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Z B O R N I K

MUSICOLOGICAL
A N N U A L

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Z V E Z E K / V O L U M E

L J U B L J A N A 2 0 0 5

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Oddelek za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani

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<http://www.ff.uni-lj.si>

Prevajanje • Translation

Andrej Rijavec

Cena • Price

2500 SIT (Slovenija) / 20 € (other countries)

Tisk • Printed by

Trajanus d.o.o., Kranj

Naklada 500 izvodov • Printed in 500 copies

Rokopise, publikacije za recenzije, korespondenco in naročila pošljite na naslov izdajatelja. Prispevki naj bodo opremljeni s kratkim povzetkom (200-300 besed), ključnimi besedami in kratkimi podatki o avtorju. Nenaročenih rokopisov ne vračamo.

Manuscripts, publications for review, correspondence and annual subscription rates should be sent to the editorial address. Contributions should include a short summary (200-300 words), keywords and a short biographical note on the author. Unsolicited manuscripts are not returned.

Izdajo zbornika je omogočilo Ministrstvo za visoko šolstvo, znanost in tehnologijo
Republike Slovenije

*With the support of the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology
of the Republic of Slovenia*

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UDK 78:81'37

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Four Semiotic Approaches to Musical Meaning: Markedness, Topics, Tropes, and Gesture

Štirje semiotični pristopi h glasbenemu pomenu: zaznamovanost, topičnost, tropiranje in gestičnost

Ključne besede: stil, zaznamovanost, topičnost, tropiranje, gestičnost, Beethoven, Schubert

Keywords: style, markedness, topic, trope, gesture, Beethoven, Schubert

POVZETEK

Po kratkem pregledu razvoja glasbene semiotike v Združenih državah Amerike so predstavljeni štirje med seboj povezani pristopi, ki so rezultat mojega lastnega dela. *Glasbeni pomen pri Beethovnu: zaznamovanost, korelacija in interpretacija* (1994) pomeni nov pristop h razumevanju sistematske narave koreliranja med zvokom in pomenom, ki sloni na konceptu *glasbenega stila*, kakor sta ga izoblikovala Rosen (1972) in Meyer (1980, 1989) in kakor ga je razširil Hatten (1982). *Zaznamovanost* je koristno orodje za razlago asimetričnega vrednotenja glasbenih nasprotij in načinov njihovega prenosa na področje kulturnih nasprotij. Ta process *koreliranja*, ki je sicer zakodiran v stilu, je možno razvijati naprej po Pierceovih smernicah, in sicer z *interpretacijo*, kakor je v razpravi hermenevitično razloženo. Pri *topičnosti*, kakor jo je razdelal Rattner (1980) in so jo naprej razvili Allanbrook (1983), Agawu (1991) in Monelle (2000), gre za večje stilne tipe s stabilnimi korelacijami in fleksibilnimi interpretativnimi

SUMMARY

After a brief survey of music semiotic developments in the United States, I present four interrelated approaches based on my own work. *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (1994) presents a new approach to understanding the systematic nature of correlation between sound and meaning, based on a concept of *musical style* drawn from Rosen (1972) and Meyer (1980, 1989), and expanded in Hatten (1982). *Markedness* is a useful tool for explaining the asymmetrical valuation of musical oppositions and their mapping onto cultural oppositions. This process of *correlation* as encoded in the style is further developed, along Peircean lines, by *interpretation*, as hermeneutically revealed in the work. *Topics*, elaborated by Ratner (1980) and developed by Allanbrook (1983), Agawu (1991), and Monelle (2000), are larger style types with stable correlations and flexible interpretive ranges. I extend topical analysis to the level of *expressive genres*, coordinated by marked oppositions. I also

dometi. Topična analiza je razširjena na raven *izrazitih žanrov*, ki jih koordinirajo zaznamovana nasprotja. Prav tako je ilustrirano, kako lahko kombinacije znotraj topičnosti pripeljejo do osupljivo novih pomenov, podobnih metaforam v jeziku, pri čemer je ta in tak proces poimenovan s pojmom *tropiranja*. *Interpretacija glasbene gestičnosti, topičnosti in tropiranja: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert (2004)* razširja uporabo teh konceptov in v semiotiko uvaja teorijo glasbene gestičnosti, ki jo je razumeti kot značilno in časovno pogojeno oblikotvornost. Vsi ti semiotični pristopi so ilustrativni s primeri iz Beethovna in Schuberta.

illustrate how topics may be combined to produce striking new meanings akin to metaphor in language, a process I call musical *troping*. *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert* (2004) expands the application of these concepts, and introduces a semiotic theory musical gesture, understood as significant energetic shaping through time. I illustrate these semiotic approaches with examples from Beethoven and Schubert.

1. Background to Music Semiotic Approaches in the United States

1.1. Wilson Coker

A brief history of semiotic approaches to music in the United States¹ might begin with an early book by Wilson Coker entitled *Music and Meaning: A Theoretical Introduction to Musical Aesthetics* (1972).² Here we find an introduction to the Peircean categories of *icon*, *index*, and *symbol*, as filtered through the work of Charles Morris (1946, 1964).³ Morris expands Peirce's triadic conception of the sign process—sign vehicle, object, and interpretant—into five relationships betraying a somewhat behaviorist slant: sign (stimulus), interpreter (organism), interpretant (disposition to respond), signification (object or event), and context (conditions). Coker coins the terms *congeneric* and *extragenic* to distinguish "internal" music-structural meaning from "external" music-cultural meaning, but he offers little explanation of the mediation between the two. His usage thus parallels Roman Jakobson's opposition between *introversive* and *extroversive* meaning, which would later be adopted by V. Kofi Agawu in his blending of introversive Schenkerian voice-leading with extroversive topical identification, in *Playing with Signs* (1990).⁴ Interestingly, Coker places his semiosis within the framework of a musical gesture, as inspired by the ideas of social scientist George Mead on gestural communication in society.⁵ But despite the ambition of his theoretical scope, Coker's

¹ For a broader overview of developments in music semiotics through the mid-nineties, see Hatten, "Music Theory and General Semiotics: A Creative Interaction," in *Hi-Fives: A Trip to Semiotics*, ed. Roberta Kevelson (New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), 71-84.

² New York: Free Press.

³ Morris, *Signs, Language, and Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1946), and *Signification and Significance* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964); Peirce, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, vols. 1-6, Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, eds.; vols. 7-8, Arthur W. Burks, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931 and 1960). A new critical edition of Peirce is in progress under the guidance of Nathan Houser at Indiana University/Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI).

⁴ Jakobson, "Language in Relation to Other Communication Systems," in *Selected Writings*, Vol. 2 (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 704-5, cited in Agawu, *Playing with Signs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 23.

⁵ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), and *The Philosophy of the Act*, ed. Charles W. Morris, et al. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938).

application to musical examples is somewhat disappointing, amounting to isolated exemplifications of each type of sign. In going against the prevailing tide of formalism in American music analysis in the early seventies, Coker's innovative work made little impression.

1.2. Jean-Jacques Nattiez

Three years after Coker's book, the French-Canadian Jean-Jacques Nattiez's *Fondements d'une sémiologie de la musique* (1975) offered a semiotic approach based on an outdated linguistic model (both taxonomic and distributional) that featured structuralist (paradigmatic and syntagmatic) analysis of a so-called neutral level, to insure rigor and objectivity prior to interpretation of meaning for composer (*poétique*) or listener (*esthétique*).⁶ This value-neutral analytical approach was critiqued by David Lidov and myself, among others, and although a later version attempted to move beyond the bald proposal of a neutral level, Nattiez's analytical methods did not have as significant an impact in the United States as it would several years later in England.⁷

1.3. Raymond Monelle

In 1992 Raymond Monelle's *Linguistics and Semiotics in Music* was the first book-length English language survey of international developments, but it was not until the publication by Princeton University Press of *The Sense of Music* in 1999 that Monelle's historically grounded yet theoretically postmodern theories became better known.⁸ Monelle critiques Leonard Ratner's (1980) inventory 18th-century topics, urging further historical research into each topic.⁹ As for interpreting topics (which was largely missing in Agawu's account), Monelle emphasizes the indexicality of the icon—in order words, the cultural connotations of objects that are represented in music by similarity (e.g., a fanfare, a march). Monelle also offers a more deconstructive approach to interpreting narrative and genre, going beyond the groundbreaking proto-semiotic work of Anthony Newcomb in the American journal *19th-Century Music*.¹⁰ I should also mention Carolyn Abbate's well-known critique of narrativity in *Unsung Voices* (1991).¹¹

1.4. David Lidov

Meanwhile, David Lidov, an American who adopted Canadian citizenship early in his career, was steadily publishing brilliant theoretical ideas in semiotic journals, and his occasional presentations at the Society for Music Theory were always well-received. In 1999 his *Elements of Semiotics* appeared, and although it primarily offers a philosophical perspective on semiotic theory, two late chapters are dedicated to music and musical gesture.¹² The recent publication of Lidov's collected essays, *Is Language a Music?* (2005) should enable a better appreciation of

⁶ Nattiez, *Fondements d'une sémiologie de la musique* (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1975).

⁷ Lidov, Nattiez's Semiotics of Music," *The Canadian Journal of Research in Semiotics* 5 (1978), 13-54; Hatten, Review of Nattiez, *Fondements d'une sémiologie de la musique*, *Semiotica* 31 (1980), 139-55; Nattiez, *Musicologie générale et sémiologie* (Paris: Bourgeois, 1987), rev. as *Music and Discourse: Towards a Semiology of Music*, trans. Carolyn Abbate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). The British journal *Music Analysis* launched its first volume in 1982 with a translation of Nattiez's lengthy article, "Varese's 'Density 21.5': A Study in Semiological Analysis" (*Music Analysis* 1, 243-340).

⁸ Monelle, *The Sense of Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁹ Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980).

¹⁰ Newcomb, "Once More 'Between Absolute and Program Music': Schumann's Second Symphony," *19th-Century Music* 7:3 (1984), 233-50, and "Schumann and Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative Strategies," *19th-Century Music* 11:2 (1987), 164-74.

¹¹ Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

¹² Lidov, *Elements of Semiotics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

his extensive contributions to music semiotic theory and interpretation, including musical gesture.¹³

1.5. Eero Tarasti

The Finnish musicologist Eero Tarasti's English-language dissertation, published as *Myth and Music* (1978) received some early notice, and his tireless organization of international conferences would eventually make its mark in the United States, especially after the publication of his major theoretical statement, *A Theory of Musical Semiotics* in 1994.¹⁴ Tarasti's (and Márta Grabócz's) approach to meaning and narrativity draws on the structural semantics of Greimas, whose semiotic square and modalities still confuse music theorists in the United States, despite a helpful account in English by David Lidov.¹⁵ A forthcoming book by Byron Almén on narrativity in music fully credits Tarasti's contribution, and further draws on interdisciplinary inspiration—the four narrative archetypes of Northrop Frye (Romance, Tragedy, Irony, Comedy)—and myth—here, the notion of a basic order upset by transgression and leading to alternate outcomes, as developed by James Jakób Liszka.¹⁶

1.6. Robert S. Hatten

My own *Musical Meaning in Beethoven* (1994) appeared the same year as Tarasti's *A Theory of Musical Semiotics*, and in the same series, "Advances in Semiotics," edited by Thomas A. Sebeok at Indiana University Press. Although it was well-received, much of my work prior to that date languished in semiotic publications that were not generally read by American theorists. Slow publication schedules further delayed its reception. For example, I first enunciated my theory of musical troping at the 1988 musical signification conference in Helsinki, but the subsequent article appeared only seven years later, in 1995.¹⁷

The year 2004 marked the launch of my new book series, "Musical Meaning and Interpretation," at Indiana University Press. This series recaptures the momentum of Sebeok's "Advances in Semiotics," which had issued the late Australian musicologist Naomi Cumming's *The Sonic Self* (2000) before closing down a year prior to Sebeok's own death in 2001.¹⁸ *Musical Meaning in Beethoven*, which had just gone out of print, was reissued in paperback to

¹³ Lidov, *Is Language a Music?* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005). David Lidov, Bill Dougherty, and I formed the nucleus of music semiotics presenting at yearly meetings of the Semiotic Society of America in the 80s and 90s, with Gayle Henrotte and David Schwarz also contributing early on. This interdisciplinary society provided an important outlet until the (American) Society for Music Theory began accepting more music semiotic papers in the 90s. Michael Shapiro also conducted an NEH summer seminar in Peircean theory that included music theorists and led to five volumes of *The Peirce Seminar Papers*. See, for example, William P. Dougherty, "The Play of Interpretants: A Peircean Approach to Beethoven's Lieder," *The Peirce Seminar Papers: An Annual of Semiotic Analysis* 1 (Providence, R.I., and Oxford: Berg, 1993), 67-95.

¹⁴ Tarasti, *Myth and Music: A Semiotic Approach to the Aesthetics of Myth in Music, especially that of Wagner, Sibelius and Stravinsky* (Helsinki: Suomen Musiikkitieteellinen Seura, 1978); Hatten, "Myth in Music: Deep Structure or Surface Evocation?" [review-article, Tarasti, *Myth and Music*], *Semiotica* 30: 3/4 (1980), 345-58; Tarasti, *A Theory of Musical Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994). Prof. Tarasti received an honorary doctorate from Indiana University in 1999, where his work was also studied by my colleagues Profs. Lewis Rowell and Marianne Kielian-Gilbert, who have also traveled to lecture in Finland.

¹⁵ Grabócz, *Morphologie des œuvres pour piano de Liszt: Influence du programme sur l'évolution des formes instrumentales*, preface by Charles Rosen (Paris: Éditions Kimé, 1996; first edition, Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1986); Lidov, "Musical Semiotics—Science, Letters, or Art?" [review-article, Tarasti (1994), Grabócz (1996), and Monelle (an early version of 2000)], *Intégral* 10 (1996), 125-53.

¹⁶ Almén, *A Theory of Musical Narrativity* (to appear, Indiana University Press); Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); Liszka, *The Semiotic of Myth: A Critical Study of the Symbol* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

¹⁷ Hatten, "Metaphor in Music," in *Musical Signification: Essays in the Semiotic Theory and Analysis of Music*, ed. Eero Tarasti (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), 373-91.

¹⁸ Cumming, *The Sonic Self: Musical Subjectivity and Signification* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

accompany publication of my new book, *Interpreting Musical Gesture, Topics, and Tropes* (2004).¹⁹

1.7. Music semiotics and postmodern musicology

Interest among American musicologists as well as theorists has grown enormously in the past decade, which suggests that the field of musical meaning—not limited to music semiotics—is finally on everyone’s map in the United States. Given the new-musicological “revolution,” which has paralleled the growth of music semiotics (see especially the work of Susan McClary, Carolyn Abbate, and Lawrence Kramer), this is not surprising. Indeed, there is considerable overlap today between American musicologists and theorists interested in problems of meaning and interpretation.²⁰ Two of the books to appear in my book series are by musicologists (as opposed to music theorists), and new-musicological concerns such as gender are being addressed.²¹ Popular music has enriched the series, as well, with a recent book on Neil Young by one of Lidov’s former students, William Echard (2005).²² His study draws on Lidov’s and my own approaches to gesture, and echoes new-musicological concerns with embodiment. One might conclude that music semiotics is becoming known at the same time it is being assimilated into a richer scholarly mainstream, and purely semiotic methods have been enriched by a wide range of approaches.

2. Hatten’s Theories of Musical Meaning (1982-2004)

2.1. Toward a concept of musical style

My dissertation, “Toward a Semiotic Model of Style in Music” (1982)²³ was inspired in part by the model of Rosen’s *The Classical Style* (1972)²⁴ and partly influenced by Leonard B. Meyer’s own ground-breaking work on the problem of style (1979, 1989).²⁵ A difficult problem in recuperating style was the negative connotation attached to “style analysis.” Style analysis at that time emphasized mere labeling or comparison according to common “stylistic traits,” instead of probing into the unique character and formal/expressive strategies of a work. With Joseph Kerman’s (1965) promotion of criticism, style analysis appeared out of fashion as mere comparative or taxonomic analysis.²⁶ It was important to reconceive an approach to reconstructing styles as *competencies*, akin to the competency of a grammar, but including a poetics, as well. My more flexible model of style, exemplified to some degree by Charles Rosen, would enable the theorist to explain a unique event as perhaps atypical, but not necessarily anomalous, since it could be understood as a unique realization of a shared stylistic principle. Thus, a concept of style could embrace the full range of artistic creativity, without

¹⁹ Hatten, *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).

²⁰ McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991; reprinted with a new introduction, 2001); Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice. 1800-1900, Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge; and Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, 1995, and 2002, respectively).

²¹ See Naomi André, *Voicing Gender: Castrati, Travesti, and the Second Woman in Early Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, to appear, 2006).

²² Echard, *Neil Young and the Poetics of Energy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

²³ Hatten, “Toward a Semiotic Model of Style in Music: Epistemological and Methodological Bases,” unpub. Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1982.

²⁴ Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972).

²⁵ Meyer, “Toward a Theory of Style,” in *The Concept of Style*, ed. Berel Lang (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979, 3-44), which became the first chapter of *Style and Music: Theory, History, and Ideology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

²⁶ Kerman, “A Profile for American Musicology,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965), 61-69, reprinted in *Write All these Down: Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 3-11.

being relegated to mere inventory. The emphasis on rules and constraints could be balanced with hierarchical and strategic potential, including Meyer's insight into implications that might be delayed, deferred, and only distantly realized.

2.2. Marked musical oppositions

2.2.1. A lengthy footnote in chapter 6 of my dissertation was devoted to the concept of *markedness*, a concept applied to phonology by Nicholas Trubetzkoy, to linguistic case structure by Roman Jakobson, and to poetics by my own mentor, Michael Shapiro.²⁷ This

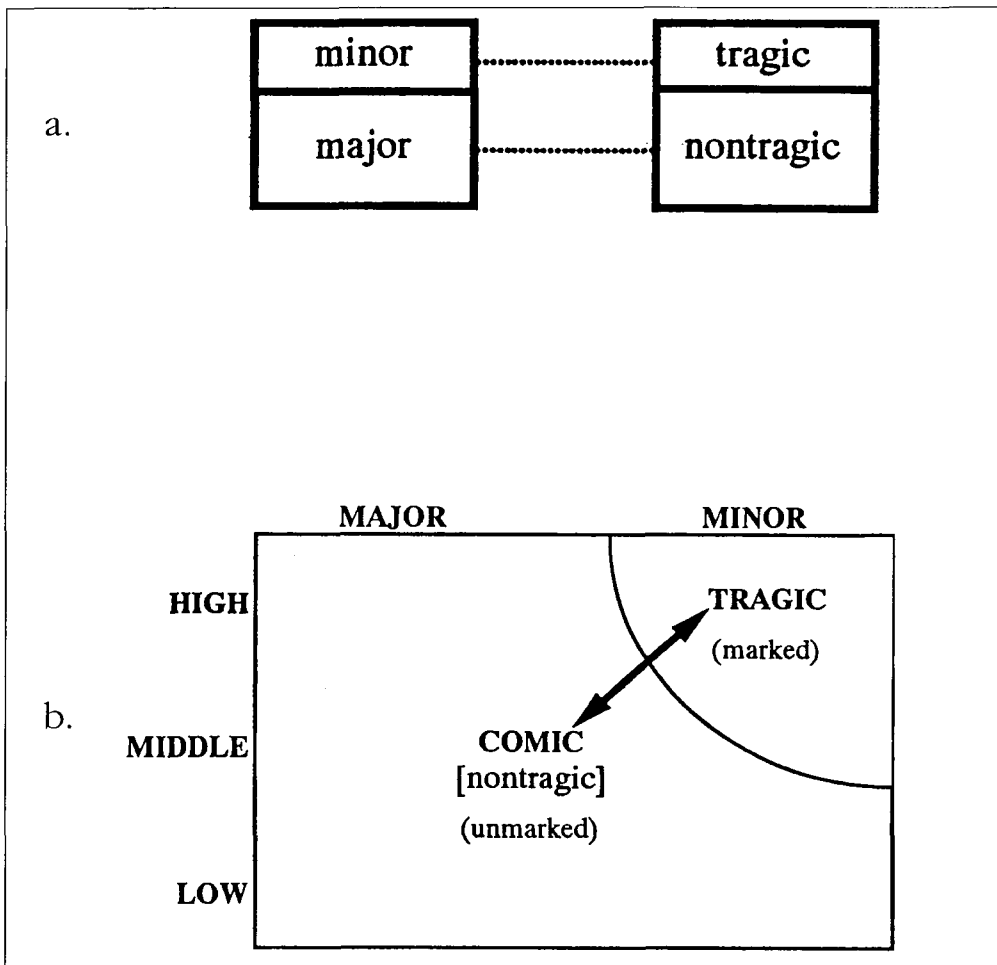


Figure 1a. Correlation (literal mapping of signification).

Figure 1b. Expressive oppositional field as defined by a matrix of structural oppositions for the Classical style.

²⁷ Trubetzkoy, *Principles of Phonology*, trans. Christine A. M. Baltaxe (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969 [1939]); Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale* (Paris: Minuit, 1963); Shapiro, *Asymmetry: An Inquiry into the Linguistic Structure of Poetry* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1976), and *The Sense of Grammar* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

concept was the seed leading to *Musical Meaning in Beethoven*, and it enabled me to move from my dissertation's more conservative orientation toward "meaningful syntax" to a more fully committed semiotic approach to expressive meaning. Markedness theory could explain how oppositions in musical structure, when incorporated into a musical style, were asymmetrical—one term marked and the other unmarked—and how marked oppositions could not only help account for the structure of meaning, but also its growth or development in a style.

2.2.2. As an example, consider the use of minor mode in the Classical style (see **Figure 1**). Minor is marked with respect to major, hence (1) it has a smaller distribution, (2) it has a narrower range of meaning, and (3) the marked-unmarked opposition in structure maps onto a similarly marked opposition in the realm of cultural meaning. Thus, minor mode works (1) occur less frequently than major mode works, (2) map onto a more specific realm of meaning—"tragic," as opposed to the unmarked major's wider range of meaning—"non-tragic," which embraces the heroic, the comic, and the pastoral. Furthermore, (3) this meaning is systematically motivated by the *correlation* between two oppositions—i.e., the mapping shares similar structure (it is isomorphic, or what the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce termed *diagrammatic*). And (4) the process by which meaning grows (and thus style grows) follows markedness principles, in that new meaning is "carved out" of old categories by the creation of a new oppositional distinction. This new feature may subdivide, or further "articulate," a previously marked category into another marked-unmarked pair, by asymmetrically opposing those members possessing that feature with those lacking it. In **Figure 2** we see how Beethoven further articulates the meaning of a final major tonic triad, based on unique doubling with extra thirds and no fifths. The marked ("atypical") doubling has the effect of a "sweeter" close than the unmarked ("normal") doubling, akin to a Picardy-third effect in the major mode.

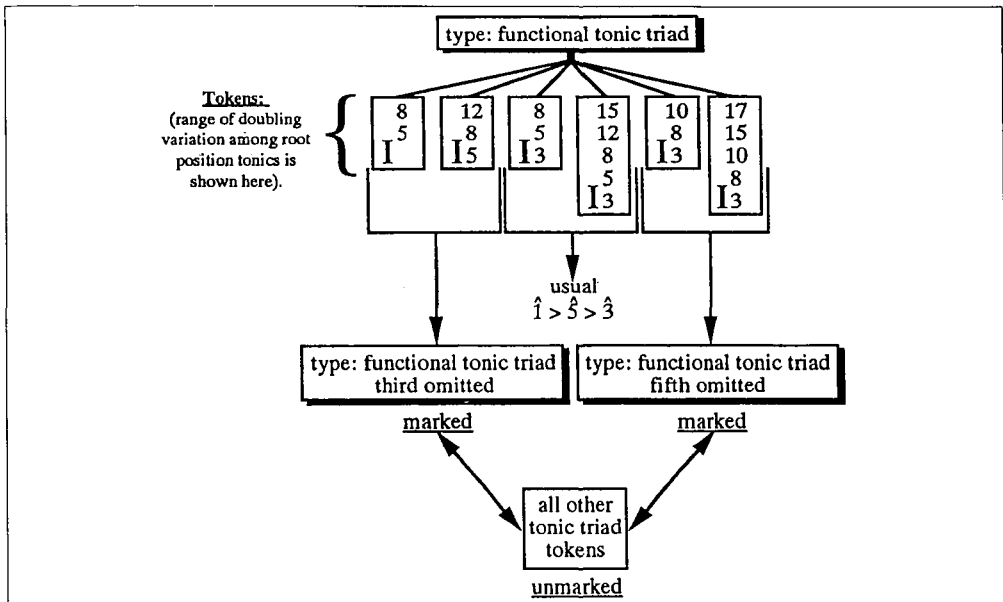


Figure 2. Derivation of new style types based on oppositionally marked doublings of tonic triad in final cadence.

2.3. Expressive genres

Another contribution of *Musical Meaning in Beethoven* was to explore oppositions at all levels of structure, including *expressive genres*, which I defined as those dramatic trajectories that encompass changes of expressive state, and which are not limited to a single formal genre. For example, Beethoven might use the tragic-to-transcendent expressive genre for a single sonata-form movement (the slow movement of the “Hammerklavier,” Op. 106), a fugue (the first movement of Op. 131), a pair of movements (Op. 111), or an alternating arioso and fugal movement (the finale of Op. 110). How might these broader fields of meaning be oppositionally defined? A simple matrix of major vs. minor mode, cross-referenced against high vs. middle vs. low style, is sufficient to differentiate several of the broader fields such expressive genres might traverse (see **Figure 3**). And not surprisingly, those fields are clearly affiliated with topics, which provide further characteristic specificity.

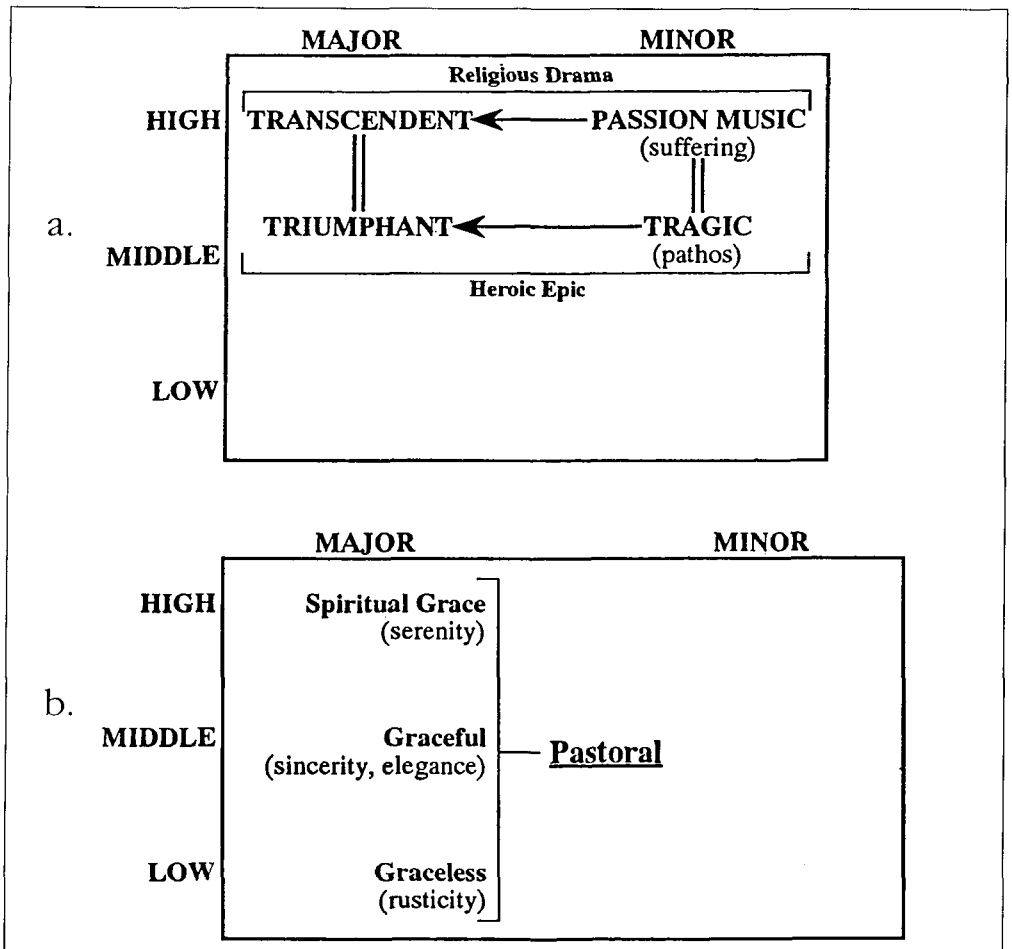


Figure 3a. Archetypal expressive genres and their relative stylistic registers.
 Figure 3b. The pastoral as interpreted in high, middle, and low styles.

2.4. Topics

Topics, introduced by Leonard Ratner (1980) and further developed by Allanbrook (1983, 1992), Agawu (1991), and Monelle (2000), as well as in my own work (1994, 2004) are larger style types with stable correlations and flexible interpretive ranges.²⁸ They consist of not just one but typically a bundle of oppositional distinctions. Manifestations of topics—their compositional *tokens*—need not include all the characteristic features defined by the *type*, but they must at least contain features that are sufficiently distinctive to cue recognition of the type. As Wittgenstein argued, concepts such as “game” lack a single feature common to all instances, but games can be recognized according to certain “family resemblances” which are not clearly defined.²⁹ A similar flexibility can be claimed for music; my interest at this point, however, was in clarifying the oppositional structure that kept my broad topical fields distinct—in other words, explaining the coherence of the signifying system.

2.5. Troping

Although markedness provided an effective explanation for one type of growth in meaning, that by which a given category is further articulated, I was also intrigued by the possibility that something like *metaphor* might be operative in music. In *Musical Meaning in Beethoven* I was concerned to explain an indigenous form of metaphor, achieved by musical means, which could then be opposed to more literal correlations between sound and meaning. Links between sound and cultural meaning have been considered by cognitive theorists as metaphors since they involved a mapping between two domains. In common linguistic usage, however, the term metaphor is generally reserved for those figural uses of language that have creative power, that create a new fusion of meaning, and that require interpretive unpacking, not merely recognition, as in the case of familiar topics and their correlations. In my 1988 paper (Hatten 1995) I specified ways in which the merging of two musical topics could aspire to the condition of inherently musical metaphor, as one species of *troping*. **Example 1** illustrates how, in the

Example 1. Beethoven, *Piano Sonata in A Major, Op. 101, finale, opening theme*.

