventories from 1816 mention almost 200 costumes (including shoes, stockings, caps, hats, wigs, etc.), partly made by the local tailor Anton Drabek.²³ Some of these costumes were moved to the theater cloakroom after becoming outmoded or too tight. Performances were probably given mostly during Carnival time, as well as for the birthdays and name days of Joseph Prandau and his third wife, Maria Ana. The payrolls show that volunteer military musicians from the Osijek regiment were engaged, as well as choral singers from Osijek and Pécs. In addition, the material mentions numerous musical instruments and sheet music ordered from Vienna, Pest, and elsewhere.

As opposed to the Osijek theater in Tvrđa (since 1825) and the later Town Theater with its preserved programs, prompter books, and newspaper clippings, the main source of information for the Prandau theater is only partially researched private family library. This collection is filled with books on philosophy, education, economics, and other topics. The drama section consists of classical French and Italian texts, but also collections of stage works by Hugo, Dumas, Corneille, Beaumarchais, Guarini, and others performed in theaters in Vienna, Paris, and Berlin. They probably served as educational material for the baron's children. Among them are light pieces such as Beaumarchais: *Il barbiere di Siviglia. Dramma giocoso ... da rappresentarsi nel teatro di corte l'anno 1783* (Vienna, Kurzbeck), perhaps partly staged. However, titles such as Favart, Charles-Simon: *Theatre de monsieur Favart ou Recueil des Opera-Comiques et Parodies qu'il a données depuis quelques années* (Paris, Prault, 1746), and especially *Almanach dramatischer Spiele zur geselligen Unterhaltung auf dem Lande* (Kotzebue, Hamburg, Hoffmann u. Campe, 1832, 1833) point more directly to musical stage performances, as confirmed in the collection manuscripts. The musical stage manuscript material includes nineteen complete performance dossiers, with librettos, roles, instrumental and vocal parts, and stage instructions. They come from the German-speaking world, from the popular stages in the Viennese suburbs, where they were performed between approximately 1818 and 1835.²⁴ Their authors

²¹ *Vienac* 1876, no. 14, p. 231.

²² On this topic, cf. Ljerk Perči, Prilog poznavanju glazbenog života u Valpovu od 1790. do 1825. godine u svjetlu arhivskog fonda obitelji Prandau i Normann, *Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku* 22 (2006), pp. 115–139.

²³ Lj. Perči, op. cit.

²⁴ Even though some pieces were staged earlier by the end of the eighteenth century – for example, *Der lustige Beylager* by Wenzel Müller – they were regularly performed later as well. In previous literature on the Prandau collection, this copy of Müller's work was mistakenly attributed to Franz Xaver Glöggel. On this matter, see: Vjera Katalinić, Bečki kazališni život krajem 18. i početkom 19. stoljeća i Prandauova glazbenoscenska ostavština, *Glazbena baština Valpova od 1809. do 2009*. Proceedings of the symposium Musical Heritage of Valpovo 1809–2009 (in press).

are barely known or forgotten today; for example, Joseph Drechsler (1782–1852), Franz Joseph (František) Gläser (1798–1861), Franz Xaver Glöggel (1764–1839), Wenzel Müller (1767–1835), Adolf Müller (1801–1886), Philipp Jakob Riotte (1776–1856), Johann Baptist Schenk (1753–1836), Ignaz von Seyfried (1776–1841), Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763–1850), Konradin Kreutzer (1780–1849), and others.

These authors and many titles of light plays performed with music connect Prandau's theater, active until at least 1825, with the repertoire of the Osijek theater in Tvrdá. Namely, the preserved programs list the same forgotten authors and pieces, with one exception: the staging of Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Preziosa* (1834/35 and later). (Probably the most popular piece among them was Nestroy-Müller's *Der böse Geist Lumpacivagabundus*.) An obvious connection can also be seen in the activities of the "principal," Ignatz Trattinig. He led the opera *staggione* in the Osijek theater in 1821/22 and then in Valpovo in 1822/23. On that occasion subscriptions were introduced at the Prandau estate, and Trattinig was regularly paid for ten months of consecutive performances. Thus it seems that Baron Prandau was engaged in a commercial business through which he ensured entertainment for his family and, at the same time, covered part of his production costs. It also meant that he changed the status of these performances from private to public.

According to notes taken by contemporaries and family memoirs,²⁵ the Pejačević castle in Našice was remembered as a place for performing *singspiels* and other music-making activities, which were usually performed in its central hall. These were organized in the nineteenth century by the members of the family, along with other professional and amateur musicians, from both non-aristocratic and aristocratic families (Prandau, Mihalovich, Salopek, etc.). Events included diverse variants and combinations of scenic speech, movement and music, and popular Viennese stage pieces with singing (such as vaudevilles and farces) and *tableaux vivants* with scenes from mythology, history, and literature were frequently performed. These were regularly accompanied by music, continuing the tradition of the aristocratic eighteenth-century masked balls.²⁶

The Osijek theater may have also been connected with the Pejačević family theater in Našice. The memoirs of the Pejačević family, as noted in the newspaper *Drau* from 1905, mention an anecdote concerning the "merry play" *Der Verschwender* (by Ferdinand Raimund and Konradin Kreutzer) staged "some seventy years earlier,"²⁷ that is, around 1835. The same play with music was also staged in Osijek during the winter of 1841 (and later), so it seems possible that Osijek theater musicians also participated in the Našice performance.

Osijek's development was further stimulated after its elevation to the status of a "free and royal town" in 1809. With this honor, the town was also permitted "to found theaters."²⁸ The growing urban population, especially the new wealthy citizens, demanded more vivid and artistically better performances. In the application he submitted to the

²⁵ Cf. the article in the newspaper *Die Drau* from 19 March 1905 (Theater, Kunst und Musik), in which memories connected with the Našice performances were evoked on the occasion of a Zagreb soirée.

²⁶ In *Annuae*, the memoirs of Zagreb Canon Adam Baltazar Krčelić, one can read about such scenes also performed in Zagreb, often with the addition of lasciviousness.

²⁷ Cf. footnote 25.

²⁸ S. Marjanović, op. cit., p. 118.

town municipality, the new director Louis (Ludwig) Konderla pledged to respect the demands of the audiences, with a good company, appropriate wardrobe, and good selection of plays, and to regularly pay the rent for the theater.²⁹ He started with operetta productions in 1862, mostly with composers from standard repertoire such as Franz von Suppé and Jacques Offenbach, but in 1867 he also staged Zajc's operetta *Mannschaft an Bord!*.³⁰ The actors were still acting as singers and the regiment's music was the basis of the orchestra. This changed in 1867, when the town orchestra (the *Esseker Zivillkapelle*) was founded, which could, for a while, also support the theater productions.³¹

The first citizens' initiatives in founding a theater company date from the early 1840s. The idea of founding an amateur theater to amuse and educate the young, with promises to be decent and moral, was soon rejected by the fortress command. By that time, the old adapted theater with its theater boxes and a parterre³² had become too cramped for the town's theatrical needs. The growth of the Upper Town and its rich citizens, along with the simultaneous loss of interest in the old-fashioned fortress theater, resulted in the founding of a "Stock Company for Building a Casino and Theater", and soon afterwards, with the construction of a new building, opened on December 31st 1866.

The Osijek theater building – the first in the town to be purpose-built as a theater, probably on its own land – was constructed before the Fellner and Helmer era (who built theaters throughout the monarchy, as well as in Zagreb, Rijeka, and Varaždin). The man responsible for it was the builder Karl Klausner, who was more a craftsman than an architect; the façade was marked in style by Historicism and oriental (Moorish) elements. The ground plan of the parterre followed the Baroque pattern (in the shape of a horseshoe), similar to those in Italian and Austrian theaters, and had three floor levels. This building was and still is interpolated within the row of houses in the street, as opposed to the free-standing Fellner and Helmer theater buildings, which were built as palatial edifices in the center of a square, and could be walked around in order to offer a more monumental impression. The building was meant to be an amusement center, also incorporating a restaurant, a café, a casino, ballrooms, shops, and so on. "By raising the podium mechanically, the theater could be transformed into a large dance hall."³³ For a while,

²⁹ G. Gojković, op. cit., p. 17.

³⁰ At the same time, in 1863, the newly established National Theater in Zagreb started operetta production with a similar repertoire, but in Croatian. This Viennese operetta by Zajc was staged in Zagreb on 9 March 1867, in Croatian translation, entitled *Momci na brod!*.

³¹ To supply musicians for such orchestras and soloists, the town needed to provide adequate musical training, but supporting this for an extended period seems to have presented a difficulty. Music schools started opening in Osijek since 1830, when a citizens' initiative resulted in the establishment of a *Musikverein* (and another one in 1834 in Miholjac); however, they were short-lived. In 1874, the town municipality opened a music school with departments for voice and for strings, which lasted for some ten years. In 1891, another singing society (later named after Franjo Ksaver Kuhač) opened a music school that operated until 1912. Only the twentieth-century initiative was long lasting. Nonetheless, the nineteenth-century theater orchestra never could have functioned seriously without regimental musicians.

³² No sketches of the theater's interior or plans have been preserved.

³³ Stjepan Sršan, *Pozdrav iz Osijeka / Greetings from Osijek*, Osijek, Povijesni arhiv u Osijeku, 1995, p. 43.

performances continued in the old theater, too, but the audience lost interest in the old building. The first newspaper – the *Esseker Lokalblatt und Landbote* (1864–1869) – and later *Die Drau* (from 1868) and *Slavonische Presse* (from 1885)³⁴ – supply descriptions of its construction, and, later, of the performances through announcements and reviews. The critics were not satisfied with the productions, the quality of the singers/actors, or the stage design, and so in 1867 Konderla left for Novi Sad.

Another phase in the life of Osijek theater production was the short period when Julius Schulz was the director (during the many seasons in the 1870s and 1880s) and tried to raise the quality of the performances.³⁵ In addition to regular operetta productions, he introduced continuous operatic staging. He started to establish a standard repertoire with works by Italian, French, and German composers such as Vincenzo Bellini (*Norma*, *Romeo und Julia*), Gaetano Donizetti (*Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Belisar*), Gioacchino Rossini (*Der Barbier von Sevilla*), and Giuseppe Verdi (*Der Troubadur*, *Ernani*, *Rigoletto*, *La Traviata*, *Ein Maskenbal*), and, during the 1890s, Pietro Mascagni (*Cavalleria rusticana*), Ruggero Leoncavallo (*Bajazzo*), Giacomo Meyerbeer (*Dinorah*, *Die Hugenotten*), Fromental Halévy (*Die Jüdin*), Charles Gounod (*Faust*), Friedrich von Flotow (*Martha*, *Alessandro Stradella*), Konradin Kreutzer (*Das Nachtlager von Granada*), Carl Maria von Weber (*Der Freischütz*), Albert Lortzing (*Zar und Zimmermann*, *Der Waffenschmied*), and many others.³⁶ Opera production intensified during some seasons in the 1890s, especially in 1894, when it was rented by the municipality and became the “Theater der k. k. Freistadt Esseg”. Franz Schlesinger was another successful theater director, who brought a soloist from Prague within his company of some fifty members, with whom he gave 138 performances in the 1896/97 season. Schlesinger left for Ljubljana and, after the beginning of the twentieth century, the theater production slowly declined.

Already by the mid-nineteenth century, the citizens of Osijek were beginning to promote the national idea within the theater. The first person to sing in the theater in Croatian was the Polish actress and singer Elizabeta Uhink: at the “grand quodlibet soirée” on 15 December 1847, she performed local songs in Croatian, accompanied by the newly established popular tamburitza ensemble of Pajo Kolarić.³⁷ The German theater companies were also the object of critical reviews by music critics such as Jakob Franck and Max Kohn,³⁸ as well as the nationally-oriented Stjepan Marjanović Brođanin (literally ‘from Brod’).³⁹ The national issue was additionally emphasized with guest performances by the national theater company from Novi Sad (they performed only spoken plays) and, especially, the Croatian National Theater from Zagreb in 1884, when the ensemble performed Verdi’s operas *Un ballo in maschera* and *Ernani* in Italian, and the first performance in Osijek of Ivan Zajc’s *Nikola Šubić Zrinski* (in Croatian, of course). These guest performances from Zagreb also continued in Vukovar and, in spite of weak financial returns,

³⁴ G. Gojković, op. cit., p. 8.

³⁵ Schulz quit Osijek in 1886, when he left for Timișoara. He spent the next season in Ljubljana, but returned again twice as director and conductor of the Osijek theater: in 1887/88 and 1893/95.

³⁶ The opera repertoire is listed in: G. Gojković, op. cit., pp. 98–101.

³⁷ S. Marjanović, op. cit., p. 121.

³⁸ G. Gojković, op. cit., p. 32.

³⁹ S. Marjanović, op. cit., p. 121.

created strong patriotic feelings, highlighted the neglect of the vernacular language, and turned the theater into an arena of political rivalry, which gradually led to decreasing interest in the German theater. The culmination of the crisis was reached when Lajos Szalkai's Hungarian company was forbidden to give performances in 1895, and with the closure of the theater during the carnival season of 1906. Thus, in the spring of 1907, the theater doors remained closed. Soon afterwards, the Croatian Theater Society in Osijek was founded; some seventy wealthy members donated the initial funding, and the curtain of the Croatian National Theater in Osijek was raised on 7 December 1907.⁴⁰

From an organizational standpoint, musical theater in Slavonia followed contemporary political changes in two ways: 1) socially, with a shift from aristocratic to public and town initiatives; and 2) ideologically, from a German – and, sporadically, Hungarian – to a Croatian national orientation. This came thirty years later than in Zagreb, the center of political processes, and it was caused by the fact that Osijek was a strong military stronghold and a long-term point of defense of the Austrian Empire, where German administration dominated. Former aristocratic theaters vanished, but many outstanding aristocrats, such as Gustav Prandau and Teodor Pejačević, joined the boards of town theaters. During the nineteenth century, another substantial change occurred in the attitude towards the musical stage. In the first half of the century, it was mostly seen as a pastime for aristocrats and well-off citizens; they either performed themselves or simply enjoyed the performance as audience members, regardless of whether it was “light” or “serious.” During the second half of the century, opera assumed political connotations, so that works by Verdi and domestic composers became part of cultural policy. In contrast to Zagreb, such tendencies were felt in Osijek only towards the end of the century. However, the important commonalities between Zagreb and Osijek were the full theaters and the profit made from light musical theater pieces – initially vaudevilles, farces, and parodies, and later operettas. Their performances required less educated and less skilful singers and smaller instrumental ensembles, but they were highly attractive because of the “lighter” topics. However, better-educated audiences and theater directors with more refined tastes treated “light music” as a “necessary evil,” an easy way to fill their cash boxes in order to mount more expensive opera productions, which – through their prestigious performances and richer ornamentation – would inspire critics to more positive writing about their respective theaters in the newspapers and satisfy the connoisseurs in the audiences.

⁴⁰ In the meantime, there were some guest performances from Pécs and Ljubljana, both in May 1907. See G. Gojković, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

RAZVEDRILLO ZA ČASTNIKE, PLEMIČE IN MEŠČANE:
TRIJE DRUŽBENI POBUDNIKI POSVETNEGA GLASBENEGA ODR
V SLAVONIJI V 19. STOLETJU

Povzetek

V hrvaški pokrajini Slavoniji je v poznem 18 in v 19. stoletju glasbeno gledališče veljalo za glavno razvedrilo trem značilnim družbenim skupinam. Organizirali so ga na zasebnih domovih in plemiških posestvih, denimo pri Pejačevićevih v Našicah in Osijeku, družina Prandau pa je razpolagala celo z lastnim majhnim gledališčem, zgrajenem 1809 na njihovem posestvu v Valpovem. Člani družin so v igrah tudi sodelovali, v svojih knjižnicah pa ohranili vrsto glasbenega gradiva, libretov itd. Vojaško uprava osiješke utrdbe je v zgradbi glavnega poveljstva uredila majhno gledališče. Oboji so gostili tudi potujoče gledališke družine, ki so večinoma uprizarjale preproste igre z glasbenimi točkami. Od leta 1834 je repertoar vojaškega gledališča vključeval različne vrste veseloiger s petjem, uprizarjanje operet pa se je pričelo leta 1862; večinoma del standardnega repertoarja. Razvoj gornjega dela mesta in rast števila premožnih prebivalcev sta, hkrati z izgubo zanimanja za staromodno gledališče v utrdbi, botrovala ustanovitvi "Delniške družbe za gradnjo kazine in gledališča" v Osijeku in kmalu zatem gradnji nove gledališke stavbe, ki so jo odprli leta 1866. V sedemdesetih letih 19. stoletja je gledališki direktor Julius Schulz vpeljal redne operne uprizoritve. Porast nacionalne zavesti v drugi polovici 19. stoletja je spodbudila ustanovitev Hrvaškega narodnega gledališča v Osijeku 1907. Prispevek ponuja tudi pregled socialnih in ideoloških sprememb v slavonskem glasbenem gledališču obravnavanega obdobja.