²⁸ Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1983; “Two Threads through the Labyrinth: Topic and Process in the First Movements of K. 352 and K. 353,” in *Convention in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music: Essays in Honor of Leonard G. Ratner*, ed. Wye J. Allanbrook, Janet M. Levy, and William P. Mahrt (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Prendragon Press, 1992), 125-71.

²⁹ Wittgenstein, *The Blue and Brown Books* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960 [1933-35]).

opening theme of the finale of Op. 101, Beethoven tropes on the three topics of fanfare and learned style (simultaneously in bars 1-4) with a pastoral musette (successively in bars 5-8). I noted (Hatten 1994: 171) that the juxtaposition of these topics yields an emergent meaning along the lines of heroic (fanfare) affirmation (the authoritative learned style) raised to a higher spiritual level (the connotations of the pastoral for Beethoven)—hence, “a definitive inner victory of the spirit.”

2.6. Musical Gesture

2.6.1. Approaches to musical gesture

After laying out a semiotic theory of stylistic correlations and their strategic interpretations, and demonstrating the role of markedness, topics, and tropes in explaining and interpreting musical expressive meaning in late Beethoven, I turned to a missing element in my theory—*musical gesture*. Here I was inspired by the theoretical work of David Lidov (“Mind and Body in Music,” 1987) and the practical discoveries of Alexandra Pierce (best summarized to date in “Developing Schenkerian Hearing and Performance,” 1994).³⁰ Naomi Cumming was simultaneously pursuing gesture as part of her more philosophical approach to musical meaning; the third chapter of *The Sonic Self* (2000) addresses important aspects of gesture, including its emergent meaning. During the ten years leading to my second book, *Interpreting Music Gestures, Topics, and Tropes* (2004), I expanded the range of my inquiry to include Mozart and Schubert, as well as Beethoven. And in that decade I also wrote an extensive article applying ideas from my first book to the music of Bruckner (2001).³¹ Although topics and tropes were quite easily found throughout the nineteenth century, and I drew extensively on them in my teaching of twentieth-century repertoire, I was concerned that my oppositional approach was still too analytic or systematic to capture the more synthetic character of music, which could only be adequately addressed by developing a comprehensive theory of musical gesture—one that more fully explored what had been a rather *unmarked* term throughout music history.

2.6.2. Interdisciplinary principles of human gesture

From my interdisciplinary research on human gesture, which I defined very broadly as significant (communicative) energetic shaping through time, I extracted several key features (see **Figure 4**). Gesture is *intermodal*, or *crossmodal*, in its appearance throughout the sensorimotor system. We *synthesize* information from all of our senses and muscles in achieving the *functional coherence* of movements as events, and in interpreting their *emergent meanings*. Gestural events are *affectively loaded*, providing information about the gesturer (whether witting or unwitting) and they typically appear in response to the demands of human *intersubjectivity*, which begins developmentally with the interactive exchanges of infants and caregivers attempting to communicate. Finally, the interpretation of prototypical gestures, those taking place within the two-second boundary of the perceptual present, is enhanced by the close interchange between *imagistic* and *temporal gestalts or perceptual modes*. Given the combined strength and flexibility we bring to any interpretation of energetic shaping through time, meaningful gestural interpretations can seem inevitable—if only at a basic or default level.

³⁰ Lidov, “Mind and Body in Music,” *Semiotica* 66: 1/3 (1987), 69-97; Pierce, “Developing Schenkerian Hearing and Performing,” *Intégral* 8 (1994), 51-123.

³¹ Hatten, “The Expressive Role of Disjunction: A Semiotic Approach to Form and Meaning in Bruckner’s Fourth and Fifth Symphonies, in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, ed. Paul Hawkshaw, Crawford Howie, and Timothy L. Jackson (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2001), 145-84.

- Intermodal
- Synthetic (molar)
- Functionally coherent
- Emergent meaning
- Affective
- Intersubjective development (infant)
- Interpreted through both
Imagistic and Temporal
Gestalt Perceptual Modes

Figure 4. Aspects of human gesture.

2.6.3. Marked gestural types

Gestures, however, translate into music as more than energetic shaping through time, and more than the energy it takes a performer to produce sound. In many styles, oppositionally *marked gestural types*, such as grief vs. elation, may be correlated with structural oppositions among musical elements, along the lines of the model I had developed in my first book. Such oppositional categorization could create a more systematic, *stylistic*, or (in the terminology of Charles S. Peirce) *symbolic* level of meaning for gestures.

2.6.4. Motivations for musical gestural meaning

One typically finds intuitively satisfying motivations, however, for what may have developed into conventional symbolic representations. For example, grief would most naturally

be expressed in terms of downward and heavy gestures, and elation by means of upward and light gestures. In Western musical styles a kind of *virtual gravitational field* or *vectoral space* provides an analogue to the forces working on the human body in physical space, enabling the motivated opposition of downward grief vs. upward elation. These fields or spaces provide comparable environmental constraints against which freely willing, energetic musical gestures can begin to feel like gestures of the body. As soon as that happens, we can speak of a kind of *agency*, especially when a series of gestures appear to cohere as an intentional or goal-directed sequence, progression, or discourse.

2.6.5. Virtual gravitational or dynamic force fields

In Western tonal music, these dynamic fields are created by two primary frames. The first is meter—conceived not as a static grid for quantitative measurement, but as an active, qualitative field that provides virtual orientation with respect to up vs. down and to a sense of relative weight—not unlike the gravitational field we experience every day.³² The second organizing frame is tonality—a complex, stylistic achievement that contributes its own conventionalized forces, as Steve Larson (1993, 1997-8), Candace Brower (2000), and Fred Lerdahl (2002) have variously demonstrated.³³ Together, metric and tonal forces constitute what I call a *virtual environment* in which we can trace the presence of an animating force (implying an independent agent) by the constraints that weigh in on (deflect, deform, or resolve) otherwise freely motivated energetic movement. Thus, we access the bodily (as gestures of a free agent) in music through the implied effort required to overcome environmental forces (or, conversely, the acquiescence that yields to those forces), and further, through an analogy with the effort of our own bodies to overcome physical (or other) forces on earth in order to achieve an intention.

2.6.6. Icon, index, symbol

The basic or default level of gestural interpretation in music is semiotically motivated by both *indexical* (dynamic, association by contiguity or connection) and *iconic* (imagistic,

³² The metric orientation up vs. down, however, does not always map in the most obvious ways onto culturally conventionalized dance steps. Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne note that in the noble French style of Baroque dance, the “plié” (sink)—a downward motion involving bending of the knees—is performed on the upbeat of the music, whereas the “élevé”—an upward motion to the balls of the feet—is performed on the downbeat (*Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991], 21).

³³ With respect to diatonic tonal space, Steve Larson has defined three forces that constitute what I would characterize as *virtual environmental forces*: gravity (the tendency of tones to descend toward a pitch considered as a base, such as a tonic), magnetism (the attraction of tones toward more stable tones, which becomes stronger as the interval to the stable tone gets smaller), and inertia (the tendency of a pattern of motion to continue in the same way, even past a point of stability). See Larson, “Scale Degree Function: A Theory of Expressive Meaning and Its Application to Aural-Skills Pedagogy,” *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 7 (1993), 69-84, and “Musical Forces and Melodic Patterns,” *Theory and Practice* 22/23 (1997-98), 55-71. In considering these musical forces as environmental, I mean to suggest that Larson’s model could be usefully complemented with the addition of a perceived or implied *source* of gestural energy—in many cases, the motivating force of an implied *musical agent*. A spontaneous or “willed” individual gesture may be understood as being subject to various forces as it traverses tonal and metric fields, conceived as environmental forces which act upon it in various ways. The gesture may be deflected from its energetic direction, or it may be fulfilled by reaching a point of stability within the operative fields of tonality and meter.

Candace Brower (“A Cognitive Theory of Musical Meaning,” *Journal of Music Theory* 44: 2 [2000], 323-79) and Fred Lerdahl (*Tonal Pitch Space* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2002]) have also incorporated these attractions into their distinctive models of tonal pitch space. Brower relates these forces to the conceptual image schemas of Mark Johnson (*The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Reason and Imagination* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987]). The sense of tonal gravity thus draws on a CENTER-VERTICALITY-BALANCE schema, and the sense of tonal motion on a SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema. Interestingly, one of the entailments of the latter schema is the “motion is carried out by an agent who wills the motion to take place” (Brower, 2000: 331). Brower also provides increasingly comprehensive models of pitch space that incorporate the three levels of tones, triads, and regions. Her interpretive approach includes a pattern-matching component that compares paradigmatic phrase structures and their variants, and a larger narrative component that integrates the implied dramatic trajectory of a work’s hierarchical pitch structures.

Lerdahl explores still further the multi-tiered modeling of tonal spaces, including chromatic as well as diatonic. He quantifies musical attractions based on the (cognitive) distance each tonal progression traces in its respective tonal space, factored with its hierarchical status and stability, as determined through the rule-system of his generative theory (Lerdahl and Jackendoff, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* [Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983]). Lerdahl (2002: 285-92) also explores the analogy of metric spaces, based on a grid concept of meter; this part of the theory is only lightly sketched, and Lerdahl points out the need to incorporate the influence of grouping structure on metric structure. Otherwise, the primary metric attraction is conceived as the tendency of a weak beat to progress toward a strong one (as Hugo Riemann claimed).

A. Immediate (basic, default level)

- **Iconic:** imagistic
 qualitative
- **Indexical:** dynamic
 temporal continuity

B. Mediated (*via* conventions of style)

- **Symbolic:** systematic,
 marked oppositions
 +
 creative,
 tropological

Figure 5. Levels of gestural interpretation.

association by similarity of properties or structures) correlations with gestures in other modalities (see **Figure 5**). The more *symbolic* level is kept coherent by a musical style; in Classical music a complex tonal syntax obviously places further demands on listeners' interpretive competencies. Musical gestures may be *multiply motivated*, however, and it is the interaction of indexical and iconic motivations with syntactic and symbolic ones that makes the study of gesture so rewarding for performing styles such as the Viennese Classical. This style draws upon very sophisticated perceptual and cognitive competencies in proposing analogous energetic shapings through time. Based on the competencies implied by a musical style, we can define stylistic types of gestures; new tokens of types, and indeed, new types, will reflect the growth of that stylistic competency.

2.6.7. Interpreting a stylistic gestural type: *empfindsamer* 'sigh' or *galant* gesture?

Stylistic types of gestures must nevertheless be realized individually in musical works. In the Classical style, a familiar gestural type is the two-note stepwise slur moving from strong to weaker metric location. In fact, this slur is affiliated with two distinct style types—the *empfindsamer* 'sigh' gesture, whose expressive significance ranges from grieving lament to poignant inflection, and the *galant* gesture of 'graciousness,' analogous to formalized social bows (as in the French, "*faire une reverence*"), and appearing formulaically in the *galant* or *appoggiatura* cadence. Manifestations of style types may be more or less original, but each is understood as a *strategic token* of its corresponding type. Beyond the features that cue affiliation with a type, however, further distinctive qualities of a token may be interpreted as significant, especially from a gestural perspective.

Overuse of the *galant* gesture in conventionalized cadences, often with suspension of the dominant-seventh chord in the upper voices over tonic resolution on the downbeat in the bass, made it less expressively focal and hence unmarked stylistically. But an example from Schubert illustrates how a figure which is stylistically unmarked may be strategically marked by thematic foregrounding.³⁴ In opening the second movement of his Sonata in A Major, D. 664 (1819), Schubert echoes the *galant*, *appoggiatura* cadence of the first movement (Examples 2a & 2b). When late in the second movement Schubert elects a similar *appoggiatura* cadence (b. 70), the elision with the head motive of this theme reinforces the motive's original derivation (Example 2c).

The image displays three musical excerpts from Schubert's Piano Sonata in A Major, D. 664, illustrating the 'sigh' gesture. Each example is presented in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs).

- Example a:** Shows the closing of the first movement. It features a piano (*pp*) dynamic and a two-note stepwise slur moving from a strong to a weaker metric location in both the treble and bass staves.
- Example b:** Shows the opening of the second movement, marked *Andante*. It features a pianissimo (*ppp*) dynamic and a similar two-note stepwise slur in the treble staff, with a more complex accompaniment in the bass.
- Example c:** Shows the closing of the second movement. It features a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic and a two-note stepwise slur in the treble staff, mirroring the gesture in example a.

Example 2. Schubert, Piano Sonata in A Major, D. 664.

- a. First movement, closing.
- b. Second movement, opening.
- c. Second movement, closing.

³⁴ For more on the concept of markedness, see Hatten (1994: 34-56).



Example 3. Beethoven, *Piano Sonata in Eb Major, Op. 7, finale, opening theme*.

The two-note stepwise slur may be extended to include increasingly larger motivic units, and the same gestural shape is applied to its more extended instances: light initiatory accent, smooth follow-through, and unaccented release. The “sigh” motive is extended into a more elaborate *galant* gesture in the rondo theme from the finale of Op. 7 (**Example 3**), which features an anacrustic, anticipatory sigh before the initiating sigh on the downbeat, thus doubling the expressive effect. Here, the two-note gesture combines *galant* graciousness with the sigh, troping the two gestural meanings to yield an effect that is neither superficial in its conventional graciousness nor tragic in its emotional context. Expansive, gracious, and with a touch of poignant longing, the Romantic effect of this gesture emerges from the strategic treatment of a Classical style type, exploiting its potential for further interpretation.

2.6.8. Strategic functions of musical gestures

Among various strategic adaptations of stylistic gestures (see **Figure 6**) we find *spontaneous* expression, motivic or *thematic* foregrounding and development, *dialogical* interplay, *rhetorical* marking of dramatic shifts or swerves in the ongoing discourse, and *troping*, (as in the creative juxtaposition and implied figurative interaction of two gestures). The category of the *spontaneous* may seem a bit ephemeral, since even the most original of gestures will quickly be interpreted as strategic for the work, and such spontaneous gestures are often *thematically* marked, both by their salience and their subsequent development. Nevertheless, the spontaneous translation of gesture to music is an avenue by which composers can introduce individual and often personal affective character without falling back on conventionalized formulae. The subsequent negotiation of a spontaneous gesture within the

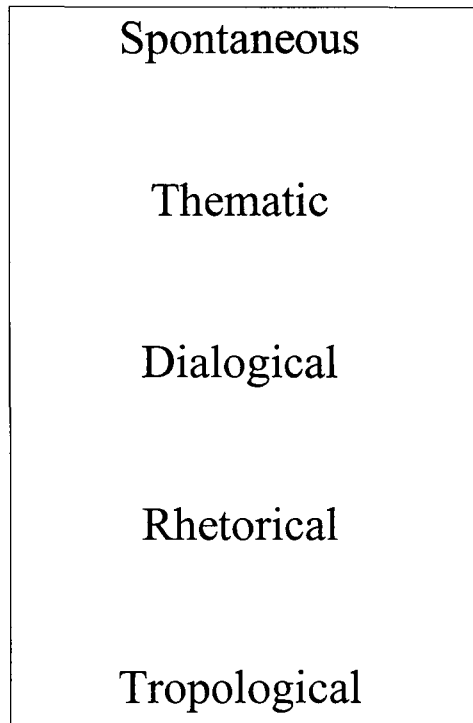


Figure 6. *Strategic functions of musical gesture*.

syntax of a style—the attempt to rein in an unruly gesture, for example—is a premise that may foster greater creativity in its working out.

The *dialogical* function of gesture, grounded in the intersubjective development of human gesture, is reflected in Haydn's oft-noted "conversational" style in the string quartets³⁵ and Mozart's dialectical oppositions in his opening themes, which suggest two competing agencies. The dialogical convention is also implicit in the concerto, or more generally, the concertato principle that stems from Baroque practices.³⁶

Rhetorical gestures include the expressive fermata in a slow movement, or the cadential 6/4 that marks the break for *cadenza* in a concerto, but such conventional gestures lack the force of strategic gestures that create rhetorical reversals, undercuttings, or shifts in level of discourse, such as the ones I have explored for Beethoven's Andante from the String Quartet in Bb, Op. 130.³⁷ At first I conceived of rhetorical gestures as limited to marking dramatic turns or shifts at the level of form (or expressive genre), but it soon became clear that the rhetorical, at least for the Classical style and beyond, is best defined as that which *marks a disruption in the unmarked flow of events at any level of the musical discourse*.³⁸ What constitutes the unmarked flow is of course subject to varying interpretations, and habit or convention is constantly adding to the fund of expected functional events in a style. Hence, as a result of the pressure of style growth, rhetorical gestures often become more extreme in order to mark fresh emphases, especially if a style has come to embrace oscillations in intensity as part of its normative or unmarked flow.

Gestural *troping*, along the lines of the troping of topics, is another possible strategic function. The possibilities that emerge from a creative fusion of different gestures would appear to be endless, but a note of caution is in order. Gestures are already such distinctive syntheses that in order to interpret a gestural trope as an amalgam of two separate (and presumably contrasting) gestures, the gestures in question must already possess established (stylistic or culturally immediate) expressive correlations, or else be (strategically) familiarized as thematic, before they are combined. Another criterion might be that each can be heard as making its own contribution to the expressive meaning that emerges from their synthesis or fusion.

³⁵ Mara Parker analyzes four kinds of what I would term *dialogical* relationships in the string quartet from 1750-1797: the "lecture," the "polite conversation," the "debate," and the "conversation" (*The String Quartet, 1750-1797: Four Types of Musical Conversation* [Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002]).

³⁶ For a spectacular example involving troping, consider the "Echo" that concludes Bach's Overture in B Minor. This binary dance movement tropes on both concerto form and concertato style, as can be inferred from an elegant analysis by Laurence Dreyfus (*Bach and the Patterns of Invention* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1996], 224-32).

³⁷ Hatten, "Plenitude as Fulfillment: The Third Movement of Beethoven's String Quartet in Bb, Op. 130," to appear in *The Beethoven String Quartets*, collected essays edited by William Kinderman, University of Illinois Press, and *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes* (2004), chapter 2.

³⁸ Patrick McCreless's important article, "Music and Rhetoric" (*The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], 847-79), focuses on the German musical rhetorical tradition from roughly 1550 to 1800, during which time rhetoric encompassed many of the elements of structure that were eventually treated less metaphorically and more analytically: formal functions and their sequence, and musical figures, many of which were merely labels for techniques of motivic development. As McCreless summarizes, upon the development of specifically musical theories of melody and form for instrumental music this application of rhetoric was subsumed under structure (876). However, the rhetorical takes on a fresh meaning similar to the one I intend in the comments of Schindler and Czerny on Beethoven's rhetorical caesurae and dramatic pauses, and one could perhaps trace this tendency in discussions of performance and performance practice from the time of Koch. Indeed, McCreless notes the applicability even of Scheibe's oratorical figures (interrogation, repetition, gradation, dubitation, exclamation, etc.) to our understanding of the finale of Beethoven's Piano Sonata in D Major, Op. 10, no. 3.

Mark Evan Bonds (*Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991) provides a broader historical overview that also addresses the continuity of rhetoric in the first half of the nineteenth century (132ff.), during the transition from a metaphor of the musical work as an oration to that of a biological organism. Elaine Sisman has applied traditional rhetorical concepts (along with a sensitivity to gesture and topic) in her insightful interpretations of Mozart's *Prague* Symphony ("Genre, Gesture, and Meaning in Mozart's 'Prague' Symphony," in *Mozart Studies II*, ed. Cliff Eisen [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], 27-84) and Beethoven's *Pathétique* Sonata, Op. 13 ("Pathos and the Pathétique: Rhetorical Stance in Beethoven's C-minor Sonata, Op. 13," *Beethoven Forum* 3 [1994], 81-106).

2.6.9. Thematic musical gestures

Perhaps the most important function of gesture, however, comes from its thematization as motivic idea. A gesture becomes *thematic* when it is (a) *foregrounded as significant*, thereby gaining *identity* as a potential thematic entity, and then (b) *used consistently*, typically as the *subject of a musical discourse*. In a coherent musical discourse, the gesture may be varied without losing its affiliation to the original form (its identity, perhaps generalized as a schema), as long as the stages of its evolution are (a) progressive (i.e., no huge differences in shape between developmental forms or variants) and (b) temporally associable (no huge gaps in time between instances of the gesture).³⁹

A thematic gesture is typically designed so as to encapsulate the expressive tone and character of the work or movement; thus, its expressive properties help the listener understand and interpret musical meaning at higher levels, as well. What might otherwise appear accessory—the articulations, dynamics, and temporal character of a motive—are potentially structural in that, by their embodiment in thematic gestures, they contribute to the shaping of an emerging expressive trajectory. As will be seen, unusual features of the resulting forms may be expressively motivated by the progressive evolution of thematic gestures.

Inevitably, *thematic gestures* (the focus of my analyses here) result from the compositional attention musical gestures receive as basic-level carriers of emotional force. Thematic gestures, like motives, are *further* marked as significant parts of the discourse of a movement, and they play a structural as well as expressive role in the unfolding form and expressive genre of a movement or work. Thematic gestures are not necessarily tied to one pitch structure, or even one metric identity, since on the one hand similarity of gestural shape may relate different pitch shapes, and on the other hand, gestures themselves may be subjected to developing variation as part of a coherent musical discourse. Furthermore, the continuity of a gesture does not demand unbroken continuity of sound, as in a legato group of pitches; continuity of gesture binds even separately articulated notes. Consider, as illustration of these first few points, a significant thematic gesture for Schubert's Piano Sonata in A major, D. 959 (**Example 4a**), which I have written about elsewhere.⁴⁰ It is developmentally varied in the continuation

Example 4. Schubert, *Piano Sonata in A Major*, D. 959. Developing variation of the bracketed thematic gesture.

a. First movement, contrasting first themes (b. 1-6 and 7ff.)

³⁹ Meyer discusses the constraints on our interpretation of "conformant relationships" (thematic schemata that may include motives or entire melodies). His helpful formula for perceived conformance, expressed as an equation, pits regularity of pattern, individuality of profile, and similarity of patterning against variety of intervening events and temporal distance between events. See *Explaining Music: Essays and Explorations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 49. Schoenberg's important concept of developing variation (to be addressed below) may be refined for analytical purposes by consideration of these cognitive constraints.

⁴⁰ For further evidence of the thematic significance of this gesture, which appeared in the compositional draft of the first movement before the left hand's articulated gestures in mm. 1-2, see Hatten, "Schubert the Progressive: The Role of Resonance and Gesture in the Piano Sonata in A, D. 959," *Intégral* 7 (1993), 38-81.

The image displays four musical excerpts from Schubert's Piano Sonata in A Major, D. 959. Section (a) shows the first movement with a piano (p) dynamic. Section (b) shows the first movement's integrative counterstatement (measures 16-21), closing (measures 22-26), and transition (measures 27ff.), marked with piano-pianissimo (pp). Section (c) shows the second movement's opening theme (excerpt), marked Andantino and piano (p). Section (d) shows the finale's opening theme (excerpt), marked Rondo, Allegretto, and piano (p).

Example 4. Schubert, Piano Sonata in A Major, D. 959. Developing variation of the bracketed thematic gesture.

- b. First movement, integrative counterstatement (b. 16-21), closing (b. 22-26), and transition (b. 27ff.)
- c. Second movement, opening theme (excerpt).
- d. Finale, opening theme (excerpt).

(**Example 4b**). And in the second movement it is metrically shifted and relegated to a haunting ostinato gestural pattern in the left hand (**Example 4c**). In the finale, it is found in both metrical locations in the first two bars (**Example 4d**).

2.6.10. Gestural agency

Gesture also implies agency—the gesturer, if you will—and the specific characteristics of an agent, in terms of expressive modality. A gesture may thus evolve from having a character to “being” a character in a thematic musical discourse. Manfred Clynes’s (1977) work reveals the biologically universal modes of motor production and sensory perception that create and

categorize basic emotion types as expressed gesturally. His “gesture hypothesis,” as David Lidov (1999) describes it, also speaks to the precision with which we access subtle nuances of expressive gesture.

2.6.11. The interaction of gesture, topic, and trope

Because of its characteristic shaping and shading, *gesture may help define a topic*, as for example the funeral march topic in the opening theme of Schubert’s Piano Sonata in A minor, D. 784, with its grieving gestural ostinato suggestive of a cortège (see below **Example 8, b. 9ff.**). Such thematic gestures may also be troped, perhaps in conjunction with topical troping.

Expressive interpretation is enhanced by integrating the analysis of topics and tropes with *gesture*. For example, how might topics be selected for their *gestural associations* as well as their *tropological potential*? An interesting example is found in Schubert’s Piano Sonata in G major, D. 894 (Hatten 2003). In the trio of the Menuetto (**Example 5**) the mode shifts from B minor to B major for an exquisite troping of *Ländler* and musette. Both topics are already pastoral, so the trope is neither surprising nor problematic for the interpreter. The musette is more static, and the phrase structure of the first eight bars reinforces the stasis—the last four bars simply fade away in a reverberation of tonic harmony. The triple pedals and triple piano together provide a dream-like web within which the *Ländler*’s gentle lifts and burbling ornaments are given an almost visionary quality—the special remove of idealized and idyllic pastoral space, whether understood as “wistful recall of lost innocence” or “dreamy yearning for an idealized future state.”

In the second strain the gentle musette-*Ländler* is displaced by a waltz with a more active gestural character; the waltz measures are more strongly articulated, louder, and more forcefully expressive. How might we interpret the shift? The waltz is more sophisticated than the lower-style *Ländler*, and gesturally more individualized, which suggests the emergence of a stance, perhaps projected into a more social sphere. Thus, we might contrast the non-dynamic “being”

Example 5. Schubert, Piano Sonata in G Major, D. 894, third movement, trio, first and second strains (b. 55-62, b. 63-70).

of the musette-*Ländler* phrase with the dynamic “doing” of the waltz phase, to apply Eero Tarasti’s (1994) Greimassian modalities.

Compare now the first movement’s two main themes. The pastorally serene stasis of the opening theme (**Example 6**) features slow harmonic rhythm, an initial move to the subdominant, and compound meter. The second theme (**Example 7**, beginning in m. 27) features a waltz topic troped with pastoral features—most notably, pedal point and slow harmonic rhythm. Its additive motivic structure (sounding like 40 measures of 3/8) obscures an underlying *Satz* structure with a 2-bar extension (8+2 measures of 12/8). The troping of waltz and pastoral creates an emergent expressive meaning that I would characterize as “timeless ecstatic transport.” An immediate variation of the 10-bar theme further underlines the progressively transcendent character of this topical trope, through such features as continuous sixteenths and use of higher register (mm. 37ff.), leading to a sense of spiritual exaltation.

2.6.12. An extended example: Schubert’s Piano Sonata, D. 784, first movement

2.6.12.1. The principal thematic gesture

Schubert’s Piano Sonata in A minor, D. 784, offers a compelling example of how gesture, topic, and trope can combine forces to create powerful new expressive meanings. A grieving gesture (bracketed in b. 9 and 10 of **Example 8**) does more than support the funeral cortège topic. It appears to be a thematic gesture, characterized by its expressive shape, and thematized by its prominent role in the discourse, beginning with the initial eighth-note releases in bars 2 and 4. The two pitch events are encompassed by a single gesture, in which the second event is an abrupt release of the first. The attempt to reject, or shrug off, a grief that is too great to bear, is captured in this evocative gesture.

2.6.12.2. Emergence of the principal thematic gesture in the second theme


The major mode second theme (**Example 8**, b. 61ff.) provides, or at least attempts to provide, relief from the obsessively tragic first theme group. This theme presents a trope of topics: hymn-like texture and range is combined with pastoral pedal point, harmonic rhythm, and emphasis on the subdominant harmony. Interpreting this trope in its dramatic context is not difficult at this stage—“an idyllic realm of spiritual consolation,” for example. But what makes this theme so incredibly poignant is a further trope, involving the lurking echo of the earlier grieving gesture, as implied by the accentual structure of the two half-note chords in every other measure. The gesture’s strangely cortège-like quality persists in this more serene theme and triggers a chain of interrelated meanings, from the vulnerability of a theme that cannot fully displace grief, to the poignancy that is this vulnerable theme’s emotional interpretant. Indeed, the fragile visionary character of this theme is ultimately shattered, and poignancy leads to emotional devastation when, after first breaking up the phrasing registrally and mixturally, the tragic gesture delivers its stunning blows of negation.

2.6.12.3. Interaction with tonal structure

Having demonstrated how gesture, topic, and trope can be integrated, I turn to their interaction with tonal structure, first by examining expressive motivations for unusual tonal design in the exposition of this sonata. The counterstatement of the main theme (**Example 8**, b. 26ff.) begins to lead transitionally away from the tonic, but in the wrong direction (b. 30ff.). Harmonically, the funeral march emphasizes plagal harmonic motion; grief appears to motivate analogous tonal motion into the subdominant region: from A minor to the key of D minor and its own minor subdominant.

Although mm. 42-46 imply a turn back to A minor, a subito pianissimo in m. 47 drops the descending-third motivic version of the gesture down a whole-step to Bb-G, echoing the

Molto moderato e cantabile. (Komponiert im October 1826.)



Example 6. Schubert, D. 894, first movement, opening theme (excerpt).



Example 7. Schubert, D. 894, first movement, second theme (excerpt, b. 27ff).

subdominant of the subdominant. From this dark impasse of an emotionally failed transition, we are suddenly thrust up a half step with a forte tremolo and fortissimo fanfare in E major. The *deus ex machina* reversal is signaled by the use of a fanfare topic, suggesting victory, and strong dynamic gestures, implying a self-willed projection of heroic force. But note the persistence of the grieving gesture in b. 53-4, which is repressed by an even more forceful diminution in b. 57-8.

Stylistically, we might have expected the minor dominant at this point, as substitute for the relative major; Beethoven in his tragic piano sonata movements often uses the minor dominant for his second theme—for examples, the first and third movements of the *Tempest*, op. 31, no.

(Komponiert im Februar 1823.)

The musical score is presented in six systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system (measures 1-8) is marked 'Allegro giusto.' and 'pp'. The second system (measures 9-16) includes a 'cresc.' marking. The third system (measures 17-24) features a piano melody with 'f' and 'pp' dynamics. The fourth system (measures 25-30) shows a piano accompaniment with 'ff' and 'ff' dynamics. The fifth system (measures 31-36) continues the piano accompaniment. The sixth system (measures 37-44) features a piano melody with 'ff' dynamics.