MUSICAL SYMBOLS IN THE TURQUERIES IN SLOVENIA: ORIENTAL ARTWORKS BETWEEN REALITY AND IMAGINATION*

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Izveček: Prispevek obravnava likovna dela z orientalsko in glasbeno motiviko iz 17. in 18. stoletja, ohranjena na območju Slovenije. Na temeljih najnovejših raziskav umetnostnozgodovinske stroke avtorica reinterpreтира slike Turška plesalka neznanega štajerskega mojstra, nastala okrog 1682, iz serije turkerij v Pokrajinskem muzeju Ptuj ter dve sliki iz Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani, deli Johanna Josefa Karla Henricia, Koncert na orientalskem dvoru in Koncert z lutnjo, nastali okrog 1786. Ob tem skuša odgovoriti na vprašanja o realnosti upodabljanja instrumentarija na turkerijah v kontekstu historičnega razvoja glasbene prakse.

Ključne besede: turkerije, glasbena ikonografija, orientalska motivika, George de La Chappelle, Johann Josef Karl Henrici

Abstract: The article discusses turqueries with musical symbols from the 17th and 18th century, preserved in Slovenia. The interpretation of artworks, such as Turkish dancer from Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj (Ptuj Regional Museum), the work of an unknown Styrian painter around 1682, and the two paintings by Johann Josef Karl Henrici Concert at the Oriental Court and Lute Concert, from around 1786, preserved in the Akademija za glasbo in Ljubljana (Academy of Music in Ljubljana), is based on current research pertaining to the history of art. Furthermore, the article provides some reflections on musical symbols, particularly on questions relating to the realistic depiction of musical instruments in accordance with historical musical practice.

Keywords: turqueries, music iconography, oriental motifs, George de La Chappelle, Johann Josef Karl Henrici

There are a number of turqueries from the 17th and 18th centuries preserved in Slovenia, which could be described as being significant Central European artworks. Oriental images were especially favored in the Baroque and rococo period, when oriental motifs marked visual arts, literature, music, and theater. At the turn of the 17th century, when Turkish predominance faded, European countries started to strengthen their relations through political, economic and cultural connections. The respect for the once-terrifying superior Ottoman forces was transformed into denial of being threatened and an admiration of exotica. France, which had already become closely connected to Ottoman culture during the reign of Louis XIV, played an influential role in spreading exotica in the ensuing centuries. The Ottoman world, which had influenced Europe since the Renaissance,

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became fashionable and the opulently furnished rooms of Baroque palatial buildings with turqueries were at their prime.¹

The largest preserved and so far the largest known collection of oil painting turqueries in Slovenia and indeed Europe is kept in the Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj. The latest interdisciplinary research, carried out in the last few years, places the Ptuj collection among the European series of paintings with Turkish motifs that were created after the diplomatic missions to Istanbul during the 16th and 17th centuries.² Similarly, there are two other turquerie paintings, the work of Johann Josef Karl Henrici – *Concert at the Oriental Court* (1786) and *Lute Concert* (ca. 1786) which are kept in the Akademija za glasbo Ljubljana. We should not forget chinoiseries, as they also belong to the category of important artwork with oriental motifs. One of the most significant set of those artworks in present day Slovenia are the wall coverings with chinoiseries kept in Ptuj Museum. They are dated at around 1755 and preserved and thought to be among the best of European wall coverings with oriental motifs. They came to the museum from Dornava mansion which was for centuries owned by important former Austrian aristocratic families. In the wall coverings, painted after seventeenth-century graphic models, fantastic and grotesque scenes are depicted, which in some respects follow Chinese wall coverings painted for the European market in the second half of the eighteenth century. Among the motifs in the style of *commedia dell'arte* and scenes representing life in China, several figures with musical instruments appear. The instruments are mainly Western, and to a great extent fantastic, allowing the symbolic, rather than the strictly musical meaning to prevail.³ By bringing together contributions from the field of art history, recent musicological studies and new comparable research, the present article in a sense completes the history of the turqueries from Ptuj castle and interpretations of Henrici's paintings preserved in Ljubljana. Furthermore the article reflects on musical symbols in these artworks, particularly on how realistically – in view of contemporary and present perspective – musical practice in Europe and the Orient is depicted in the artworks discussed.

¹ Markus Köhbach, *Evropa in osmanska ekspanzija, Srečanje z Jutrovim na ptujskem gradu. Catalogue of the exhibition*, ed. Marjeta Ciglencéki, Ptuj, Pokrajinski muzej, 1992, p. 19; Christoph K. Neumann, Petr Štěpánek, *Ottoman – Habsburg relations in the 17th century, Image of the Turks in the 17th century Europe*, Istanbul, Sakip Sabanci Müzesi, 2005, pp. 18–35; Günsel Renda, *The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th century: Changing images, Image of the Turks in the 17th century Europe*, op. cit., pp. 44–55.

² The first important research on the paintings was published in the late 1980s and early 1990s. See Maximilian Grothaus, *Eine untersteirische Turquerie, ihre graphische Vorbilder und ihre kulturhistorische Bedeutung, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 95 (1987), pp. 271–295; M. Grothaus, *Die Turquerie von Pettau/Ptuj, ihre graphische Vorbilder und ihre kulturhistorische Bedeutung, Srečanje z Jutrovim na ptujskem gradu*, op. cit., pp. 69–78; Marjeta Ciglencéki, *Zur Geschichte der Familien Leslie und Herberstein und deren Schlösser Gutenhaag/Hrastovec, Wurmberg/Vurberg und Pettau/Ptuj, Srečanje z Jutrovim na ptujskem gradu*, op. cit., pp. 43–51. From the point of view of musical symbols see Darja Koter, *Turqueries and Chinoiseries with Musical Symbols: Examples from Slovenia, Music in Art* 29 (2004), 1–2, pp. 113–122. In 2005 the Ptuj collection was the object of detailed research, published in the exhibition catalogue *Image of the Turks in the 17th century Europe* (op. cit.) in which some new evidence on the history of paintings and painters was presented.

³ See D. Koter, op. cit., pp. 118–122.

Turqueries were the most common decorations of feudal residences in the territory of present-day Slovenia from the second half of the 17th until the end of the 18th century.⁴ The collection of turqueries at Ptuj museum came into existence after the splendid diplomatic mission to Istanbul led by Walter Count Leslie in 1665/66. At that time he was the owner of Ptuj castle and his family was connected by marriage with the Herberstein family, who bought the castle in the second half of the 19th century. The paintings, depictions of portraits of Turks, generals and ministers, princes, the sultan, the spachi, the janissary and women from the Ottoman empire, were commissioned by the Counts of Herberstein and the Counts of Leslie as a part of the decor of the Vurberg/Wurmberg Castle near Ptuj in Slovenian Styria at the beginning of the 1680's. In 1907, the Herberstein family transferred the turqueries to Ptuj Castle, which was owned by the family from 1873.⁵ Experts are convinced that the forty-seven presently known paintings represent only a part of the series, and that some paintings must have been in lost or passed into hands of an unknown owner.⁶

The series of paintings were probably ordered by Christine Crescentia Countess Herberstein and her first husband Alexander Leslie, the nephew of Walter Leslie, at the beginning of the 1680's. She owned Vurberk castle for six decades and as far as we know the paintings and decoration of the castle were her responsibility. The artworks undoubtedly express the spiritual horizons of a nobleman and his experiences in the Orient.⁷ In this context, among the depictions of Turkish worthies, some of whom are shown realistically, the oriental women in the portraits of "Principales dames de la Porte du Grand Turc" are especially interesting. The paintings kept in Ptuj originated from a series of copperplate engravings made by Noël Cochin after the drawings of the French artist George de La Chappelle (active 1638–1648) with the title *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la Porte du Grand Turc, tirés au naturel, sur les lieux, et dediez a madame la comtesse de Fiesque*, representing oriental women (four Turkish women, three Greek women, a Tatar woman, a Jewish woman, an Armenian woman, a Persian woman and a

⁴ Zmago Šmitek, *Percepcija neevropskih kultur na Slovenskem, Srečanje z Jutrovim na ptujskem gradu*, op. cit., pp. 54–56. This article presents the most important tradition of oriental motifs in the territory of present-day Slovenia.

⁵ Herbersteins are a remarkable aristocratic family who significantly influenced the development of Slovenian territory within today's borders. Some members of the family attained the highest positions in the military, the church, and the state, while others were distinguished scientists and writers. The main castle of the family is situated in Austrian Styria, yet the family owned many other estates in the territory from Istria to Silesia. The family had castles in Slovene Styria (Gutenhaag / Hrastovec, Wurmberg / Vurberg and Pettau / Ptuj). Among the most important members of the family was Siegmund Herberstein (1486–1566), who wrote the renowned work *Rerum moscoviticarum comentarii* (Wien, 1549) and was the imperial mediator in the negotiations with Ottoman grandees. Polona Vidmar suggests that the above mentioned collection of paintings is closely connected with the Herberstein and Leslie families. See Polona Vidmar, *Courage, power, beauty and luxury: The Vurberk gallery of 17th century paintings, Image of the Turks in the 17th century Europe*, op. cit., pp. 78–95.

⁶ See P. Vidmar, *Turkerije, orientalc i in krepostni junaki / Turqueries, orientals and virtuous heroes*, Ptuj, Pokrajinski muzej, 2007, p. 4, note 12.

⁷ See P. Vidmar, op. cit., pp. 79–82.

Figure 1



George de La Chappelle, »Schinguene / Mussulman«, »Comedienne / Turc«. Paris, 1648.
Engraving. Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst.
(Photo Regional Museum Ptuj, with permission.)

native from the island of Chios, most possibly another Greek woman).⁸ These engravings present European notions of the Orient in an interesting way, and this kind of portrayal was normally impossible. Among the oriental characteristics are their clothes, their head-dresses and the backgrounds of the paintings. Furthermore the series, dedicated to the Countess de Fiesque, was meant for women. La Chappelle's works are considered to be among the most important visual art motifs of oriental women, and were used as a model by several painters. The most important derivations of La Chappelle's graphic models in Ptuj Castle are nine paintings by two unknown Styrian painters, dated about 1682. The only figure with a musical instrument among them follows the tenth plate of Chappelle's "Recueil de divers portraits...", titled underneath as "Schingue Mussulman" and "Comedienne Turque", present a *Turkish Dancer* [figs. 1 and 2].⁹ The picture is a very precise derivation of its graphic model, though a landscape with a minaret bastilles and towers has been added. A girl stands in a traditional oriental dance pose. She is dressed in Ottoman attire with a veil and a headdress decoration in her hair, although her facial features do not seem to be oriental. The dancer is standing on the toes of her left foot with the right leg slightly bent and elevated behind. She holds her hands as if outlining rhythmic movement and her head is slightly bowed in a charming and alluring way. Her rounded body and the markedly sensual expression of her face can be understood as a symbol of a girl from a harem. It seems that she is holding crotala in her hands. The crotala is a type of castanet from Greek and Roman culture, played by dancers in theaters, pantomimes, and ritual dances devoted to Dionysus and Cybele, often depicted in the hands of female dancers and satyrs. The crotala consisted of two pieces of wood, bone or bronze, struck together by the action of fingers and thumb. Normally a pair was held in each hand. The antique tradition

⁸ George de La Chappelle, the painter born in Caen, traveled to Istanbul in 1643, as a member of the French diplomatic mission, with the task of depicting his impressions and experiences. After returning to France in 1648 his drawings, allegedly representing the sultan's wives, were used for engravings. They are signed only "G. la Chappelle pinxit" without mentioning the engraver, who was Noël Cochin. His initials NC are noticable on the eleven plates in the bottom right corner. See P. Vidmar, op. cit., p. 89; M. Grothaus, *At the crossing of Orient and Occident: The Turquerie of Ptuj, Image of the Turks in the 17th century Europe*, op. cit., pp. 62–77. The collection was published in Paris (Cf. Catherine de Sairigné, *La Turquerie sous Louis XIV (1660–1715), L'information d'histoire de l'art* 16 (1971), pp. 37–39). La Chappelle's copper engravings ran into numerous editions, corresponding with the taste of the aristocratic environment, where exotic motifs were already popular. Cf. M. Grothaus / M. Ciglencečki 1992.

⁹ The copper engraving after Georges de La Chappelle is kept in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna. The signature on the left and on the right at the bottom reads "G. la Chapelle pinxit". At the bottom in the middle is the inscription "Schinguene / Mussulman / Comedienne / Turc". M. Ciglencečki explains that the term "Schinguene" could mark the Turkish word for a Gypsy woman. She explains the meaning of the word within the Turkish tradition, because in the Orient entertainment and dancing were performed by Gypsies. Cf. M. Ciglencečki, op. cit., catalogue no. 5.28., 151.b. See also Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, *La musique orientale dans les œuvres de l'Ecole française du XVIIIe siècle, Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 9 (1969), 4–5, pp. 231–246. Mirimonde also reproduced a copy of engraving no. 10 – "Danseuse aux castagnettes", op. cit., Fig. 3, p. 234, preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale France (département des Estampes). I would like to express my thanks to Florence Gâteau who provided me with some important information and helped in the direction of my research.

was above all preserved in the Orient. In seventeenth-century Europe the crotala had a markedly exotic meaning, and it is no surprise that both the author of the engraving and the painter took into consideration its symbolic meaning. The *Turkish Dancer* is holding a pair of crotala in each hand in a manner which corresponds to the long tradition of performing with this instrument. In depicting the structure of the wood, the painter even considered the material from which the instrument was made. The figure in the painting can be compared to some antique depictions of crotala musician, as seen for example on Roman oil lamps,

Figure 2



Unknown Styrian painter, ca. 1682. Oil on canvas, 184.1 x 172.6 cm.
Regional Museum Ptuj. Inv. n. 26-s. (Photo Regional Museum Ptuj, with permission.)

where the motif of a dancing putto with crotala is frequently found.¹⁰ The crotala is rather realistically depicted as an archaistic oriental musical instrument, which fits with music iconography and was no doubt the intention of the painter. Furthermore it is evident that turqueries were able to offer depictions of musical instruments which were not in accordance with actual musical practice in either Europe or the Orient.

Two paintings by Johann Josef Karl Henrici (1737–1823), preserved in Ljubljana, provide quite different examples of turqueries. They are some sort of reflection on the 18th century fashion in the style of decorative motifs. The painter, born in Silesia, was a traveller, and in his youth worked for some time in a scenographic workshop in Prague. Later he lived in Vienna, Graz, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Trieste, and in Venice, where he became well known as a painter of miniature portraits. In the later years of his life he settled in Bolzano, where he died. His characteristic style is Venetian and Bolognese rococo and three of his paintings are preserved in Slovenia. Besides his *Concert at the Oriental Court* [fig. 3] and *Lute Concert* [fig. 4] which are part of the collection of the Academy of Music in Ljubljana,¹¹ his *Masquerade Ball* is preserved in the Pokrajinski muzej Maribor (Regional Museum in Maribor, inv. No. 1331). The composition and the contents of this painting are connected with Henrici's paintings *Festa in maschera con minuetto* and *Festa in maschera con suonatore di luito* (both ca. 1784), preserved in Museo civico in Bolzano, which are a kind of replica of his wall frescoes in the Menz palace of that town.¹² Some years ago the painting *Carnival in St. Marco Square* appeared on the London Market. Both paintings from Ljubljana have two more versions, found in the Galerie Pardo in Paris in 1983.¹³ For the purposes of our research, we have to take into consideration one of the most important collections of Henrici's paintings, which, like the turqueries and chinoiseries, are preserved in Bolzano in Italy.¹⁴ In the view of the art historians Federico Zeri and Ksenija Rozman

¹⁰ There are some examples of Roman oil lamps preserved in Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj, one of which represents a dancing figure with crotala (1st–2nd c. AD) and is exhibited in the collection of musical instruments at Ptuj Castle.

¹¹ The paintings have their provenance in the aristocratic family Attems, which had large estates and castles also in the territory of present-day Slovenia. After the end of World War II both paintings were given over to the Akademija za glasbo in Ljubljana. Cf. Federico Zeri and Ksenija Rozman, *Evropski slikarji. Katalog stalne razstave*, Ljubljana, Narodna galerija, 1997, p. 158.

¹² Nicolò Rasmò, *Das Palais Menz in Bozen*, Bozen, Saturnia, 1972; See *Bolzano 1700–1888. La città e le arti*, ed. S. Spada Pintarelli, Bolzano, Silvana Editoriale, 2004. About frescoes compare the catalogue number 47, pp. 222–227; both scenes are also preserved as oils on canvas (64,5 x 89 cm), catalogue number 54a, 54b, p. 244–245.

¹³ F. Zeri and K. Rozman, op. cit., p. 159.

¹⁴ F. Zeri and K. Rozman did not take into consideration Henrici's paintings in the Museo Civico in Bolzano. About the collection of the Oriental paintings and wall paintings in Bolzano see Nicolò Rasmò, op. cit.; Silvia Spada Pintarelli, *Una nuova serie orientale di Carl Henrici al Museo di Bolzano*, *Festschrift Nicolò Rasmò*, ed. S. Spada Pintarelli, Bolzano, Comune di Bolzano, 1986, pp. 398–408; S. Spada Pintarelli, Bolzano. Museo civico Sezione Storico-Artistica, Bologna, Calderini, 1995, p. 17, 102, 105–107; Marina Botteri Ottaviana, *Carl Henrici: un pittore, una città, Bolzano 1700–1800. La città e le arti*, ed. S. Spada Pintarelli, Milano, Silvana editoriale, 2004, pp. 195–253; Luca Scarlini, *Alpi d'Oriente: Carl Henrici e le turcherie, Bolzano 1700–1888. La città e le arti*, op. cit., pp. 255–269; S. Spada Pintarelli, op. cit., cf. Catalogue no. 59, p. 266.

there is some resemblance between *Concert at the Oriental Court*¹⁵ and the painting *Concert of the Great Sultan* by Carle van Loo (1705–1765).¹⁶ The French painter van Loo is well known for his many paintings with historical and biblical scenes as well as for allegories depicting scenes from the royal court and representative portraits in the style of *grand'opéra*. Beaumarchais mentioned his painting *Concert espagnol* as the basis for a scene in *Le barbier de Séville*.¹⁷ In his turqueries van Loo combined European and Ottoman elements in accordance with French fashion of the eighteenth century, which

Figure 3



Johann Josef Karlo Henrici, *Concert at Oriental Court* (1786). Oil on canvas, 68 x 96 cm.
Academy of Music Ljubljana.

(Photo by Bojan Salaj, National Gallery Ljubljana, with permission.)

¹⁵ Johann Josef Karl Henrici, *Concert at the Oriental Court* (oil on canvas, 68 x 96). Signed and dated bottom left on the reverse: "Carolus Henrici / Polceni pinxit / 1786". Ljubljana, Akademija za glasbo.

¹⁶ F. Zeri and K. Rozman, op. cit., p. 159.

¹⁷ "Loo, Charles-André (Carle)", *Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti*, Zagreb, Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1964, III: 333 (text by redaction).

dictated that exotic objects were interlinked with traditional European motifs. Depicting turqueries or other allegories of music, Loo successfully followed the customs of the time, however, as far as we know the woman at the harpsichord is a portrait of his wife.¹⁸ When we try to compare both paintings, *Concert of the Great Sultan* by Carle van Loo and *Concert at the Oriental Court* by C. Henrici it is clear that there is a resemblance in the composition, with a similar number of musicians, and many exotic elements. However, there are some important characteristics which indicate similarities to Henrici's collection

Figure 4



Johann Josef Karlo Henrici, *Lute Concert* (ca. 1786). Oil on canvas, 68 x 96 cm.
Academy of Music Ljubljana.

(Photo by Bojan Salaj, National Gallery Ljubljana, with permission.)

¹⁸ There are many studies on Van Loo's painting *Le concert du sultan* or *Grand Seigneur donnant un concert à sa maîtresse*, London, Wallace collection, P 451. See A. P. de Mirimonde, op. cit., p. 244; Florence Gétreau and Denis Herlin, *Portraits de clavecins et de clavecinistes français, Musique-Images-Instruments* 3 (2007), p. 73, fig. no. 7; Cristina Bordas, *Musical iconography in Spain*, *Early Music* 25 (1997), 2, pp. 335–336.

at Bolzano Museo civico, especially the four paintings *Scene turchesche* (*Il sultano acquista la schiava; Il concerto; Il ritratto; La schiava visitata dal medico*).¹⁹ Silvia Spada Pintarelli mentioned both paintings from Ljubljana, part of Henrici's series of turqueries created between 1780-1786, as an echo of the opera *Das Serail* of Josef von Friebert, which was presented in Bolzano in 1779. She also established that some pictures of the series were based on the engraving of Bernard François Lépicié, *Bacha faisant peindre sa maîtresse* from 1748²⁰ and van Loo's *Le Concert du Grand Sultan*.²¹

Indubitably the *Concert at the Oriental Court* from Ljubljana is simply a version of Henrici's *Il concerto* from the Museo civico in Bolzano, dated 1784. In any case there are clearly a number of similarities with all four paintings *Scene turchesche*, if we compare figures and their pose, faces, turbans, clothes, etc. In general terms, when we compare his frescoes and oil paintings, it is also striking that he used the same figures repeatedly, irrespective of whether the scene was sacral or profane.²² There are many more figures on the version from Ljubljana, including a sultana, larger ambient and a bright chandelier which is very similar with the above mentioned picture *Il sultano acquista la schiava*.²³ In comparison with the *Concert at the Oriental Court* from Ljubljana the picture from Bolzano has the same composition with four musicians (a flautist, a violin player, a cello player and a woman at the harpsichord) and the table-shaped harpsichord has a very similar candlestick. Furthermore, the faces of the sultan and the woman at the harpsichord have identical features to those on some of the other pictures we have mentioned. The central figures in the *Concert at the Oriental Court* are a man and a woman, depicted as sultan and sultana, listening to music by four musicians and surrounded by many courtiers. Following the model of the exotic scene, the painter depicted the company in an aristocratic environment, surrounded by European architecture with a colonnade and plaited drapery. Neither architectural elements nor the drapery indicate the exotic. Oriental elements are expressed on the faces (above all the male faces), and in the clothes, head-coverings and footwear, where the influences of other styles are also apparent. It seems that all the figures are wearing exotic garments, except the central female by the harpsichord, the only one bareheaded. Following the van Loo picture it is possible that the figure of the woman in Henrici's picture – this face we could compare with the other central female figures at his turqueries – is perhaps a portrait. As far as we know, none of the research on Henrici's artwork has shed any light on this question.

The musical instruments in the picture from Akademija za glasbo in Ljubljana are Western: a flutist (the furthest at the back), beside him a violin player, a cello player sitting beside the harpsichord, and the centrally placed figure of a woman sitting by the

¹⁹ About Henrici's series of turqueries see Luca Scarlini, op. cit., 2004, pp. 255–265 and catalogue no. 59 by S. Spada Pintarelli. See also the exhibition catalogue *Mozart. Note di viaggio in chiave di violino*, Riva del Garda, Museo Riva del Garda, 2006, cat. 29 and 30. These paintings are dated 1784. My gratitude to F. Gétreau for bringing the existence of this series to my attention.

²⁰ See Luca Scarlini, op. cit., catalogue no. 60, pp. 270–271.

²¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes, AA3 van Loo.

²² There are many resemblances with scenes on his fresques in Menz palace, some church paintings and the above mentioned turqueries. Cf. S. Spada Pintarelli, *Una nuova serie orientale di Carl Henrici al Museo di Bolzano, Festschrift Nicolò Rasmo*, op. cit., pp. 399–402; S. Spada Pintarelli, *Scene turchesche, Bolzano 1700–1888. La città e le arti*, op. cit., catalogue no. 59, pp. 266–269.

²³ See *Bolzano 1700–1888. La città e le arti*, op. cit., picture p. 268.

harpsichord. Following the performance practice of eighteenth-century chamber music, the musicians are gathered around the harpsichord. The first three musicians are young men wearing garments and head-coverings with an oriental touch, and only some essential characteristics of the instruments are recognizable. On the flute, among other details, a dark head cup on the foot joint is visible, perhaps indicating the type of Baroque flute still used in the second half of the eighteenth century. In depicting the instrument as markedly bright in color, the painter may have wanted to emphasize its musical meaning in the context of the musical allegory (or he meant to depict a flute made of ivory?). The violinist has an instrument with a shape and size close to the viol type (the c-holes are visible). The stringed instrument in front, reminiscent of a cello, with sloping shoulders and *f*-holes, is playing continuo. The harpsichord has two manuals and a rather unusual case in the shape of a table. The musicians playing in the quartet provide evidence of the performance practice of chamber music in the first half of the eighteenth century, when quartets consisting of flute, violin, cello, and harpsichord commonly participated in performances of trio sonatas. In this case, the flute and violin could be equivalent instruments playing solo, while the cello and harpsichord were providing continuo.

Henrici's painting could be also an allegory of music attuned to the spirit and fashion of exoticism. A musical event in an aristocratic parlor, interwoven with oriental influences, is an expression of the fashion of the eighteenth century. The allegorical content of the scene is supplemented by the presentation of the light. Two lights set in the center of the painting are particularly eloquent: the unusual candlestick adorned with a figure and the chandelier. The light has innumerable symbolic meanings, and in Henrici's painting could be understood as a divine or spiritual light pointing out that music is an art which allows us to attain perfection. Compared with van Loo, neither of the elements illustrating a light are present in his picture, or on the Claude Antoine Littret de Montigny engraving from 1766 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes, AA 3 van Loo, presenting the same scene.

The second painting preserved in Ljubljana, the *Lute Concert*²⁴ is not signed, but it is accepted as Henrici's work and has been dated at around 1786. It came from the collection of the family of Counts Attems.²⁵ The characteristics of the picture correspond with a statement that it belonged to the same series as the previously mentioned picture.²⁶ The sultan and sultana are in the foreground, brighter than the other figures, accompanied by courtiers in the serene atmosphere of the high society of the second half of the 18th century. The colonnade with drapery is present behind a woman with a lute, sitting on a sofa, also brighter than the others, and in the middle of the composition. Just as in the previous painting, the musician is the most European looking among the featured figures. Her sumptuous dress does not appear exotic; meanwhile the other figures are clad in typical Ottoman clothes (Is the woman with lute depicted as a portrait of a female musician like the van Loo picture?). The instru-

²⁴ Johann Josef Karl Henrici, *Lute Concert* (ca. 1786, oil on canvas, 68 x 96), Ljubljana, Akademija za glasbo.

²⁵ F. Zeri and K. Rozman, op. cit., p. 160.

²⁶ There are another two known motifs with lute player in Henrici's artwork: *Festa in maschera*, Bolzano (fresco at palazzo Menz, about 1784) and *Festa in maschera con suonatore di liuto* (oil on canvas, 64,5 x 89 cm, about 1784) which is a version of the scene after the fresco. See S. Spada Pintarelli, op. cit., picture p. 226 and 245.

ment of the lute player is also indefinable, although it displays some oriental characteristics. Its shape is reminiscent of a long lute, a European chordophone which derived from the Middle Eastern tanbur. The shape of the instrument however differs from its European model, as well as the manner of its playing. The depicted lute reminds us somewhat of a colascione (from Greek *kalathion*, small basket) – a two or three stringed instrument with a small lute-shaped body and played with a plectrum – which became part of sixteenth-century European musical culture. Although a number of strings are depicted along the fingerboard, only four pegs corresponding to two pairs of strings can be seen on the pegbox.

The painting is attuned to the fashion of turqueries, but it could be also interpreted as an allegory of hearing personified in the music played on the lute, or a symbolic representation of the five senses depicted by five women: the musician with the lute symbolizes the sense of hearing; a woman in the central pair on the right is touching a man, which may present touch; and the abundance of fruit on the table and the glass held by the woman at the back symbolize the senses of smell and taste. The sense of sight is rather difficult to define, but it can be found in the depiction of the chandelier with lit candles, since fire is also a symbol of sight. The vessel with the fruit has a naked female figure on the top, standing on a sphere and holding a transparent veil in her hands. The figure represents Fortune as she is usually depicted on a sphere and with an inflated sail elevated above her head. Fortune is a symbol of good luck, but also instability²⁷ and transitoriness.

If we compare the interpretation of both pictures with the series of the Henrici turqueries in Museo civico in Bolzano it is evident that they share a number of characteristics. However, all the above mentioned pictures from Bolzano depict scenes with a sultan and a slave girl or one of his girls from a harem corresponding to an opera scene. Meanwhile the pictures from the Akademija za glasbo in Ljubljana represent a sultan with his wife or mistress listening to music, performed by a young woman who could be a portrait of unknown musician. On the other hand both pictures could represent an allegory of music or the five senses. In this way it is clear that Henrici made many versions of his pictures expressing the same or related themes. The musical instruments depicted on both pictures, confirmed the two mode of their role on the turqueries. The first one shows us the depiction of actual and realistic European music practice during the second part of the 18th century, although the motif of the picture displays an oriental spirit. On the other hand, the second of Henrici's pictures confirms that besides the figures and their clothes and some other oriental elements, the musical instruments may also be somewhat exotic in nature, which corresponds with oriental musical practice from the time of Henrici's artwork. In both cases there are no illustrations of musical instrument based purely on imagination, which may point to the importance of depicting real musical instruments on turqueries connected with the musical life in Europe and the Orient of that period. On the other hand, it is clear that some imagination has been used in the depiction of musical instruments among the chinoiserie preserved in Slovenia, which opens up a range of questions about the reality and imagination of musical instruments and musical symbols in the field of music iconography.

²⁷ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art*, New York, Harper & Row, 1974, "five senses" p. 122; "Fortuna" pp. 127–128; "sail" p. 270; and "ball" p. 39.

GLASBENI SIMBOLI NA TURKERIJAH V SLOVENIJI:
LIKOVNE UMETNINE Z ORIENTALSKIM NADIHOM
MED RESNIČNOSTJO IN DOMIŠLJIJO

Povzetek

V likovni dediščini na Slovenskem, ki jo prištevamo med turkerije in sodi v čas med 17. in 18. stoletjem, je ohranjenih nekaj izjemnih umetnin z glasbenimi simboli. Mednje prištevamo serijo slik iz Pokrajinskega muzeja na Ptuju, ki sodi v sam vrh tovrstne evropske dediščine. V kontekstu orientalskih motivov sta za glasbeno ikonografijo pomembni tudi sliki Johanna Josefa Karla Henricija (1737–1823), ohranjeni na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani. V seriji turkerij iz ptujskega muzeja, ki je nastala na pobudo članov plemiške družine Herberstein in Leslie na začetku osemdesetih let 17. stoletja, je tudi slika *Turška plesalka*, delo neznanega štajerskega slikarja, datirana okrog 1682, ki je nastala po predlogi znamenitega francoskega slikarja Georga de la Chappella. Turška plesalka je upodobljena v ritmični pozi orientalskega plesa s crotalo v rokah, arhaičnim glasbilom starogrške in rimske kulture. Tradicija igranja na crotale v Evropi 17. stoletja zgolj simbolizirala eksotiko in ni v skladu s poustvarjalno prakso tedanje Evrope. Sliki *Koncert na orientalskem dvoru* in *Koncert z lutnjo* J. J. K. Henricija, nastali leta 1786 in hranjeni na ljubljanski akademiji, sta prav tako odsev evropske mode upodabljanja orientalskih motivov. Kompozicija prve slike je primerljiva z nekaterimi drugimi deli tega avtorja, ki jih hranijo v galeriji Pardo v Parizu ter v Mestnem muzeju v Bolzanu v Italiji. Po vsebini aludira tudi na dela znamenitega francoskega slikarja Carla van Looja (1705–1765), znanega po seriji slik v stilu *grand'opéra*. Razumemo jo lahko tudi kot refleksijo na gledališke in operne scene druge polovice 18. stoletja v stilu turkerij ter kot alegorijo glasbe. Orientalski motivi se kažejo predvsem v posameznih figurah, medtem ko je ansambel s flavtistom, violinistom, čelistom in harfistko skupaj z instrumenti upodobljen v manirah evropske poustvarjalne prakse druge polovice 18. stoletja. Osrednja figura druge Henricijeve slike *Koncert z lutnjo*, ki je prav tako primerljiva s Henricijevo zapuščino v muzeju v Bolzanu, je glasbenica z lutnjo. Glasbenica je v nasprotju z drugimi liki na sliki upodobljena v evropskih manirah, medtem ko glasbilo aludira na lutnjo z dolgim vratom arabskega izvora oziroma na colascione, evropsko strunsko glasbilo iz 16. stoletja. Ikonografsko je delo opredeljeno kot personifikacija sluha ali celo kot pet čutov. Glasbeni instrumenti na obravnavanih slikah bodisi potrjujejo realistično upodabljanje glasbil ter sledijo evropski praksi, ali pa izžarevajo visoko stopnjo orientalske tradicije in njenega vpliva na slikarsko umetnost evropskega prostora.