Example 8. Schubert, Piano Sonata in A Minor, D. 784, first movement, exposition (excerpt).

2, and the last movement of the *Appassionata*, op. 57. The major dominant is not coherent in a Classically-conceived sonata form; thus, we must consider its use here as associational and dramatically oppositional. As a mutation of the minor dominant, E major is an explicit reversal of the tragic obsessiveness that would have persisted had the minor dominant been selected. Here we have a good example of how expressive and dramatic gestural and topical meaning can motivate style change in the realm of tonal structure.

2.6.12.4. Topical and gestural reworking of the recapitulation

Compare the transition and second theme in the recapitulation (**Example 9**). No heroic outburst this time; instead, an enharmonic German augmented sixth chord in b. 215 mystically transforms the depressed state of the falling third motive to a very positive state, as signaled by an A major arrival 6/4 in b. 216. Dynamically, this transformational transition never breaks the soft surface. The truncation of the fanfare section is not motivated by a need to stay in the tonic key; Schubert had already rewritten the earlier part of the transition to keep it down a fifth, and the Eb-C depressed third could thus have been reversed by a heroic E-C# outburst, exactly parallel to the exposition. Instead, the expressive role of this compressed return is dramatically

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Example 8. Schubert, *Piano Sonata in A Minor*, D. 784, first movement, exposition (excerpt).

Example 9. Schubert, D. 784, first movement, recapitulation. Transition and return of the second theme (excerpt).

to oppose the corresponding move in the exposition. This time, it is not heroic effort of the will, but transcendent grace or, more secularly, sudden illumination that accomplishes the transition, without requiring a blustery show of strength.

Notice how gesture contributes to this interpretation, since the second theme is not only tonally resolved to A major, but gesturally ameliorated with a softening agent—the triplet reverberation that fractions the disruptive force of the tragic gesture’s subversiveness. Gestural meaning is reinforced by the doubling, as well. A doubled third increases the “sweetness” of the major tonic, which marks this variant of the theme as even more serene than in its first visionary appearance—an important achievement, if the recapitulation is not to sound anticlimactic.

2.6.12.5. Further transformation in the coda

The fanfare reversal that was omitted in the recapitulation returns in the coda, and a further, furious diminution of the reversed grief gesture suggests that even more power is required to overcome the relentlessness of a primal grief, expressed this time with a descent to a dark diminished-seventh chord (Example 10, b. 258). But the energy of the heroic fanfare is dissipated by the second theme’s condensation to a bell-like benediction (b. 277ff.). This benediction is hauntingly framed in the very articulatory shape of the grief gesture that it had been at pains to disguise—by means of hymn-like and pastoral continuities in the exposition, and ameliorative triplets in the recapitulation. Even the stark *subito fortissimo* disruption by the descending-third motive in sustained and augmented form (b. 285) sounds more threatening than resolutive. The implied transcendent close is thus undermined, and the overall expressive genre will move inexorably to a tragic peroration in the finale.

3. Conclusion

I have throughout alluded to the synthetic character of not only gestures, but topics and tropes. I think the investigation of these three categories comprises part of a larger “Theory of the Synthetic” (not to be confused with the artificial) that is a much needed complement for all that music theory has so successfully accomplished in the realm of the analytic. Such a theory

Example 10. Schubert, D. 784, first movement, coda (b. 258-end).

must address the following characteristics of the synthetic, which are not always amenable to traditional analytical approaches: (a) continuity, (b) integration, (c) intermodality, (d) multifunctionality, (e) multiple motivations, (f) multiple levels, with respect to such continua as immediacy vs. mediacy, and (g) the relationship of cognition to rich perception.

Seen from this perspective, the interpretation of musical meaning I have pursued here today is not something that needs to be circumscribed in dealing with what Peter Kivy calls *Music Alone* (1990), in deference to the concept of “purely musical” meaning that he defends for so-called absolute works.⁴¹ Nor should my approach be dismissed as betraying the uniqueness of

expression, as when Roger Scruton, echoing Benedetto Croce and Richard Wollheim, reminds us that expression is intransitive, and thus not amenable to simplistic, code-like semiotic mappings.⁴² The immediacy of musical gesture provides direct biological as well as cultural access from the outset; and the practiced mediacy of stylistic conventions such as gestural types, topics, and expressive genres reinforce the modalities of gesture with oppositionally secured realms of expressive meaning. With so much redundancy of mutually supporting cultural and stylistic meaning, any reasonably competent listener is well-positioned to embark upon the elusive, further interpretation of those unique features, contexts, and potential tropes that constitute the creative wonder of late Beethoven and late Schubert.

⁴¹ Kivy, *Music Alone* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

⁴² Scruton, *The Aesthetic Understanding* (London: Methuen, 1983), 99; Croce, *Estetica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale* (Palermo, 1902); Wollheim, *Art and Its Objects* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

UDK 78.01:004.4

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Reflections on the History of Computer- Assisted Music Analysis I: Predecessors and the Beginnings

Razmišljanje o zgodovini računalniške analize glasbe I: predhodniki in začetki

Ključne besede: računalniška analiza glasbe, informacijska teorija, razvoj zgodnjih računalnikov

Keywords: computer-assisted music analysis, information theory, development of early computers

POVZETEK

Gre za prvega v vrsti člankov, ki obravnavajo zgodovino računalniške analize glasbe. Prvi se ukvarja s filozofskimi osnovami računalniške analize glasbe, to je z aplikacijo informacijske teorije v estetiki, kakor tudi z značilno uporabo statističnih in informacijsko-teoretičnih meritev na področju glasbene analize ter z drugimi računalniškimi pristopi h glasbeni analizi, ki niso vključevali uporabo elektronskih računalnikov. Večinoma gre za tiste pristope, ki so predstavljali neposredne vzorce računalniškim aplikacijam. Na koncu daje članek kratek zgodovinski pregled zgodnjih računalnikov in povzema najbolj zgodnjo uporabo računalnikov v glasbeni analizi, kakršna je bila značilna za petdeseta leta 20. stoletja.

SUMMARY

This article is the first of a series that focuses on the history of computer-assisted music analysis. This first article discusses the philosophical basis of computer-assisted music analysis, i.e. the application of information theory to aesthetics, as well as representative applications of statistical and information-theoretical measurements to music analysis and other computational approaches to music analysis that did not include the use of electronic computers. In most cases, those approaches were direct models for computer-assisted applications. Finally, this article provides a short historical account of the development of early computers and summarizes the earliest computer-applications to music analysis, carried out during the 1950s.

"I should like to suggest that computer analysis will become one of the most important directions in musicology for the next generation. One hears frequently the comment that computers will make musicology mechanistic. Bear in mind, however, that the computer does what it is told: even its most sophisticated procedures depend on the imagination of the researcher for instructions; and the final results always require further interpretation. In these two functions — instruction and interpretation — the researcher controls the fundamental musicality of the investigation. If the results are mechanistic, he cannot blame the computer." (Jan LaRue 1970, 197.)

Introduction

This article shall be the beginning of a series of articles on the history of computer-assisted music analysis. Computer-assisted music analysis, which emerged about 50 years ago, provides analytical tools that help solve problems, some of which may be unsolvable without the assistance of the computer. Unfortunately, most research in the area of computer-assisted music analysis has been carried out, again and again, without any explicit review of preceding attempts and accomplishments. Even the most recent research bears traces of two fundamental flaws that have plagued most research carried out to date: there is no classification of analytical methods within a comprehensive historical framework, and there is no critical evaluation of those methods.

A series of articles will attempt to solve the main problem related to these flaws: to provide a historical account and framework of methods of computer-assisted music analysis. The source materials for the historical account consist of nearly 2,000 published and unpublished writings, including dissertations and internal research papers from many countries, that were collected and analyzed over many years.

The first part of this article focuses on the philosophical basis of computer-assisted music analysis, i.e. the application of information theory to aesthetics. The second part describes representative applications of statistical and information-theoretical measurements to music analysis and other computational approaches to music analysis which did not include the use of electronic computers¹. In most cases, those approaches were direct models for computer-assisted applications, and an understanding of the development of computer-assisted analysis is not possible without the knowledge of these early approaches that used no computer. The third part of this article provides a short historical account of the development of early computers and summarizes the earliest computer-applications to music analysis, carried out during the 1950s.

1. The Philosophical Foundation: Information Theory and Aesthetics

Richard Pinkerton wrote already in 1956: "Information Theory may well prove generally useful for studying the creative process of the human mind. I don't think we have to worry that such analysis will make our art more stilted and mechanical. Rather, as we begin to understand more about the property of creativeness, our enjoyment of the arts should increase a thousandfold." (Richard C. Pinkerton 1956, 86) The results predicted by Richard C. Pinkerton have hardly been realized. But especially with regard to certain developments in the area of

¹ Joseph Schillinger (1948) provided detailed descriptions of mathematical relationships in music, but he was not primarily trying to provide a methodology for music analysis or for composition. For that reason, Schillinger's work will not be discussed here.

Artificial Intelligence during the 1990s, research has produced results that came much closer to Pinkerton's vision of the usefulness of information theory for studying creative processes.

Pinkerton was one of the first to explore the application of information theory to music, specifically to music analysis. The philosophical rationale, however, was ultimately provided by several people: George D. Birkhoff (1931, 1950), Abraham Moles (1956a, 1956b, 1958, 1962, 1966), and by Max Bense (1954, 1966, 1969) and his disciples Helmar Frank (1964, 1968), Rul Guntzenhäuser (1962), Siegfried Maser (1971), and Frieder Nake (1974). Using information theory, all of those people sought either to explain some aspects of aesthetic reflection and artistic cognition, or both, or to analyze or synthesize 'artistic artifacts'.

Information theory itself was based on a model, partly mathematical and partly physical, relating to the transmission and reception of messages ('information'). In this context, information was related to the potential variety of messages in contexts and the probabilities of messages. For instance, if a melodic phrase in a piece of music occurs for the first time, it is an unexpected event, i.e. it has a probability of zero; hence, it has a high degree of originality and it "modifies the behavior of the receptor" (Moles 1967, 22). If a melodic phrase occurs many times, its probability increases, and the originality, the degree of 'information,' decreases. In 1949, Claude E. Shannon defined a measure of information, called 'entropy,' as a logarithmic function of the statistical probabilities of different messages. (See Shannon and Weaver 1949, 49 ff.) Thus, information was considered measurable to the extent that it could determine how predictability and unpredictability relate to the variety of a system.

Taking a different tact, Bense's aesthetics had its origin in the theory of signs. His attempts to create a mathematical notion of aesthetics, a quantitative, descriptive notion he called 'information aesthetics' ['Informationsästhetik'], came out of his interest in cybernetics, and was based on the analytical procedures described by the US-mathematician and physicist George David Birkhoff. In the 1920s, Birkhoff had tried to develop a formula for dealing with aesthetics, defining *aesthetic measure* (M) as a quotient of the *order* (O) of an 'aesthetic object' and its *complexity* (C): $M=O/C$. (See Birkhoff 1950, 288-306, and 320-333.)

Moles, on the other hand, in his 'aesthetic perception theory', based his theory on the evaluation of experimental data and statements, an evaluation in which the relation of innovation and redundancy was very important. (See Moles 1958.) Moles distinguished between semantic information and aesthetic information, a distinction based on the insight that Shannon's information theory was hardly applicable to the analysis of art works in terms of their artistic value ('aesthetic information'), but instead was related to what he called the 'inner structure' of these art works ('semantic information').²

Responding to the aesthetic theories of Bense and Moles, Helmar Frank proposed an 'exact information theory' (Frank 1964, 1968). He combined automata theory, system theory, and sign theory, with information theory and theories drawn from experimental psychology. To define his 'subject model' mathematically, using theories of automata (i.e., the subject is viewed as the addressee of the message, which is the work of art), he needed such categories as 'surprise value' ['Überraschungswert'] and 'conspicuousness value' ['Auffälligkeitwert']. Frank's integration of empirical research and experimental psychology in his theory is even more important than his theory per se. In this sense, his theory can be seen as an early case of cognitive research like that done in the 1980s and 1990s.

A follower of Bense, Siegfried Maser (1971), proposed the creation of a 'numerical aesthetics' ['Numerische Ästhetik'], derived from Baumgarten's definition of aesthetics as the

² An overview of "Aesthetics of Music and Information-Theory," mainly based on Moles' theory, was also given by Jan L. Broeckx (1979, 105-125).

science of the critical assessment of beauty. Maser interpreted Baumgarten's model of aesthetics as an objective, scientific aesthetics, based on three sciences: the 'science of the real' ['Realwissenschaft'], the 'science of the formal' ['Formalwissenschaft'], and the 'science of the intellect' ['Geisteswissenschaft']. He proposed distinctions between 'macro aesthetics'³ ['Makroästhetik'] and 'micro aesthetics'⁴ ['Mikroästhetik'] in the process of formulating a 'complete aesthetic analysis'⁵ ['vollständige ästhetische Analyse'] (Maser 1971, 91). Maser's method of an 'aesthetics by measurement' ['Maßästhetik'] is based on the precise quantitative description of objects, which he sees as the 'rational basis' for an 'aesthetics of value' ['Wertästhetik']. He thinks that the more rigorously the rational basis for the formulation of values is defined, the more convincing will be the speculations and conceptions derived from this basis.⁶

All of the attempts mentioned above, which tried to describe aesthetic artifacts with mathematical methods, specifically with methods derived from information theory, were relatively unsuccessful in formulating meaningful philosophical generalizations about works of art. The failure to distinguish different levels of aesthetic information contained in art works was one of the main reasons for the lack of success (see, for instance, Kasem-Bek 1978). Although the mathematical description of complex aesthetic processes and attempts to calculate aesthetic values produced few significant results, the application of information theory to the analysis of structural norms of art works, specifically of motives and phrases, did produce some significant results.⁷ Since repetition of musical structures is responsible for creating musical form, the analysis of musical structures based on the measurement of redundancy was fruitful, particularly when it was embedded in observations of musical form.⁸

2. On Predecessors and 'Relatives' of Computer-Assisted Music Analysis

Otto Ortmann was an important pioneer of statistical analysis of music. His article from 1937, still virtually unnoticed, involved an analysis—certainly conducted without an electronic calculator—that was restricted to interval frequencies of song melodies by Robert Schumann (48 songs), Johannes Brahms (38 songs), and Richard Strauss (40 songs). No distinction was made between ascending and descending intervals; intervals of equal distance but different nomenclature (e.g. augmented second and minor third) were grouped together. Ortmann calculated the interval distributions of each song and an interval average for all the songs by each composer, the percentage of songs by each composer in which every specific interval was present, and the range of positions which every interval holds—with regard to its frequency—in most of the songs. No matter what the specific results⁹ may be worth, and no matter how

³ The formula for calculating the 'Macro Aesthetics' is: Macro Aesthetic Measure (M_{AE}) = Order / Complexity.

⁴ The formula for calculating the 'Micro Aesthetics' is: Micro Aesthetic Measure ($M_{\mu AE}$) = Entropy / Redundancy.

⁵ The formula for calculating the 'Complete Aesthetic Measure' is: Macro Aesthetic Measure (AE) = $[(M_{AE} + M_{\mu AE}) / 2]$ birk.

⁶ "Je präziser aber diese rationale Basis formuliert wird, desto überzeugender wirken die darauf begründeten Spekulationen und Wertkonzeptionen." (Maser 1971, 125).

⁷ Regarding aesthetic perception, Coons and Kraehenbuehl (1958, 128) call this the level of concept formation. It goes beyond the level of simple perception. In the same article, they also suggest defining information as a quotient of 'nonconfirming tests of predictions' and 'predictions tested' (ibid., 139). See also Kraehenbuehl and Coons 1959.

⁸ This notion was already supported in the theoretical articles (i.e. with no practical analyses of music) by Leonard B. Meyer (1957), Joel E. Cohen (1962), Fritz Winckel (1964), and later by Alfred Huber (1974) and others.

⁹ Some parts of each distribution, based on songs by different composers, were similar to each other. Others were different, and thus interpreted as "characterizing" for the composer's style. For Schumann, the predominance of unisons, the relative absence of wide intervals and of chromatic inflection, and the consistency with which the frequency order unison - major second - minor second is found (in 65 % of the songs) was characteristic (Ortmann 1937, 7). Characteristics of Brahms's songs were the relative absence of unisons, the preference for thirds (especially minor thirds), the frequency order major second - minor second - unison (in 45 % of the melodies), and—"not very pronounced"—the preference for chromatic inflection (ibid., 6 ff.). Finally, characteristics in Strauss' melodies based on interval frequency (except a slightly predominant use of sixths) were not found (or, in other words: a uniformity is typical); in different ways, the distributions were similar to the songs by both of the other composers, Schumann and Brahms (ibid., 8 f.). This certainly shows the limitations of this approach, which Ortmann himself was aware of. — In general, Ortmann concluded a "chronological tendency towards an increase in pitch-motion" (ibid., 9).

the question of what validity these results hold generally for songs written by these composers, Ortmann must be given credit for initiating a new form of analysis and for being self-critical enough to point out the disadvantages of disregarding other musical (and non-musical) parameters.

In 1949, Bertrand Bronson described a procedure for using an electro-mechanical calculator—not a ‘computer’—to carry out a comparative study of British-American folk-tunes. He used punched cards for encoding general information (publication, collector, singer, etc.), regional information, and musical characteristics, such as range, mode, time signature, number of phrases, phrasal scheme, final tone, initial interval between the upbeat and the first strong accent, etc. Then, the sorting machine was able to automatically pick out cards with desired characteristics. Thereby, certain musical characteristics could be matched with certain geographical origins, etc. Results of this theoretical procedure were published ten years later (Bronson 1959).

A similar, but much more sophisticated, system called *cantometrics* was developed by Alan Lomax. It is a system for rating song performances by qualitative judgements.¹⁰ Rhythmic, melodic, instrumental, tempi, and other performance characteristics, as well as text characteristics, were initially encoded with a 37 digit rating scale, i.e. the number of slots on an IBM punch card. The system became, later, the model for further computer-assisted studies (as, for instance, described in Grauer 1965).

Even though Pinkerton (1956, 84) claimed that Allen I. McHose (1950) was one of the first to use “modern techniques” for analyzing music, McHose did not mention any use of computers in his analyses. However, his statistical analyses of the chord structure of Bach chorales are of importance for later computer applications in harmonic analysis. In his study from 1950, McHose calculated the frequency of chord types, harmonic functions, inversions, etc., as well as the frequency of non-harmonic tones. He also compared root movements and types of chords in works by Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel, and Carl Heinrich Graun. But while computer technique, at the time, was not advanced enough to handle McHose’s calculations, this kind of study became the direct predecessor of a type of computer-assisted harmonic analysis which evolved in the 1960s.

H. Quastler reported in 1956¹¹ that Fred and Carolyn Attneave had analyzed cowboy songs and obtained the transition probabilities for every note preceding a particular note. Based on the analytical results, they tried to synthesize “a few dozen” new songs in the same style, but only two of them were “perfectly convincing” (*ibid.*, 169).

Until the mid-1950s, only simple statistical calculations were applied to music analysis, but Linton C. Freeman and Alan P. Merriam in 1956 used a more complex statistical method for the differentiation of two bodies of music: the discriminant function. The discriminant function uses multiple measurements to discriminate between two groups of music. In this case, the two groups of music were songs of Trinidad Rada and of Brazilian Ketu. Three characteristics were examined: the mean values of frequencies of (1) major seconds and (2) minor thirds in proportion to the lengths of the song, as well as (3) the total interval use. While each separate characteristic showed insufficient discrimination of the two groups of songs,¹² the use of the

¹⁰ Lomax’ system is based on the hypothesis that “music somehow expresses emotion; therefore, when a distinctive and consistent musical style lives in a culture or runs through several cultures, one can posit the existence of a distinctive set of emotional needs or drives that are somehow satisfied or evoked by this music.” (Lomax 1962, 425) See also Lomax 1976. However, Lomax’s theory is not undisputed; see, for instance, Kongas-Maranda 1970, Henry 1976, Kolata 1978, Berrett 1979, Locke 1981, and Oehrle 1992.

¹¹ Quastler’s report is part of the discussion, following the article of Fucks 1955, pp. 168-169. For F. and C. Attneave themselves, the results were probably not satisfactory enough for publication.

¹² The mean differences for major seconds and minor thirds were each significant beyond the one percent level of confidence, but not in the total interval use. However, the overlaps between the two groups of songs in each separate characteristic were too large.

discriminant function reduced the probability of misclassifying a single song. However, only 3 measures each of interval use from a very small sample of only 20 songs diminished the statistical value of the results. Nevertheless, using a complex statistical method was innovative in that it provided a method useful for a more sophisticated, computer-assisted analysis of music that took place in the following decade.

In 1956, Richard C. Pinkerton published a study on "Information Theory and Melody." In this article, he discussed entropy analysis (i.e., the analysis of the statistical degree on 'information' in music) and redundancy analysis¹³ and how each related to the analysis of 39 nursery songs. Even though all calculations were done manually, his approach was already designed to make use of computer assistance (see Pinkerton 1956, 86). Based on the analytical results of pitch and rhythm probabilities, Pinkerton designed a network of tone relations which enabled him to define a compositional procedure to create similar tunes. (However, his 'composed' melodies were "highly monotonous" [ibid., 84].) Pinkerton's network and transition patterns could be seen as early implementations that relate to concepts that have emerged recently in neural network research: "Thinking of our network scheme, it is fun to speculate that a composer's individual style may reflect networks of nerve pathways in his brain." (Ibid., 86.)

Joseph E. Youngblood's applications of information theory to music analysis (Youngblood 1958, 1960) were probably the most extensive studies of all those that could be called the direct 'predecessors' of computer-assisted music analysis. His ambitious calculations showed the need for computer-assistance. Youngblood's attempts to identify and define musical styles was based on the assumption that musical style can be characterized by a stochastic process, specifically a process that can be characterized using a "Markov chain"¹⁴ (Youngblood 1960, 14-15). Youngblood selected song melodies by Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, and Felix Mendelssohn, and calculated frequencies and probabilities of each scale degree, tone entropies and redundancies, as well as first-order-transition-probabilities for each melody. Some of the results showed, for example, that Mendelssohn used chromatic tones less frequently than Schubert or Schumann, and that Mendelssohn's music was more redundant. Youngblood also compared those results to analyses of samples of Gregorian Chant. Almost all of Youngblood's results did not show statistical differences clearly enough. Due to the number of songs sampled and due to the false assumption that redundancies of melodies alone could characterize a musical style, Youngblood's results were not very significant.¹⁵

The analyses of musical rhythm by John G. Brawley (1959) were intended to provide a means to characterize style. Assuming music to be a discrete system of communication and assuming that music is an ergodic stochastic process that has the structure of a stationary Markov chain, Brawley calculated entropy and redundancy of selected pieces from different time periods. However, Brawley stated himself—with regard to an analysis of a Bach

¹³ Pinkerton calculated specifically entropy and redundancy of single tones as well as transition probabilities. **Entropy** is a form of measurement found in the conceptual methodology of information theory and is not related to semantics, but to syntax. It is an index of the degree of 'information' found by analyzing single elements (e.g., pitches or tone durations) or groups of elements taken as a unit. In the latter case, the entropy is of 'higher order'. The entropy is specifically the negative sum of all logarithms of the probability of each event multiplied by the probability of each event. (Shannon 1949, pp. 49 foll.) The average entropy of a melody, for instance, is the negative sum of all logarithms of the probability of each note multiplied by the probability of each note. In case of calculating the entropy of the second order, the specific succession of two notes are seen as *one* element. **Redundancy** is a measurement, taken from information theory, that gives information about the partial (or complete) repetition of 'message content', i.e. elements. For instance, if there is an increasing number of a certain pitch or a certain melodic phrase, the entropy of this pitch or melodic phrase decreases and the redundancy increases. **Transition Frequency** is the frequency with which certain elements (e.g., pitches) occur in some places, when it is known that certain others occur in previous places. **Transition Probability** is the probability of an element (e.g., a note or a group of notes) which follows another specific element (note or group of notes).

¹⁴ A **Markov Chain** is a model for a sequence of events in which the probability of a given event (or grouping of events, i.e. event of 'higher orders') is dependent only on the preceding event (or event of 'higher orders'). For instance, the probability of a sequence of five pitches, i.e. a group of pitches of order five, would be dependent only on the preceding group of five pitches.

¹⁵ In comparison with Youngblood, Joel E. Cohen (1962, 152) applied the same analytical methods to the analysis of two Rock and Roll songs. However, the critique given here for Youngblood's research is especially true for Cohen's.

invention—that this analysis employing information theory is not very valuable. At best, it may tell us a little about this particular invention, but hardly more than we could arrive at by a less exhaustive and less painstaking analysis.” The number of samples used was too small to warrant drawing general conclusions. However, Brawley’s conceptual approach became the basis for more successful rhythm research that followed years later.

Just as philosophical generalizations derived from information theory were applied in a highly limited way (see 1.), mathematical (statistical) approaches were applied to the analysis of simple ‘aesthetic objects’ in a similar limited manner:

Wilhelm Fucks’ “mathematical analyses of the formal structure of music”¹⁶ became an important precedent for the development of computer applications (although Fucks’ calculations were still made without the computer)¹⁷, as well as for the elaboration of the application of information theory to aesthetics (see, e.g., Bense 1969). Fucks’ music-analytical attempts were connected with his attempts to analyze language (e.g., Fucks 1956, 1964). His analyses of musical compositions were usually limited to the analysis of pitch and tone duration in selected voices. Even though his list of publications is long, most of Fucks’ writings are based on the same, or similar, data. Fucks usually calculated probabilities, transition probabilities, averages, standard deviations¹⁸, kurtosis¹⁹ and skewness²⁰ of distribution curves, as well as entropies. In Fucks’ analysis from 1958, for instance, his musical materials were limited to the first violin parts of some concertos, symphonies and symphonic poems, and to the soprano parts of some masses (Fucks 1958, 9 f.). While results of his earlier research showed a correlation between composer, time of composition, and frequencies of pitch and tone duration, later publications, especially Fucks’ analyses of 1963, demonstrated that standard deviation and entropy of pitches (independent of each other) increases monotonously with the time of composition. Transition matrixes of pitches and transition matrixes of intervals provided information on the probabilities of pitches and intervals following each other. Based on the transition matrixes, Fucks calculated correlation ellipses²¹. Finally, W. Fucks and J. Lauter (1965) calculated auto-correlations of pitches and intervals.

At the time, Fucks’ methodological approach was already quite complex in its mathematical form, especially with regard to the comparison of different frequency distributions (pitches, tone durations, intervals, and tone pairs) and its comparison to stochastically-generated music. As such, Fucks’ approach revealed the significant potential of mathematical analysis of style. However, Fucks’ conclusions were very restricted to specific selections of compositions, and his generalizations of epoch characteristics were far-fetched. An important factor for the restricted analytical outcome was the missing distinction between genre characteristics and personal style in music.

Fucks’ methods and analytical results were harshly criticized and shown to be erroneous by Günther Wagner (1976). Wagner noticed “that relative interval-frequencies of consecutive tones cannot be seriously considered either for the question of authenticity or for the proof of a

¹⁶ See, for instance, Fucks 1957, 1958, 1962, 1963, 1964 and 1968, as well as Fucks and Lauter 1965.

¹⁷ Even though Lejaren Hiller (1964, 10) mentioned that Fucks used already a computer for his study in 1958, there is no indication for the use of computers in any of Fucks’ writings themselves.

¹⁸ **Variance** and **standard deviation** give information about the distribution of the elements (e.g. pitches, tone durations, or intervals) around the mean, i.e. the average distance of all elements from the mean. The variance is calculated by permanently subtracting the mean from each element, squaring all results, adding them together and dividing them by the total number of all elements minus one. The standard deviation is the square root of the **variance**; it refers to the average distance of elements (e.g., pitches) from their mean value.

¹⁹ **Kurtosis** refers to the flatness or peakedness of a (distribution) curve, relative to the size of the standard deviation.

²⁰ **Skewness** refers to a (distribution) curve, which is asymmetrical.

²¹ **Correlation** gives information on the relationship between two (or more) characteristics, e.g. if two characteristics such as pitch and tone duration are dependent on one another linearly or not.

historical development” (ibid., 67)²². He pointed out “that the standard deviation in compositions of the same genre and the same composer might vary as much as between compositions of different genres by composers, which belong to different epochs” (ibid.)²³. And finally, he showed “that the relative pitch distribution is completely ruled out as a method for answering questions about authenticity or chronology” (ibid., 69).²⁴

A more reliable music theoretical foundation was provided by Walter Reckziegel (1967a, 1967b, 1967c), a disciple of Fucks, in an extension of Fucks’ notion of ‘exact scientific’ [‘exaktwissenschaftlichen’] methods. In his analyses, Reckziegel included the calculation of metrical units and of musical intensity. For this purpose, Reckziegel defined formulas for calculating the entropy of the metrical unit and the ‘total entropy’, which is the product of the entropy value (H) of u different pitches and v different tone durations $[H(u,v)]$ and of the different pitches u : $u \cdot H(u,v)$.²⁵ Furthermore, he calculated the ‘Bewegtheit’ [kind of motion] out of the impulse frequency per metrical unit, ‘intensity’ and ‘density’ (arithmetic mean of metrical units). Sound structures and ‘complexities’ were analyzed (deliberately) without considering harmonic progressions. Reckziegel’s attempts show the desire to formulate methods that can deal with a musical complexity greater than that attempted by Fucks’ analyses. However, Reckziegel’s analyses were still limited with regard to the number and kind of mathematical calculations.

About ten years later, Christian Kaden (1978) discovered an interesting connection between statistical (not computer-assisted) and traditional music analysis, including psychological and sociological aspects. Analyzing the second movement (Allegretto scherzando) of Beethoven’s symphony No. 8 op. 93, Kaden tried to verify his intuitive analytical judgment by statistically calculating dependencies of elementary structures (*Gestalt* units), mathematically describable as tone probabilities of higher orders.²⁶ Kaden’s approach was very successful, and his methodology could have been easily adopted for computer-assisted analyses.

Generally, researchers interested in non-computer-assisted approaches to music analysis drawing on mathematics, statistics, and information theory developed an important repertoire of analytical methods that could easily be formalized in computer programs. From today’s point of view, most of these approaches have to be evaluated very critically, but without them computer-assisted music analysis could not have emerged.

3. Computers and Computer-Assisted Music Analysis During the 1950s

Even in the beginning of the ‘computer age’ of music analysis, communication between scholars was very slow. At one of the first early conferences on computer applications in music (1965), Edmund Bowles phrased this problem as follows: “There exists no clearinghouse, no center of information, no means of intercommunication between scholars in the humanities using the tools of data processing. Currently existing journals and learned societies are reluctant to assume this additional burden, especially outside their own discipline. We need more scholarly convocations such as this one. We need to avoid needless duplication of effort.” (Bowles 1970, 38.) Since then, some journals have come into being, and more and

²² “. . . daß relative Intervallhäufigkeiten konsekutiver Töne weder für Echtheitsfragen noch für den Nachweis einer historischen Entwicklung ernsthaft in Frage kommen können.”

²³ “. . . daß die Sigamwerte [Standardabweichung, N.S.] in Werken ein und derselben Gattung des gleichen Komponisten ähnlich schwanken können, wie zwischen Werken unterschiedlicher Gattungen von Komponisten, die unterschiedlichen Epochen angehören.”

²⁴ “. . . daß die relative Tonhöhenverteilung als Mittel zur Lösung von Fragen der Echtheit oder Chronologie gänzlich ausscheidet.”

²⁵ The exact formulas can be found in Reckziegel 1967a, 16-17.

²⁶ The basis for this approach, the structural segmentation of music, was already described and explained in detail by Kaden in 1976.

more conferences on the topic have been organized. However, after looking at the publications in the area of computer-assisted music analysis, it seems that not much has changed since the 'beginning': scholars know little about the history of their area, previous successes and failures are hardly known. Thus, mistakes are duplicated, and prejudices flourish. Ultimately, a detailed history of computer-assisted music analysis is needed. The following paragraphs will give a brief overview of the developments of early computer technology through the 1950s. Finally, the earliest project on computer-assisted music analysis, the only one completed during the 1950s, is summarized.

The first fully electronic computer was the "ENIAC" (Electronic Numerical Integrator and Calculator), developed by John Presper Eckert and John Mouchly in 1946. Although it made calculations about one hundred times faster than calculations by a mechanical differential analyzer, it took a long time to re-program, i.e. re-wiring, the machine. Other problems were too little storage (only twenty numbers!) and too many tubes. However, after the famous mathematician John von Neumann became a consultant to the ENIAC project in 1944, deficiencies were resolved and a new design was developed. It was one of the most crucial designs for further computer developments: The idea of the "stored-program computer" was born, outlined in a plan for the post-ENIAC "EDVAC" (Electronic Discrete Variable Automatic Computer). Virtually all computers up to the present have been based on the John-von-Neumann-principle of "stored programs" — using the same memory for numbers as well as for instructions — enabling a rapid change from one program to another. After von Neumann's design, computers have had five functional divisions: input, memory unit, control unit, arithmetic unit, and output. Other new features were the use of binary numbers (ENIAC still used decimal numbers), and the serial execution of instructions.

While EDVAC was never actually realized, in 1949 Maurice V. Wilkes' "EDSAC" (Electronic Delay Storage Automatic Calculator) became the first full-scale universal digital computer with saved programs based on John von Neumann's principles. Because of its *saved programs*, software design came into being with EDSAC. Eventually, programs were developed which translated other programs into machine code and could, thus, be understood by the hardware. In the second half of the 1940s, IBM became the leading company in the computer industry. The "Card Programmed Calculator" became — in the late 1940s and early 1950s — the most often sold calculating tool. However, by the end of the 1940s, IBM had developed several full-scale computers. IBM also developed the magnetic drum for the main memory (instead of mercury delay lines or electrostatic storage tubes). Having established their own computer business, J. P. Eckert and J. Mouchly developed similar devices. After being taken over by Remington Rand, Eckert and Mouchly completed the development of their UNIVAC (UNIVERSAL Automatic Computer; 1951). It was the world's first commercially available fully electronic computer, and it became a market leader for its type. The UNIVAC was eventually the first computer the broader public had been introduced to during election night 1952, when it accurately predicted Eisenhower's win over Stevenson. After that, 'UNIVAC' became a generic name for computers.

The prediction of the election outcome also showed the great potential for computers in data processing for many business areas. Thus, in the early 1950s, there was a change of the main use of computers: a change from mathematical calculations to data processing. Dozens of computer businesses — mainly in the United States — emerged. Most of them were eventually acquired by bigger office-machine firms. IBM developed several computer models during the 1950s and became the market leader. The low-cost Magnetic Drum Computer (IBM 650; 1953), for instance, was acquired by many institutions of higher learning. Other institutions of higher learning started to develop their own computers.

The first extensive, systematic use of an electronic computer for music-analytical purposes was described by the mathematician Frederick P. Brooks et al. in 1957. Brooks conducted an analysis-synthesis-project at the Computation Laboratory at Harvard University²⁷. For this project, high-order probabilities of 37 hymn tunes were calculated. Those probabilities were then used for the synthesis of new melodies, using Markov chains of orders one through eight. Even though this experiment was limited to (melodic) samples that were not structurally complex, this procedure “permitted the production of a significant number of acceptable tunes within a reasonable time.” (Ibid., 180)²⁸

While Brooks' experiment is rarely mentioned in the literature, the work of Lejaren A. Hiller and Leonard Isaacson has been extensively noted, specifically their work on the *Illiad Suite* (String Quartet No. 4) is mentioned in almost every textbook on electronic music.²⁹ The *Illiad Suite* was composed with the ILLIAC computer in 1956 at the University of Illinois. Even though the computer was, in this composition project, not used for analysis but for the generation and selection of random values in a type of stochastic modeling (known as the “Monte Carlo Method”)³⁰, Hiller's and Isaacson's importance for computer applications in music goes beyond composition. In their book (Hiller and Isaacson 1959), they suggest several computer applications to music analysis:

- statistical and information theoretical applications,
- analysis of musical similarity,
- pattern search,
- analysis of sounds and their physical constitution,
- optical music recognition,

and based on analytical results:

- realization of *continuo* and figured bass and to complete part writing,
- missing parts could be reproduced based on statistical style analysis,
- systematic generation of musical materials for teaching purposes.

(See *ibid.*, 165-170.) Most or all of these suggestions were launched during the late 1950s and early 1960. Their results have been described, for example, in Hiller 1962 and 1964.

Concluding Remarks

With the applications described above, the history of computer-assisted music analysis goes far back to applications of information theory to aesthetics, which provided the philosophical basis of statistical and mathematical music analysis, as well as to (practical) mathematical approaches to music analysis that were not completed with a computer. The approaches that did not use computers continue to this day. The first real computer-application was completed between 1955 and 1957 by a team around the mathematician Frederick P. Brooks. While Hiller and Isaacson used pre-determined “rules” for their *Illiad-Suite* from 1956, Brooks et al. derived the compositional rules automatically. As such, the project by Brooks et al. was the only completed project of

²⁷ Youngblood 1960 also mentioned an unpublished term paper from 1955 by F. P. Brooks, which lets assume that Brooks' project was already realized in 1955. The computer used was the Harvard MARK IV. See Youngblood 1960, 23, footnote 42. In addition, see Neumann and Schappert 1959.

²⁸ For sample melodies see *ibid.* Neumann and Schappert 1959, which contains the description of the project in German, also reprinted some of the melodies.

²⁹ Brooks' paper was not widely available, whereas Hiller's and Isaacson's book (1959) became available in almost every library.

³⁰ The Monte Carlo Method is a method of obtaining an approximate solution to a numerical problem by the use of random numbers. In music, this method was first applied to composition by Hiller and Isaacson (1959). Here, random sequences of integers were equated to notes, durations, dynamic values and playing techniques. These random integers were then screened by applying various rules and rejected or accepted, depending on the rules.

computer-assisted music analysis of the 1950s, and it was part of an analysis-synthesis-approach, i.e. the main purpose of analytical calculations was to compose. One need to keep in mind that computers were, at the time, rarely available for music research. However, the many statistical analysis projects that did not use computers as well as Hiller's and Isaacson's vision of future research on computer-assisted music analysis gave directions for more sophisticated computer-assisted music analysis of the 1960s.

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UDK 78.01 Adorno

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Adorno as Critics – Mozart, Wagner and Strauss in the Light of the Aesthetic Theory

Adorno kot kritik – Mozart, Wagner in Strauss v luči estetske teorije

Ključne besede: Theodor W. Adorno, glasbena kritika, filozofija glasbe, estetska teorija

Keywords: Theodor W. Adorno, Music Critique, Musical Philosophy, Aesthetic Theory

POVZETEK

Ni dvoma, da Adornovi kritične monografije in eseji o Wagnetju in Straussu, kakor tudi besedilo o Sibeliusu, sodijo med najbolj kontroverzno obravnavane dele njegovega dela. Pomemben razlog za kontroverzno recepcijo je dejstvo, da ti spisi kombinirajo filozofske in glasbene poglede. Za muzikologe tem besedilom manjka podrobna analitična perspektiva; za filozofske gledišče pa so njegovi pogledi preobremenjeni z glasbenimi pojavi. Namen predavanja je umestiti Adornovo glasbeno kritiko v kontekst njegove kritične estetike in filozofije, kakor je zbrana v njegovi Estetski teoriji. Pri tem bo govora o najpomembnejših kriterijih, ki se neposredno nanašajo na kritično perspektivo njegove misli in zadevajo jezik in kulturo v širšem smislu.

Članek ima štiri dele. V prvem bo govora o Adornovih idejah o umetnosti 20. stoletja v splošnem, saj ti teoretski pogledi tvorijo osnovo njegove misli o glasbi in glasbenikih. V drugem delu so v središču pozornosti Adornove zahteve do glasbene kritike. Tretji del pretresa Adornovo kritiko Wagnerja,

SUMMARY

There is no doubt, that Adorno's critical monographs and essays on Wagner and Strauss, as well as the text on Sibelius, number among the most controversially discussed parts of his oeuvre. One important reason for this controversial reception is the fact that these writings combine philosophical and musical views. As far as the musicologists are concerned, the texts lack a detailed analytical perspective; from the philosophical point of view on the other hand, the deliberations are too much dominated by musical phenomena. This text, which was written for a lecture held at the Musicology Department of the University of Ljubljana in April 2005, aims at placing Adorno's music criticism in the context of his critical aesthetics and in his musical philosophy respectively, which he summed up in his *Aesthetic Theory*. By doing so the most important criteria, which refer directly to the critical perspective of his thought concerning language and culture in general, shall be focused upon.

The article consists of four parts: The first part will focus on Adorno's ideas on 20th century art in

vporejajoč njegove poglede do Mozarta. Četrti in zadnji del predavanja prinaša podrobno analizo dveh Adomovih spisov o Richardu Straussu.

Poleg Adomove Estetske teorije so baza premisleka njegovi spisi o glasbeni kritiki, zlasti predavanje na Inštitutu za glasbeno kritiko in estetske raziskave na nekdanji Akademiji za glasbo v Grazu z naslovom »Refleksije o glasbeni kritiki« (1924 in 1964).

general, for these theoretical thoughts constitute the basis of his thoughts on music and musicians. In the second part, Adorno's demands of musical criticism are placed in the centre of interest. The third part discusses Adorno's critique of Wagner by comparing it to his views on Mozart. The fourth and last part provides a detailed analysis of Adorno's two essays on Richard Strauss.

Beside Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory* his writings on music criticism, in particular the paper held in 1967 at the Institute for Musical Criticism and Aesthetical Research of the former Music Academy in Graz entitled »Reflections on musical criticism«, his *Essay on Wagner* and his two papers on Richard Strauss written in 1924 and 1964 serve as textual basis for the following consideration.

I. Adorno's Notion of the Work of Art

Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory*, which he conceived over several years, remained unfinished and was not published during the author's lifetime. Nevertheless, it contains the sum of Adorno's thinking on art. Important aspects explained by Adorno in this work are also essential for his critical thinking on music. Thus it seems useful to also base a reading of his music criticism on this late text. By doing so it is also important to keep in mind that not only Adorno's theoretical thinking on art as a philosopher, but also his practical artistic experience as a composer influenced his thinking to a large extent. Another important characteristic of his critical reflexions is that they are based on his views on new music: "It is self-evident that nothing concerning art is self-evident anymore, not its inner life, not its relation to the world, not even its right to exist."¹ This statement marking the beginning of the *Aesthetic Theory* published in 1970 as part of Adorno's bequest provides an apt characteristic of the situation of contemporary composition even from today's viewpoint. "The forfeiture of what could be done spontaneously or unproblematically", Adorno wrote in the following, "has not been compensated for by the open infinitude of new possibilities that reflection confronts. In many regards, expansion appears as contraction. The sea of the formerly inconceivable, on which around 1910 revolutionary art movements set out, did not bestow the promised happiness of adventure. Instead, the process that was unleashed consumed the categories in the name of that for which it was undertaken."²

¹ Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, transl. by Robert Hullot-Kentor, Minneapolis 1997, 1. Cf. Theodor W. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, ed. by Gretel Adorno und Rolf Tiedemann, Frankfurt a. M. 1970 (Ges. Schr. 7), 9: „Zur Selbstverständlichkeit wurde, daß nichts, was die Kunst betrifft, mehr selbstverständlich ist, weder in ihr, noch in ihrem Verhältnis zum Ganzen, nicht einmal ihr Existenzrecht.“

² Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 1. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 9: „Die Einbuße an reflexionslos oder unproblematisch zu Tuendem wird nicht kompensiert durch die offene Unendlichkeit des möglich Gewordenen, der die Reflexion sich gegenüberstellt. Erweiterung zeigt in vielen Dimensionen sich als Schrumpfung. Das Meer des nie Geahnten, auf das die revolutionären Kunstbewegungen um 1910 sich hinauswagten, hat nicht das verheißene abenteuerliche Glück beschieden. Statt dessen hat der damals ausgelöste Prozeß die Kategorien angegriffen, in deren Namen er begonnen wurde.“

This passage not only addresses the problem of post-modern lack of orientation discussed nowadays which concerns both artists as well as recipients. By stressing the uncertain condition of art Adorno outlines a basic thought of his philosophy on art: the problematic relationship between an autonomous modern art and reality, the modern individual and society in total respectively: "For absolute freedom in art, always limited to a particular, comes into contradiction with the perennial unfreedom of the whole. In it the place of art became uncertain."³

Adorno characterised the relationship between reality and art as a dialectical relationship full of conflicts and tensions. Indissolubly linked to the world, art is at the same time bound to criticise the outward conditions. Adorno interprets the processes characterising the inner structure of the single work of art as a formal effect resulting from these tensions between art and reality:

*Their immanent processual character – the legal process that they undertake against the merely existing world that is external to them – is objective prior to their alliance with any party. All artworks, even the affirmative, are a priori polemical. [...] By emphatically separating themselves from the empirical world, their other, they bear witness that the world itself should be other than it is.*⁴

Since the beginnings of musical history the musical work was conceived as a dynamic work characterised by inner processes and motions, not as a fixed entity. Since the end of functional tonality in the beginning of the 20th century, however, the inner dynamics of the work of art increased continually. Further, the novel radicalism of the musical language, which took its departure from the Second Viennese School, was paralleled by a radicalization of the precarious relationship between art and reality. With respect to the historical condition of the world, in the 20th century critique has become an intellectual and ethical obligation. Therefore, from Adorno's point of view, to what extent a work of art denies any sort of affirmation becomes a basic criterion for measuring its truth content. Truth cannot be found by a certain method at a predictable place, but asks for complex aesthetical thinking. Always referring to social truth, artistic truth presents itself as an enigma:

*The truth content of artworks is the objective solution of the enigma posed by each and every one. By demanding its solution, the enigma points to its truth content. It can only be achieved by philosophical reflection. This alone is the justification of aesthetics.*⁵

Experience of art as thought of by Adorno disembogues nearly inevitably in philosophy. Capturing the truth content of a work of art, however, does not aim at fixing it conceptually. On the contrary, artistic cognition is to be considered as an open cognitional process completely different from conceptual thinking:

*The spiritualization of art approaches its enigmaticalness not directly through conceptual elucidation, but rather by concretizing its enigmaticalness. The solution of the enigma amounts to giving the reason for its insolubility, which is the gaze artworks direct at the viewer.*⁶

³ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 9. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 1: „Die absolute Freiheit in der Kunst, stets noch einem Partikularen, gerät in Widerspruch zum perennierenden Stande von Unfreiheit im Ganzen. In diesem ist der Ort der Kunst ungewiß geworden.“

⁴ Adorno *Aesthetic Theory*, 176f. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 264: „Objektiv aber ist der immanente Prozeßcharakter der Kunstwerke, schon ehe sie irgend Partei ergreifen, der Prozeß, den sie gegen das ihnen Auswendige, das bloß Bestehende, anstrengen. Alle Kunstwerke, auch die affirmativen, sind a priori polemisch. [...] Indem sie von der empirischen Welt, ihrem Anderen emphatisch sich trennen, bekunden sie, daß diese selbst anders werden soll.“

⁵ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 128f. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 193-194: „Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Kunstwerke ist die objektive Auflösung des Rätsels eines jeden einzelnen. Indem es die Lösung verlangt, verweist es auf den Wahrheitsgehalt. Der ist allein durch philosophische Reflexion zu gewinnen. Das, nichts anderes, rechtfertigt Ästhetik.“

⁶ Adorno *Aesthetic Theory*, 122. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 185: „Die Vergeistigung der Kunst nähert ihrem Rätselcharakter sich nicht durch begriffliche Erklärung unmittelbar, sondern indem sie den Rätselcharakter konkretisiert. Das Rätsel lösen ist soviel wie den Grund seiner Unlösbarkeit angeben: Der Blick mit dem die Kunstwerke den Betrachter anschauen.“

Works of art which are true are, according to Adorno, at the same time enigmatic questions and answers which, however, evade a conceptual definition. Therefore cognition of art is but a process, a careful approach, in Adorno's words "a solution of the enigma that at the same time maintains the enigma"⁷. This novel conception of the reception of art comprises a modification of the idea of understanding in general. Hence in the aesthetical experience the process of perception turns into the process of being perceived. In Adorno's theory of art the resistance of art against conceptual definition forms a basic condition of artistic truth. For it is exactly its enigmaticalness due to which art excels in comparison to conceptually fixed cognition: „The truth of discursive knowledge is unshrouded, and thus discursive knowledge does not have it; the knowledge that is art, has truth, but as something incommensurable with art."⁸ Only the experience of the indissolubly enigmatic character of truth, which constitutes a basic characteristic feature of artistic experience, discloses the way to a novel, different form of cognition:

Art becomes an enigma because it appears to have solved what is enigmatical in existence, while the enigma in the merely existing is forgotten as a result of its own overwhelming ossification. The more densely people have spun a categorical web around what is other than subjective spirit, the more fundamentally have they disaccustomed themselves to the wonder of that other and deceived themselves with a growing familiarity with what is foreign.⁹

Art cannot overcome the deficiency of conceptual cognition either. By means of its mimetic, non-violent language however, it discloses a new approach to the other, the objective, which cannot be understood by pure rationality and conceptual definition only.

Art corrects conceptual knowledge because, in complete isolation, it carries out what conceptual knowledge in vain awaits from the non-pictorial subject-object relation: that through a subjective act what is objective would be unveiled. [...] Through spiritualization, the radical domination of nature – its own – art corrects the domination of nature as the domination of an other.¹⁰

In the view of Adorno, art is always a form of behaviour. Therefore, it can be understood as a model for non-violent treatment of the other. Hence artistic experience includes the challenge of an encounter with the other, namely the strange and the unknown. Through the artistic experience the other can be perceived in a novel way. It is exactly this point which constitutes art's importance even in the present day. The novel behaviour which art advocates can also be described as a form of non-violent conciliation, as a careful approach of the non-identical. Adorno's idea of conciliation comprises the idea of a peaceful treatment of nature which is considered human rationality's counterpart. Through the artistic experience, free from the destructive idea of domination, human thinking frees itself from the compulsion of identification by means of identifying itself with the other.

In artworks, spirit is no longer the old enemy of nature: Assuaged, spirit reconciles. Art is no reconciliation in the classicistic sense: Reconciliation is the comportment of artworks by which they become conscious of the nonidentical. Spirit does not identify the nonidentical: It

⁷ Adorno *Aesthetic Theory*, 122. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 185.

⁸ Adorno *Aesthetic Theory*, 126. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 191: „Unverhüllt ist das Wahre der diskursiven Erkenntnis, aber dafür hat sie es nicht; die Erkenntnis, welche Kunst ist, hat es, aber als ein ihr Inkommensurables.“

⁹ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 126. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 191: „Kunst wird zum Rätsel, weil sie erscheint als hätte sie gelöst, was am Dasein Rätsel ist, während am bloß Seienden das Rätsel vergessen ward durch seine eigene, überwältigende Verhärtung. Je dichter die Menschen, was anders ist als der subjektive Geist, mit dem kategorialen Netz übersponnen haben, desto gründlicher haben sie das Staunen über jenes Andere sich abgewöhnt, mit steigender Vertrautheit ums Fremde sich betrogen.“

¹⁰ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 113. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 173: „Kunst berichtigt die begriffliche Erkenntnis, weil sie, abgespalten, vollbringt, was jene von der unbildlichen Subjekt-Objekt-Relation vergebens erwartet: daß durch subjektive Leistung ein Objektives sich enthüllt. [...] Durch Vergeistigung, radikale Naturbeherrschung, die ihrer selbst, korrigiert sie Naturbeherrschung als die des Anderen.“

*identifies with it. By pursuing its own identity with itself art assimilates itself with the nonidentical: This is the contemporary stage of development of art's mimetic essence.*¹¹

Adorno's conception of the process of artistic cognition comprises the idea of a novel form of cognition based on mimesis. One of its most important components is the active involvement of the recipient in the artistic processes.

II. Music Criticism

The above-mentioned central aspects of Adorno's philosophy of art are closely related to his views on music criticism. As far as the latter is concerned, one of Adorno's most important demands is the relevance to music: "If music criticism is intended to be more than feuilleton, orientation and business, it must be demanded, in a certain sense, by music itself, not only by the recipients".¹² According to Adorno, a criticism demanded by the music itself corresponds with the „neediness of the works of art“. This results from their dark, mysterious language which needs critical thinking and philosophy, respectively, in order to unfold its truth content:

*The importance of criticism for the works can be understood best by taking into account that history does not automatically illuminate the truth content of the works of art. On the contrary, the process through which truth and falsehood of a work of art are separated from the casual, historically determined predilection of the audience, is based on criticism, which is bound to provide substantial coherent views.*¹³

Therefore, according to Adorno, valid criticism is understood as a „media of the process unfolding the art“ engaged in the disclosure of the truth content of the works. Ultimately, mediation of the truth content is the goal of any sort of criticism: "Grasping truth content postulates critique. Nothing is grasped whose truth or untruth is not grasped, and this is the concern of critique."¹⁴ The goal of a relevant criticism taking the musical object, the musical work as its point of departure is to "illuminate the musical work" apart from sympathies and antipathies which are caused by chance. Relevance with respect to the truth content of art implies delving into the artistic object, according to Adorno. This process is, in Adorno's opinion, similar to the process of mimetic perception. He demands primarily the faculty to leave oneself to the motion of the work:

*Aesthetical objectivity is a process itself which only the one who is capable to understand the work as a field of force will be able to perceive. Thereto no landmarks are needed. The only necessary prerequisite is that sort of subjective experience which is normally suppressed through general norms.*¹⁵

¹¹ Adorno *Aesthetic Theory*, 134. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 202: „In den Kunstwerken ist der Geist nicht länger der alte Feind der Natur. Er säufigt sich zum Versöhnenden. Nicht bedeutet sie nach klassizistischem Rezept Versöhnung: diese ist ihre eigene Verhaltensweise, die des Nichtidentischen innewird. Der Geist identifiziert es nicht: er identifiziert sich damit. Dadurch daß Kunst ihrer eigenen Identität mit sich folgt, macht sie dem Nichtidentischen sich gleich: das ist die gegenwärtige Stufe ihres mimetischen Wesens.“

¹² Theodor W. Adorno, „Reflexionen über Musikkritik“, in: *Symposium für Musikkritik* (= Studien zur Wertungsforschung 1), ed. by Harald Kaufmann, Graz 1968, 8: „Soll Musikkritik mehr sein als feuilletonistischer oder orientierender Betrieb, so muß sie in gewissem Sinn von der Musik gefordert sein, nicht bloß von den Rezipierenden“.

¹³ Adorno, „Reflexionen über Musikkritik“, 8-9: „Man kann die Bedeutung der Kritik für die Entfaltung der Werke daran am besten sich klarmachen, daß nicht automatisch [...] die Geschichte dafür sorgt, daß der Wahrheitsgehalt der Werke sich herstelle, sondern daß der Prozeß, durch den Wahrheit und Unwahrheit der Kunstwerke der schlechten Zufälligkeit der Publikungsgunst und der geschichtlichen Vorlieben entrisen wird, seinen Ort hat in den Begründungszusammenhängen, welche die Kritik bietet.“

¹⁴ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 128. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 194: „Den Wahrheitsgehalt begreifen postuliert Kritik. Nichts ist begriffen, dessen Wahrheitsgehalt nicht begriffen wäre, und das ist das kritische Geschäft.“

¹⁵ Theodor W. Adorno, „Kriterien der Neuen Musik“, in: *Klangfiguren* (Ges. Schr. 16), ed. by Rolf Tiedemann, Frankfurt a. M. 1978, 174: „Ästhetische Objektivität selbst ist ein Prozeß und ihrer wird inne, wer das Werk als Kraftfeld begreift. Dazu bedarf es nicht irgendwelcher Orientierungspunkte, sondern des Einsatzes jener subjektiven Erfahrung, deren Ausschaltung durch generelle Normen die gängige Anschauung befiehlt.“

The crucial point as far as an adequate understanding of the object and the matter itself is concerned is the combination of experience on the one hand, and openness for the message of the work, the continuous readiness to learn something new, on the other hand. Thus, the most important task of the critic is “on the one hand to incorporate all he brings along with him into the present experience of the work; on the other at the same time to correct his former knowledge with the help of the new work; in other words, to achieve a transition from transcendent to immanent, specific critique”¹⁶. Adorno’s comment on Nietzsche’s critique of Wagner also demonstrates his idea of a necessary combination of immanent and transcendent critique. The problems caused by Nietzsche’s text result, according to Adorno, from the fact that Nietzsche

*though surpassing the things happening in Wagner’s music in a certain sense nevertheless was not completely capable of them; for his questions, which reached beyond the sense of the music in order to grasp its truth, did not penetrate the musical cells themselves. [...] Therefore, in some respects, Nietzsche’s superior criteria lack obligation.*¹⁷

Adorno opposes the danger inherent in any form of critique, namely to boil down to ideology, the specific truth of the work of art. Art’s specific quality is to be seen primary in the fact, “that its content traces the status of historically orientated philosophy, the contradictions of the situation respectively, down to the depth of the contradictions to be technically mastered and by representing the contradictions, perhaps already surpasses them.”¹⁸ Critique aiming at this kind of truth will not primarily try to find clear definitions, but discuss contradictions in order to approach the enigmatic questions formulated by the work of art. Adorno’s demand for a critical consciousness corresponds with his placement of art at the rim of society. From his point of view music criticism demands a critical ability of judgement based on the capacity of making oneself “resistant against any established criteria”. Adorno’s conception of criticism comprises critique of the musical language on the one hand: resembling the task of the artist, the critics’ task includes combat against void and empty musical phrases; on the other hand, music criticism reaches beyond music because technical questions and questions concerning the truth content must not be separated from each other. Adorno made unmistakably clear that “who is not critical in the sense that he wants the world to be different from what it is, is not good for criticism”. Music criticism in the sense of Adorno could be defined as a sort of behaviour which aims at doing justice to the nonidentical. This goal implies “a moral obligation to a maximum of differentiation”, the success of which is based to a large extent on the critics’ capacity of verbalization.