DAS VOLKSLIED IM SCHAFFEN DER SLOWAKISCHEN KOMPONISTEN ZWISCHEN 1830–1918

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Izveček: *Ljudska pesem je bila pri oblikovanju slovaške nacionalne glasbe v 19. stoletju pomemben pojav, postala je tudi novo legitimno sredstvo inovativnosti, ki je prispevalo k slogovni bogatitvi tako uporabne kot tudi avtonomne glasbe. Ljudske pesmi so se pogosto harmonizirale in uporabljale v številnih umetniških delih. Njihove priredbe so služile deloma narodno-vzgojnim in kulturnopolitičnim, deloma umetniškim in estetskim namenom.*

Ključne besede: *ljudska pesem, slovaški skladatelji, 19. stoletje*

Abstract: *Folksong was an important phenomenon in the formation of Slovak national music in the nineteenth century and also became a new legitimate means of innovation that contributed to enriching the style of both functional and autonomous music. Folksongs were often harmonized and used in many artistic compositions. These adaptations partly served popular-education, cultural, and political aims on the one hand, and partly artistic and aesthetic aims on the other.*

Keywords: *folk song, Slovak composers, nineteenth century*

In der Musikgeschichte bestand in allen Entwicklungsperioden eine bestimmte Komplementarität zwischen Kunst- und Volksmusik. Das Interesse für die Volkskultur lässt eine breite Skala von musikalischen und soziokulturellen Zusammenhängen erkennen, die von der Unterhaltung und Modeerscheinung bis hin zu ernsthaften national-emanzipatorischen Bemühungen, Konstruktion und Rekonstruktion der kulturellen, regionalen und ethnischen Identitäten reichen.¹ Die spezifischen Erscheinungsformen im 19. Jahrhundert entsprachen der Ansicht der Romantiker, dass das Volkslied den Geist und das Wesen der Nation ideal widerspiegelt. Infolgedessen galt das Volkslied im Prozess der Formierung der nationalen Musik vor allem bei kleineren Nationen als Identitätsphänomen oder -symbol. Der vorliegende Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der Zeitspanne 1830–1918, die in der slowakischen Musikgeschichtsschreibung traditionell als Zeitspanne der Romantik bezeichnet wird.

Die von Johann Gottfried Herder in ganz Europa erweckte Begeisterung für das Volkslied fand ihren Widerhall auch bei slowakischen Gebildeten und führte zu einer reichen Sammel- und Editionstätigkeit. Obwohl schriftliche Quellen zur slowakischen

¹ Peter Burke, *Lidová kultura v raně novověké Evropě* [Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe], Praha, Argo, 2005, S. 31–47 (tschechische Übersetzung, englische Originalausgabe 2001).

Folkloristik aus älteren Zeitperioden vereinzelt und im 18. Jahrhundert schon reichlicher erhalten sind, wurde dem Volkslied erst seit dem 19. Jahrhundert eine systematische Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Die ersten bedeutenden, jedoch noch nicht notierten slowakischen Liededitionen stammen aus den 1820er und 1830er Jahren und enthalten ebenso Volks-, volkstümliche wie Kunstlieder: *Piesne svetské ľudu slovenského v Uhorsku* (Weltliche Lieder des slowakischen Volkes in Ungarn), 2 Bände, 1823, 1827 (insgesamt 222 Liedertexte),² herausgegeben von Ján Kollár und Pavel Jozef Šafárik, und *Národné spievanky* (Nationale Gesänge), 2 Bände, 1834, 1835 (insgesamt 2582 Liedertexte),³ herausgegeben von Ján Kollár. Sie stellten wichtige Ereignisse von literatur- und kulturgeschichtlicher Bedeutung dar. Die repräsentative Notenedition der slowakischen Volkslieder, die für die slowakische Musik von entscheidender Bedeutung war, wurde erst viel später veröffentlicht. Es handelte sich um die Edition *Slovenské spevy* (Slowakische Gesänge), die 1880–1926 in drei Bänden mit insgesamt 1977 notierten Liedern herausgegeben wurde und bis in die erste Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts als unerschöpfliche musikalische Quellenbasis für Volksliedbearbeitungen diente.

Es ist notwendig, in aller Kürze auf die terminologische Frage *ľudová* bzw. *národná pieseň* (Volks- bzw. Nationallied) einzugehen. Im 19. Jahrhundert gebrauchten slowakische Komponisten, Schriftsteller, Liedersammler und Herausgeber – vermutlich als Folge der Idealisierung der Volkskultur – fast ausschließlich die Begriffe Nationallied oder konkret slowakisches Lied, slowakischer Gesang.⁴ Sie wollten auch durch diese Benennung das Volkslied, das bis dahin als Randerscheinung galt, zu einem integralen Bestandteil der slowakischen nationalen Kultur erheben. Anfänglich legte man, vielleicht aus demselben Grund, auch keinen großen Wert auf die Differenzierung zwischen dem Volks- und dem volkstümlichen Lied, umso mehr, wenn es zwischen beiden Typen eigentlich nur fließende Grenzen gab. Die eindeutige Verwendung des Begriffs *ľudová pieseň* (Volkslied) scheint sich erst etwa um die Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts durchzusetzen.

Das Verständnis für die Originalität des Volkslieds setzte sich zuerst eher intuitiv als exakt analytisch durch. In theoretischen, meist in enger Anbindung an die kompositorische, Sammel- und Editionspraxis stehenden Abhandlungen wurde über den musikalischen Charakter der Volkslieder, besonders über ihre Struktur, Tonarten bzw. Tonreihen und ihre Harmonisierung diskutiert. Das Grundproblem war offensichtlich das letztgenannte: man bezweifelte, dass es überhaupt möglich ist, die Liedweisen der älteren Schichten der slowakischen Volkslieder richtig zu harmonisieren, da sie eine eigene Struktur bzw. einen modalen Charakter hatten und ihre Harmonisierung sich den Prinzipien der tonalen Dur-Moll-Harmonik entzog. Zu den kühnsten, in der Praxis aber

² Ján Kollár, Pavel Jozef Šafárik, *Piesne svetské ľudu slovenského v Uhorsku* [Weltliche Lieder des slowakischen Volkes in Ungarn], Diel prvý a druhý [1. Aufl. 1823, 1827], hrsg. Ladislav Galko, Nachwort Jozef Minárik, Bratislava, Tatran, 1988.

³ Ján Kollár, *Národné spievanky* [Nationale Gesänge], [1. Aufl., 2 Bd., 1834, 1835], hrsg. Eugen Pauliny, Vorwort František Votruba, Bratislava, Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, Bd. 2, 1953.

⁴ Ähnliche Tendenzen in der Terminologie kommen auch in der Musik der tschechischen nationalen Wiedergeburt vor, vgl. BBN (Bohuslav Beneš), *Národní píseň* [nationales Lied], *Slovník české hudební kultury*, Praha, Editio Supraphon, 1997, S. 603.

kaum realisierbaren Ergebnissen gelangten die Gebrüder Július und Ľudovít Reuss, die ein anhand von Zahlenverhältnissen zusammengestelltes System dafür vorschlugen.⁵ Die bedeutendste Persönlichkeit der slowakischen Folkloristik vor 1918 war Milan Lichard (1853–1935), der in seiner Theorie schließlich drei musikstilistische Typen der slowakischen Volksliedmelodien aufstellte, und zwar a) modale Melodien (er verwendete die damals gebräuchlichen Begriffe *kirchenmusikalische* oder *altgriechische* Tonarten), b) moderne Melodien in der Dur-Moll-Harmonik und c) heterogene Melodien, die entweder als Ergebnis der Aneignung bzw. Assimilierung der Melodien anderer Ethnien oder als authentische Melodien entstehen konnten.⁶ Alle drei Typen mussten dann natürlich differenziert harmonisiert werden. Es ist festzustellen, dass der Unterschied zwischen der theoretischen Erfassung der Volksliedmelodien in der Vergangenheit und im Klassifikationssystem der zeitgenössischen slowakischen Ethnomusikologie in der Stufe der Abstraktion liegt,⁷ erst in diesem Klassifikationssystem kam das Postulat der Entwicklungsschichten des slowakischen Volkslieds zu Wort.

Da Volksmusik und Kunstmusik hinsichtlich ihres sozialen Ursprungs und ihrer Funktionalität als zwei differenzierte Bereiche der Musik zu verstehen sind,⁸ sollten Volksliedbearbeitungen im Sinne der zeitgenössischen Ansichten einen Transfer vom Volksmilieu in das Milieu des Bildungsbürgertums, das heißt vom ursprünglichen ruralen Milieu in das andere, urbane, verwirklichen, um damit zur Popularisierung des Volkslieds in der breiteren Öffentlichkeit beizutragen. Nicht zu übersehen sind auch die erzieherischen und pädagogischen Zwecke der Bearbeitungen, ohne dass dabei die Autoren auf den künstlerischen bzw. ästhetischen Wert verzichten sollten und wollten. Im Vorwort zu seinen zweistimmigen Bearbeitungen der slowakischen Volks- und volkstümlichen Lieder für die Schuljugend stellte Karol Ruppeldt zum Beispiel fest, dass das Ziel seiner Sammlung ist, Schulkinder im Kunstgesang zu unterrichten und potenzielle Sänger für Singvereine zu erziehen.⁹ Eine andere Art von Polaritäten stellen die Begriffe *autonome und funktionale Musik* dar. Das Problem der Autonomie in der Kunst und Musik, das seit dem 18. Jahrhundert deutlich zu beobachten ist, ist aus historischer Sicht zu erklären:

⁵ Jana Lengová, Das musiktheoretische Denken in der Slowakei im 19. Jh., *Kunstgespräche. Musikalische Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West*. Festschrift Primož Kuret zum 60. Geburtstag, hrsg. Peter Andraschke, Edelgard Spaude, Freiburg im Breisgau, Rombach, 1998, S. 289–291.

⁶ Hana Urbancová, Milan Lichard a jeho teória slovenskej ľudovej piesne [Milan Lichard und seine Theorie des slowakischen Volkslieds], *Vybrané štúdie k hudobným dejinám Bratislavy, Musicologica Slovaca et Europaea XXIII*, hrsg. Jana Lengová, Bratislava, Veda und Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2006, S. 100.

⁷ Hana Urbancová, Ján Levoslav Bella a slovenská ľudová pieseň [Ján Levoslav Bella und das slowakische Volkslied], *Ján Levoslav Bella v kontexte európskej hudobnej kultúry*, Bibliotheca Musicae Neosoliensis 1, Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej muzikologickej konferencie, Banská Bystrica 24.–25. jún 1993, hrsg. Jana Lengová, Banská Bystrica, Nadácia J. L. Bellu, 1993, S. 47.

⁸ Alica Elscheková, Oskár Elschek, *Úvod do štúdia slovenskej ľudovej hudby* [Einleitung in das Studium der slowakischen Volksmusik], Bratislava, Hudobné centrum, [1. Aufl. 1962], 2005, S. 14.

⁹ Karol Ruppeldt, *Venček slovenských národných piesní* [Der Kranz der slowakischen nationalen Lieder], Praha, (in eigener Auflage), 1874, (Vorwort ohne Pagination).

„Ein Teil der Kunst wird also autonom, [...] während die Heteronomie als historisch primäre Form der Koexistenz der künstlerischen und außerkünstlerischen Aktivitäten aber weiterhin überdauert, weil sich ein beträchtlicher Teil der künstlerischen Produktion in heteronom funktionellen Kontexten entfaltet [...]“.¹⁰ Der vielerlei Zwischenstufen, Erscheinungsformen und Nuancen zwischen der autonomen und funktionalen Musik war sich auch Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht bewusst und infolgedessen postulierte er noch einen dritten, ergänzenden Begriff der „Zwischenbereichsmusik“,¹¹ in dessen Rahmen die meisten Bearbeitungen der Volkslieder des Arrangement-Typs gehören.

Das Interesse der slowakischen Komponisten für das Volkslied führte im 19. Jahrhundert zu zahlreichen Volksliedbearbeitungen vor allem für drei Medien: Gesang und Klavier, Klavier solo und Chorbesetzung. Man kann sagen, dass sich in den Bearbeitungen der Volkslieder die zeitgenössischen Bedürfnisse widerspiegelten, die aus der reichen Tätigkeit der Gesangsvereine und der Beliebtheit des Klaviers als Musikinstrument der Haus-, Salon- und Konzertmusik resultierten. Die Volksliedbearbeitungen bewegten sich hinsichtlich des Niveaus und des Charakters der kompositorischen Arbeit zwischen zwei Polen, einerseits dem Arrangement und andererseits dem Werk.¹²

Einen umfangreichen Bereich der Bearbeitungen des Arrangement-Typs bildeten die Harmonisierungen der Volkslieder, bei denen die gewählte Volksliedmelodie als eine intakte Invariante betrachtet, eventuell durch kleine Verzierungen oder passende rhythmische Änderungen geschmückt wurde. Die Hauptaufgabe des Komponisten / Bearbeiters bestand vor allem darin, die Harmonik „richtig“ und den Satz passend zu gestalten. In den Harmonisierungen kam meist das harmonische Dur-Moll-System der Zeit zur Anwendung, und nur ausnahmsweise wurde ein Exkurs in das modale Denken unternommen, wie die Klavier- oder Chorlieder von Milan Lichard zum Beispiel zeigen.

Die ersten veröffentlichten Klavierbearbeitungen wurden anlässlich der Herausgabe der ersten nichtnotierten slowakischen Liedereditionen ins Leben hervorgerufen: Die recht einfachen Harmonisierungen der Volkslieder von Martin Sucháň (1830) und Vladislav Füreďy (1837) konnten alternativ, entweder für Solo-Klavier oder für Gesang mit Klavierbegleitung ausgeführt werden. Erst seit den 1860er Jahren nahm der ganze Prozess größere Dimensionen an. Bemerkenswert ist dabei die Tatsache, dass das Volkslied auch erfolgreich in die importierten Gesellschaftstänze implantiert wurde. Die Funktionalität der Tanzmusik mit ihren normativen Modellen in Bezug auf Form, Metrik und Rhythmik verlangte entsprechende rhythmisch-metrische Änderungen in der Gestalt der zitierten Lieder vorzunehmen, wobei natürlich nicht alle Lieder für solche Adaptierungen geeignet waren. In den 1860er und 1870er Jahren erfreuten sich die national spezifizierten Quadrillen mit zitierten bzw. stilisierten slowakischen Liedern einer außerordentlichen

¹⁰ JVI (Jiří Vysloužil), *Autonomní hudba* [autonome Musik], *Slovník české hudební kultury*, op. cit., S. 52.

¹¹ Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Funktionale Musik, Musikalisches Denken. Aufsätze zur Theorie und Ästhetik in der Musik*, Wilhelmshaven, Florian Noetzel GmbH, [1. Aufl. 1977], 2004, S. 169–171.

¹² Vgl. JT (Jan Trojan), *Úpravy lidových písní* [Bearbeitungen der Volkslieder], *Slovník české hudební kultury*, op. cit., S. 969.

Popularität.¹³ Diese sogenannten slowakischen Quadrillen sind meist als Klavierstücke erhalten, sie wurden aber, nach zeitgenössischen Zeugnissen, auch von Musikkapellen in verschiedener Instrumentierung zum Tanz gespielt. Einige Quadrillen verweisen sogar auf kulturpolitische Zusammenhänge. Die als Nachhall auf die Revolutionsjahre 1848/49 geschriebene Quadrille *Slovenskí vystaľovalci* (*Slowakische Aussiedler*) von August Horislav Krčméry wurde auf einem Ball in der mittelslowakischen Stadt Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš anlässlich der Rückkehr der slowakischen Rebellen aus dem Gefängnis, den Autor inbegriffen, am 29. Januar 1850 aufgeführt. Ján Levoslav Bella schuf seine 1862 erschienene *Svätomartinská kadrila* (*Sankt-Martins-Quadrille*) zum Gedenken an die gesamtslowakische Volksversammlung am 6. und 7. Juli 1861 in Turčiansky Sv. Martin, wo das *Memorandum der slowakischen Nation* im Sinne eines slowakischen politischen und kulturellen Programms verabschiedet wurde.