III. Wagner and Mozart

The requirements concerning music criticism which Adorno addressed in his theoretical writings also characterise his own critical writings on music. In this respect his essays on Wagner provide a lucid example. Adorno’s monograph is characterised by two divergent perspectives which are nevertheless related to each other: a critical view concerning the

¹⁶ Adorno, „Reflexionen über Musikkritik“, 10: „...das, was er schon heranbringt, einerseits in die Erfahrung der Werke hineinzunehmen, andererseits aber auch, es daran zu berichtigen, also von sich aus den Übergang von transzendenter in immanente, bestimmte Kritik zu leisten.“

¹⁷ Adorno, „Kriterien der Neuen Musik“, 192: „...dem, was bei Wagner geschieht, überlegen und doch nicht ganz gewachsen war, weil sie die Fragen, die über die bloße Erfahrung des Sinnes hinaus auf dessen Wahrheit selbst dringen, nicht in die kompositorischen Zellen selbst hineintrag. [...] Den souveränen Nietzscheschen Kriterien haftet ein Unverbindliches an.“

¹⁸ Adorno, „Kriterien der Neuen Musik“, 192: „... daß sein Sinn den geschichtsphilosophischen Stand, die Widersprüche der Situation bis in die Tiefe der je zu bemeisternden technischen Widersprüche hinein nennt und dadurch vielleicht schon übersteigt.“

technique of the composition and a critique of ideology. Though closely related to basic ideas of his philosophy, both perspectives nevertheless refer to the practical field of music: Adorno's concern is to base his personal ambivalent feelings towards Wagner's oeuvre, his „feeling of irritation“, in the ambivalence of the oeuvre itself; his goal is to justify his subjective experience when listening to Wagner's music by means of objective categories developed through an analysis of the music. In his monograph entitled *Versuch über Wagner*, written in London and New York in 1937/38, Adorno appreciates Wagner's innovations concerning composition techniques, stressing his important role for the development of New Music. On the other hand he vehemently calls into question the entire construction of Wagner's oeuvre, because it is untrue from his point of view. In the first part of the text a principal point of critique is already discussed from different perspectives: „Delight and death become one.“¹⁹ This statement makes clear what Adorno has in mind when talking of Wagner's falseness: it is the withdrawal of the revolutionary tendencies culminating in the affirmation of death which provokes Adorno's objection. From Adorno's point of view this tendency towards resignation, towards affirmation of reality resulting from weakness, also corresponds with Wagner's inclination to establish a consensus with the audience which characterises the large-scale rhetorical gestures of his music. This consensus however, is not based on „a conciliation aiming at living together, but on the shared acceptance of the inevitable fate dominating man's life“²⁰. Wagner's inclination to accept the destructive forces, the fatal end, according to Adorno, also influences the musical structure of Wagner's works which suffer from a lack of balance between expression and construction. Therefore Wagner's music also lacks liveliness. The positive counterpart which Adorno refers to several times is Mozart. In Mozart's music the gestures are not „repeated obsessively“, but are „expressive without mediation“. Wagner's „infinite melody“, on the contrary, does not unfold in a really free and copious manner, as the term suggests, but in comparison with Mozart Wagner's melodic invention is relatively poor. Despite this vehement criticism Adorno does not neglect the revolutionary traits by which Wagner distinguishes himself as a modern composer who even outdoes Mozart. Besides the innovative instrumentation, the „emancipation of the colour“, which anticipated techniques of New Music, Adorno stresses in particular the denial of all given categories, the lack of established systems, the nearness to musical prose and the dissolution of the material which characterise Wagner's works. The composer's treatment of contradictions however, which arise from these innovations and which are attributes of quality from Adorno's point of view, is again characterised by resignation, by a certain ideological position. In this respect Adorno talks of a „resignation of the music as far as time is concerned“. Ultimately, due to totality, which is the composer's final goal, the contradictions fall back to nothingness, immolated for the benefit of a false totality which neglects the individual and the nonidentical: „Wagner creates the ritual of a permanent catastrophe. His unbridled individuality condemns the individual as well as any individual order to death“²¹. In order to rescue the totality of the entire construction, the individual is given away. In this respect once again, Mozart provides the contrasting background for Adorno's argument: „Mozart's unity, by contrast“, is in Adorno's words „not characterised by identification, but by configuration“²². As a whole, Adorno's critique of Wagner

¹⁹ Theodor W. Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, in: Theodor W. Adorno, Ges. Schr. 13, ed. by Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann, Frankfurt a. M. 1971, 13: „Lust und Tod werden eins.“

²⁰ Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, 57-58: „... nicht die Versöhnung zu gemeinsamem Leben, sondern die tödliche Fügung, der beide gleichermaßen verfallen sind.“

²¹ Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, 114: „Wagner ersinnt das Ritual der permanenten Katastrophe. Sein losgelassener Individualismus spricht übers Individuum und dessen Ordnung das Todesurteil.“

²² Cf. Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, 99.

is a critique of the negative metaphysical content of his works, which Adorno characterised as follows: "The metaphysical principle of senselessness is presented as the sense of the senseless empirical reality."²³ Through its „gesture of becoming silent“ the music affirms the impending fate. By doing so, it renounces „the deep critique inherent to opera during the entire epoch characterised by the rise of the bourgeoisie, namely the critique of myth“²⁴. This point of critique can be illuminated again by a comparison of the Wagner-Essay with Adorno's ideas on Mozart. In his Mozart essay entitled „Huldigung an Zerlina“ Adorno wrote: Representing the ineffable Mozart's music anticipates "the utopian condition". Thus it becomes a "parable of history standing still". And again it is the musical experience which serves Adorno's thought as a point of departure: "In the postlude of Mozart's orchestra disunited mankind seems to be reconciled. Such reconciliation takes place in the name of freedom."²⁵ In „Versuch über Wagner“ however, Adorno writes: „Freedom has no place with Wagner.“²⁶ By glorifying death as inebriation, Wagner praised death as the highest good.

As central passages of Adorno's writings on Mozart and Wagner clearly demonstrate, Adorno's judgements are based on the same perspectives: The question to what extent the artistic conception is true is of central importance in both Adorno's Wagner-Essays and his texts on Mozart. Further, the idea of an emancipation of mankind, which from Adorno's point of view is inevitably linked with adequate artistic creation, is in the centre of interest. Hence, from Adorno's perspective, the promise of an emancipation of mankind never redeemed so far by reality is the still unresolved problem also passed on by tradition to contemporary art. Therefore his judgement of Wagner, which finally becomes a positive judgment, is based on his conviction that Wagner's music ultimately overcomes the negative ideology. In *Tristan* as well as *Parsifal*, according to Adorno's interpretation, the music expresses the sufferings of the individual. In this respect again the music's relationship with death is a basic point of Adorno's argument. The culmination of the catastrophe comprises at the same time the germ of a possible salvation, according to Adorno, for the sacrifice of individuality through death finally overcomes the cause of the individual's separation which makes life ultimately hopeless, as Adorno explained: "Dying in love also means accepting the limits of possession and property as far as the human being is concerned."²⁷

The point of view from which Adorno criticises historical compositions is that of new music in the tradition of the Schoenberg School. Due to a more radically historical perspective resulting from the traumatic experiences of the 20th century's historical catastrophes new music adopted a rough, inaccessible character. It shares a romantic longing with the 19th century, however, a strong inner impulse and the continually increasing grief resulting from the distance between reality and the ideal of reconciliation, which is nevertheless still binding. This ideal, which can also be described as a reconciliation of subjectivity and objectivity, was musically represented by the Viennese Classical Masters; Mozart is quoted by Adorno as a representative of this group.

²³ Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, 134: „Das metaphysische Prinzip der Sinnlosigkeit ist als Sinn des sinnlosen empirischen Daseins hypostasiert.“

²⁴ Cf. Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, 118.

²⁵ Adorno, „Huldigung an Zerlina“, in: Theodor W. Adorno, *Moments musicaux* (Ges. Schr. 17), ed. by Rolf Tiedemann, Frankfurt a. M. 1982, 35: „Im Nachspiel von Mozarts Orchester scheint die entzweite Menschheit selber versöhnt. Solche Versöhnung hat im Namen der Freiheit statt.“

²⁶ Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, 135: „Freiheit [...] hat bei Wagner keine Stätte.“

²⁷ Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, 143: „In der Liebe sterben: das heißt auch, der Grenze gewahr werden, die der Eigentumsordnung am Menschen selber gesetzt ist.“

IV. Richard Strauss

Adorno's judgement of Strauss can also be explained by means of confronting the texts with main ideas of Adorno's philosophy. The point of departure of Adorno's critique of Strauss and his first main point of critique is the observation of a certain attitude, a special sort of liberality, which Adorno interprets negatively as self-confidence which is too strong. This attitude comprises on the one hand "freedom from bigotry and prejudices in the sense of Nietzsche", on the other hand however, "recklessness, violence and superficiality". According to Adorno these features also characterise the musical gestures in Strauss' works. Though combining ethical and artistic criteria explicitly, Adorno nevertheless is not interested in the personal qualities of the composer Strauss. Comparing Strauss's attitude with that of an "idealised industrial magnate" he demonstrates that his ambivalent evaluation of Strauss results from his intention to combine music criticism with social criticism. Adorno criticises the increasingly dominating attitude of capitalistic society, destroying everything which resists its domination. This attitude corresponds with that of the composer who, like Strauss, dominates his material without any restriction. As a result of this attitude the music is characterised by a structural lack as far as the shape of details is concerned. Although this lack is balanced through a concentration on the macro form and on the large gestures of the music respectively, nevertheless an imbalance to the disadvantage of the individual detail remains. Adorno characterised this imbalance as "a lack of precision as far as the details are concerned which the composer accepts in full awareness in order to concentrate on totality". The imbalance between the totality of the work and its details resulting from the imbalance between the autonomy of the material and the creative dominance of the composer is the main point of Adorno's critique of Strauss. What Adorno is missing in Strauss's oeuvre is the balanced combination of construction and expression, through which, from his point of view, the work of art becomes an adequate paradigm of a successful balance between totality and its parts. Ultimately, the unrestricted domination of the technique of the composer induces a loss of expression:

*Proud of being able to master any problematic situation within the work, Strauss' technique gains complete independence from the object. This pride is paralleled by the solidification of what is conquered by the technique: the lively feeling of the soul.*²⁸

Due to his unrestricted dominating power the composer sacrifices, according to Adorno, the capacity of expression of the autonomous subject preserved by the autonomy of the details. A precise explanation of the ideal of expression which constitutes the background of Adorno's critique of Strauss is found in his *Aesthetic Theory*. Artistic expression, as understood by Adorno, is neither purely subjective speech, nor imaginary objectivity; it is a novel, mimetic form of expression foreshadowing a successful relationship between society and the individual.

*Through expression art closes itself off to being-for-another, which always threatens to engulf it, and becomes eloquent in itself: This is art's mimetic consummation. Its expression is the antithesis of expressing something.*²⁹

The composer's change of attitude, which Adorno noticed with Strauss, not only changes the expressive character of the music, but also its content: By "moving according to the mood

²⁸ Theodor W. Adorno, „Richard Strauss“, in: Theodor W. Adorno, *Klangfiguren*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann, Frankfurt a. M. 1978 (Ges. Schr. 16), 569: „Straussens Technik verselbständigt sich gegenüber der Sache. Ihr Stolz ist, jeglicher Situation innerhalb des Komponierten gewachsen zu sein. Parallel dazu geht die Vergegenständlichung dessen, was Technik in den Griff nimmt, der seelischen Regung.“

²⁹ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 112. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 171: „Durch den Ausdruck sperrt sich die Kunst dem Füreinandersein, das ihn so begierig verschlingt, und spricht an sich: das ist ihr mimetischer Vollzug. Ihr Ausdruck ist der Widerpart des etwas Ausdrückens. [...] Die neue Kunst bemüht sich um die Verwandlung der kommunikativen Sprache in eine mimetische.“

and the will of the composer", the music becomes the paradigm of a "merciless physiognomic power". Consequently, Strauss was the first to describe musically the separation of sex and soulful eroticism by representing Eros as nothing but pure lust, as Adorno noted with respect to *Salome*. Due to the specific quality of the detail the music of Strauss gains a semi-objective, dramatic impact, described by Adorno as follows: "The details are not expressive emotions of the composer, but of latent dramatic characters."³⁰ Whereas Strauss assembles heterogeneous elements which are combined in a stylish, balancing manner, Adorno's formal ideal aims at unity within heterogeneity. Its most characteristic feature would be non-violence, as he explained in his *Aesthetic Theory*:

*Reason, which in artworks effects unity even where it intends disintegration, achieves a certain guiltlessness by renouncing intervention in reality, real domination; yet even in the greatest works of aesthetic unity the echo of social violence is to be heard; [...] The aesthetic unity of the multiplicitous appears as though it had done no violence but had been chosen by the multiplicitous itself.*³¹

Adorno's critique of the composer's immoderate technical domination of the musical material suppressing subjective expression in favour of semi-objective representation is based again on social criticism. The critique of Strauss is at the same time a critique of a positivist attitude which was also a characteristic feature of bourgeois science in Strauss's time:

*Neither the anti-metaphysician Strauss unmasks metaphysics as ideology, as his mentor Nietzsche did, nor does the sound of Strauss's music comprise any sign of sadness referring to metaphysics' futility. His sounds busile in nothing but reality as multi-coloured shimmering fish in water.*³²

The attitude Adorno criticises in Strauss and his compositions is that of conformity. What seems to be a personal comment at first sight is once again intended to be critical of contemporary issues:

*In Strauss's attitude the well-behaved son survives who permits himself much, but not too much; his fearlessness, bravery thrives in a kind of security the foundations of which must not be shaken even mentally.*³³

This conformity resulting from a lack of strictness ultimately leads to an orientation towards the impact of the music. The goal of this attitude is to overwhelm the listener. By doing so the music adopts traits of "terror". The background of this argument is again Adorno's ideal of art which can be found in the *Aesthetic Theory*. From his point of view, true art is characterised by the power of standing, its delight is the delight of resistance including the "contradiction against the universal ware character". Adorno located "without any doubt" Strauss's affirmative position first in *Elektra*. This position demonstrates how little the common judgement - that Strauss was progressive until *Elektra* and became conservative after - corresponds with Adorno's differentiated criticism.

A second basic reproach results from the first one: the reproach of being untrue. As did the reproach of conformity, the reproach of untruth primarily refers to the form and the gesture of the music. Corresponding with the artistic tendencies of the epoch, Adorno locates in Strauss

³⁰ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), 569-570: „Nicht aber sind die Details, als Ausdrucksregungen, die des kompositorischen Subjekts, sondern solche latenter dramatis personae.“

³¹ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 134. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 202: „Indem die Vernunft, die den Kunstwerken noch, wo sie Zerfall meint, Einheit erwirkt, auf den Eingriff in die Wirklichkeit, auf reale Herrschaft verzichtet, gewinnt Vernunft etwas Schuldloses, obwohl noch den größten Produkten der ästhetischen Einheit das Echo der gesellschaftlichen Gewalt anzuhören ist; [...] Die ästhetische Einheit des Mannigfaltigen erscheint, als hätte sie diesem keine Gewalt angetan, sondern wäre aus dem Mannigfaltigen selbst entraten.“

³² Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), 575: „Weder jedoch verklagt der Antimetaphysiker, wie sein Mentor Nietzsche, Metaphysik als Ideologie, noch ist dem Strausssischen Ton auch nur die Spur des Leidens an ihrer Vergeblichkeit beigemischt. Seine Klänge tummeln sich im bloß Seienden wie buntschillernde Fische im Wasser.“

³³ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), 567: „Im Strausssischen Duktus überlebt der brave Sohn; viel gestattet er sich, aber nicht zuviel; seine Kühnheit gedeiht in einer Sekurität, deren Basis nicht einmal im Geist erschüttert werden darf.“

a tendency towards stylisation, which he interprets as an inclination towards disguise, ultimately as a lie. Strauss's music seems to be quasi "ethically obliged to make itself different, smarter than it really is". The untruth of the music as far as the style is concerned also influences the musical content, according to Adorno. This is made clear by the endings which Adorno characterised as problematic: "Strauss's forms remain unconfirmed." This specific quality demonstrates the contradiction between the content which is quasi quoted and the structural absence of the content.

According to Adorno the content of Strauss's music is its vitality, its liveliness. As the vitality was formed by the will of the composer, as it were by force, instead of emerging on its own, the music reflects the false liveliness of reality. The content's lack of substance is also a result of the fact that the objectivity of the music is a false one, because it is created willingly by the subject of the composer. Thus Strauss's works suffer from a lack of content which emerges as a lack of vitality described by Adorno as follows: "Strauss's music becomes limp as soon as the composer loosens the reins and takes confidence in its strength."³⁴ A similar critical interpretation of the content of Strauss's music can already be found in Adorno's first essay on Strauss. In 1924 he wrote: "The subject of his music is life."³⁵ The idea of life which Adorno found with Strauss is "life as the ultimate goal": "As the immanent life is the subject of Strauss's music, the bearer of his music is that man whose soul, having failed in the relationship to God, is satisfied in itself: the psychological 'I'."³⁶ Painting a lively picture of life by force, the composer deceives as far as the condition of reality and his own condition are concerned, which are less autonomous than the music shows them to be. Outlining a false picture of life – Adorno calls it "phantasmagorical" – Strauss gives away the chance to foreshadow a different, a true picture of vitality. The semblance of his art is not the appearance of the truth, but false semblance. The background of this argument is constituted by the explanations concerning the semblance of art Adorno summed up in his *Aesthetic Theory*, namely his ideal of truth as the semblance of the illusionless:

The seal of authentic artworks is that what they appear to be appears as if it could not be prevaricated, even though discursive judgement is unable to define it. If however it is indeed the truth, then along with the semblance truth abolishes the artwork. The definition of art is not fully encompassed by aesthetic semblance: Art has truth as the semblance of the illusionless. The experience of artworks has as its vanishing point the recognition that its truth content is not null.³⁷

How does Adorno finally confute these grave accusations? According to his dialectical way of thinking, which also characterises the reasoning of his *Aesthetic Theory* and his monograph on Wagner, Adorno interprets positively in his Strauss Essay exactly those points he criticised before, in order to turn the initially negative picture into a positive one. Whereas the negative points demonstrate clearly the social criticism the author aims at, the positive aspects demonstrate the important role of musical experience in Adorno's thought.

First, the novel way of objectivity, of outwardness is interpreted by Adorno as a form of protest against an inwardness which has become impossible. Already in 1924 Adorno defended Strauss against the reproach of superficiality:

³⁴ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), S. 595-396: „Straussens Musik erschläft, sobald er die Zügel lockert und ihr selbst vertraut.“

³⁵ Theodor W. Adorno, „Richard Strauss“, in: Theodor W. Adorno, *Musikalische Schriften V*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann and Klaus Schultz, Frankfurt a. M. 1984 (Ges. Schr. 18), 254: „Der Gegenstand seiner Musik ist das Leben.“

³⁶ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), S. 254: „Wie das immanente Leben der Gegenstand von Straussens Musik ist, so ist der Träger seiner Musik jener Mensch, dessen Seele, aus der Beziehung zu Gott entsunken, sich rein in sich genügt: das psychologische Ich.“

³⁷ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 132. Cf. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, 199: „Das Siegel der authentischen Kunstwerke ist, daß, was sie scheinen, so erscheint, daß es nicht gelogen sein kann, ohne daß doch das diskursive Urteil an seine Wahrheit heranreichte. Ist es aber die Wahrheit, dann hebt sie mit dem Schein das Kunstwerk auf. Die Bestimmung von Kunst durch den ästhetischen Schein ist unvollständig: Wahrheit hat Kunst als Schein des Scheinlosen. Die Erfahrung der Kunstwerke hat zum Fluchtpunkt, daß ihr Wahrheitsgehalt nicht nichtig sei.“

From the limitations of the nervously sensual an external appearance results that cannot be dismissed as superficiality [...]. The depth of his music is based on the fact that the music is superficial, that it hovers loosely on the surface of the world, instead of hunting in vain for an unreal inwardness and by doing so neglecting the fragmented rest of the outward reality.³⁸

Second, Adorno revises his judgement concerning the evaluation of the form. It is exactly the form which is unsuccessful which he considers as productive in a novel manner. Adorno considers one of Strauss's greatest merits that he adapted the term "sketch" for use in the field of music. Another aspect of the form which from Adorno's point of view contributes to Strauss's evaluation as a pioneer is that he realised the aleatorical principle in the field of tonal composition; ultimately, his oeuvre is characterised by destruction. In Adorno's words: "His idea of unity fulfilled itself through decay"³⁹. In this respect Adorno interprets newly the vivacity, the verve of Strauss's music, which he had interpreted as a sign of lacking substance before.

One would almost like to interpret Strauss's concerns about fluidity as a compensation for the fact that only fragments remain after the expiration of tonality's power of organising form. [...] as if the musical language no longer vouches for formal sense.⁴⁰

This aspect of Adorno's considerations too can already be found in the text written in 1924, where Adorno commented on the specific character of Strauss's endings: "Life questioned the form, opened it and refused it to end."⁴¹ Demonstrating the quality of Strauss's endings Adorno took the scene of the maids in *Elektra*, which he considers to be a prerequisite for the operas of Berg, as an example. The formal excellence which the composer proved here, demonstrates another attitude than the dominating one criticised before, namely a human attitude "expressed in a postlude of only a few bars through which the composer mourns over the maltreated maid by rounding the wildly fragmented scene through means of a futile epilogue; afterwards the line of the basses reaches the Elektra chord."⁴² In this music Strauss reaches a degree of freedom comparable to Mozart, according to Adorno. The lightness and ease of the music result from the loose bonds between the single sound occurrences. A prerequisite is the vivacity, the permanent fluidity of the music.

The processes of destruction and dissolution found in Strauss's works led to a novel quality of presence of mind in each single moment. Whereas the failed endings demonstrate the phantasmal appearance of the music, according to Adorno, the presence of mind characterises the successful beginnings. Strauss is, in Adorno's words, "the master of the first 250 bars", as the scene of the fortune teller in *Arabella* or the beginnings of *Salome* and *Elektra* prove. Following Adorno's interpretation, the quality of the moment is also made clear by the copious contradictions, as for instance with the chord of recognition in *Elektra* or in the third act of *Rosenkavalier* with the entrance of the marshal's wife: "Such moments musicaux are messages of a not yet existing future of the modernism of Strauss, which is not always avant-garde, as

³⁸ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 18), S. 256: „Aus der Begrenzung auf Nervisch-Sinnliches ergibt sich eine Äußerlichkeit, die nicht als Oberflächlichkeit abzutun ist. [...] die ganze Tiefe seiner Musik ruht darin, daß ihre Welt selbst ganz Oberfläche ist, daß sie auf der Oberfläche der Welt lose schwebt, anstatt in vergeblicher Jagd nach dem selbst ganz unwirklichen Innen den Rest einer wengleich fragmentarischen Wirklichkeit des Äußeren aus Händen zu lassen.“

³⁹ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), S. 588: „Seine Idee von Einheit realisierte sich im Zerfall.“

⁴⁰ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), S. 588: „Fast möchte man die Straussische Sorge ums Fließen als Kompensation dafür interpretieren, daß nach dem Erlöschen der formorganisierenden Kraft der Tonalität nur Fragmentarisches übrig ist. [...] wie wenn die Sprache der Musik keinen Sinnzusammenhang mehr verbürgte.“

⁴¹ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 18), S. 259: „Das Leben hat die Form fraglich gemacht, sie geöffnet und ihr das Ende verwehrt.“

⁴² Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), S. 589: „...mit der Strauss durch ein Nachspiel von wenigen Takten der mißhandelten Magd nachtrauert und mit dem flüchtigen Epilog die anscheinend wild zusammengestückte Szene rundet, eher der Gang der Bässe den Elektra-Akkord erreicht.“

far as the material is concerned."⁴³ Adorno himself stresses, as the quote shows that the future is not to be identified with material progress. He also stressed that „there is no direct link between the progressive sounds and the progressive ideas with Strauss”.

The domination of the music by the will of the composer constituted another critical point; the capacity of the music to rise above the omnipotent will of the composer is an important point concerning the rehabilitation of Strauss. Adorno observed this phenomenon in *Elektra*. From his point of view, the scene of Clytemnestra, which he considers to be the climax of Strauss's work, is characterised by “runaway music”.

Finally Adorno invalidates the grave reproach of untruth, the reproach of falseness. The illusionary appearance of the music resulting from simulated vivacity finally disguises itself. Thus, it turns into truth, as Adorno explained: “Spontaneity produced by technical means is Strauss's magic formula; the naivety however, through which he lets us see the act of illusion finally revoked, reconciliates.”⁴⁴ Throwing away its vivid appearance the music turns into a sign of vanity unmasking as impossible the vitality presented as autonomous before. Adorno wrote in 1924: “The transience of man in the permanent stream of time is Hofmannsthal's subject and Strauss's mystery.”⁴⁵

Adorno's evaluation of Strauss is based on the one hand on ideas which characterise his philosophy of music; on the other hand his considerations are determined by practical musical experience. His judgement is a differentiated discussion of different aspects of Strauss's music. Adorno's last word on Strauss, which resembles his judgement of Mozart and Wagner in this respect, results from a complex perception of the music. At the same time it can be interpreted as a hint for its reception comprising the question of solidarity with “metaphysics in the moment of its fall”. This key question characterising Adorno's culture criticism also constitutes the background for his critique of Strauss.

*Only he will understand Strauss who understands the murmuring beneath the noise which can be heard like an unarticulated question in the last bars of Don Juan: the music's truth content. Maybe only at the moment of death, can what is perhaps different from death be perceived: inextinguishable experience in decline.*⁴⁶

⁴³ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), S. 594: „Solche moments musicaux sind Botschaften einer immer noch ausstehenden Zukunft an die Straussische Moderne; dabei keineswegs stets dem Material nach avanciert.“

⁴⁴ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), S. 606: „Unwillkürliches als Produkt von Technik ist die Straussische Zauberformel; die Naivität aber, mit der er die Karten auf den Tisch legt und den Illusionsakt widerruft, versöhnt.“

⁴⁵ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 18), S. 261: „Die Vergänglichkeit des Menschen in der fließenden Zeit ist Hofmannsthals Thema und Straussens Geheimnis.“

⁴⁶ Adorno, „Richard Strauss“ (Ges. Schr. 16), S. 606: „Der jedoch erst verstünde Strauss, der das Gemurmel unterhalb des Rauschens verstünde, das unartikuliert fragend, in den letzten Takten des *Don Juan* vernehmbar wird, seinen Wahrheitsgehalt. Einzig in der Neige vielleicht schlägt sich nieder, was anders wäre als sterblich, unauslöschliche Erfahrung im Zerfall.“

UDK 050(497.4)

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Vse slovenske G(e)rlice

All »Slovene Turtledove« (Slovenske Gerlice)

Ključne besede: Slovenska gerlica, Gerlica, Grlica**Keywords:** Slovene Turtledove, Turtledove, Turtledove Review**POVZETEK**

Predmet obravnave so štiri glasbene zbirke s podobnimi naslovi: *Slovenska gerlica*, (Fleišmanova) *Gerlica*, (Kumarjeva) *Grlica* in revija *Grlica*. Naslov hoče objeti vse štiri zbirke, zato je nekoliko zapleten. - *Slovenske gerlice* je izšlo sedem zvezkov (1848, 1848, 1850, 1852, 1859, 1859, 1862). Tretji zvezek je uredil Gregor Rihar, morda tudi ostalih prvih šest. Peti in šesti zvezek sta celota s skupnim naslovom: *Venec slovenskih pesem dr. Fr. Prešern-a. Napevi od Kamillo Mašek-a*. Sedmi zvezek je uredil Jurij Fleišman. - Potem ko je izdal 7., zadnji zvezek *Slovenske gerlice*, je Jurij Fleišman leta 1864 izdal drugo zbirko v treh zvezkih z naslovom *Gerlica*, v kateri je naredil izbor napevov iz prvotne zbirke. Zdi se, da Fleišman ni imel namena izdati celotne pesmarice, saj je pobral uspešnice iz *Slovenske gerlice* in jih izdal kot *Gerlica*. Poleg tega so v tretjem zvezku pesmi iz 1. in 2. zvezka. - Proti koncu leta 1933 je Srečko Kumar v Zagrebu začel izdajati *Grlico* s podnaslovom *Revijalna zbirka omladinske muzike*,

SUMMARY

The subject under discussion deals with four music collections with similar titles: *Slovene Turtledove* (Slovenska gerlica), (Fleišman's) *Turtledove* (Gerlica), (Kumar's) *Turtledove* (Grlica) and the *Turtledove Review* (Grlica). Hence the rather complicated heading of the article. - The *Slovene Turtledove* was published in seven volumes (1848, 1848, 1850, 1852, 1859, 1859, 1862). The third was edited by Gregor Rihar, and so were presumably the other six volumes. The fifth and the sixth represent a whole under the title: *A Wreath of Slovene Poems by Dr. Fr. Prešeren. Tunes by Kamillo Mašek* (Venec slovenskih pesem dr. Fr. Prešern-a. Napevi od Kamillo Mašek-a). The seventh volume was edited by Jurij Fleišman. - After having issued the seventh, i.e. last volume of the *Slovene Turtledove*, in 1864 Jurij Fleišman published a second edition in three volumes under the title *Turtledove*, in which he made a selection of melodies from the former collection. Fleišman does not seem to have intended to publish the entire song-book, choosing only the »hits« from the *Slovene*

ki jo je sam urejal in izdajal. - Leta 1953 je začela izhajati revija *Grlica* s podnaslovom Revija za mladinsko zborovsko glasbo, ki jo je izdajal Aktiv ljubljanskih srednješolskih profesorjev glasbe, založila pa Mladinska knjiga. Z 9. letnikom se je *Grlica* iz Revije za mladinsko zborovsko glasbo prelevila v Revijo za glasbeno vzgojo, hkrati je odgovorno uredništvo prevzel Pavle Kalan. Sprememba je bila napovedana v uvodniku *Grlica* pred novimi nalogami, ki sta ga podpisala uredništvo in uprava. Sprememba ni bila toliko v glasbenih prilogah kot v knjižnem delu. *Grlica* je leta 1988 po 35 letih od ustanovitve, vendar v 28. letniku sklenila svoje izhajanje.

Turtledove, and issuing them as *Turtledove*. Apart from that, the third volume also contains songs from the first and second volume. - In Zagreb, towards the end of 1933, Srečko Kumar began editing and publishing a *Periodical collection of youth music* (Revijalna zbirka omladinske muzike), titled *Turtledove*. - In 1953, another *Turtledove* began to appear, this time with the subtitle Magazine for choral youth music, issued by the Work team of the Ljubljana secondary school music teachers, and published by Mladinska knjiga. In its ninth year of publication it was converted into a periodical for music education, with Pavle Kalan as editor. The changes were explained in an editorial under the heading *Turtledove* facing new tasks, and signed by the editorial and administrative boards. The musical supplements hardly altered in contrast to the changes in the textual sections. Nevertheless, in 1988, after 35 years since its founding, *Turtledove*, having reached its 28th volume, ceased to be published for good.

Predmet obravnave v tem članku so štiri glasbene zbirke s podobnimi naslovi: *Slovenska gerlica*,¹ (Flejšmanova) *Gerlica*, (Kumarjeva) *Grlica*² in revija *Grlica*.³ Naslov hoče objeti vse štiri zbirke, zato je nekoliko zapleten.

Ko je Anton Slomšek »na svetlo dal« *Drobtince za novo leto 1846*, je vsebino razdelil takole:

- A. Stare resnice v novi obleki.
- B. Prigodbe vesele in žalostne.
- C. Razgled za stare ino mlade.
- D. Prilike ino basni.
- E. Ogljedalo za šolo.
- F. Slovenska gerlica.

Na naslednji strani razdelka je dvostih, ki bo z večjimi ali manjšimi spremembami ostal vodilo naslednjim izdajam:

»Slovenska gerlica v domačim logi rahlo poje,

Povabi spevati vse brate ino sestre svoje.«

Razdelek Slovenska gerlica ima naslednje skupine:

- I. Pesme ljubeznive matere.
- II. Pesme za dobro voljo.
- III. Pesme za kratek čas.
- IV. Pesme za pobožnost. Zadnja v tej skupini je Slomškova *V nebesih sem doma*.

Slomšek je uredil le prva dva letnika *Drobtinc*, ker mu škofovska obremenitev ni dopuščala, da bi zbornik še naprej urejal. Nasledil ga je celjski opat Matija Vodušek. *Drobtinc* je izšlo 20

¹ Prim. J. Snoj, *Slovenska gerlica*, v: ES.