Die vielleicht beliebteste slowakische Quadrille *Marína-kadrila* (*Marina-Quadrille*) von Maximilián Hudec (1836–1911) (sie erschien 1862 in Wien bei A. O. Witzendorf) wurde Marína Hodžová, einer namhaften passionierten slowakischen Schauspielerin, gewidmet. In der Quadrille wurden insgesamt 13 slowakische Volks- und volkstümliche Lieder zitiert. Im dritten Teil (Poule), der hier näher erörtert werden soll, wurden zwei besonders charakteristische Lieder mit nationaler Symbolik bearbeitet. In dem volkstümlichen Lied *Hej, pod Kriváňom* (*Ei, unter dem Kriváň*) wurde der Berg Kriváň, der seit der Romantik als das Symbol des Slowakentums galt, besungen. Die einfache Liedweise enthielt durch die Melodieführung in Oktaven und die akkordische Satzstruktur eine festliche, fast feierliche Prägung. Das zweite zitierte Lied *Naša pani kňahne* (*Unsere Frau Fürstin*) gilt als eine der ältesten und schönsten slowakischen Volksliedballaden. Im 19. Jahrhundert glaubte man, dass ihre Genese bis in das 9. Jahrhundert, in die Zeit des altlawischen Pribina-Fürstentums zurückreicht.¹⁴ Die jüngsten Forschungen der Literatur- und Theaterhistoriker bestätigten diese Hypothese nicht, sondern verschieben ihre Entstehungszeit in das Spätmittelalter bzw. die Renaissance, mit der Eventualität, dass es sich um ein Relikt der westeuropäischen namentlich französischen aristokratischen Kultur handelt.¹⁵ Dass die Liedweise zu den älteren Schichten der slowakischen Liedkultur zu zählen ist, kann durch die musikalische Analyse bestätigt werden: der schmale Ambitus der Melodie im äolischen Modus besteht aus sechs Tönen mit der Dominante auf der Quinte und mit der Finalis auf der 2. Stufe, das tonale Gerüst bildet die Quinte.¹⁶ Ihr modaler Charakter wurde aber in der Bearbeitung von Maximilián Hudec nicht beachtet, sondern seine Harmonisierung entspricht den Regeln des harmonischen Dur-Moll-Systems. (Vgl. Notenbeispiele 1 und 2.) Die erwähnte Ballade und ihre Genese zeigen

¹³ Vgl. Jana Lengová, *Postrehy k tanečnej hudbe na Slovensku v rokoch 1848–1918* [Several Notes on Dancing Music in Slovakia in the Period 1848–1918], *Slovenská hudba* 31 (2005), S. 371–373.

¹⁴ Vgl. Július Pašteka, *Pieseň, balada alebo hra? (Pretrvávajúce stredoveké divadelné tradície)* [Das Lied, die Ballade oder das Spiel? Das Überdauern einer mittelalterlichen Theatertradition], *Pohlady na slovenskú dramatikú, divadlo a kritiku I*, Bratislava, Národné divadelné centrum, 1998, S. 9–36.

¹⁵ J. Pašteka, op. cit., S. 32.

¹⁶ J. Lengová, *Postrehy k tanečnej hudbe na Slovensku*, op. cit., S. 373.

auch, dass die Volkslieder nicht immer einen autochthonen Ursprung haben mussten, sondern durch den Prozess der Migration und Transformation sogar internationale Züge tragen konnten.¹⁷

Notenbeispiel 1

Naša pani

kňahne, po dedine tiahne

Dal Segno al Fine

Maximilián Hudec, *Marína-kadrila* (*Marina-Quadrille*), Wien 1862 – 3. Satz (Poule), Ausschnitt.

Notenbeispiel 2

Na-ša pa-ni kňah-ne po pa-lo-te tia-hne, pie-seň-ku si spie - va, sl-za - mi za - lie - va.

Naša pani kňahne (*Unsere Frau Fürstin*), in *Slovenské spevy I*, op. cit., 1880–1882, S. 167, Nr. 446.

Ein einzigartiger Platz unter den slowakischen Volksliedern gehört den Wiesenliedern, slowakisch *trávnice* genannt, die heute als eine spezifische Gattung der slowakischen Volksliedkultur angesehen werden.¹⁸ Sie wurden ursprünglich von Frauen unterwegs und bei der Arbeit auf den Wiesen bei der Heuernte vor allem in den Gebirgsgegenden gesungen. Im Prozess der Formierung der nationalen und kulturellen Identitäten im 19. Jahrhundert wurden sie zu einem der nationalen Symbole im Bereich der Musik erhoben. Ihre Po-

¹⁷ Auf etwa Ähnliches weist auch Carl Dahlhaus hin, in *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, Bd. 6, Laaber, Laaber Verlag, 1980, S. 91.

¹⁸ Ausführlicher dazu Hana Urbancová, *Trávnice. Lúčne piesne na Slovensku. Ku genéze, štruktúre a premenám piesňového žánru* [Trávnice. Meadow Songs in Slovakia. A Contribution to Genesis, Structure and Transformations of a Song Genre], Bratislava, AEPRESS, 2005.

pularität war so groß, dass es gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts zu einer Verschiebung des Wortinhalts, offensichtlich im Kontext mit ihrem symbolhaften Charakter kam, und unter der Bezeichnung *trávnice* verstand man eigentlich jedes beliebte Volks- und volkstümliche Lied. Nach den Ansichten der Zeitgenossen zeichneten sich die *trávnice* vorwiegend durch den zwölfsilbigen Vers (Alexandriner), das freie Tempo und den Rubato-Vortrag aus. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass diese Ansichten im Prinzip mit jenen von Béla Bartók, der auch slowakische Volkslieder sammelte, übereinstimmen. Béla Bartók ordnete die slowakischen Wiesenlieder in seiner Systematik in die Stilgruppe der Melodien von vier sechssilbigen Versen, ohne punktierten Rhythmus und mit Parlando-Rubato-Vortrag ein, zusammen mit anderen Gattungen der Arbeitslieder in der Natur, Gebrauchs- und Wiegenlieder, und betrachtete sie, zusammen mit den sogenannten walachischen Melodien, als die charakteristischste Liedergruppe für die Slowakei.¹⁹ Ein außergewöhnliches Merkmal der slowakischen Wiesenlieder ist, dass sie oft zwei- und mehrstimmig gesungen werden.

Unter dem Titel *Trávnice. 200 slovenských národných piesní (Trávnice / Wiesenlieder. 200 slowakische [nationale bzw.] Volkslieder)*, 1. Auflage 1892, 1893, 2. Auflage 1908) veröffentlichte Miloslav Francisci (1854–1926), Komponist und Arzt von Beruf, der seit 1886 in Cleveland (USA) lebte, seine Liedbearbeitungen in zwei Heften, die rasch eine große Verbreitung fanden. Die Melodien waren der Edition *Slovenské spevy* entnommen. Die Auswahl wurde jedoch nicht nach Gattungen, sondern nach der Popularität der Lieder getroffen, das heißt, im Sinne der schon erwähnten Verschiebung der ursprünglichen Wortbedeutung *trávnice*. Die konzentrierten, kurzen Klavierparaphrasen sind so trefflich gestaltet, dass sie den Eindruck einer Analogie zum Charakterstück erwecken, als ob es sich um eine spezifisch slowakische Klavierminiatur handelte.²⁰ Der Autor bemühte sich, die Stimmung des Liedes durch entsprechende kompositorische Mittel zum Ausdruck zu bringen, teilweise mit einer romantischen pianistischen Bravour. Für die Verwendung der melodischen Verzierungen und der chorijambischen Rhythmik, die als prägende Elemente des sogenannten neuungarischen Stils galten,²¹ erntete er zum Teil auch Kritik, was aber nichts an der Tatsache ändert, dass sein Werk musikalisch geschmackvoll und ästhetisch überzeugend wirkt. Als Beispiel seiner Kompositionsweise soll das Lied *Hej, pijú chlapci, pijú (Ei, die Burschen trinken, trinken)* dienen. (Vgl. Notenbeispiel 3.) Dieses ist mit dem erwähnten Text als das Räuberlied der Hirtenkultur anzusehen und stammt laut dem Vermerk in den *Slowakischen Gesängen* aus der urwüchsigen slowakischen Ortschaft Detva.²² Die Liedmelodie in der hypoionischen Tonart hat eine offene Form, die vier Strophen mit den typischen sechssilbigen Versen und den

¹⁹ H. Urbancová, op. cit., 2005, S. 30–31.

²⁰ Jana Lengová, *Hudba v období romantizmu a národnoemancipačných snáh (1830–1918)* [Musik zur Zeit der Romantik und national-emanzipatorischen Bewegungen: 1830–1918], *Dejiny slovenskej hudby*, hrsg. Oskár Elschek, Bratislava, Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied und ASCO Art & Science, 1996, S. 218.

²¹ Zur Charakteristik des neuungarischen Stils vgl. näher Hana Urbancová, *Der neuungarische Stil und seine Kontexte in der Musik von Franz Schmidt*, *Musicologica Istitopolitana II*, hrsg. Marta Hulková, Ľubomír Chalupka, Bratislava, STIMUL und Univerzita Komenského, Filozofická fakulta, Katedra hudobnej vedy, 2003, S. 177–178.

²² *Slovenské spevy* [Slowakische Gesänge], Turčiansky Sv. Martin, Kníhtlačiarsky účastinársky spolok, Bd. 2, 1890–1897, S. 112, Nr. 305.

freien Rubato-Charakter. Auf die Beliebtheit der Melodie und den spezifischen Prozess der Variantenbildung in der Volksmusik verweist dieselbe Melodie in den *Slowakischen Gesängen* wiederum aus Detva stammend, die diesmal unter dem Titel *Hej, pofukuj, povievaj, vetriček voňavý* (*Ei, blase und wehe, mein duftiges Windlein*) aufgezeichnet ist,²³ nach dem Textinhalt ist sie jetzt als Wiesenlied zu bezeichnen.

Notenbeispiel 3

The musical score is for a piano accompaniment of a Slovak folk song. It is written in 2/4 time and D major. The first system begins with a 'Tempo rubato' marking. The right hand starts with a series of chords and a melodic line, while the left hand provides a harmonic foundation with chords and a steady eighth-note pattern. Dynamics include *f* (forte), *agitato* (agitated), and *pp* (pianissimo) with a *lento* (slow) tempo change. The second system continues the piece with a *più mosso* (faster) tempo, followed by a *rit.* (ritardando) section with a triplet, then returns to *a tempo* (normal tempo) with *pp* dynamics. The piece concludes with a final *rit.* and a sustained chord.

Miloslav Francisci, *Hej, pijú chlapci, pijú* (*Ei, die Burschen trinken, trinken*), Trávnice, Turčiansky Sv. Martin, ²1908, S. 44, Nr. 102, Takte 1–9.

Während die Klavierbearbeitungen der Volkslieder vor allem für die Hausmusik und nur teilweise auch für öffentliche Produktionen bestimmt waren, entstanden die Bearbeitungen der Volkslieder für Chorbesetzung primär für das öffentliche Auftreten von Singvereinen, deren Tätigkeit in der Slowakei in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts einen Aufschwung erlebte und auch die damit zusammenhängende Blüte des einheimischen Chorschaffens beeinflusste. Die Chorlieder wurden meist von den Chorleitern für eigene Chöre sowie von anderen, mit dem Gesangverein zusammenarbeiteten Musikern, geschrieben. Nach den ersten aus den 1860er Jahren erhaltenen Männerchören folgten in einem bestimmten Zeitabstand auch Chöre für gemischte, Frauen- und Kinderbesetzung. Als standardisierte Faktur galt die Vierstimmigkeit, es gibt aber auch drei- und zweistimmige Chorlieder. Die Bearbeitungen der slowakischen Volkslieder bildeten einen wesentlichen Bestandteil des Repertoires der slowakischen Singvereine. Diese Tatsache ist einerseits mit der Idealisierung des Volkslieds als substantielles Phänomen im Prozess der Formierung der nationalen Musik, andererseits aber auch mit dem Mangel an authen-

²³ *Slovenské spevy* [Slowakische Gesänge], Turčiansky Sv. Martin, Kníhtlačiarsky účastinársky spolok, Bd. 1, 1880–1882, S. 210, Nr. 556.

tischem einheimischem Chorschaffen zu erklären. Außerdem entsprach das proklamierte Einfachheitsideal des Chorsatzes mit seiner edlen Simplizität gut der Vorstellung von der Übertragung der einfachen Gestalt des Volkslieds in die Kunstmusik. Das Chorlied²⁴ war allgemein durch liedhafte Züge, strophische Form, homophone Faktur mit sporadischen Imitationen, kurzen Sologesangs-Abschnitten und gelegentlicher Tonmalerei, natürlich mit Berücksichtigung des Deklamationsverlaufs des Liedtextes geprägt. Ab und zu wurden auch anspruchsvollere kompositorische Mittel verwendet. Um eine umfangreichere mehrteilige Komposition zu schaffen, konnten die Harmonisierungen mehrerer Volkslieder als eine Art Potpourri oder Quodlibet zusammengesetzt werden, die dann als *vence* (Kränze), vermutlich nach dem tschechischen Vorbild²⁵ bezeichnet wurden.

Es seien nur drei Komponisten erwähnt, die sich für die Entfaltung des slowakischen Chorliedes bis zum Jahr 1918 am meisten verdient machten. Karol Ruppeldt (1840–1909), der langjährige Chorleiter des gemischten Gesangsvereins Tatran in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš, bereicherte seinen Chorstil um beachtliche Imitationsverfahren, Brummendo oder sogenannte vokale Instrumentalisten, er verwendete auch gern Kontraste von Solo- und Tutti-Abschnitten in der Faktur, aber auch die Gegenüberstellung der Männer- und Frauengruppe im gemischten Chor. In seinen Harmonisierungen der Wiesenlieder (*trávnice*) für Frauenchor spiegelt sich die Art und Weise des Volksgesangs, wie man ihn im Gebiet Liptov pflegte.²⁶ Seine aus sechs Quodlibets bestehenden Harmonisierungen erschienen 1909 unter dem Titel *Kytky slovenských piesní* (*Sträuße slowakischer Lieder*).

Notenbeispiel 4

Veľmi zvol'na, jemne

1. Mám ja mi - lu - čké - ho, mám ho, mám; a - le v Bo - ha ve - rim,
 len - že sa ja s nim hne - vám, hne - vám;

že sa ja s nim sme - rim, mám ja mi - lu - čké - ho mám.

Karol Ruppeldt, *Kytky slovenských piesní*, Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1909, S. 13, III. Quodlibet, Frauenchor (1. Chorlied *Mám ja milučkého* [Ich habe einen Liebsten], Wiesenlied).

²⁴ Das Chorlied wurde anscheinend im ganzen europäischen Raum durch das Sangbarkeitsideal und einfache Setzweise geprägt. Vgl. dazu Rheinhold Brinkmann, *Musikalische Lyrik im 19. Jahrhundert*, *Musikalische Lyrik. Teil 2*, hrsg. Hermann Danuser, Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen, Bd. 8, Teil 2, hrsg. Siegfried Mauser, Laaber, Laaber Verlag, 2004, S. 78–85.

²⁵ Boris Banáry, *Slovenské národné obrodenie v hudbe* [Slowakische nationale Wiedergeburt in der Musik], Martin, Matica slovenská, 1990, S. 99.

²⁶ Dazu vgl. Jozef Kresánek, *Vznik národnej hudby v 19. storočí* [Die Entstehung der nationalen Musik im 19. Jahrhundert], *Dejiny slovenskej hudby*, Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1957, S. 308–309.

Notenbeispiel 5

Rýchle, bystro

1. Pr - ší, pr - ší, len sa le - je, ne - za - tvá - raj, mi - lá, dve - re;

Karol Ruppeldt, *Kytky slovenských piesní*, op. cit., S. 15, III. Quodlibet, Gemischten Chor (5. Chorlied *Prší, prší* [*Es regnet*], Anfang).

In Budapest wirkte als Lehrer und Chorleiter des Slowakischen Gesangsvereins Ľudovít Izák (1862–1927), der unter dem Pseudonym Miloš Lihovecký schrieb. Ähnlich wie Ruppeldt versuchte er in seinen Chorwerken die Stimmung des Liedes und den Textinhalt zum Ausdruck bringen. Milan Lichard (1853–1935), der schon erwähnte Theoretiker und Komponist, von Beruf Beamter und Publizist, zeigte ein großes Interesse an dem slowakischen Volkslied. Seine Chöre und Volksliedharmonisierungen entstanden meist während seines Wirkens in der mittelslowakischen Stadt Martin (1897–1906), wo er mit dem dortigen Slowakischen Singverein zusammenarbeitete. In der Suche nach der Altertümlichkeit der slowakischen Volkslieder, neigte er in seinem Schaffen dazu, die modalen Strukturen zur Geltung zu bringen, wie es ausdrücklich aus dem Titel seines Chorwerkes *Šesť vencov zo slovenských národných piesní složených v antických stupniciach* (*Sechs Kränze aus slowakischen nationalen / Volksliedern in antiken Tonleitern gesetzt*) zu entnehmen ist.