² Čeprav je Srečko Kumar izdajal svojo *Grlico* v Zagrebu, jo smemo uvrstiti med slovenske izdaje, saj so pri njej sodelovali številni slovenski skladatelji in glasbeni pisci. V *Grlici* so namreč izhajali članki in skladbe v slovenščini in hrvaščini.

³ Prim. J. Snoj, *Grlica*, v: ES.

letnikov. Ker so bili nekateri letniki dvojni, nosi 20. letnik letnico 1869. Od 1846 so izhajale v Gradcu, od leta 1863 pa v Mariboru z naslovom *Slovenske Drobntnice*. Vseh prvih 20 letnikov ima razdelek Slovenska gerlica. Leta 1887 jih je v Ljubljani obnovil Frančišek Lampe z naslovom *Drobntnice* in so izhajale do leta 1901, vendar brez Slovenske gerlice.⁴

1. Slovenska gerlica

Mesec dni po marčni revoluciji, aprila 1848, je bilo v Ljubljani ustanovljeno Slovensko društvo, ki je zlasti pod Bleiweisovim vodstvom poudarjalo uveljavljanje slovenščine v javnosti. To so skušali doseči z vrsto kulturnih prireditev (béseda), dramskimi predstavami, zbiranjem gradiva za slovar slovenskega jezika, organiziranjem skupine, ki je pripravljala slovenski prevod zakonov s področja civilnega in kazenskega prava, zavzemali so se za ustanovitev univerze v Ljubljani. Po zaslugi društva so poslovenili ulična imena v Ljubljani.⁵

Prva beseda je bila že 30. maja 1848. Poročilo v *Novicah* mdr. pravi: »Vsi spevi so obilno zbranim poslušavcem takó močno dopadli, de niso bili zadovoljni, jih le enkrat slišati; iz vsih strani je donélo 'še enkrat, še enkrat.' Resnica je pa tudi, da zala pevka, vsi pevci in govorniki so se tako slavno obnašali, de današnja beseda je bila gotovo nar prijetniši vsih letašnjih Ljubljanskih koncertov.« Poročilo pa sklene: »Ne moremo tega popisa dokončati, de bi se ne zahvalili gosp. Bučarju, ki si je za napravo prve slovenske besede toliko truda prizadjal; pohvaliti moramo pa tudi gosp. Mašeka, učenika Ljubljanske muzikalne šole, ki je le za klavir napravljene rečila pa v celo muziko prestavil in pa gosp. Fleišmana, ki s pravim veseljem in hvale vredno umetnostjo napev slovenskih pesem zлага. Tudi orkester se je dobro deržal.«⁶

Druga beseda je bila po treh tednih, 19. junija 1848. Med drugim Bleiweisove *Novice* poročajo: »Po tem je nastopil pevec Prešernove mične pesmi 'Pod oknam', ktero je gosp. Fleišman v kej prijetni napev zložil, ktero nam je gosp. Pevec tudi prav lepo zapel in poslušavcem globoko v srce segel [...] Bleško jezero, pesem zloženo od gosp. K. Hueberja in v muziko postavljeno od mladiga gosp. Mašeka, so gospodične v zboru prav prijetno dvakrat pele.«⁷

Novice iz 2. avgusta 1848 prinašajo *Razglas pomenkov in opravi slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani v odbornih sejab*. Številka 8 se glasi: »Se je sklenilo na svitlo dati vse doslej v gledišu pete slovenske pesmi, in se je izročila ta naloga posebnimu odboru.«⁸ Žal ne pove, kdo so odborniki bili. Glede na prejšnje poročilo bi lahko sklepali, da sta bila zanesljivo Mašek in Fleišman, morda pa tudi Bučar kot nujno tretji. Tako sta nastala oba prva zvezka *Slovenske gerlice*. Bila sta prav kmalu tiskana, kajti *Novice* z dne 4. oktobra 1848 prinašajo pod naslovom *Slovenske pesmi* naslednje sporočilo: »Iz zbirke slovenskih pesem, pod naslovom *Slovenska gerlica*, izdavana od slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani, sta ravno prva dva že davnej pričakovana zvezka na svitlo prišla, in se dobista, zvezek po 15 kr., v pisarnici slovenskiga društva in pri gosp. J. Blazniku na prodaj. Pervi zvezek obseže 11, drugi 10 v Ljubljanskim gledišu petih pesem; besede in note za petje in glasovir (klavir) so v prav ličnim tisku; zato bosta ta dva zvezka vsim prijatlam in prijaticam domačiga petja gotovo zlo dopadla.«⁹ Na občnem zboru 22. novembra 1848 pa je bilo povedano, da »prodajajo se zlo.«¹⁰

⁴ Prim. J. Šifrer, *Drobntnice*, v: ES. Pravzaprav ni jasno, zakaj se pesmarica imenuje po grlici, ki ni ptica pevka, saj ne poje, ampak gruli.

⁵ Prim. S. Granda, *Slovensko društvo*, v: ES.

⁶ Dr. Bleiweis, *Prva beseda Ljubljanskiga slovenskiga zhora v Ljubljanskim gledišu, 30. dan veliciga trama*, v: N 6 (1848), 96; prireditev je bila 30. maja in ne 30. aprila, kot nekateri pišejo.

⁷ *Druga beseda, napravljena od slovenskiga društva v Ljubljanskim gledišu 19. dan tega mesca*, v: N 6 (1848), 110, 116.

⁸ *Razglas pomenkov in opravi slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani v odbornih sejab*, v: N 6 (1848), 133.

⁹ *Slovenske pesmi*, v: N 6 (1848), 170.

¹⁰ *Velki zbor slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani 22. listopada*, v: N 6 (1848), 218: »Slov. pesem smo nabrali dva zvezka in ju pod naslovom: Slov. gerlica na svitlo dali na potroške društva. Prodajajo se zlo.«

Slovenske gerlice je izšlo sedem zvezkov. Iz naslednjega seznama razberemo naslov pesmi, zasedbo, avtorja skladbe in avtorja besedila.

[1.] *Slovenska gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem na svitlo dan od Slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani. Prvi zvezek.* [Ljubljana 1848]

Zvezek ima naslednje skladbe:		Skladatelji:	Pesnik:
1. Slovincov národna pesem / napev s kl.		Napev stari	B. Potočnik
2. Slovenski duh napev s kl.		Po národno slovanski pesmi	
3. Popotnik napev s kl.		–	J. Strela
4. Veselja dom napev s kl.		A. M. Slomšek	A. M. Slomšek
5. Dolenska napev s kl.		B. Potočnik	B. Potočnik
6. Pôd oknam napev s kl.		J. Fleišman	F. Prešeren
7. Moje jutro napev s kl.		J. Padovec	L. Vukotinovič
8. Moje drago napev s kl.		J. Padovec	L. Vukotinovič
9. Dolenska zdravica napev s kl.		Iz pesem krajnskiga naroda	
10. Zadovoljni Krajnc napev s kl.		Napev star [...]	V. Vodnik
11. Zvonikarjeva napev s kl.		B. Potočnik	B. Potočnik

[2.] *Slovenska gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem na svitlo dan od Slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani. Drugi zvezek.* [Ljubljana 1848]

1. Naprej napev s kl.	Napev ilirski	Jeriša (pr.)
2. Slovenca dom napev s kl.	Napev slovanski	A. Pirnat
3. Mornar napev s kl.	J. Fleišman	F. Prešeren
4. Slovenska deklica napev s kl.	Napev ilirski	Jeriša (pr.)
5. Planinar napev s kl.	B. Potočnik	B. Potočnik
6. Tri pesmice v eni napev s kl.	Napev ilirski	L. Vukotinovič
7. Bleško jezero napev s kl.	K. Mašek	K. Huber
8. Gorenska zdravica napev s kl.	Gorenska pesem	–
9. Pesem slovenskih [...] napev s kl.	J. Fleišman	F. Malavašič
10. Moj spominik napev s kl.	Napev star kranjski	V. Vodnik

1. in 2. zvezek sta leta 1852 doživela drugi natis, in sicer tako zvesto, da je pri cesarski himni še vedno omenjen cesar Ferdinand, čeprav je že 2. decembra 1848 prestol zasedel cesar Franc Jožef I.¹¹

[3.] *Slovenska gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem na svitlo dan od Slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani. Tretji zvezek.* [Ljubljana 1850]

1. Planinar napev s kl.	B. Potočnik	B. Potočnik
2. Dolenska a) razstavno s kl.	B. Potočnik	B. Potočnik
b) sestavno	B. Potočnik	B. Potočnik
3. Zvonikarjeva [sostavno] s kl.	B. Potočnik	B. Potočnik
4. Svarjenje [razstavno]	Krajnska národna pesem	
5. Stari Krajnc napev s kl.	J. Fleišman	Poženčan
6. Vse mine a) razstavno	Slovenska národna pesem	
b) sestavno	Slovenska narodna pesem	

¹¹ Prim. B. Wacha, *Habsburžani*. Ljubljana 1994, 388.

7. Strunam	sostavno s kl.	–	F. Prešeren
8. Spomin Val. Vodnika	a) razstavno s kl.	J. Fleišman	F. Prešeren
	b) sostavno	J. Fleišman	–
9. Sarafan	napev s kl.	–	–
10. Slavska reč	[sostavno]	Pisma [...] od Dragiča Rusana	

3. zvezek je izšel šele leta 1850, saj v Novicah beremo: »3. zvezek *Slovenske gerlice* (slovenskih pesem z napevi) od slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani na svitlo dajane, je prišel ravno zdej od slavniga gospoda Riharja v red djan na svitlo. Gosp. udje v Ljubljani so naprošeni, ga v pisarnici pri gosp. Brusu brez plačila sprejeti; gosp. udam po deželi se bo po pošti poslal. – Kdor ta zvezek kupiti želi, ga dobi pri gosp. Blazniku za 15 krajc.«¹²

[4.] *Slovenska gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem na svitlo dan od Slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani. Četerti zvezek. Natis iz kamnotiskarnice Jožefa Blaznika 1852.*

[1.] Zdravica	napev + 4–glas.	B. Ipavic	G. Križan
[2.] Slovo od lastovke	napev s kl.	Stara kranjska	V. Orožen
[3.] Milica	napev s kl.	Napev moravski	Fr. Cegnar
[4.] Vsakimu svoje!	napev s kl.	V. Lisinski	Fr. Cegnar
[5.] Veseli godec	napev s kl.	G. Rihar	J. Žemlja
[6.] Vojaška	napev s kl.	Napev češki [...]	Fr. Cegnar
[7.] Prevzetna	napev s kl.	Gorenska pesmica	–
[8.] Prediška	napev s kl.	Fr. Markiseti	Požnenčan
[9.] Zdravica	napev s kl.	B. Potočnik	B. Potočnik
[10.] Življenje	napev s kl.	G. Rihar	J. Uršič

Tudi za 4. zvezek vemo, kdaj je izšel. Poleg tega da je letnica pri tiskarju, leta 1852 v *Novicah* piše: »Četerti zvezek *Gerlice*, izdajane po slovenskim društvu v Ljubljani, je prišel na svetlo. Zapopade v ličnim natisu in zvezku deset pesm z napevi (vižami) za klavir, ktere bojo gotovo pevcam in pevkam prav všeč. Veličina 4. zvezka je kakor je bila prvih dveh zvezkov. Dobi se v gosp. Blaznikovi tiskarnici v Ljubljani za 15 krajc.«¹³ Za naklado ne vemo, vemo pa, da je leta 1853 Blaznik imel še vse štiri zvezke na zalogi: »*Slovenska gerlica*, to je, zbirka naj lepših slovenskih pesem, I., II., III. in IV. zvezik, se dobiva v založbi J. Blaznika v Ljubljani na bregu Nr. 190 po 15 krajc. zvezik.«¹⁴

Iz poročila zvemo, da je bil 3. zvezek »od slavniga gospoda Riharja v red djan«. Ne vemo pa, kdo je uredil 1., 2. in 4. zvezek. Rihar je bil edini človek, ki je v Ljubljani imel izkušnje z urejanjem pesmaric. Leta 1844 in 1845 je izdal oba zvezka *Viž za svete pesmi*, ki so bile po obsegu nekaj izjemnega že same na sebi, kaj šele v tedanjih okoliščinah. Pa tudi kot tiskarski podvig so *Viže* velikanski uspeh. Zato ga je lahko Slovensko društvo naprosilo, naj uredi prve zvezke *Slovenske gerlice*. Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da je možno, morda celo verjetno, da je Gregor Rihar uredil prve štiri zvezke zbirke.¹⁵ Tega mnenja je tudi Pavel Kozina.¹⁶

Gregor Rihar je šele v 4. zvezku objavil dve lastni skladbi: *Veseli godec* in *Življenje*, ki ga je Gregor Rihar ml. vključil med *Národne napeve*, ki jih je po skladateljevi smrti založila Jera Rihar.¹⁷ Zanimiv primer pa predstavlja skladba *Strunam* na Prešernovo besedilo, ki je izšla

¹² 3. zvezek *slovenske gerlice*, v: N 8 (1850), 124.

¹³ N 10 (1852), Oglasnik št. 33.

¹⁴ N 11 (1853), Oglasnik št. 21 (prva dva zvezka seveda v ponatisu).

¹⁵ Prim. E. Škulj, *Gregor Rihar (1796–1863)*, Ljubljana 2003, 71–76.

¹⁶ Prim. P. Kozina, *Gregor Riharjeva »Strunam«*, v: Z 2 (1926), 46–48.

¹⁷ V 7. zvezku je izšla še Riharjeva *Sarica*, ki je izšla leta 1854 v Vencu četeroglasnih pesem, ki ga je izdal skladatelj sam.

trikrat, in sicer prvič brez navedbe skladatelja v 3. zvezku *Slovenske gerlice*, ki ga je zanesljivo uredil Gregor Rihar, drugič v 5. zvezku med skladbami Kamila Maška, in sicer na prvem mestu, tretjič pa v 3. zvezku *Gerlice*, kjer je urednik Jurij Fleišman kot skladatelja navedel: »G. Richar.« V to vprašanje se je leta 1926 poglobil Pavel Kozina in izsledke objavil v Zborih.¹⁸ Žal, avtor ni ustrezno ugotovil izhajanja *Slovenske gerlice*, saj pri obeh izdajah poenostavlja naslov zbirke in vse zvezke imenuje kar *Gerlica*.

[5.] *Slovenska gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem dr. Fr. Prešern–a. Napevi od Kamillo Mašek–a. Peti zvezek. V Ljubljani 1859.*

1. Strúnam	4–gl. s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
2. Deklétam	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
3. a) Pod ôknam	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
b) Pod ôknam	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
4. Prôšnja	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
5. Kam?	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
6. Ukázi	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
7. K slovésu	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
8. Sila spominja	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern

[6.] *Slovenska gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem dr. Fr. Prešern–a. Napevi od Kamillo Mašek–a. Šesti zvezek. V Ljubljani 1859.*

9. Zgublĵena vera	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
10. Mornar	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
11. a) Soldáška	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
b) Soldáška	4–gl. moški zbor	Kamilo Mašek	France Prešern
12. V spominj Valentina [...]	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
13. V spominj Andréja [...]	napev in 4–gl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
14. Od želĵzne céste	dvospev	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
15. Zapušĵena	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern
16. Nezakónska máti	napev s kl.	Kamillo Mašek	France Prešern

5. in 6. zvezek sta zasnovana kot celota, zato se oštevilčenje 5. nadaljuje v 6. zvezku. Razen prve so vse skladbe tukaj prvič objavljene. Vprašanje pa je, kdaj so te skladbe nastale. Iz skladb samih bi težko prepoznali kakšno skladateljevo zorenje, zato je težko določati vrstni red nastajanja. Sicer pa, ker gredo skladbe po vrsti glede na vrstni red v Prešernovih *Poezijah*, bi lahko mislili, da so tudi v tem vrstnem redu nastale. Drugo vprašanje zadeva glasbeno obliko. Ali so to samospevi? Če hočemo odgovoriti na to vprašanje, se moramo vrniti v leto 1848 in imeti pred očmi vso zbirko *Slovenskih gerlic*. Iz poročil o izvajanju v besedah in iz namena, ki ga je imela *Slovenska gerlica*, bi težko sklepali, da so bile izvedene skladbe pravi samospevi. Res je, da je »zala pevka« sama zapela ob spremljavi klavirja, drugo skladbo pa so »gospodične v zboru« zapele. Verjetno gre bolj za enoglasne zборе s klavirjem, ki ga lahko zapoje en sam pevec, kot pa za prave samospewe. Tudi če pogledamo oba prva zvezka *Slovenske gerlice*, so vse skladbe napev s klavirjem ali morda celo klavirske skladbe s podloženim besedilom.

5. in 6. zvezek *Slovenske gerlice* nosita sicer letnico 1859, vendar tega leta nista izšla, saj v *Novicah* na začetku leta 1860 beremo: »Zornica nam je bila obljubljená, ravno tako 5. zvezek

¹⁸ Prim. P. Kozina, *Gregor Ribarjeva -Strúnam-*, v: Z. 2 (1926), 46–48.

Slovenske gerlice, pa ne una ne ta se ni zgodila.¹⁹ Pač pa sta izšla leta 1860. Spet v *Novicah* beremo: »Slovenska Gerlica; 5. zvezek. Pesmi Prešernove, napevi Mašekovi. Pesnik in skladatelj počivata v hladnem grobu, njune kosti trohniijo pod grudo, oba spita večno spanje v črni zemlji do sodnega dne; ali njuni umotvori živijo med nami, razveseljujejo nam serca, budijo nas k delavnosti in vabijo k posnemanju. Težko smo pričakovali Gerlice, prišla je in prinesla nam zraven medu dosti pelina, opomnivša nas: ni ga več, ki me je poslal k vam! Slovenska Gerlica; 6. zvezek. (Kakor pri 5. zvezku).²⁰

Kdo je uredil 5. in 6. zvezek *Slovenske gerlice*? Kamilo Mašek je umrl 29. junija 1859 v Stainzu na Štajerskem, kamor je odšel na zdravljenje že 19. maja.²¹ Potemtakem svoje zbirke sploh ni videl tiskane. Še bolj pomembno pa je, da ni opravil korektur, ker je tiskarskih napak kar precej, in to očitnih.²²

[7.] *Slovenska gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem na svitlo dan od Slovenskiga društva v Ljubljani. Sedmi zvezek. Natis iz kamnotiskarnice Jožefa Blaznika. [1862]*

[1.] Burdnica	moški zb.	
[2.] Savica	moški zb.	Dr L. Toman-a / Nap. G. Riharja
[3.] Samče	mešani zb.	
[4.] Prostost	2-spev s kl.	Dr L. Toman-a / Nap. J. Fleišman-a
[5.] Na razhodu	2-spev s kl.	Bes. Dr L. Toman-a / Napev J. Goršič-a
[6.] September	napev s kl.	Besede Vilher-ja / Nap. J. Fleišman-a
[7.] Studenček	moški zb.	Besede Obalo / Nap. J. Fleišman-a
[8.] Ločenje	2-spev s kl.	Posl. Ant. Leban
[9.] Delapust	napev s kl.	Besede Praprotnik-a / Nap. J. Fleišman-a
[10.] Sanjač	2-spev s kl.	J. Hašnik-a
[11.] Gorska	2-spev s kl.	Narodna

IZ KRATKE NOTICE V NOVICAH ZVEMO: »Slovenska gerlica, 7. zvezek, sestavlil Juri Fleišman.«²³

2. Fleišmanova Gerlica

Potem ko je izdal 7., zadnji zvezek *Slovenske gerlice*, je Jurij Fleišman²⁴ leta 1864 izdal drugo zbirko v treh zvezkih z naslovom *Gerlica*, v kateri je naredil izbor napevov iz prvotne zbirke. V *Novicah* namreč beremo: »Slovenska Gerlica; pomnožena nova izdaja. Trije zvezki; vredil Juri Fleišman. Gerlice imamo do zdaj sedem zvezkov.«²⁵

Zvezki so imeli naslednjo vsebino:

¹⁹ A. K. Cestnikov, *Slovensko slovstvo v letu 1859*, v: N 18 (1860), 5.

²⁰ A. K. Cestnikov, *Slovensko slovstvo v letu 1860*, v: N 19 (1861), 22.

²¹ Prim. J. Mantuani, *Mašek Kamilo*, v: SBL II, Ljubljana 1933–1952, 69.

²² Prim. E. Škulj, *Kamilo Mašek in France Prešeren*, v: Maškov zbornik, Ljubljana 2002, 123–134.

²³ A. K. Cestnikov, *Slovensko slovstvo v letu 1862*, v: N 21 (1863), 20.

²⁴ Jurij Fleišman (Beričevo, 18. 4. 1818 – Ljubljana, 23. 5. 1874) je bil po poklicu učitelj, v glasbi pa samouk z razmeroma preprosto kompozicijsko tehniko. Bil je ključna skladateljska osebnost v dobi nacionalnega navdušenja, ki ga je spodbudila marčna revolucija. Njegove skladbe so večinoma izšle v zbirkah *Šolarske pesmi* (1860), *Mične slovenske zdravice I–IV* (1860–1863), *Slovenska beseda I–III* (1864), pa tudi v več zvezkih *Slovenske gerlice* (1848–1862). Kot zgodnji romantik se je opiral na klasicistične vzore. Zaradi prikupne melodike in ljudske občutenosti so mnoge njegove pesmi splošno priljubljene (*Luna sije*) (prim. A. Rijavec, *Flejšman [flajšman], Jurij*, v: ES).

²⁵ A. Kos, *Pregled slovenskega slovstva v letu 1864*, v: N 23 (1865), 12.

[1.] *Gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem. Vredil J. Fleišman. I. zvezek. Nova izdaja. Cena 50 krc. Založil in natisnil Jožef Blaznik v Ljubljani. [1864]*

[1.] Cesarska pesem	mešani zb.	
[2.] Slovenski duh	mešani zb.	Národna pesem
[3.] Popotnik	napev s kl.	Besede J. Strellove / Napev stari
[4.] Veselja dom	napev s kl.	Besede in napev A. M. Slomšeka
[5.] Dolenska	2–spev s kl.	Besede in napev B. Potočnika
[6.] Pod ôknam	moški zb.	Besede D ^{or} Prešernove / Napev J. Fleišmanov
[7.] Moje jutro	napev s kl.	Besede Ljud. Vukotinoviča / Napev J. Padovcov
[8.] Moje drago	napev s kl.	Besede Ljud. Vukotinoviča / Napev J. Padovcov
[9.] Dolenska zdravica	2–spev s kl.	Iz pesem krajskiga naroda
[10.] Zadovoljni Krajnc	napev s kl.	Besede V. Vodnikove / Napev stari krajski
[11.] Zvonikarjeva	moški zb.	Besede in napev B. Potočnika
[12.] Občutki	napev s kl.	Besede D ^{or} L. Toman–a / Napev Josipine Turnogradske Toman–ove
[13.] Na jezeru	moški zb.	Besede in napev M. Vilharja

[2.] *Gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem. Vredil J. Fleišman. II. zvezek. Nova izdaja. Cena 50 krc. Založil in natisnil Jožef Blaznik v Ljubljani. [1864]*

[1.] Naprej	napev s kl.	Narodna
[2.] Slovenca dom	napev s kl.	Besede A. Pirnata / Napev slovanski
[3.] Mornár	napev s kl.	Besede D ^{ra} Prešerna / Napev J. Fleišmana
[4.] Slovenska deklica	napev s kl.	Narodna
[5.] Planinar	napev s kl.	Besede in napev Blaža Potočnika
[6.] Tri pesmi v eni	napev s kl.	Besede Vukotinoviča / Napev ilirski
[7.] Bleško jezero	napev s kl.	Besede K. Huberja / Napev Kam. Mašeka
[8.] Zdravica	napev s kl.	Narodna
[9.] Pesem stražnikov	napev s kl.	Besede F. Malavašiča / Napev J. Fleišmana
[10.] Moj spominik	napev s kl.	Besede V. Vodnika / Napev krajski
[11.] Ljubezin domovine	napev s kl.	Besede B. Potočnika
[12.] Lahko noč	moški zb.	Besede Malavašiča / Napev Kam. Mašeka

[3.] *Gerlica. Venec slovenskih pesem. Vredil J. Fleišman. III. zvezek. Nova izdaja. Cena 50 krc. Založil in natisnil Jožef Blaznik v Ljubljani. [1864]*

[1.] Planinar	napev s kl.	Besede in napev B. Potočnika
[2.] Dolenska	mešani zb.	Besede in napev Blaža Potočnika
[3.] Zvonikarjeva	napev s kl.	Besede in napev B. Potočnika
[4.] Stvarjenje	mešani zb.	Narodna pesem
[5.] Stari Krajnc	napev s kl.	Besede Poženčana / Napev J. Fleišman–a
[6.] Vse mine	mešani zb.	Narodna pesem
[7.] Strunam	moški zb.	Besede D ^f Prešerna / Napev G. Richarja
[8.] Spomin Vodnika	mešani zb.	Besede D ^f Prešerna / Napev J. Fleišman–a
[9.] Sarafan	napev s kl.	Slovanska n[arodna]
[10.] Slovanska reč	moški zb.	Slovanska narodna
[11.] Zvečirna	moški zb.	J. Fleišman–a

Zdi se, da Fleišman ni imel namena izdati celotne pesmarice, saj je pobral uspešnice iz *Slovenske gerlice* in jih izdal kot *Gerlica*. Poleg tega so v tretjem zvezku pesmi iz 1. in 2. zvezka. To bi nakazovalo na dejstvo, da vsi trije zvezki le niso izšli sočasno, čeprav vsi v teku leta 1864.

3. Kumarjeva Grlica

Proti koncu leta 1933 je Srečko Kumar²⁶ v Zagrebu začel izdajati *Grlico* s podnaslovom *Revijalna zbirka omladinske muzike*, ki jo je sam urejal in izdajal. Proti koncu *Uvodne besede* opiše svoj načrt: »Sklenil sem zbrati snov, ki odgovarja v prvi vrsti umetniškimi principom in jo porazdeliti tako, da jo izdam v desetih zaporednih mesečnih zvezkih. Vsak zvezek bo imel 24 tiskanih notnih strani in bo sestavljen tako, da ga mladinski zbori – katerim je namenjen – lahko uporabijo v celoti kot program enega šolskega koncerta. Ako se ena ali druga pesem izpusti, bo program še vedno dovolj obširen. V poznejših zvezkih podam navodila, kako se dajo programi kombinirati iz snovi različnih zvezkov. Vsak zvezek bo imel književno prilogo na ca. 8 straneh z estetskopedagoškimi članki, razpravami, vprašanji, biografijami, poročili. Ob koncu leta se bodo dali deseteri zvezki povezati v knjigo: priloge skupaj, note skupaj in tako bo zbirka podala verno sliko mladinske glasbene literature ene cele dobe.«²⁷

Iz kratkih notic na platnicah zvedo, da je prvi zvezek izšel decembra 1933 in da »drugi zvezek izide ob božiču«. Zvezki imajo naslednje oznake: I (1933–1934), II (1933–1934), III (1933–1934), IV (1933–1934), V (1933–1934), VI–VII (1934–1935), VIII–IX–X (1934–1935). Med pisci so: Adamič E., Družovič H., Grbec I., Sancin M.; med skladatelji pa: Adamič E., Bravničar M., Grbec I., Kogoj M., Luzevič F., Osterc S.²⁸ Na koncu desetega zvezka je Kumar v *Listinici uredništva* poročal: »S pričujočim desetim zvezkom je revijalna zbirka mladinskih zborov zaključena. S tem smo izpolnili našim naročnikom dano obvezo. Da se je mogel ta cilj doseči, gre v prvi vrsti hvaležnost našim sodelavnikom za tako veliko število poslanih pesmi; nadalje dobri volji in potrpežljivosti naročnikov, vključno z nekaterimi zvezki; za nagrado za to smo književno prilogo povečali za nekoliko strani.«

4. Revija Grlica

Leta 1953 je začela izhajati revija *Grlica* s podnaslovom *Revija za mladinsko zborovsko glasbo*, ki jo je izdajal Aktiv ljubljanskih srednješolskih profesorjev glasbe, založila pa Mladinska knjiga. Uredniški odbor so sestavljali Radovan Gobec (odgovorni urednik), Pavle Kalan, Janez Kuhar, Slavko Mihelčič in Ciril Pregelj. Uvodnik z naslovom *Naš delovni načrt* se najprej navezuje na Kumarjevo *Grlico*: »Odkar je prenehala izhajati zadnja mladinska glasbena revija (Srečko Kumar: *Grlica*), bo kmalu minilo 20 let. V tem času se je spremenilo marsikaj. Hvaležni smo sicer uredniku Srečku Kumarju in njegovi edinstveni zbirki, ki je postavila [slovensko] mladinsko zborovsko glasbo na evropsko višino in skrbela mladinske zборе s tolikšnim bogastvom, da ga ne bodo izčrpali še nekaj desetletij; vendar pa je treba vzeti v poštev dejstvo,

²⁶ Srečko Kumar (Kojško, 1. 4. 1888 – Portorož, 9. 2. 1954), glasbeni pedagog in zborovodja. Leta 1913 je diplomiral iz klavirja na konservatoriju Tartini v Trstu in se izpopolnjeval v Leipzigu. Obetajočo pianistično kariero je kmalu zamenjal s pedagoškim in narodnoobrambnim prosvetnim delom. V Trstu je ustanovil in vodil pevski zbor Učiteljske zveze Julijske krajine (1921–1926), v Ljubljani pa Učiteljski pevski zbor (1925–1934). Deloval je tudi v Zagrebu (1927–1936) kot profesor na GA in Glasbeni šoli Lisinski ter zborovodja pevskega zbora Kolo. V Beogradu je bil (1936–1945) učitelj na raznih glasbenih šolah, po vojni pa na rodnem Goriškem (1945–1947) in Koprskem, kjer je postavil temelje glasbenega šolstva. Po vrsti zborovodskih in glasbenih tečajev je ustanovil glasbeno šolo v Portorožu (1948), iz katere se je razvil Center za glasbeno vzgojo v Kopru (prim. M. Studen, *Kumar, Srečko*, v: ES).

²⁷ *Grlica* je imela tekoče oštevilčene strani, in sicer skladbe z arabskimi, članke pa z rimskimi številkami.

²⁸ Prim. E. Škulj, *Kazalo slovenskih glasbenih revij*, v: NZ 44 (1992), št. 6, 122–123.

da je vojna vihra uničila v Sloveniji skoraj vse izvode stare Grlice in da je poleg tega dorasel mlajši rod zborovodij, ki stoje skoraj praznih rok ob svojih zborih.²⁹ Po tej navezi na predvojno Grlico uredniški odbor ugotavlja naslednja dejstva: »Nov čas je utrdil novo miselnost, ki terja od nas novih, sodobnih in naprednih proizvodov umetnosti. Na drugi strani pa so se sprostile vse ukaželjne in glasbene kulture žejne sile ljudstva in našle izraza osnovanju nešteti novih glasbenih šol in zborov, ki so nas našli nepripravljene tako v pogledu strokovnega kadra, pedagoške doraslosti, zadostne kvantitete in kvalitete muzikalij itd.«

Z 9. letnikom se je *Grlica* iz Revije za mladinsko zborovsko glasbo prelevila v Revijo za glasbeno vzgojo, hkrati je odgovorno uredništvo prevzel Pavle Kalan. Sprememba je bila npovedana v uvodniku *Grlica* pred novimi nalogami, ki sta ga podpisala uredništvo in uprava. Sprememba ni bila toliko v glasbenih prilogah kot v knjižnem delu. Mdr. piše: »Razen člankov o vprašanih glasbene vzgoje in primerov glasbenih učnih ur bomo letos objavili tudi druge zanimive in za slehernega glasbenega pedagoga koristne članke.«³⁰

Z 12. (1967/68) letnikom je prevzel uredništvo Jakob Jež in ga obdržal do konca izhajanja revije. Kot profesor na Glasbenem oddelku nekdanje Pedagoške akademije v Ljubljani si je Jakob Jež do konca te ustanove prizadeval za izboljšanje položaja glasbene vzgoje. Mnogim glasbenim učiteljem je bila *Grlica* edini pripomoček, iz katerega so črpali nove ideje za svoje pedagoškoustvarjalno delo. Uredništvo *Grlice* je znalo tenkočutno prisluhniti vprašanjem glasbene vzgoje, s svojim delovanjem skrbelo za primerno gradivo ter hkrati skušalo zapolniti vrzeli, ki so nastajale kot posledica odnosa širše družbene skupnosti do tega področja.

Pod Ježevim uredništvom je *Grlica* objavila številne kakovostne članke. V rednih rubrikah knjižne priloge je *Grlica* vplivala na kakovost glasbenopedagoškega dela.

1) Rubrika V razredu je prinesla primere vzornih nastopov v razredu, vzorce dobro zasnovanih učnovzgojnih priprav na pouk, prispevke o skupinski improvizaciji, glasbenih pravljičah, predšolski glasbeni vzgoji, prispevke o metodičnih vprašanih instrumentalnega pouka v glasbenih šolah.

2) V rubriki Kako je z glasbeno vzgojo drugod, so bili objavljeni pogovori s priznanimi tujimi glasbenimi strokovnjaki, prevodi prispevkov iz tujih glasbenih revij in poročila naših pedagogov z obiskov v tujini.

3) V rubriki Naš razgovor oz. Predstavljamo vam je *Grlica* odprla pogled smerem in oblikam glasbenega delovanja: vsem področjem glasbene vzgoje od vzgojnovarstvenih ustanov do visokih strokovnih glasbenih šol; tu so pogovori z uspešnimi glasbenimi pedagogi, glasbenimi ustvarjalci in poustvarjalci (dirigenti, zborovodje), glasbenimi založniki, informacije o glasbenih knjižnicah, elektronskem studiu v Beogradu, Orffovem institutu v Salzburgu, o glasbenoorganizacijskem delu, glasbenih festivalih ipd.

4) V rubrikah Zapisi, Vtisi, Ocene oz. Vesti in prikazi so zbrana poročila o delovanju pevskih zborov, zborovodskih seminarjih, republiških revijah pevskih zborov v Zagorju, o Mladinskem pevskem festivalu v Celju, o Zagrebškem bienalu, o republiških revijah in tekmovalnih učencev in študentov glasbe itd.

5) V rubriki Izšlo je *Grlica* seznanjala bralce z novimi izdajami knjig in priročnikov z glasbenega področja, plošč in notnega gradiva.

Notni del *Grlice* vsebuje skladbe, namenjene šolskim zborom. Veliko število skladb je nastalo prav na pobudo *Grlice* in so jih prispevali slovenski skladatelji od najstarejše do najmlajše skladateljske generacije. Izstopajo zlasti tematsko zaokrožene številke, ki izpričujejo skrb za kakovostno in zanimivo glasbeno literaturo: zbirka 63 kánonov (12, 1968, št. 3) s

²⁹ *Naš delovni načrt*, v: *Grlica* 1 (1953/54), 1; uvodnik je podpisal Uredniški odbor, vendar je napisan v prvi osebi ednine (-mislím-).

³⁰ *Grlica pred novimi nalogami*, v: *Grlica* 9 (1963), 1.

pretežno novimi deli 25 slovenskih avtorjev in zbirka skladb za mladinski zbor v tehniki *ostinata* (15, 1972/73, št. 3–4). *Dragocena je tudi izdaja Kogojevih pesmi za mladino* (16, 1973/74, št. 3–5) s tehtno uvodno razpravo *Po stopinjab časa* in z uredniškim poročilom Boruta Loparnika. Korenit premik v načinu skladanja za mladino kaže prva v *Grlici* objavljena novotarska kompozicija *Vožnja* Lojzeta Lebiča (17, 1974/75, št. 1–2). Temu je kmalu sledila sklenjena številka sicer ne izrazito korenitih, pa vendar svežih, preprostih in netradicionalno naravnanih 38 skladbic s spremljavo glasbil z naslovom *Pojem–plešem* Jakoba Ježa (18, 1975/76, št. 1–2).

Grlica je leta 1988 po 35 letih od ustanovitve, vendar v 28. letniku³¹ sklenila svoje izhajanje. Na koncu preglednega članka, iz katerega so vzeti zgornji podatki, se Darja Freljih sprašuje: »Grlica je izgubila svoje gnezdo. Bodo njeni mladiči še kdaj radostno poleteli v svet?»³²

Če je slovensko glasbeno založništvo v 156 letih zmoglo kar štiri Grlice, zakaj ne bi v bližnji prihodnosti zmoglo še pete? Ali šeste?

³¹ *Grlica* je izhajala 35 let, vendar ima zaradi preskokov le 28 letnikov: 1 (1953/54), 2 (1955/56), 3 (1957), 4 (1958), 5 (1959), 6 (1960), 7 (1961), 8 (1962), 9 (1963), 10 (1964/65), 11 (1966), 12 (1967/68), 13 (1969/70), 14 (1971/72), 15 (1972/73), 16 (1973/74), 17 (1974/75), 18 (1975/76), 19 (1976/77), 20 (1978), 21 (1979), 22 (1980), 23 (1981), 24 (1982), 25 (1983), 26 (1984/85), 27 (1985/86), 28 (1987/88). Nekaj časa je izhajala po koledarskem, nato po šolskem letu. Tako je nastal zamik sedmih let.

³² Prim. D. Freljih, *Grlica do današnjega dne*, v: *Grlica* 28 (1987/88), 122–123.

UDK 782(497.4 Ljubljana)

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Struktura repertoarja glasbeno-gledaliških del novega Deželnega gledališča (1892-1903)

The Structure of the Musical Theatre Repertoire in the New Regional Theatre (1892-1903)

Ključne besede: Deželno gledališče, Nemško gledališče, Slovensko gledališče, operne premiere

Keywords: Regional theatre, German theatre, Slovene theatre, opera premieres

POVZETEK

Otvoritev nove stavbe Deželnega gledališča, ki je luč sveta ugledala v začetku sezone 1892/93, dobrega pol desetletja po uničujočem požaru, je pomenila zgodovinsko prelomnico v slovenski glasbenogledališki poustvarjalnosti. Temeljni kamen operni reprodukciji je slovensko gledališče postavilo sicer že leta 1889, prave pogoje za delo pa je vendarle dobilo šele pod streho novega gledališča, katerega si je delilo skupaj z nemškim vodstvom. Medtem ko so gostujoče nemške družine nadaljevale dolgoletno tradicijo gledaliških predstav, so Slovenci neobremenjeno začeli na samem začetku. Razlika med vodstvi se je pokazala že v prvi sezoni delovanja. Nemci so repertoar prilagajali sposobnostim sezonskih izvajalcev in predvajali največkrat le malo opernih predstav (ali celo nobene), medtem ko so pri oblikovanju sporeda Slovenci dali glavno težo ravno operam. Pričujoče besedilo se osredotoča na prvo dekada delovanja novega Deželnega gledališča. Ločeno sledi najprej nemškemu, nato še slovenskemu

SUMMARY

The opening of the new Regional Theatre at the beginning of the 1892/93 season, a full decade after the devastating fire, was a turning point in the performing history of the Slovene musical theatre. The foundation stone for operatic performances of the Slovene theatre was laid in 1889; however, adequate working conditions were given only under the roof of the new theatre building, which was to be shared with the German administration. Whereas guesting German theatre companies carried on with the longstanding tradition of theatrical performances, the Slovenes, from the very beginning, started unencumbered. The very first season revealed the difference. While the German side adjusted its repertoire to the abilities of seasonal performers, and gave only a few (or even no) operatic performances, the Slovenes, as regards their repertoire, attached special weight to operas. The present text focuses on the first decade of the new Regional Theatre's activities, commencing with the German repertoire, and, separately, dealing

glasbenogledališkemu programu. V ospredju zanimanja so operne premiere na eni in drugi strani, pospremljene z odzivi kritik v aktualnih lokalnih časopisih, kot sta *Laibacher Zeitung* in *Ljubljanski zvon*. Upoštevajoč tedanje razmere in okoliščine je namen članka podati predvsem strukturni prerez repertoarjev obeh gledališč, ne pa same kvalitete izvedenega, saj so ocene predstav zaradi nacionalnega momenta vprašljivo objektivne in zato med seboj težko primerljive.

with the Slovene counterpart. On both sides, operatic premieres have been in the forefront of interest, accompanied by critical echoes in relevant local periodicals, such as the *Laibacher Zeitung* and the *Ljubljanski zvon* (The Ljubljana Bell). Taking into account the then prevailing conditions, the article aims at giving a structural profile of the repertoires of both theatres, leaving out the question of quality, since, due to the national factor, an objective evaluation of individual performances appears to be questionable and mutually comparable.

Dne 16. februarja 1887 je ogenj do tal uničil zgradbo Deželnega gledališča in s tem povsem ohromil glasbenogledališko življenje tedanje Ljubljane. Višja sila je kruto prekinila eno dotlej najpestrejših in najbogatejših opernih sezon pod vodstvom Juliusa Schulza¹. Niti slovensko gledališče, ki je na čitalniškem odru nemoteno delovalo naprej, niti občasna gostovanja nemških družin, ki so sprva uprizarjala na odru deželne redutne dvorane nato pa na obnovljeni stekleni verandi Casina, vse do sezone 1892/93 niso mogla nadomestiti dogajanja, kakršnega je Ljubljana poznala prej. Otvoritev novega gledališča je bila šele pet in pol let po tragičnem dogodku, nova stavba pa je postala tudi stalni dom slovenske odrske reprodukcije. Slovenskemu gledališču, katerega uprizoritve so bile na sporedu redno dvakrat tedensko, je 29. septembra 1892 pripadla tudi častna otvoritvena predstava. Tako se je začela vedno bolj enakovredna vzporedna pot dveh nacionalnih glasbenih gledališč, ki sta se med seboj pomembno dopolnjevala.

Nemško gledališče

Gostujoče nemške družine so odrsko življenje v novem »Landschaftliches Theater« kmalu vrnilo na stare tirnice. Repertoar glasbenih del je bil – kot je bilo značilno že za večino sezon pred požarom – prežet predvsem z lahkotnimi operetami, razmeroma bogat pa tudi z opernimi predstavami.

¹ Schulzova gledališka družba je po požaru odpotovala, najprej na gostovanje v Trst nato pa v Pulo.

Vsako sezono je gledališko vodstvo vključilo vsaj tri ljubljanske operetne premiere², železni repertoar pa so tvorila predvsem dela Suppéja, Offenbacha, Millöckerja, Zellerja in Strauša, katerim so se na prelomu stoletja pridružili še Ziehrer, Reinhard, Lehár in drugi. Med novo uprizorjenimi operetami so še posebno navdušile: Zellerjevi uspešnici *Der Vogelhändler* in *Der Obersteiger*; težko pričakovana Strauškova noviteta *Jabuka*, *das Apfelfest*; Suppéjeva zadnja opereta *Das Modell*; *Der Opernball*, edina uspešnica Richarda Heubergerja; *Die Geisha*, katere mednarodnega uspeha britanski avtor Sidney Jones ni več ponovil; ter *Die Landstreicher* avtorja Carla Michaela Ziehrerja.

V prvem desetletju je nemško gledališče ljubljanskemu občinstvu predstavilo tudi deset novih opernih uprizoritev, največ prav v prvih sezonah izbranega obdobja. Že prva sezona pod vodstvom Rudolfa Frinkeja je ponudila dve ljubljanski premieri: Wagnerjevo *Lohengrin* (1850) in Neßlerjevo *Der Trompeter von Säckinger* (1884). Poleg Gounodove *Margarethe* (*Faust*), Halevyeve *Die Jüdin* (*La Juive*) in Meyerbeereve *Die Hugenotten* (*Les Hugenots*) sta bili uprizorjeni po končani letni gledališki sezoni v okviru gostovanja operistov iz Celovca pod vodstvom umetniškega vodje Franza Eglsserja. Predvsem *Lohengrin*, ki je bil ponovno na repertoarju nemškega gledališča šele v sezoni 1906/07, je predstavljal pomemben kulturni dogodek, na katerega je v dnevnem časopisu *Lailbacher Zeitung* opozoril tudi tedanji kritik Julius Ohm-Januschowsky³. Ta sicer ni spregledal nepripravljenosti občinstva, vajenega lahkotnejše glasbe, čigar sprejemljivost naj bi imela svoje meje, vendar je prav zato pozdravil izvedbo *«eines edleres Kunstwerkes»*⁴. Kritika je vseskozi upoštevala težavnost vseh izvedb, ki se je skozi celotno gostovanje kazala predvsem v združevanju tujega ansambla in domačega orkestra, katere naj bi gostujoči dirigent Kronos uspešno reševal. Tudi uprizoritev *Lohengrina* naj bi bila uspešna še posebno po zaslugi odličnih solistov, ki naj bi se z vidno vnemo in po najboljših močeh predali svojim težkim vlogam in jih uspešno realizirali.⁵

Frinke je s svojim ansamblom ostal v Ljubljani tudi naslednjo sezono, ki je bila tokrat z operami še bogatejša, ponudila pa je le eno ljubljansko premiero – Leoncavallovo *Der Bajazzo* (*I Pagliacci*). Ta je v tej sezoni doživela kar osem repriz in s tem potrdila nesluten uspeh prve predstave, ki jo je kritika pospremila z mnenjem, da je bila ena najboljših, kar si jih je bilo do tedaj v gledališču moč ogledati. Uprizoritev te opere priča tudi o težnji ljubljanskega nemškega gledališča, da bi, v okviru zmožnosti, sledilo novim smernicam tedanjih vodilnih opernih hiš. To mu je z Leoncavallovo enodejanko nedvomno uspelo, saj je bila njena krstna predstava v Milanu maja 1892, torej le dobro leto poprej. Iz kritike je razvidno, da je bila ljubljanska premiera velik in težko pričakovan dogodek, vendar pospremljen z določeno mero skepticizma. Ta se je izkazal za nepotrebenega, saj sta občinstvo očitno očarala napeto dogajanje in čudovita lepota glasbe.⁶ Še isto sezono se je obetala tudi nova uprizoritev drugega

² V Ljubljani prvič izvedene operete v prvem desetletju obstoja novega gledališča so bile: v sezoni 1892/93 *Der Vogelhändler* (Carl Zeller), *Der Viceadmiral*, *Das Sonntagskind*, *Die sieben Schwaben* in *Der Feldprediger* (vse štiri Millöcker), *Die Uhlanen* (Carl Weinberger); v sezoni 1893/94 *Die lachende Erbe* (Weinberger), *Der Hofnarr* (Adolf Müller) in *Der Obersteiger* (Zeller); v sezoni 1894/95 *Jabuka*, *das Apfelfest* in *Fürstin Ninetta* (obe Strauß), *Pariser Leben* (Offenbach) in *Der Probekuss* (Millöcker); v sezoni 1895/96 *Capitän Nicol* (Zeller), *Die Karlschülerin* (Weinberger), *Die Chansonetten-Sängerin* (Rudolf Dellinger), *Der Waldmeister* (Strauß) in *Der Figaro bei Hof* (Adolf Müller); v sezoni 1896/97 *Das Modell* (Suppé) in *Der Zauberer von Nil* (Victor Herbert); v sezoni 1897/98 *Der Wunderknabe* (Eugen von Taund), *Sataniel* (Adolf Ferron), *Die nürnberg Puppe* (Adolf Adam), *Pagenstreichle* ter *Die Blumen-Mary* (obe Weinberger), *Der Pumpmajor* (Alexander Neumann), *Die Lieder der Mirza Schapfly* (Louis Roth), *Der Schelm von Bergen* (Alfred Oelschlegel) in *Die kleinen Schäfchen* (Louis Barney); v sezoni 1898/99 *Farinelli* (Zumpe), *Der Opernball* (Richard Heuberger), *Die Glückselige* (Edmond Audrau), *Der schöne Rigo* (Ziehrer) in *Die Geisha* (Jones); v sezoni 1899/1900 *Der Lieutenant zur See* (Roth), *Ihre Excellenz* (Heuberger) in *Die Blondin von Namur* (A. Müller); v sezoni 1900/01 *Wiener Blut* (A. Müller), *Die Puppe* (Edmond Audrau) in *Die Landstreicher* (Ziehrer); v sezoni 1901/02 *Mam'selle Nitouche* (Ronger Hervé), *Die drei Wünsche* (Ziehrer), *San Toy* (Jones) in *Das süsse Mädel* (Heinrich Reinhardt); v sezoni 1902/03 *Der liebe Schatz* (Reinhardt), *Der Rastelbinder* in *Wiener Frauen* (obe Lehár).

³ Januschowsky, ki je s časopisom sodeloval vse do I. svetovne vojne, je bil brat operne primadone Georgine von Januschowsky, ki je v Ljubljani tudi gostovala.

⁴ «plemenitega umetniške dela».

⁵ *Lailbacher Zeitung* 1893 I, št. 77.

⁶ *Lailbacher Zeitung* 1893 II, št. 280.

dejanja Wagnerjevega *Der fliegende Holländer*, a je bila ta zaradi bolezni napovedane gostje, dunajske dvorne operne pevke Georgine von Januschowsky, odpovedana. Wagnerjeva mojstrovina je tako doživela svojo prvo ljubljansko izvedbo šele v sezoni 1899/1900 v okviru slovenskega gledališča⁷.

Naslednje tri sezone so potekale pod direkcijo Adolfa Oppenheima, prinesle pa so zgolj nekaj opernih predstav. Medtem ko je bila v sezoni 1894/95 izvedena le Humperdinckova opera *Hänsel und Gretel* (1893), ki je po premieri doživela še pet repriznih uprizoritev, pa v naslednji sezoni ni bilo na sporedu niti ene opere. Humperdinckova pravljicična opera je doživela prepričljiv uspeh, saj je kritika poročala o odličnem delu prave umetniške vrednosti in bila pravilno prepričana, da bodo sijajnemu uspehu sledile še številne, prav tako uspešne uprizoritve. Posebna hvala je poleg uspešnih solistov pripadala tudi orkestru, katerega vodstvo je z novo sezono prevzel dirigent Fritz Hempl, ki naj bi občinstvo očaral že z ognjevitostjo, z zagonom in zanesljivostjo odigrano predigro.⁸

Sezona 1896/97, z operami neprimerno bogatejša, je posebno razveselila, kajti *«[...] obne Oper läßt sich ein Kunstinstitut von Bedeutung schwer denken»*. Pripravili so tudi dve novi operni uprizoritvi: v ljubljanskem gledališču so zelo uspešno prvič izvedli Kienzlovo glashbeno igro *Der Evangelimann* in Goldmarkovo opero *Das Heimchen am Herd*, ki sta prišli na slovenski oder kmalu po krstnih izvedbah (1895, 1896). Posebno pozornost je kritika namenila wagnerjanskemu Evangeliku. Začetek sezone z duhovitim, ganljivim delom, eno najboljših novitet tistega časa, se je zdela posrečena ideja, ki je po mnenju pisca kazala na umetniško izkušnost direkcije. V obeh predstavah je vse priznanje ponovno požel orkester - prvič ga je vodil dirigent Henry Walthert, drugič pa Max Groß. Svoje vloge pa naj bi odlično izvedli tudi solisti.¹⁰ Omeniti velja še izvedbo Beethovnovnega *Fidelia*, ki je bil na odru nemškega gledališča le redko uprizorjen (v Ljubljani sploh prvič v sezoni 1873/74, nato pa do 1. svetovne vojne le še v sezoni 1903/04). Predstavo je kritika zaradi mnogih težav, s katerimi se je spopadalo gledališče, sprejela razumevajoče.¹¹

Z operetami bogata sezona 1897/98 ljubljanskemu občinstvu ni ponudila niti ene operne predstave, direkcija Franza Schlesingerja pa je trajala še naslednjo sezono, s katero je postal operni repertoar nemškega gledališča bogatejši za dve deli. Operni ansambel je namreč izvedel Puccinijevo *Die Boheme* (*La Boheme*, 1896) in danes popolnoma neznano *Maro* (1893), najuspešnejšo med sedmimi operami skladatelja Ferdinanda Hummla¹². Posebno pozornost je seveda pritegnila Puccinjeva stvaritev. Odlična uprizoritev je naletela na nadvse pozitivno, v značaj samega dela poglobljeno kritiko, ki je tudi tokrat hvalila prizadevno vztrajnost in umetniško izvedbo celotnega ansambla, kapelnikovo vodenje orkestra in soliste.¹³ Odmevna je bila tudi izvedba *Mare*, ki sledi vzorcem verističnih oper *Cavalleria Rusticana* in *I Pagliacci*. Kritika te enodejanke je vseskozi upoštevala okoliščine provincialnega gledališča: *«Da wir nun von unseren sonst so braven Operettenkräften die künstlerischen Eigenschaften dramatischer Sänger ersten Ranges unmöglich fordern können, erscheint es überflüssig, einen kritischen Maßstab an ihre Leistungen anzulegen.»*¹⁴ Vodstvo orkestra je v tej sezoni prevzel dirigent Karl Auer, ki je prav tako požel veliko pohval.¹⁵

⁷ Nemci so to opero v Ljubljani prvič uprizorili šele v sezoni 1904/05.

⁸ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1895 I, št. 15.

⁹ *-brez opere je kulturna institucija težko pomembna.*

¹⁰ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1896 II, št. 235.

¹¹ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1896 II, št. 261.

¹² Ferdinand Hummel (1855-1929) je bil nemški skladatelj in harfist, čigar opus obsega okoli 120 del.

¹³ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1898 II, št. 287.

¹⁴ *Ker je od našega sicer dobrega operetna osebja nemogoče zahtevati umetniške lastnosti dramatičnega pevca prvega ranga, se zdi odvečno s kritičnim merilom ovrednotiti njihov rezultat.*

¹⁵ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1899 I, št. 64.

Podobno zasnovan je bil repertoar tudi v naslednjih sezonah. Prevladovale so operete, operne izvedbe pa so bile prej izjema kot pravilo, kar glede na izrazito operetni sestav ansambla ne preseneča. Do izteka prvega desteletja obstoja novega Deželnega gledališča so bila na novo predstavljena vendarle še tri dela. Sezona 1899/1900 je pod vodstvom Karla Dietricha ponudila dve ljubljanski premieri: Karin¹⁶ (1888), katere avtor Herman Zumppe je bil svoj čas priznan dirigent predvsem Wagnerjevih del, ter danes prav tako neznano opero Enoch Arden¹⁷ skladatelja Victorja Hausmanna. Prva že tedaj ni doživela nikakršnega zanimanja in še manj uspeha, saj naj bi pomanjkanje sloga – nihanje med romantično opero in trivialno operetno glasbo – učinkovalo povsem nezadovoljivo.¹⁸ Nekoliko odmevnejša je bila uprizoritev dela Enoch Arden, uspeha pa je bil deležen predvsem dirigent Camillo Hildebrand, ki je doživel lep uspeh, topel sprejem in buren aplavz.¹⁹

Vodstvo gledališča je v zadnjih treh sezonah izbranega obdobja prevzel Berthold Wolf (v Ljubljani je ostal vse do konca sezone 1908/09) in postopoma zopet obogatil operno življenje tedanje Ljubljane. Prva operna predstava nove direkcije je bila sicer šele v sezoni 1901/02, edino delo na sporedu pa je bila nova uprizoritev Offenbachove fantastične opere Hoffmanns Erzählungen (Les contes d'Hoffmann, 1881), ki je doživela še pet repriznih izvedb. Omembe vreden dogodek sezone, ki naj bi ga občinstvo pričakovalo z veliko napetostjo, direkcija pa z velikim upanjem, je bil po mnenju kritika nadvse uspešen, njegovega priznanja pa so bili deležni tako solisti kot orkester pod vodstvom dirigenta Siegfrieda Theumanna.²⁰ Zadnja sezona 1902/03 prvega desteletja obstoja novega Deželnega gledališča sicer ni prinesla nobene novosti v njegovem repertoarju, z uprizorjenimi osmimi različnimi opernimi deli pa je bila ena bogatejših v tem obdobju.

Slovensko gledališče

Nasprotno od že uveljavljenega, z bogato tradicijo in lastnim orkestrom opremljenega Nemškega gledališča, je slovensko gledališče v tem obdobju delalo šele prve operne korake. Z uprizoritvami lahkotnejših zvrsti – spevoigre in operete – segajo začetki glashenogledališkega življenja že v sezono 1868/69, izvedba Blodkove V vodnjaku (V studni), 25. 3. 1889, pa je pomenila prvo slovensko operno predstavo. Slovensko gledališče je dobilo prave pogoje za reprodukcijo operne zvrsti šele z otvoritvijo novega Deželnega gledališča, ki so jih Slovenci izkoristili do skrajnih meja svojih zmožnosti. Nasprotno od repertoarja nemškega gledališča pa Slovenci na spored niso vključili veliko operet. Število uprizorjenih del te zvrsti ni preseгло štirih različnih operet na sezono, v sezonah 1893/94 in 1895/96 pa ne zasledimo celo nobene.²¹ Slovensko vodstvo se je očitno osredotočilo na občinstvu mikavnejšo opero, četudi pogosto lahkotnejšega značaja.

Že prvo sezono so bile na sporedu tri opere: poleg zopet uprizorjene V vodnjaku še krstna predstava Ipavčevih Teharskih plemičev²² in ljubljanska premiera Mascagnijeve Cavallerie

¹⁶ Delo Karin uvršča strokovna literatura med operete. *The new Grove dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 20. London: Macmillan publishers limited, 1980, str. 715.

¹⁷ Leta 1936 je napisal istoimensko opero Otmar Gerster (1897-1969), ki je živa še danes.

¹⁸ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1900 I, št. 53.

¹⁹ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1900 I, št. 70.

²⁰ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1902 II, št. 1.

²¹ V izbranem desteletju so bile uprizorjene naslednje operete: *Mannschaft am Bord in Somnambule* (obe Ivan Zajc), *Cannebas*, *Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann* ter *Die schöne Galathee* (vse tri Suppé), *Le mariage aux laternes*, *La belle Helene in La violoneux* (vse tri Offenbach), *Mam'selle Nitouche* (Ronger Hervé), *Les 28 jours de Clairette* (Victor Roger), *Die Fledermaus* (Strauß) in *Amaconke* (Parma).

²² Kritika h krstni izvedbi lirčne opere Teharski plemiči, ki jo je izjemoma napisal Januschowsky, predlaga oznako *Singspiel*, saj naj bi delu manjkale glavne značilnosti opere: oblika, tehnika in prekomponiranost. *Laibacher Zeitung* 1892 II, št. 282.

Rusticane²³. Iz kritike v *Laibacher Zeitung*²⁴ je razvidno, da je bila prva izvedba Teharskih plemičev nadvse uspešna. Burne ovacije so bile namenjene skladatelju, „[...] *der sich auf dem Gebiete der nationalen Kunst große Verdienste erworben und sein redliches Streben durch neues Schaffen bekundete.*“²⁵. Za uspeh so bili zaslužni tudi dirigent Fran Gerbič s temeljitim študijem ter vsi solisti.²⁶ Z veliko napetostjo ter razumljivo tudi z določeno mero skepticizma pa naj bi slovensko občinstvo pričakalo tudi *Cavallerio rusticano*, katere uprizoritev je pomenila „[...] *bei unseren bescheidenen Verhältnissen ein Wagestück erstes Ranges.*“²⁷ Kritiko je izjemno presenetila, zopet zaradi popolne požrtvovalnosti dirigenta. Na splošno je značilno, da je ocena posameznih opernih izvedb – in tudi te – upoštevala okoliščine in razmere, zato od predstave niso pričakovali brezhibnosti in popolnosti. Kljub številnim nepravilnostim je tako *Cavallerio* pozdravila kot razveseljiv dokaz, da se lahko laskav uspeh doseže tudi z domačimi močmi in v pogosto neugodnih razmerah.²⁸

V naslednjih letih je število opernih predstav naraščalo, gledališko vodstvo pa je poskrbelo, da je vsaka sezona ponudila tudi nekaj novih uprizoritev slovenskega odra. Mnogo je bilo sicer starih del, ki so bile občinstvu nemškega gledališča že dobro poznane: *Prenočišče v Granadi* (*Das Nachtlager von Granada*), *Čarostrelec* (*Der Freischütz*), *Trubadur* (*Il trovatore*), *Afričanka* (*L'Africaine*), *Faust*, *Norma*, *Rigoletto*, *Fra Diavolo*, *La Traviata*, *Ples v maskah* (*Un ballo in maschera*), *Vesele žene windsorske* (*Die lustige Weiber von Windsor*), *Lohengrin*, *Glumači* (*I pagliacci*), *Alessandro Stradella*, *Favoritinja* (*La favorite*), *Viljem Tell* (*Guillaume Tell*), *Hoffmanove pripovedke* (*Les contes d'Hoffmann*). Zato so bile zanimivejše tiste, ki so bile v Ljubljani prvič predstavljene: po eni strani opere slovanskih skladateljev, ki niso bile uvrščene na repertoar nemškega gledališča, po drugi pa dela iz zahodnoevropske operne zakladnice, ki jih do tedaj ljubljansko nemško gledališče še ni uprizorilo (poleg že omenjene *Cavallerie* še *Verdijeva Aida*²⁹, *Wagnerjev Večni mornar* (*Der fliegende Holländer*) in *Asrael* skladatelja Alberta Franchettija³⁰). Med slovanskimi premierami imajo seveda posebno mesto dela domačih skladateljev, ki so se z boljšimi pogoji in načrtno stimulacijo gledališkega vodstva številčno počasi množila.