Das Kunstwerk ist als ein integrierendes strukturelles, aus verschiedenen Schichten bestehendes Ganzes zu verstehen, das immer durch die individuelle und subjektive Aussage seines Schöpfers geprägt wird. Im autonomen Schaffen konnte das Volkslied auf vielerlei Art verwendet werden, beginnend von fragmentarischen oder kompletten Zitaten bis hin zur Stilisierung, natürlich alles – in der erforschten Zeitspanne – im Rahmen des kompositorischen Kanons der Romantik. Wegen der ungünstigen politischen Verhältnisse der Slowaken im ehemaligen Ungarn und der ungenügend strukturierten musikinstitutionellen Basis mussten slowakische Komponisten damals ihre künstlerischen Vorhaben fast nur auf die Chor- und Kunstlieder sowie die Klavier- und Kammermusik beschränken.

Einen Weg, die stilisierten Volksliedelemente in Chorkompositionen und Kunstliedern zu verwenden, suchten praktisch alle Komponisten, die sich mit der Harmonisierung der Volkslieder beschäftigten. Unter den Stilmitteln wurde großer Wert auf die volksliedhafte Melodik gelegt. Die volksnahe Melodie des originellen Chorliedes *Dobre mi, dobre mi* (*Es geht mir gut, ja gut*) für Männerchor von Karol Ruppeldt auf ein Gedicht von Pavol

Országh Hviezdoslav fand zum Beispiel einen breiten Anklang und wurde volkstümlich.²⁷ Im autonomen Chorschaffen mit stilisierten Volksliedelementen reichten die Faktur und Tektonik vom einfachen homophonen Satz bis zur durchkomponierter Form sowie zu meist mehrteiligen Kompositionen vom Typ musikalischer Genrebilder. Im Kunstlied lassen sich verschiedene Einflüsse und Tendenzen erkennen, zu den radikalsten Ansichten gelangte Milan Lichard, der die Kunstlieder im Volkston, wörtlich „Kunstvolkslieder“ (*umelé ľudové piesne*), zu schaffen verlangte: das neue Kunstlied sollte wiederum als „das volkstümliche nationale Lied“ zum Volk zurückkehren und Eigentum des Volkes werden. In diesen Intentionen schuf er seinen Liederzyklus *Jonášove piesne* (*Jonáš-Lieder*) (1909, herausgegeben 1912) zu dem volksnahen Text von dem Dichter Jonáš Gouth.

In der Klaviermusik mit folkloristischen Idiomen wurden kleinere musikalische Formen bevorzugt, besonders Variationen, Rhapsodien und Fantasien. Die freie Form der Rhapsodie und Fantasie ermöglichte verschiedene kompositorische Zugänge, außer der Stilisierung auch die Verwendung von Zitaten aus Volksliedern sowie die simplifizierten Kompositionsweisen, die nur aus einer Aneinanderreihung von für Klavier bearbeiteten Volkslieder im Sinne eines Potpourris oder Quodlibets bestanden. Man muss hinzufügen, dass auch in diesem Bereich nicht nur ästhetische, sondern auch gesellschaftliche und erzieherische Kriterien eine nicht gerade unwichtige Rolle spielten vor allem, wenn es sich um Salonmusik handelte. Unter den Klavierrhapsodien und -phantasien zählt zu den gelungensten das im Jahr 1885 erschienene Werk *Slovenské zvuky* (*Slowakische Klänge*) von Bohuslav Laciak (1852–1891). Der Autor bearbeitete hier einige bekannte teils volkstümliche, teils Volksweisen. Die große Anziehungskraft im Ausdruck vermählt sich mit einem originellen kompositorischen Zugang. Die Stilisierung der Volksliedmelodie *Ked' sa vlci zišli* (*Als die Wölfe sich versammelten*) am Schluss des Stückes erinnert schon zum Beispiel mit ihren kühnen harmonischen Änderungen und der komplementären rhythmischen Pulsation an einige kompositorische Verfahren in der Musik der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts.

Der größte slowakische Romantiker Ján Levoslav Bella (1843–1936), der sich auch theoretisch mit dem slowakischen Lied beschäftigte,²⁸ hinterließ in seinem Schaffen mehrere Werke, in denen die slowakische nationale Idiomatik zur Geltung kam. Es handelt sich um Chorwerke, Kunstlieder, Instrumental- und Kammermusik sowie vokal-orchesterale Kompositionen, wobei die slowakischen Idiome sogar in einigen seinen Werken nach deutschen Texten spürbar sind. Ähnlich wie seine Zeitgenossen arbeitete er fast ausnahmsweise mit Liedern der neueren harmonischen Liedertradition, obwohl er die vorherrschenden Stilschichten der slowakischen Lieder hoch schätzte. In seinen zwei Klaviervariationen über die slowakischen Volkslieder verbinden sich die nationalen Einflüsse mit der romantischen Pianistik mit ihrer technischen Bravour. Die Klaviervariationen über das Lied *Pri Prešporku na Dunaji* (*In Preßburg an der Donau*), die 1866 und 1879 erschienen sind, haben zwei völlig verschiedene Fassungen der Introduktion.²⁹ Während

²⁷ J. Kresánek, op. cit., S. 308.

²⁸ Vgl. H. Urbancová, Ján Levoslav Bella a slovenská ľudová pieseň, op. cit, 1993, S. 44–52.

²⁹ Ján Levoslav Bella, *Variácie na slovenskú ľudovú pieseň „Pri Prešporku na Dunaji“ / Variations on the Slovak Folksong „In Pressburg by the Danube“*, hrsg. Daniela Varínska, Vladimír Godár, *Súborné dielo A: I Skladby pre klavír / Complete Works A: I Compositions for Piano*, Bratislava, Národné hudobné centrum, 1999, S. 22–28 (1. Fassung), 29–34 (2. Fassung).

die erste Fassung der Introduktion, geschrieben im sogenannten neuungarischen Stil, die zeitgenössische Vorliebe für diesen Stil in ganz Mitteleuropa widerspiegelt, bringt die zweite, „neutrale“ Fassung der Introduktion, die als Folge einer auf die Verwendung der angeblich fremdartigen Stilmittel zielenden Kritik geschaffen wurde, keine Andeutung mehr an die nationale *couleur locale*. In der Kritik dieses Werkes von Bella ist aber auch die allmähliche Veränderung der zeitgenössischen ästhetischen Ansichten der slowakischen folkloristisch orientierten Musiker über das Volkslied zu erkennen. Der neuungarische Stil, der bekanntlich auch in einigen Werken von Komponisten wie Franz Liszt, Johannes Brahms, Johann Strauß Sohn, Franz Schmidt und vielen anderen Verwendung fand, wurde immer stärker als eine Synthese der neuen städtischen volkstümlichen Musikkultur mit den Einflüssen der ungarischen / magyarischen Musikkultur und der spezifischen Interpretationsweise der Roma-Musiker, die sich wesentlich um seine Verbreitung verdient machten, wahrgenommen. Eine Reaktion auf diese Tatsache war die Forderung der meisten slowakischen Musiker und Folkloristen, von diesem Stil, der aber in der musikalischen Praxis sehr stark eingebürgert war, Abstand zu nehmen, und sich mehr auf die älteren Schichten der Volksmusik bzw. der bäuerlichen Musik zu konzentrieren.

Die innige Beziehung Bellas zur Kammermusik fand ihren Ausdruck in den vor allem für verschiedene Streicherbesetzung komponierten Werken. In seiner schöpferischen Synthese sublimierte Bella die Anregungen der klassisch-romantischen Musik mit intentionaler Nutzung der slowakischen Idiomatik. Eines der schönsten Beispiele dafür stellt das Finale seines *Streichquintetts d-Moll* für zwei Violinen, zwei Violen und Violoncello dar,³⁰ in dem er mit den Themenkomplexen arbeitet. Im Bereich der Hauptthemen exponierte er zwei kontrastierende, jedoch aneinandergefügte Themen, wobei das zweite durch einen Tanzcharakter, der an die Spielweise der Volkskapellen erinnert, geprägt ist. Das Werk wurde vom Komponisten selbst hoch geschätzt und erhielt 1876 in einem vom Prager Kammermusikverein ausgeschriebenem Wettbewerb den zweiten Preis. In einem anderen Werk, dem *Streichquartett B-Dur*,³¹ das um 1887 im Siebenbürger Hermannstadt (heute Sibiu in Rumänien), wo Bella 1881–1921 tätig war, entstand, verwendete er im Schlusssatz als zweites, imitatorisch bearbeitetes Thema das slowakische Volkslied *Gúlalo sa gúlalo, to červené jablčko* (*Es rollte, es rollte, das rote Äpfelchen*). (Vgl. Notenbeispiel 6.) Die fröhliche Stimmung des Liedes entspricht dem edlen Charakter des ganzen Werkes mit klaren klassizistischen Linien im Aufbau.

³⁰ Ján Levoslav Bella, *Sláčikové kvinteto d mol / String Quintet in D Minor*, hrsg. Vladimír Godár, *Súborné dielo A: V / Complete Works A: V*, Bratislava, Národné hudobné centrum, 2001.

³¹ Ján Levoslav Bella, *Sláčikové kvarteto B dur / String Quartet in B Flat Major*, hrsg. Vladimír Godár, *Súborné dielo A: IV, 4 / Complete Works A: IV, 4*, Bratislava, Národné hudobné centrum, 2003.

Notenbeispiel 6

The musical score is for a string quartet in B major, measures 52-58. It consists of four staves. The first two staves are for the first and second violins, and the last two are for the first and second violas. The time signature is 2/4. The dynamics are marked as *mf dolce*, *p*, *mf*, and *f*. The music features a mix of melodic lines and harmonic support, with some measures showing a change in dynamics and articulation.

Ján Levoslav Bella, *Streichquartett B-Dur*, (vgl. Anm. 31), 4. Satz, Anfang des zweiten Themas, Takte 52–58.

Für die Generation der in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren geborenen slowakischen Komponisten, deren musikalisches Denken sich noch vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg nach den Prinzipien der musikalischen Romantik bzw. Spätromantik formierte, jedoch deren Wirken und reifes Werk in die Zwischenkriegszeit im 20. Jahrhundert fielen, war die Beziehung zum slowakischen Volkslied weiterhin von substantieller Bedeutung. Die stilistische Originalität ihres Schaffens und ihre höheren künstlerischen Anforderungen zielten primär schon in den Bereich der autonomen Musik. Der Komponist und Pädagoge Viliam Figuš-Bystrý (1875–1937) sammelte auch selbst Volkslieder, vor allem in der Umgebung von der mittelslowakischen Stadt Banská Bystrica, genauer im Ort Zvolenská Slatina. Da unter den Liedern die Mehrzahl der Hirtenlieder einen quinttonalen Aufbau aufwiesen, wurde er – im Unterschied zu seinen Vorgängern sowie auch Zeitgenossen – in seinen Bearbeitungen durch die archaische Gestalt dieser Lieder beeinflusst. Wie Ladislav Burlas feststellte: „Damit näherte er sich tonal jenen Intonationen, die in der Zeitspanne zwischen den Kriegen von den Komponisten der Musikmoderne³² in vollem Ausmaß genutzt wurden.“³³ Als einzigartiger Kunstliedkomponist wird Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský (1881–1958) metaphorisch der „slowakische Schubert“ genannt. Man kann sagen, dass gerade er die neuzeitliche slowakische Kunstliedtradition im beträchtlichen Maß geprägt hat. Er amalgamierte in seinem individuellen kompositorischen Stil die Elemente der europäischen Romantik und der neuen harmonischen Stilschicht der slowakischen Volkslieder. Es handelt sich aber keinesfalls um eine Nachahmung des Volkslieds, sondern, wie

³² Zu der slowakischen Musikmoderne gehören die führenden Komponisten der slowakischen Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts wie Alexander Moyzes (1906–1984), Eugen Suchoň (1908–1993) und Ján Cikker (1911–1989).

³³ Ladislav Burlas, Die Stilentwicklung der slowakischen Musik im Lichte der musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung, *Entwicklungswege der Musikwissenschaft, Musicologica Slovaca XI*, hrsg. Oskár Elšček, Bratislava, Veda, 1986, S. 23.

die musikalische Analyse seiner Lieder zeigt, um eine substantielle strukturelle Ähnlichkeit zwischen seinen Kunstliedern und dem Typus des neuen slowakischen harmonischen Volkslieds. Seine drei berühmt gewordenen Liederzyklen bzw. Liedersammlungen aus seiner Jugendzeit sind ein überzeugendes Zeugnis dafür: *Drobné kvety* op. 16 (*Kleine Blumen*), erschienen 1907 ursprünglich unter dem Titel *Pôvodné slovenské piesne* (*Originale slowakische Lieder*), *Slzy a úsmevy* op. 25 (*Tränen und Lächeln*), erschienen 1912, und *Zo srdca* (*Vom Herzen*), komponiert und herausgegeben 1920.³⁴ Alle seine Liedersammlungen erschienen in mehreren Ausgaben. Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský widmete sich auch der Bearbeitung slowakischer Volkslieder, die Liedmelodien schöpfte er aber dabei aus der Edition *Slovenské spevy*. Er knüpfte also noch nicht an die ältere Bauernkultur an, wie das von den Vertretern des slowakischen Neofolklorismus im 20. Jahrhundert in ihrem Programm gefordert wurde. Sein Schaffen bildet damit ein wichtiges Entwicklungsbindeglied zwischen der romantischen Tradition und der Moderne.

Notenbeispiel 7

Andante

p

p

Ďa - le - ko, ši - ro - ko mo - jej mam - ky po - le,

Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský, *Ďaleko, široko* (*Weit und breit*) op. 16, Nr. 3, Text: Volkslied (Sämtliche Lieder, op. cit., S. 11, vgl. Anm. 34), Anfang des Liedes, Takte 1–6.

Der künftige Weg der modernen slowakischen Musik wurde in der jugendlichen *Sonate für Violoncello und Klavier* (1905) von Friso Kafenda (1883–1963) angedeutet, die zwar Züge der Spätromantik trägt, jedoch im dritten mit *po slovensky* (*alla slovaca*) bezeichneten Satz macht sich schon in der Melodik, Harmonik und Rhythmik ein neuer Zugang zu folkloristischen Elementen bemerkbar.

³⁴ Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský, *Piesňová tvorba / Sämtliche Lieder*, hrsg. Edita Bugalová, Bratislava, Hudobné centrum, 2001.

Abschließende Bemerkungen

Im 19. Jahrhundert wurde nach der nationalen Eigenart der slowakischen Musik in der Volksmusiktradition gesucht. Man glaubte, dass das Volkslied, vor allem seine ältere Stilschichten, die Historizität und Altertümlichkeit der neuzeitlichen Nation beweisen könnten. Infolgedessen wurde das Volkslied zur Inspirationsquelle, Ikone, zum Symbol oder Identitätsmerkmal der nationalen Musik erhoben. Die Harmonisierungen der Volkslieder erfüllten teilweise volkserzieherische Intentionen und sind in erster Linie soziokulturellen und kulturpolitischen Zielen nachgegangen, jedoch ist auch ihre künstlerische und ästhetische Wirkung nicht zu unterschätzen. Heute ist aber das – und zwar nicht nur slowakische – Volkslied außer der oben erwähnten Sicht auch noch unter einem anderen Aspekt zu betrachten: Das Volkslied wurde nämlich auch ein neues legitimes Innovationsmittel, das zur Stilbereicherung der funktionalen und ebenso der autonomen Musik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert beigetragen hat.

LJUDSKA PESEM V USTVARJANJU SLOVAŠKIH SKLADATELJEV MED LETOMA 1830 IN 1918

Povzetek

Obdobje med letoma 1830 in 1918 je zaznamovalo iskanje slovaške nacionalne samobitnosti v tradiciji ljudske glasbe. Ljudska pesem je postala vir inspiracije, ikona, simbol ali zaščitni znak slovaške nacionalne glasbe. Reprezentativna notna izdaja slovaških ljudskih pesmi *Slovaški napevi (Slovenské spevy)*, 1880–1926, je pri tem služila kot neizčrpen glasbeni vir za prirejanje ljudskih pesmi. Priredbe ljudskih pesmi lahko glede na estetsko in umetniško vrednost kot tudi glede na funkcionalnost uvrstimo bodisi v kategorijo avtonomne bodisi funkcionalne glasbe, večinoma pa pripadajo vmesni kategoriji, ki jo je Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht označil kot „Zwischenbereichsmusik“ (»glasba, ki se dotika več področij«). Glede na značaj skladateljskega dela nihajo med dvema poloma, prirejanjem oziroma harmonizacijo na eni strani in samim [glasbenim] delom na drugi.

Čeprav so harmonizacije ljudskih pesmi izpolnjevale predvsem vzgojne, družbeno-kulturne in kulturnopolitične cilje, njihovih umetniških in estetskih učinkov ne smemo podcenjevati. Številne harmonizacije slovaških ljudskih pesmi so nastale predvsem za petje in klavir, za klavir in zборе. Zrcalijo tedanje potrebe bogate dejavnosti pevskih društev in so posledica priljubljenosti klavirja – inštrumenta za domače, salonsko in koncertno muziciranje. Izjemno popularne so bile slovaške četvorke (med drugim M. Hudec, J. L. Bella) in harmonizacije pesmi, ki so se pele pri košnji, imenovane *trávnice* (M. Francisci). V zborovskih skladbah je opaziti preprostost, ki je bila tedaj razširjen kompozicijski vzor. Med priznane zborovske skladatelje so uvrščali med drugim Karola Ruppeldta, Milana Licharda in Ludovíta Izáka. Ljudska pesem je bila v avtonomni ustvarjalnosti lahko uporabljena na različne načine, od delnih in popolnih citatov do stilizacije. S tem namenom so pogosto ustvarjali zborovska dela in umetne pesmi. V klavirski glasbi s folkloristično govorico so nastajale manjše glasbene oblike, še posebej variacije, rapsodije in fantazije. Najpomembnejši slovaški romantik Ján Levoslav Bella (1843–1936) je ustvaril več del s slovaškim nacionalnim idiomom (zborovska dela, umetne pesmi, inštrumentalna in komorna dela kot tudi vokalno-orkestralne skladbe). Slovaška ljudska pesem je bila bistvenega pomena za generacijo slovaških skladateljev, rojeno med sedemdesetimi in osemdesetimi leti 19. stoletja (med drugim V. Fíguš-Bystrý, M. Schneider-Trnavský, F. Kafenda), katerih glasbeno mišljenje je bilo osnovano na načelih glasbene romantike oziroma pozne romantike. Tradicijo moderne slovaške umetne pesmi je v znatni meri zaznamoval Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský (1881–1958).

V prispevku so natančno analizirana izbrana dela slovaških skladateljev.

THE INVENTION OF ETHNICITY: TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND THE MODULATIONS OF IRISH CULTURE

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Izleček: Zgodovina tradicijske glasbe na Irskem ostaja še nenapisana. Te naloge se ni mogoče lotiti, dokler se irska muzikologija ne osvobodi pritiskov dela stroke, ki se za ceno kritične obravnave osredotoča na zbiranje in analizo. Prvi bistven korak k omenjeni emancipaciji je prepoznavanje in razrešitev nenehne težave zaradi opiranja na nedefinirano »notranje« videnje o tradicijski glasbi, ki ovira širjenje irskih muzikoloških raziskav znotraj širšega področja muzikologije.

Ključne besede: tradicija, etničnost, Irska, socialna antropologija, narativnost, kulturna zgodovina

Abstract: The history of traditional music in Ireland remains to be written. This task cannot be undertaken until Irish musicology emancipates itself from the constraints of a scholarship which concentrates upon collection and analysis at the expense of critical discourse. A vital first step in this emancipation is to recognize and resolve the abiding difficulty of relying upon an unformulated "insider" knowledge of traditional music which inhibits the transmission of Irish musical scholarship within the wider domain of musicology.

Keywords: tradition, ethnicity, Ireland, social anthropology, narrative, cultural history.

1

Invention and identity are close kindred in the cultural history of modern Ireland. When Declan Kiberd remarked at the outset of his monumental reading of Irish literature (significantly entitled *Inventing Ireland*) that "the struggle for [Irish] identity was conducted in language", he gave due priority to that synthesis of invention and identification which periodically surfaces in the Irish mind ever since a mercenary in one of Shakespeare's plays paused to enquire, 'what ish my nation?'.¹ Four hundred years later, the brogue has been smoothly polished away, but it cannot have escaped many people's attention (at least in Ireland) that we are still asking the same question. It seems to be a perennial condition of Irish studies, and not only for the duration of what David Lloyd has called Ireland's "post-colonial moment", to revisit and revise the parameters of Irishness itself.²

¹ Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: the Literature of the Modern Nation*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1995, p. 3

² See David Lloyd, *Anomalous States. Irish Writing and the Post-colonial Moment*, Dublin, Lilliput Press, 1993, especially 'Writing in the shit. Beckett, nationalism and the colonial subject', pp. 41–58.

Anyone conversant with the reception history of music in Ireland would immediately concede that these parameters have loomed large not only in regard to the status and perception of traditional music as a culturally authentic mode of Irish identity, but also in other domains of musical practice which excite a no less vehement discourse, in which the polemics of identity are never very far away. This obtains to such an extent that we can justly paraphrase Kiberd's remark in order to observe, with equal legitimacy, that the quest for identity in Ireland has also been conducted in music. It is by now axiomatic to recognize the intimacy between cultural formation and the politics of nationalism (and not just in Ireland), but in music the striking intensity of this communion (recognized and opposed in Irish cultural discourse no later than the Bunting-Moore controversies of the early nineteenth century) has in significant measure inhibited the formation of historical models emancipated from the anxiety of political influence.³ Instead, as I shall argue in this paper, the taxonomy of Irish traditional music has, in its empirical assent to antiquarian models of collection and recension, eclipsed the prospect of historical interpretation and sociological discourse.

This taxonomic rigour has come at a price. But it has also encouraged a master narrative of cultural autonomy in which modes of ethnicity and identity take unmistakable precedence over the social anthropology of music in Ireland, and in which a fairly casual mode of journalistic commentary (which has its own history in the sour polemics of nationalistic debate) merits more attention than anything which a professional musicology might hope to produce. There is by now a conventional authority attached to the ethnicity of Irish musical culture, and not simply because of the immense prestige which traditional music enjoys as an icon of *echt*-Irishness throughout Ireland and the western world. It is rather that ethnicity itself has become such a powerful *donnée* precisely in that transcultural fusion of musical traditions (including, self-evidently, Irish musical traditions) that the thing justifies itself. Irish traditional music is no longer the protected species of a nearly depleted civilization, but rather the hallmark of a contemporary Irish identity.

The proprietary nationalism of this state of affairs doesn't unduly concern me in the context of this paper, although at the outset I hope it is fair comment to remark on the ascendancy of the traditional arts in Ireland, an ascendancy which coincides with an economic prosperity which has only now begun to recede. But that, too, has its own cultural history, so that the observation in Roddy Doyle's novel *The Commitments* (1987) that "the Irish are the blacks of Europe" sounds more arch and more expressive of "fakelore" as the years pass, given the emergence of a new Ireland that would make James Connolly and the architects of Irish socialism spin in the grave. In musical terms, this emergence carries with it a degree of cultural commodification in respect of the tradition which affects the tradition itself.⁴

The social condition of music in Ireland and of traditional music in particular, has undergone a sea-change which its icons of identity, however powerful, cannot adequately

³ See Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770–1970*, Cork, Cork University Press, 1998, *passim*, for a discussion of this problem.

⁴ On the question of folksong as a category of invention, see David Harker, *Fakesong: the Manufacture of British Folksong, 1700 to the Present Day*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1985.

comprehend. Those masterful images of an oral culture (which yet fresh images beget) now project something decisively beyond the private recreations of a repressed culture, and they carry forward a history of ideas which I think deserves more consideration than it has received. Such images also deserve a measure of historical analysis which might close the gap between scientific recension (as in the collection and technical description of folksong, for example) and cultural commentary. The hidden Ireland of Daniel Corkery (or of Edmund Burke, for that matter), no longer exists, and its currency in the transmission of traditional music is no longer valid. But this interior history of music in Ireland is thereby all the more urgently in need of a narrative which might extend decisively beyond the benevolent Celticism of the nineteenth century, in which the invention of ethnicity, Irish or otherwise, came into its own.⁵

The obvious response to this cry for attention would be to point to some of the work which Irish musicologists have undertaken (and are undertaking) in recent years as evidence that such a narrative is a more likely prospect than it was even a decade ago. I shall consider some of this work below in seeking to address the general absence of Ireland from the canons of international musicological discourse, and I shall also refer to a new taxonomy of music in Ireland which might allow that music to inflect, as it were, received opinion about the cultural history of European music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But the status quo of reception history in relation to traditional music takes precedence.

When the aperture is narrowed to traditional music, wherein the boundaries or borders of ethnicity remain for the most part closed, I think there may be some justification in calling as my first witness to this historical deficiency the late John Blacking, whose urgent prescriptions for ethnomusicology thirty years ago still await fulfilment, at least in Ireland. Ten years after Blacking wrote *How Musical Is Man?* (1973), I published an article entitled “The Need for a Sociology of Irish Folk Music”⁶ and corresponded with Blacking because I could not grasp why the Professor of Social Anthropology at Queen’s University Belfast could adopt a complacent attitude to such a sociology in respect of Irish music, whereas the impassioned author of *How Musical Is Man?* insisted upon the primacy of extra-musical relationships in the investigation of patterns of sound, ethnic or

⁵ I use the term “invention of ethnicity” in the sense which is implied by recent studies of traditional music from other countries, most notably Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music”*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007. Gelbart’s study is striking for its careful retrieval of Scottish musical history in order to establish a history of musical ideas specifically devoted to the cultivation of ethnicity in European music. What is perhaps striking in turn is that Gelbart’s cognizance of the part played by Irish music in this development is very low. There is certainly a major discrepancy between the prominence of traditional music in Irish cultural history and its very modest presence in musicological discourse. See, however, John O’Flynn, *The Irishness of Irish Music*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009, which has recently appeared (April 2009) and which promises at least to address many of the scholarly lacunae nominated in the present discussion.

⁶ See Harry White, The need for a sociology of Irish folk music, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 15 (1984), 1, pp. 3–13.

otherwise.⁷ Blacking told me that he had grown tired of American ethnomusicologists assuming and discarding at will the musical culture of other countries, but notwithstanding this momentary irritation, I would respond now (as I did then, albeit as an apprehensive graduate student importuning the Master in his Den), that the imperatives of extra-musical meaning are so far from being addressed in Irish music (other than by way of hostile repudiation, insofar as commentary is regarded as an encroachment unless it issues from the practitioners themselves), that Blacking's project has either been left to one side or been absorbed by historical musicology, certainly insofar as sociology and cultural history are concerned. I can see clearly enough that ethnomusicology has not neglected the plural condition of "Celtic music" (although that designation, surely, is an historical construct, if ever there was one), to say nothing of the host of popular music practices attached to this term.⁸ Nevertheless, in the context of two centuries of Irish traditional music as a holistic category of cultural experience, I can find little evidence of the sustained extra-musical discourse which Blacking prescribed with such urgency in regard to the music of other countries. In the void created by this absence, the aesthetic perception of traditional music poses problems of its own, especially in a cultural climate which substitutes this music for the organisms of art music. If the alternative to this substitution is a vehement anti-intellectualism (which, alas, it not infrequently is), then the problems of perception, to say nothing of historical interpretation, correspondingly increase. In such a trajectory, cultural fetishism can very easily take the place of history in any case.

2

The dangers of cultural fetishism came home to me with particular force when I visited the Irish Traditional Music Archive on the occasion of its relocation to a magnificently restored Georgian house in Merrion Square, Dublin, in November 2006. In its new home, the Archive consolidates its reputation as one of the very finest such repositories in Europe, and for my part it continues to excite admiration and inspiration in equal measure. Simply and by itself, the Archive testifies to the national standing of Irish traditional music and to the official status which such music enjoys as a symbol of Irishness rivalled only by the Irish language. The Archive also speaks to the fundamental role which traditional music plays as a marker of Irish identity. The nature of that identity will preoccupy me in this paper, but for now all I want to indicate is that the rhetoric of public utterance

⁷ The key passage from *How Musical Is Man?* in this respect is reproduced in *Music, Culture and Society*, ed. D. B. Scott, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 98–99: 'We can no longer study music as a thing in itself when research in ethnomusicology makes it clear that musical things are not always strictly musical, and that the expression of tonal relationships in patterns of sound may be secondary to extramusical relationships which the tones represent [...] Ethnomusicology's claim to be a new method of analysing music and music history must rest on an assumption not yet generally accepted, namely that because music is humanly organized sound, there ought to be a relationship between patterns of human organization and patterns of sound produced as a result of human interaction'.

⁸ See *Celtic Modern. Music at the Global Fringe*, ed. Philip Bohlman and Martin Stokes, Oxford, The Scarecrow Press, 2003.

and private feeling seemed to me to be very closely aligned on the evening of my visit. When, on that occasion, the Irish Minister for Arts, Sport and Tourism (a designation which embraces a significant conjunction of responsibilities) spoke of traditional music as the expression of a national psyche, there appeared to be general agreement that such an expression was still valid, despite (or perhaps because of) the postmodern affluence in which this was proclaimed. The minister's enthusiasm sounded like good old-fashioned tribalism to me, but I couldn't deny its power. But the Minister spoke as if such expressions not only had the same empirical value as the tens of thousands of traditional airs whose preservation we had gathered to celebrate, but that the latter attained corporate meaning by virtue of such feeling, which amounted to a conventional degree of communal assent. The claim, the assumption was that traditional Irish music could tell us (the inner Irish, the "real" Irish), who and what we are. I think it might now be time to look at this claim afresh.

If traditional music is construed in this way, as a master narrative of the Irish psyche (in silent contradistinction, perhaps, to those narratives of art music which enjoy a much more modest level of state support), the relationship between ethnicity and national identity becomes strikingly clear. You cannot have one without the other. Rival traditions or musical practices, which may summon connotations of Irishness from time to time, do not as yet function at this level of nationalist symbolism and "universal" identification.

In this construction, traditional Irish music is not European (Sean Ó Riada's favourite negative) nor is it Celtic or North American, but intrinsically *green*, as in the sense that Seamus Heaney intended when he used this word to rebuke the editors of the *Penguin Book of Contemporary British Poetry* (1982) when they included his work there: "Be assured, my passport's green." One would not want to confuse the artefacts of Irish musical culture with anything they might resemble or influence, because too casual an amalgamation might attenuate the hard-won political and cultural autonomy which these artefacts have come to represent.

This collective mode of identity which Irish traditional music has accrued cannot be dismissed, as it once was, by those avatars of Irish literary modernism (including Flann O'Brien and Samuel Beckett) who once upon a time repudiated from within and beyond the domain of the Irish language the young State's cultivation of ethnicity as the hallmark of cultural integrity. For one thing, the transmission of Irish musical culture, traditional or otherwise, has until very recently been much more widely and easily disseminated than the language itself; for another, the characteristic impatience with Ireland ("the sow who eats her own farrow", in Joyce's rebarbative phrase) which writers of the 1920s, 30s and 40s felt impelled to register is no longer necessary, as it once seemed to be. Irish writers are no longer "writing in the shit", to cite David Lloyd's arresting pictorialism. The phrase is meant to indicate both cultural oppression and a corresponding desire for emancipation from the shibboleths of Gaelic authenticity by which the Irish Free State sought to define itself (an attempt limited in any case by the boundaries of a religious oppression that would take the better part of the twentieth century to recede). Lloyd cites a fairly well-known passage from Beckett's prose to illustrate this "excremental vision" of how things once appeared to a writer impatient of the tyranny of self-definition. It is worth quoting here:

What constitutes the charm of our country, apart of course from its scant population, and this without the help of the meanest contraceptive, is that all is derelict, with the sole exception of history's ancient faeces. These are ardently sought after, stuffed and earned in procession. Wherever nauseated time has dropped a nice fat turd you will find our patriots, sniffing it up on all fours, their faces on fire. Elysium of the roofless. Hence my happiness at last. Lie down, all seems to say, lie down and stay down.⁹

I think it is fair to say that the author of this passage has not only been overtaken in his savage indignation by a postmodern Ireland more likely to find such a passage offensive rather than anything else, but that even within the pale of his own profession, the bleak, no-where, no-man nothingness of Beckett's imagination has been undermined not only by the implausibility of rural repression as a satisfying trope for Ireland's cultural condition, but by a later generation of dramatists whose work in the world at large is nevertheless defined by taxonomies of Irishness and Irish culture. We are no longer writing in the shit. To judge by a play like Brian Friel's *Dancing at Lughnasa* (1992), we are no longer singing or playing in the shit either. It would be a pointless provocation to suggest that Irish traditional music scholarship behaves as if we still were, but I do mean to allege that the impact of extreme (and often hostile) conservatism with regard to identity, when combined with a notably positivistic taxonomy of collection, preservation and analysis, makes it extremely difficult to achieve a sense of historical perspective on this music, to say nothing of that discourse of extra-musical significance which it might otherwise afford. By contrast, Irish literature has by now amassed a corresponding body of critical and historical commentary worthy of its own prolific estate and responsive to its protean condition of meaning.

Traditional Irish music does not want for prolificity – its sheer accumulation is in some measure part of the problem – but it does cry out for some kind of reception history. The morphology of such an enterprise would certainly acknowledge the Herderian romanticism in which Irish music “begins”, so that Bunting and the early collectors would be much less casually attached to the cult of German positivism which so radically informs the whole endeavour of reclaiming (or even inventing) Irish identity than they currently are. Likewise with George Petrie in the mid-nineteenth century: the motivations induced by famine (and by exile) must be distinguished from the kind of influence exerted by Ó Riada in the projection of Irish music as an emphatic refusal of European modernism in the 1950s and early 1960s. Such motivations and the distinctions between them are essential to the intelligibility of the music itself. A conceptualization of Irish musical culture which liberates itself from the material it surveys would concede the requirement of such a morphology, rather than collapse inwardly under the weight of indefinite exemplars, those burdens of accumulation which either silence or neutralize the discourse of criticism.

One student of German folklore has remarked that “unlike an authentic Van Gogh, folklore can be endlessly replicated and imitated- any member of the ‘folk’ should be

⁹ Samuel Beckett, *First Love* (1945), cited in Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 41ff.

equipped with the skill and spirit to produce some lore”.¹⁰ I think I can not only intuit the exasperation implicit in this observation, but also make use of it with regard to the “endless replication” of traditional Irish music. I intend this not as a criticism of the music itself but as an indictment, and a pretty mild one at that, of the static mode of its reception. Other than by means of a cursory historical survey (often routine, occasionally defensive and almost always innocent of any critical engagement with the discourse of nationalism), Irish “folk music studies” draw sharply back from the periphery of historical interpretation. To collect and to classify, I would argue, is not to interpret.¹¹

I am no longer alone in this opinion, as recent edited collections in the field itself will attest. Volumes such as *Celtic Modern* do tend to harbour an unusually aggressive strain of internal debate as to the very nature of traditional music itself, a by-product, I think, of that conventional authority which allows little or no difference between the judgement of the practitioner and the apprehension of critical commentary. It would be otherwise difficult to explain the undisguised puzzlement of a scholar such as Scott Reiss when, deferring to this convention, he seeks and fails to confirm his own analysis of stylistic practices from Niall Keegan. Keegan, in turn, maintains that the “tradition” remains paramount, however vulnerable this category seems to “objective” analysis.¹² The construction of postmodern fields of semantic discourse, “imaginary landscapes” of Irish and/or Celtic musical practices, shows, as in Reiss’s work, at the very least a willingness to countenance a style criticism which no longer takes refuge in the elitism of the tin god (or tin whistle) of unreclaimed “tradition”. This does not prevent Reiss from referring to himself as an “outsider”. But it does suggest ways in which a discourse surrounding traditional music can be emancipated from the hermetic conservatism of the “insider’s” refuge.

3

John Blacking’s imperative insistence that music cannot be studied in a vacuum may as yet have found no general resolution in terms of Irish traditional music, but that does not mean that cognitive responses to other traditional art forms in other countries are unavailable. One such response, in a literature that has begun to attract a very wide degree of

¹⁰ See Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity. The Formation of Folklore Studies*. Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997, pp. 8–9.

¹¹ The lack of even *one* comprehensive account of traditional music in Ireland which might be equal to its history, revival and collection (to say nothing of its cultural impact on other modes of music) is itself a silent commentary on the failure of musicology in general (and of Irish musicology in particular) to supervene the impoverished condition of historical interpretation in relation to this repertory. By contrast, the curatorial expertise represented not only by the Irish Traditional Music Archive but by a continued commitment to the collection and classification of Irish music, remains undiminished.

¹² See Scott Reiss, Tradition and imaginary: Irish traditional music and the Celtic phenomenon, in Bohlman and Stokes (eds.), *Celtic Modern*, pp. 145–169. Reiss’s account of the debate between innovation and tradition in the mid-1990s relays, in my view, the characteristically emotional and heated terms in which issues concerning Irish traditional music are often discussed.

attention (and which speaks to the formative influence of writers such as Clifford Geertz and Erich Hobsbawm), is Regina Bendix's critique of authenticity, to which I have already referred.

I am not so much interested in Bendix's persuasive account of an old story, in which "textualised expressive culture such as songs and tales can, with the aid of the rhetoric of authenticity, be transformed from an experience of individual transcendence to a symbol of the inevitability of nationalist unity".¹³ That reading is secure, and the function of music within Irish cultural history provides an exemplary instance of how this process develops. Of far greater novelty is Bendix's diagnosis of the authenticity quest, with its firm roots in Rousseau and Herder, as a characteristic trope of European invention, in which the fundamental dialectic of Self and the Other becomes invariably politicised and is itself expressive of that quest for "purity" which motivates European discourse in the humanities no later than the Enlightenment.¹⁴ In such a construction, the relationship between the whole enterprise of Irish traditional music collection and the powerful reach of German idealism becomes strikingly clear.

To deconstruct "authenticity" in an age of transculturation (Bendix remarks that "once tomato sauce carries the label 'authentic', the designation loses its special significance"),¹⁵ is also, I would suppose, to distinguish between the empirical positivism of folksong collection and the motivations which underpin this activity.

If ethnicity is an invention, which is to say the expression of an intellectual construct that answers a fundamental desire to classify and understand the "Other", this does not mean that such a construction necessarily inhibits, in and of itself, the development of historical and critical modes of engagement with music designated as "ethnic". This development stands behind Blacking's insistence upon a discourse which gives due prominence to explaining the relationship between patterns of sound and patterns of human organization. Blacking, self-evidently, describes the explanation of this relationship as the social anthropology of music, but it is hard to see how social anthropology in turn can exist in a historical vacuum. With regard to traditional music in Ireland, it is likewise difficult to envisage how modes of engagement other than classificatory ones can generate a discourse between music and the history of Irish ideas, unless concepts such as "ethnicity" are more stringently interrogated than has hitherto been the case. This is especially true, I think, in a country whose cultivation of ethnicity in music, as a value-system which incorporates (and validates) identity, is profoundly at odds with the promotion of music elsewhere, at least in Europe. At its most oppressive, the folksong fetish, so to speak, becomes an obstacle to the reception of music emancipated from (but not unrelated to) the dominance of German or Italian models of musical discourse. At its most extreme, the transmission of Irish traditional music becomes tightly bound to a template of identity which language might otherwise assume. But in either case, the cultural dominance of traditional music as a marker of Irish identity is much more problematic than would be the case were it more accountable to the processes of historical and critical discourse.

¹³ R. Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, op. cit., p. 20

¹⁴ This account is mirrored by Matthew Gelbart in *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music"*, passim.

¹⁵ R. Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, op. cit., p. 7

In order to resolve this problem, one needs to close the gap between a conventional understanding of Irish music, vested in the sheer accumulation of musical materials, and the plurality of Irish musical discourse, much of it indebted to an unformulated but nevertheless powerful intuition of “the tradition” by means of an historical narrative. This narrative, as far as I can understand the matter, has two imperative obligations, and both of them relate to John Blacking’s prescriptions in respect of the social anthropology of music. The first obligation is to distinguish between the accumulation of source materials (however meticulously and scientifically understood) and the mere topography which narrative itself affords.¹⁶ In this respect, I might simply suggest that the ethnicity of Irish music, for all its prowess as a cultural idea, nevertheless deserves a context which would locate this idea within the continuum of cultural history. The second obligation is to emancipate the tradition from its hermetic condition of “insider” understanding (insofar as this is asserted), so that the cultural reception of traditional music in Ireland might begin to acknowledge its strong correlative status in relation to ethnic projections elsewhere.¹⁷ To deny that emancipation, to yield to the conservatism of “insider” and “outsider” status with respect to *any* kind of discourse on Irish traditional music is to affirm, as far as I can see, a kind of ethnocentric conservatism which not only privileges Irish music to an impracticable degree but which also inhibits the absorption of Irish traditional music into the discourse of musicology at large. If the subject continues to remain off limits to general commentary, then the strangest dislocation which currently obtains between music in Ireland and musicology in Europe will abide. This state of affairs is apostrophised by Ireland’s absence, to cite two prominent examples, from Richard Taruskin’s article on nationalism in the revised *New Grove* and also from Taruskin’s magisterial *Oxford History of Western Music*.¹⁸ No such comparable absence in respect of Irish literature could be envisaged, other than as a wilful distortion. At one and the same time, traditional Irish music enjoys cardinal importance as an aural icon of Irishness – not just in Ireland, but throughout the Western hemisphere – and yet remains (an almost) silent partner in the prodigious literature which musical scholarship devotes to the history of music in Europe.

¹⁶ It is useful to note that the annual conference of ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music) Ireland held in University College Dublin in February 2009 featured a number of graduate student papers which impressively sustained a sophisticated and persuasive application of textual criticism in relation to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources of traditional music. One waits for a similar degree of professionalism in relation to historical criticism.

¹⁷ Once again it is Matthew Gelbart’s research in relation to Scottish music which prompts this suggestion.

¹⁸ Other than a passing reference to the *Melodies* of Thomas Moore, Taruskin’s *magnum opus* is wholly silent on Irish music. When one contrasts this (entirely understandable) reticence with the global presence of Irish music in the present day, the difficulties addressed in this paper become vividly illuminated.

The sheer ubiquity of Irish music – as a global phenomenon, as an aural signature of identity, as a most carefully retrieved accumulation, indeed as a cultural commodification of immense proportions – might lead one to suppose that there is a corresponding discourse answerable to this presence, and not only in Ireland. If I dare to contradict this supposition, it is not because I would wish to eclipse in turn the growth of an Irish musicology which has begun to engage with this phenomenon (on the contrary), but because the felt life of Irish music does not yet enjoy a commensurate level of evident discourse. As far as I can see, the formative presence of music in Irish affairs, and in European affairs, has not yet acquired the history it deserves. The influence of music, and of a retrieved tradition of music in particular, on the formation of Ireland as a European nation-state should occupy a much more prominent position as an exemplar of cultural formation than is presently the case. When scholars look to European models of ethnicity, at least in regard to music, the Irish experience ought to be much more instructive, abundant and exemplary than it currently is. This is not only because the formation of Irish musical identity in the past two centuries was foregrounded to an extraordinary degree by a linguistic dispossession unmatched in its severity throughout Western Europe, but also because the canonic presence of an ethnic signature in Irish music extends far beyond the terrain of traditional culture. It extends to the present day.

In Ireland, the modulations of this ethnic signature have begun to attract a considerable body of commentary. This commentary is itself part of a wider engagement with music and musicology, so that the formation of associations such as the Society for Musicology in Ireland (2003–) and ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music) Ireland (2005–) may justifiably be taken as an index of this engagement, even if this naturally extends beyond the domain of Irish music.¹⁹ But there can be little doubt that the scholarly initiative represented by the work of ethnomusicologists such as Philip Bohlman and Martin Stokes in the United States has helped to re-shape a domestic musicology in Ireland, so that scholars such as Lillis O’Laoire, Adrian Scahill and Fintan Vallely have, through the agency of their published work, re-opened the question of traditional music, even if this question remains in large measure unanswered, notably in relation to contemporary modes of cultural theory pursued elsewhere. The tradition itself remains something of a sacred cow, and its canonic esteem as the inviolable marker of Irish identity continues to encourage a quest for authenticity which contemporary musical scholarship elsewhere disdains. It is difficult to escape the impression that Vallely, for example, for all his ebullient (and provocative) engagement with the plural condition of Irish popular music, yet retains a strong allegiance to the holistic integrity of a “pure” and incorrupt Irish traditional music. Certainly I can find no evidence to suggest that he would want to deconstruct this tradition as an agent of historical process.²⁰

¹⁹ For information on the scholarly activities of the Society for Musicology in Ireland (SMI), see the society’s website (www.musicologyireland.com); see likewise www.music.ucc.ie/ictm for ICTM Ireland. The SMI also publishes an online peer-reviewed journal which can be accessed through its website address.

²⁰ For a characteristically trenchant account of contemporary Irish music in relation to notions of

As long as narratives of traditional music in Ireland remain immune to this process, the claims of an older “ethno-nationalist project” (Bendix) will continue to take precedence over a more pliant critical discourse, and ensure the perpetuation of “collection and transcription” which these claims promote. Even in this respect, the scientific redaction of material, immensely valuable though it is, can unwittingly fortify the assumption that traditional music lies beyond the borders of critical inquiry, other than as a means of confirming the romantic authority of “insider” knowledge and taste. In that scenario, the kind of enquiry promoted by John Blacking (to say nothing of subsequent scholarship) constantly defers to an intellectual intransigence which sternly insists upon its own inviolable condition of being.

As I have already indicated, this scenario no longer enjoys the general authority it once did. Even if in many quarters traditional music persists as a holistic category, the development of musicology in Ireland over the past two decades has entailed a much more plural and engaged encounter with the history of Irish musical ideas than was previously the case. Moreover, the very taxonomy of Irish musical experience is incomparably richer than before, not least because of a determination to see beyond those old polarities of ethnicity and colonialism which shaped Irish musical history for the better part of two centuries. One expression of this determination is the forthcoming *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (EMIR), which is due to be published in 2010.²¹ The prominence of traditional music (and musicians) in this project is unmistakable, but so too is the context which EMIR itself will provide, by virtue of its unprecedented taxonomy of music in Ireland. This taxonomy will not only loosen the bonds of Irish musicological discourse: it will also historicize Irish musical awareness to a degree which is likely to promote a more flexible (and less canonic) approach to music in Ireland than is currently the case. But above all, as a *mere taxonomy* (however diverse, however detailed), EMIR should symbolise the plural condition of a musical experience that is not only amenable to critical discourse (and historical narrative) but which has been formative in Western culture to a degree which has not yet received the inquiry it deserves. An inventory of musical experience is not the same as a history, and an encyclopaedia permanently attests its own incompleteness. But if music in Ireland is to emancipate itself from its own mythologies, and correspondingly to embrace those discourses of invention and identity which elsewhere have decisively enriched the perception of musical experience, a new map of that terrain is required. In that topography, the significance of traditional music should not be diminished, but clarified.

a received tradition, see Fintan Vallely, *The Apollos of Shamrockery: traditional musics in the modern age*, *Celtic Modern*, eds. Bohlman and Stokes, pp. 201–217.

²¹ The general editors of EMIR are Barra Boydell and Harry White. Approximately 2,500 head-words designate an attempt to register the taxonomy of music in Ireland through the agency of over 150 contributors. The project thus represents by far the most ambitious and far-reaching research into music in Ireland undertaken to date. EMIR will be published by UCD (University College Dublin) Press.

IZNAJDBA ETNIČNOSTI: TRADICIJSKA GLASBA IN SPREMINJANJE V IRSKI KULTURI

Povzetek

Čeprav je irska tradicijska glasba v zahodni kulturi vsesplošno prisotna, se je sodobni tokovi v muzikološki stroki niso dotaknili. Kljub razvoju kulturne zgodovine in etnomuzikologije na Irskem je odsotnost irske glasbe v mednarodnih muzikoloških razpravah še vedno v presenetljivem nasprotju s popularnostjo irske glasbe. Ta neskladnost je še večja zaradi nenehnega opiranja na tiste raziskovalne metode (zlasti glede zbiranja in analiziranja irske glasbe), ki so neobčutljive za kakršenkoli zgodovinsko pripovedno ali interdisciplinarno delo, kar pogosto privede do tega, da je prezrt formativen vpliv irske tradicijske glasbe na razvoj etničnosti. Problem pri opiranju na zastarelo razlikovanje med »notranjim« in »zunanjim« poznavanjem te glasbe ponazarja splošen odpor do obravnavanja tradicijske glasbe s stališča kulturne zgodovine. Vendar pa trenutna prenova muzikološke stroke na Irskem, zlasti (toda nikakor izključno) s pomočjo projekta *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, kaže na to, da bi ustrezno širši kontekst za tradicijsko glasbo lahko po drugi strani privedel do pripravljenosti za soočenje z zgodovinsko in kritično obravnavo tradicije, ki je vse prej kot statična.