V sezoni 1893/94 so si ljubitelji opere prvič lahko ogledali uprizoritvi *Bendlovega Starega ženina* (*Star' ženich*, 1882) in *Smetanovo Prodano nevesto* (*Prodaná nevěsta*, 1870). Obe premieri sta pred povsem razprodano dvorano doživeli sijajen uspeh, ki ga je kritika zopet pripisala celotnemu ansamblu, tokrat pa izpostavila tudi zbor. Še posebej je bila v ospredju *Smetanova svetovna uspešnica*, *dogodek*, ki naj bi z vso jasnostjo zaznamoval *razveseljiv vrhunec nacionalnega gledališča*. Premiera naj bi namreč, zahvaljujoč požrtvovalnosti *Dramatičnega društva* in občudovanja vredni vztrajnosti dirigenta Gerbiča, potekala najboljše možno.³¹

Naslednjo sezono sta iz pestre in še številčnejše množice opernih predstav izstopali ljubljanska premierna izvedba *Smetanovega Poljuba* (*Hubička*, 1876) in *krstna uprizoritev izvirne opere Urh, grof celjski Viktorja Parme*. Izvedba drugega *Smetanovega dela* naj bi bila glede na obstoječe razmere nadvse uspešna. Razumevajoča kritika je upoštevala težavnost dela,

²³ Opero je Nemško gledališče premierno uprizorilo šele v sezoni 1903/04.

²⁴ Kritike predstav slovenskega gledališča so z otvoritvijo novega gledališča postale v *Laibacher Zeitung* redne. Avtor večine teh je bil podpisan z inicialko –n.

²⁵ *Ki si je na področju nacionalne umetnosti pridobil velike zasluge, svoj pošten trud pa izpričal z novim ustvarjanjem.*

²⁶ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1892 II, št. 284.

²⁷ *za naše skromne razmere dogodek prvega ranga.*

²⁸ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1893 I, št. 32.

²⁹ Nemško vodstvo je *Aido* prvič uvrstilo na svoj repertoar v sezoni 1904/05.

³⁰ Gre za Franchettijevo (1860–1942) prvo opero, ki je bila krstno uprizorjena 1889 v milanski Scali.

³¹ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1894 I, št. 80.

predvsem orkestrskega pasusa: da bi bile izražene vse njene nežnosti in fine nianse, terja namreč opera vseskozi napeto koncertno obdelavo; zato *«[...] dies Übelstände, die durch den Drang der Verhältnisse entschuldigt werden mögen»*^{32,33} Toliko bolj so navdušili solisti, ki so se izkazali tudi v premierni uprizoritvi Urha, v kateri je ocena³⁴ predstave poudarila rezultat orkestra pod vodstvom dirigenta Beniška³⁵.

Številne premiere slovenskega gledališča so se vrstile tudi v naslednjih, z opernimi deli izredno bogatih in pestrih sezonah, ko se je ansambel slovenskega gledališča spopadal z vedno novimi in vedno večjimi izzivi, uspeh pa je bil – razumljivo – odraz stanja slovenskih glasbenogledaliških razmer. Na repertoar sezone 1896/97 sta bili med drugim zopet uvrščeni dve krstni izvedbi: prvi je bil Foersterjev Gorenjski slavček, tokrat prvič izveden kot komična opera³⁶, druga pa Parmova Ksenija. Obe premieri sta doživeli velik uspeh, zasluge zanj pa je kritika pripisala v prvi vrsti nadvse uspešnemu in sposobnemu Benišku, pa tudi solistom in zboru.

S to sezono pa se je končalo redno poročanje o izvedbah slovenskega gledališča v Laibacher Zeitung. Zakaj je anonimni kritik prekinil sodelovanje z dnevnim časopisom, ni znano. Tako je zgodovinski vpogled v slovensko gledališko dogajanje v Ljubljani ostal navezan na Ljubljanski zvon. Tu poročila sicer niso bila tako redna, kljub temu pa iz njih izvemo bistvene značilnosti opernih uprizoritev. Za bogato sezono 1897/98 je kritika³⁷ poročala o edini premierni predstavi slovenskega gledališča v tej sezoni, nadvse uspešni uprizoritvi opere Halka (1854) poljskega skladatelja Stanislaw Moniuszka³⁸, katero je označila kot neovržen dokaz, da so Poljaki ostali pravi Slovani. Pohvalila je tudi izvedbo samo, saj naj bi pevci peli le malokdaj s takim navdušenjem ter igrali s tako vnemo.³⁹

Tudi naslednja sezona je prinesla eno krstno izvedbo, Parmovo dramatično romanco Stara pesem. Bolj v ospredju zanimanja pa je bila uprizoritev Wagnerjevega Lohengrina, prvič izvedenega v okviru slovenskega gledališča. Po mnenju kritike bi morali dan, ko so opero uprizorili, v kroniki gledališča debelo podčrtati. Ocena o izvedbi, ki se omejuje predvsem na osnovne značilnosti dela samega, priča o zavedanju pisca o pomembnosti dela nemškega mojstra, hkrati pa izkazuje njegovo nedoraslost glasbeni drami, saj pravi: *«Prijetno je to zvenenje in tudi mamljivo za uho, a ne prodira nam v srce»*.⁴⁰ Poleg tega je bila v tej sezoni prvič v Ljubljani izvedena Verdijeva Aida, z umetnico in primadono Zagrebškega gledališča L. Brucklovo v premierni predstavi.

S sezono 1899/1900 se je zamenjalo vodstvo Dramatičnega društva, katerega prvi korak je bila zamenjava vseh opernih solistov. Drzna poteza se je izkazala za zelo dobro, saj naj bi bile vse predstave nadvse uspešne, glavne zasluge pa je dr. Vladimir Foerster⁴¹, ki je v tej sezoni prevzel poročila opernih predstav, pripisal ponovno Benišku, ki *«[...] uspešno vodi slovensko opero z rutino in smelo odločnostjo»*.⁴² Bogata glasbena sezona je tudi tokrat prinesla eno novo uprizoritev, Smetanovega Daliborja (1868), katerega izvedba naj bi pomenila vsekakor velik korak do novega napredka.⁴³ Po 33 letih delovanja Dramatičnega društva je bila v tej sezoni

³² ... *«lahko zaradi pritiska okoliščin te pomankljivosti oprostimo»*.

³³ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1894 II, št. 264.

³⁴ *Laibacher Zeitung* 1895 I, št. 40.

³⁵ Hilarius Benišek je vodstvo orkestra prevzel konec novembra 1894, funkcijo dirigenta pa je v tej sezoni opravljal izmenično z Gerbičem.

³⁶ O Gorenjskem slavčku je pred krstno izvedbo predelane verzije pisal tudi kritik predstav ljubljanskega nemškega gledališča Januschowsky. *Laibacher Zeitung* 1896 II, št. 229.

³⁷ Za naslednji dve sezoni je bil pisec gledaliških ocen v Ljubljanskem zvonu podpisan z inicialko – z; najverjetneje gre za dr. Zhašnika, ki je kritike – predvsem dramske – prevezel zopet v sezoni 1902/03.

³⁸ Stanislaw Moniuszko (1819-1872) velja – tako kot Glinka v Rusiji in Smetana na Češkem – za utemeljitelja poljske nacionalne opere.

³⁹ *Ljubljanski zvon* 1898, str. 126-127.

⁴⁰ *Ljubljanski zvon* 1899, str. 255-256.

⁴¹ S Foersterjem so kritike postale tehtnejše in izčrpnije ter nudijo jasnejšo predstavo o izvedbah samih.

⁴² *Ljubljanski zvon* 1899, str. 710.

⁴³ *Ljubljanski zvon* 1899, str. 768.

odigrana tudi jubilejna tisoča predstava in to prav z Wagnerjevim Večnim mornarjem (1843), ki je bil v Ljubljani tokrat sploh prvič izveden. Uprizoritev opere, ki je bila »vsekakor znamenita«, naj bi bila tudi nadvse uspešna.⁴⁴

Za naslednjo sezono v Ljubljanskem zvonu ni nobene objavljene kritike. Škoda, saj je pestra operna sezona prinesla ne le ljubljansko premiero Zajčeve opere Nikola Šubič Zrinski (1876) temveč tudi novo uprizoritev iz Wagnerjevega opusa, tokrat opero Tannhäuser (1845)⁴⁵. Sklepamo lahko, da je bila uspešna, saj je premieri sledilo še pet repriznih uprizoritev, pa tudi izvedba v prihodnji sezoni naj bi zelo dobro uspela.⁴⁶

Sezona 1901/1902 je novosti željnemu občinstvu ponudila še eno krstno predstavo, in sicer Smiljano skladatelja Frana Serafina Vilharja. Izvedba naj bi presenetila celo navzočega avtorja samega. Po mnenju Lavoslava Pahorja, kritika Ljubljanskega zvona za operne predstave v tej sezoni, je bila dobro naučena in je sijajno uspela, solisti, zbor in orkester pa so dobro rešili svojo nalogo. Kritik je izrecno poudaril tudi pomen uprizoritev Halevyeve Židinj (La Juive) in Bizetove Carmen, ki sta pričali o uspehu in napredku.⁴⁷

Zadnja sezona prvega desetletja delovanja novega deželnega gledališča je upoštevala javno pripombo glasbenega kritika, da »[...] se pri sestavi repertoarja za bodočo sezono jemlje več ozira na slovanske opere⁴⁸«; poleg Prodane neveste in Daliborja sta bili tako na sporedu krstna izvedba lirične opere Maričon Srečka Albinija in ljubljanska premiera Psoglavcev (Psohlavci, 1898) Karla Kovašovica. Predvsem slednja je pritegnila veliko pozornosti. Strokovno oceno predstave je podal dr. Vladimir Foerster. Upoštevaajoč težke razmere orkestra, saj »[...] majhen orkester pa seveda ne zadostuje moderni operi«, je posebno pohvalil na novo postavljen solistični ansambel in ga samozavestno postavil ob bok večjim odrom. V ospredju pa je bil zopet Benišek, ki naj bi skupaj z dramatičnim odborom dosegel uspeh, ki ga je bilo iskreno pohvaliti.⁴⁹

Prvo desetletje novega Deželnega gledališča je bilo torej pestro in razmeroma bogato. Težnje in prizadevanja nemškega in še posebno slovenskega vodstva so se manifestirale v barvitem, med seboj dopolnjujočem repertoarju. Na nemškem odru se je v tem obdobju zvrstilo kar nekaj pomembnih ljubljanskih premiev. Gostujoči operisti iz Celovca so ljubljanskemu občinstvu prvič predstavili Wagnerjevega Lohengrina, do tedaj šele drugo opero iz opusa nemškega reformatorja. Ljubljana je spoznala tudi Leoncavallove veristične Glumače, ki so nedolgo nazaj doživeli krstno uprizoritev, ter še prav tako svežo Humperdinckovo pravljlično opero Janko in Metka. Kar nekaj let je nato minilo do uprizoritve Puccinijeve stvaritve La Boheme, ki je luč sveta ugledala le dve leti pred ljubljansko premiero. Pred iztekom prve dekade je nato vodstvo nemškega gledališča uvrstilo na spored le še eno novost, Offenbachove Hoffmanove pripovedke, ki so na drugih gledaliških odrih že dvajset let navduševale ljubitelje operne umetnosti.

Nedvomno bogatejša je bila ponudba Slovenskega gledališča. Z v Ljubljani prvič uprizorjenimi Cavallerio Rusticano, Aido in Večnim mornarjem so posegli v repertoar nemškega gledališča in ga s tem na nek način tudi preseglji, dopolnili pa so ga s številnimi operami slovanskega izvora. Smetanova Prodana nevesta in Blodkova V vodnjaku sta postali del železnega repertoarja, Poljub, Dalibor, Bendlov Stari ženin, Halka poljskega skladatelja Stanislaw Moniuszka ter Kovašovicevi Pshoglavci pa popestritev bogatega opernega dogajanja. Še pomembnejše so bile krstne uprizoritve izvornih opernih del domačih skladateljev: Ipavčevi Teharski plemiči, Parmovi Urh, grof celjski in Ksenija, Foersterjev Gorenjski slavček ter Vilharjeva Smiljana.

⁴⁴ Ljubljanski zvon 1900, str. 193-194.

⁴⁵ V okviru Nemškega gledališča je bila opera izvedena že v sezoni 1873/74, nato pa do 1. svetovne vojne ne več.

⁴⁶ Ljubljanski zvon 1902, str. 68.

⁴⁷ Ljubljanski zvon 1901, str. 791.

⁴⁸ Ljubljanski zvon 1902, str. 284.

⁴⁹ Ljubljanski zvon 1903, str. 125.

O pestrosti glasbenega življenja na odru ljubljanskega gledališča priča že analiza obsega posameznih predstav. Značilne so številne reprize tistih del, ki so bila prvič uprizorjena pri nas. Iz povprečja nemških opernih izvedb, ki so največkrat doživele le po eno reprizo, tako izstopajo ljubljanske premiere Glumačev, s kar devetimi predstavami v eni sezoni, pa Janka in Metke ter Hoffmannovih pripovedk s po šestimi uprizoritvami. Veliko število ponovitev nedvomno potrjuje navdušenost kritike nad izvedbami. Drugačna slika se kaže na slovenski strani. Številne opere so navduševale iz sezone v sezono, zato ne preseneča izredno visoka številka vseh uprizoritev v enem desetletju. Nasprotno od razvajenega in zahtevnega občinstva nemških predstav, ki so opernim predstavam prisostvovali že desetletja dolgo, so slovensko vodstvo, domači izvajalci in njim zvesta publika stali šele na samem začetku operne reprodukcije. Začetni entuziazem je bil tako povsem razumljiv, potreben in koristen za razvoj tako enih kot drugih.

Upoštevajoč tedanje razmere in okoliščine je primerjava repertoarjev obeh gledališč vendarle smotrna le s strukturnega vidika sporedov; sporno bi namreč bilo primerjati dejansko kvaliteto ponujenega, ne glede na obstoječe ocene posameznih predstav. Že kritiki sami – pisci nemških ali slovenskih večerov – so upoštevali in poudarjali razmere provincialnega gledališča, ki zopet niso bile enake med enim in drugim gledališčem. Nadalje ne gre spregledati niti ravnih objavljenih ocen; predvsem kritike v Ljubljanskem zvonu, razen tistih Vladimirja Foersterja, niso primerljive s strokovnimi ocenami nemških gledaliških predstav, kakršne je podajal Januschowski. Tehtni zapisi slednjega obsegajo tako značaj glasbenega dela kot tudi objektivno oceno same izvedbe.⁵⁰ Večji nacionalni moment preveva, razumljivo, ocene slovenskih kritikov. Medtem ko si prizadevajo ocene slovenskih predstav v Laibacher Zeitung doseči nivo Januschowskega, pa so tiste v Ljubljanskem zvonu daleč za njim. Čeprav skušajo biti objektivne tako glede samih izvedb kot dojemljivosti občinstva⁵¹, pa so le Foersterjeve tudi dovolj strokovno podkrepjene in pričajo o avtorjevem glasbenem znanju.

Vsekakor pa lahko zaključimo, da je tako ena kot druga nacionalna tirnica doprinesla k barvitosti glasbenogledališkega dogajanja tedanje Ljubljane. Nemci so skrbeli predvsem za kontinuiteto že uveljavljenega repertoarja, operne predstave pa zaradi sezonskega spreminjanja opernega ansambla in njegovih sposobnosti niso bile redno na sporedu. S tega vidika so prednjačili manj zahtevni Slovenci, ki so se že na samem začetku spopadli z uprizarjanjem oper. Tega niti Nemci niso spregledali⁵². Neobremenjena s tradicijo je slovenska direkcija postavljala prve temelje slovenski operni produkciji, hkrati pa se je morala prilagajati zahtevam javnosti – sprva se je kazala težnja po večji produkciji drame, pozneje so zahtevali več moderne in slovanske opere – ki so jo silile v nenehno dopolnjevanje in preoblikovanje. Pri tem je storila pomemben odmik od nemškega vodstva, saj je v repertoar vključila ne le slovansko, ampak tudi slovensko operno produkcijo. Jasno postavljeni cilji, težnje in naloge so Slovence vodili k naraščujoči prepoznavnosti in konkurenčnosti, zdrava tekmovalnost predvsem v nacionalnem smislu pa je pospeševala umetniški razvoj tako ene kot druge nacionalne struje ter pripomogla k vedno večji tehtnosti predstav, zlasti slovenskih.

⁵⁰ O objektivnosti njegovih kritik priča ne le podatek, da je Januschowsky tu in tam zapisal tudi (pozitivno) poročilo predstave slovenskega gledališča (npr. ob premieri Teharskih plemečev), pač pa vsekakor tudi podatki, da je pisec med drugim dolga leta poučeval v glasbeni šoli Glasbene maticе, vodil čitalniški pevski zbor in zbor društva Slavec. Budkovič, Cvetko. *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem: Od začetka do nastanka konservatorija*. Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut FF, 1992, str. 203.

⁵¹ Zbašnik na primer poroča ob koncu sezone 1896/97, da so bile operne predstave večinoma dobre, vendar naj bi bilo med njimi bistveno več slabših kot sezono poprej. *Ljubljanski zvon* 1897, str. 388.

⁵² Nemška kritika v Laibacher Zeitung je nemreč v uvodu k poročilu o premierni predstavitvi Glumačev opozorila na uprizoritev Cavallerie, iz repertoarja pa je razvidno, da gre lahko le za slovensko premierno izvedbo: *Wie seinerzeit die Gluoper Mascagni's, so bildete nicht minder die Erstaufführung der geistsprubenden, beifblütigen Meisteroper Leoncavallo's ein Ereignis für zahlreiche Kunstgemeinde unseres Stadt [...]. Laibacher Zeitung* 1893 II, št. 280.

UDK 78.071.1 Ravnik J.: 050(497.4)

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Recepcija Ravnikovega glasbenega delovanja v slovenski glasbeni publicistiki

The reception of Ravnik's musical work in Slovene musical periodic

Ključne besede: slovenska glasba, Janko Ravnik, slovenska glasbena publicistika, recepcija

Keywords: Slovene music, Janko Ravnik, Slovene musical journalism, reception

POVZETEK

Janko Ravnik je slovensko glasbeno javnost opozoril nase v 20-tih letih 20. stoletja, ko so izšle njegove prve skladbe pri Novih akordih. Po zaključenem študiju klavirja v Pragi se je domačemu občinstvu predstavil ne le kot pianist temveč – zanimivo – tudi kot skladatelj. Njegovi prvenci so s strani takratne kritike doživeli izjemen uspeh; duh pozne romantike če že ne modernizma, ki je bil Novim akordom, edini slovenski glasbeni reviji na začetku stoletja, še precej tuj, je dihal v vsaki Ravnikovi skladbi. Lahko rečemo, da so Ravnikova dela prinesla nov, manj znan duh Novim akordom, ki je z odobravanjem sicer precej presenetil takratno uredništvo. Janko Ravnik je torej v 20-tih letih predstavljal svojsko glasbeno osebnost, ki je v slovenski glasbeni svet prodrla z značilno, prepoznavno, umetniško dovršeno glasbeno govorico. Nadaljnje avtorjevo komponiranje je ostalo trdno zavezano glasbeni poetiki zgodnjih del; Ravnikov skromni ustvarjalni opus se je zadržal na področju komorne glasbe –

SUMMARY

Janko Ravnik aroused the attention of the Slovene musical public in the twenties of the 20th century, when his first compositions appeared in the *New Chords (Novi akordi)* review. After finishing his piano studies in Prague, he introduced himself to domestic audiences not only as a pianist but, interestingly, also as a composer. His firstlings were highly praised by the critics. Though rather alien to the *New Chords*, the only Slovene secular music periodical at the beginning of the century, each and every Ravnik's composition breathed the spirit of late romanticism if not modernism. It can be said, that Ravnik's works brought a new, to the *New Chords* less known spirit which took the editorial board more or less by surprise. Which means that already in the twenties Janko Ravnik represented a characteristic musical personality that had entered the Slovene musical scene with an idiosyncratically recognizable, and artistically accomplished musical language. However, Ravnik's subsequent composing remained bound to the musical poetics

samospevov, zborov in klavirskih miniatur, še bolj kot skladanju pa je bil morda predan poustvarjalnosti na koncertnih odrih in pedagoškemu delu.

Ravnikova glasbena dejavnost je bila predvsem v prvi polovici 20. stoletja vseskozi prisotna v slovenskem glasbenem življenju. Kakšna je bila recepcija njegovega ustvarjalnega dela pa skuša ugotoviti pričujoči članek. Pri tem upošteva tudi vse tiste viře, ki sledijo skladateljevi pianistični dejavnosti, da bi bil mozaik 'zapisanega' bolj celovit. Pri količini obstoječih in ohranjenih virov se na prvi pogled zdi, da je bilo o Ravniku že veliko povedanega ter da interpretaciji njegove umetnosti manjka le še epilog. Temeljitejši pregled gradiva, kot tudi primerjava starejših in novejših zapisov, pa ponuja povsem drugačno sliko.

Z opazovanjem recepcije Ravnikove glasbene ustvarjalnosti v slovenski publicistiki na treh ravneh – na kritikah skladb v takratnih glasbenih revijah, na prispevkih s področja glasbeno-analitičnega dela Ravnikovih skladb in na obstoječih življenjepisnih virih ter podobnih orisih skladateljevega življenja in dela – se izkaže, da se prvi dve in hkrati tudi najpomembnejši ravni skrčita na dva relevantna avtorja: Gojmira Kreka in Marijana Lipovška. Po tem se seveda postavljata vprašanji, koliko je dejansko raziskanega na področju ustvarjalnosti Janka Ravnika in kaj njegova umetnost v mozaiku slovenske zgodovine glasbe prazaprav pomeni.

of his early works; his modest compositional output remained in the chamber music genre, in that of songs, choral works, and piano miniatures, so that he seems to have been more dedicated to performing on the concert podium and to teaching. Especially in the first half of the 20th century, Ravnik's musical activity was present in the musical life of Slovenia. What the reception of his creative work was like, is the aim of the present article. In this connection, all sources that follow the composer's pianistic activity have been taken into account, so that the mosaic of the 'written-down' might be more comprehensive. At first sight, the amount of personal sources appear to support the view that much has been already said about Ravnik, and that the interpretation of his musical art lacks only a rounded-off epilogue. However, a more thorough examination of the material, as well as the comparison of older and newer data, offer a completely different picture.

Examining the reception of Ravnik's creativity in Slovene musical writings on three levels – critiques of compositions in music periodicals of that time, analytical contributions concerning Ravnik's compositions, and existing biographic sources, as well as similar descriptions of the composer's life and work – one comes to the conclusion that the first two, and at the same time most important levels can be reduced to two relevant authors: Gojmir Krek and Marijan Lipovšek. Which raises at least two questions: how much research has been actually done on Janko Ravnik's creativity, and, what is the real significance of his musical art in the mosaic of Slovene music history.

Vprašanje recepcije glasbenega delovanja, zlasti pa ustvarjanja Janka Ravnika predstavlja navidezno nepomembno tematiko v muzikološkem raziskovanju. Navidezno pravim namenoma zato, ker se imena Janko Ravnik ne oklepa epiteton pomembne skladateljske osebnosti, ki bi nepogrešljivo zaznamovala mozaik slovenske glasbene zgodovine¹. Zakaj je temu tako, je vprašanje, ki zahteva samostojno obravnavo. Pa vendar se mu povsem ne morem izogniti tudi v pričujočem prispevku, ki se bo dotaknil recepcije glasbenega delovanja Janka Ravnika.

Pojem recepcije, ki ga tu uporabljam v nekoliko širšem pomenu, ne gre razumeti le v smislu kritičskih odzivov na skladateljeve novitete, temveč zaobjema skoraj vse pisane viře, ki so prispevali k vedenju in razumevanju skladateljeve umetnosti in njegovega delovanja. Pri tem

¹ Prim.: Lipovšek, Marjan. -Sedamdesetogodišnjica Janka Ravnika.- *Zvuk* 49-50 (1961): 524-526. -Ne može se doduše kazati da je dalji razvojni put tadanje slovenačke moderne bio tesno povezan sa delovanjem Janka Ravnika. Ipak, kao usamljena, značajna pojava, kao ličnost koja odjednom izaziva čučenje svojim izvornim stvaralačkim kvalitetama [...].

imam v mislih kritike, članke, poročila, jubileje, predgovore, življenjepise, skratka vse tiste virov, ki na različne načine poročajo o Ravnikovi ustvarjalnosti. Postavlja se vprašanje nujnosti upoštevanja vseh omenjenih virov in ne le kritik. Prvi odgovor leži v dejstvu, da doslej še ni bila opravljena tovrstna sinteza, ki bi kot osnova raziskovalcu Ravnikove ustvarjalnosti ponudila izhodišča za vsa nadaljnja morebitna vprašanja. Drugi odgovor izhaja iz analize kritik na skladateljevo ustvarjalnost. Slednje lahko predvsem zaradi maloštevilčnosti omogočijo le delni in predvsem subjektivni vpogled v Ravnikovo ustvarjalnost. Torej *prečesati zapisano* je neusmiljena nujnost, ki bo omogočila bolj ali manj celovito sliko recepcije in poznavanja glasbene ustvarjalnosti Janka Ravnika.

Gojimir Krek je bil prvi, ki je v *Novih akordih* opozoril na Ravnikov skladateljski stavek. V rubriki *Listnica uredništva* je napisal: »Janko'. Če sta vposlani skladbi nastali brez učiteljevega vpliva in sta torej docela sad Vašega stremljenja, je vsaka ocena odveč. Čudno se nam zdi, da se niste že prej oglasili. Obe skladbi, kakoršni ležita pred nami, pričata, da se že dolgo bavite s komponiranjem.«² *Poljska pesem* (za mešani zbor), ki predstavlja Ravnikovo prvo objavljeno skladbo tako v *Novih akordih* kot nasploh, velja tudi za skladateljev prvenec. Iz omenjene navedbe se nam postavlja vprašanje dejanske drugačnosti in 'novega' v Ravnikovih skladbah glede na skladbe takratnih sodelavcev *Novih akordov*. Vsekakor gre v tem oziru razumeti Ravnikovo mesto in dejanski pomen, ki ga je zasedal v takratnem slovenskem glasbenem življenju.

Novi akordi so do prenehanja izhajanja objavili devet Ravnikovih skladb: štiri klavirska dela, tri zборе in dva samospeva. Vse objavljene skladbe spremljajo urednikovi komentarji, interpretacije in opombe, iz katerih je jasno razvidno preseganje urednikovih pričakovanj. Citiram: »[...] danes nam pač vsakdo pritrdi, da je Ravnikov *Moment* eden najsrečnejših, najglobljih, najbolj popolnih pojavov naše dosedanje klavirske literature»³, »[...] veselimo se srčno, da so naše na tem mestu v zadnji številki izgovorjene besede, posvečene mlademu Ravniku, našle pri najboljših strokovnjakih iskren odziv»⁴, »[...] in če se je posrečilo mlademu umetniku ustvariti kongenialno uglasbitev, mu smemo iz srca čestitati. Doslej pač najglobokejši stvar nadebudnega Ravnika»⁵, »[...] fino premišljeni klavirski kos *Dolcissimo*»⁶, »[...] Ravnikov mešani zbor *Ženjica* je eden naših najbolj pristrčnih a cappella zborov»⁷, »[...] Čudovito je predvsem, kako tesno se zapreda ta mladi skladatelj v razpoloženje pesnitve, kako se identificira s pesnikom. Pesnikov vzdih je njegov vzdih. [...] Tako nastajajo umetnine!»⁸.

Izbrani navedki, kratki toda v bistvu ujeti, izpričujejo Ravnikovo izstopajočo pozicijo takratnih skladateljskih usmeritev, ki jo je v svojih prispevkih pozneje vedno znova poudarjal tudi Marijan Lipovšek.

Vse Ravnikove skladbe, ki so prispele v uredništvo *Novih akordov*, so danes shranjene v arhivu *Novih akordov* Glasbene zbirke Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani. Gre za dvanajst ohranjenih rokopisov, ki vsebujejo Krekovo rokopisno oznako in v večini primerov datum nastanka. Razen enega (*V mraku*), je za vse rokopise značilno, da nimajo urednikovih korektur. Iz obstoječih podatkov je razvidno, da tri skladbe niso dospele v objavo: *Hrepenenje* za glas in klavir, *Nokturno* za klavir in *Verzi* za glas in klavir. Vse tri so nastale v času Ravnikovega študija na Praškem konservatoriju (v obdobju med 1912 in 1913). Razlogi, zakaj niso doživele objav, so iz pričujočih virov neznan.

² Krek, Gojmir. »Listnica uredništva.« *Novi akordi* 3-4.10 (1911): 62.

³ Krek, Gojmir. »Naše skladbe.« *Novi akordi* 1-2.11 (1912): 11-12.

⁴ Komentar k skladbi za klavir *Večerna pesem*. Krek, Gojmir. »Naše skladbe.« *Novi akordi* 3.11 (1912): 27-28.

⁵ Komentar k skladbi za glas in klavir *Vasovalec?* Krek, Gojmir. »Naše skladbe.« *Novi akordi* 5.11 (1912): 52.

⁶ Krek, Gojmir. »Naše skladbe.« *Novi akordi* 3-4.12 (1913): 36.

⁷ Ibid.: 1-2.12 (1913): 10.

⁸ Komentar k zboru *V mraku*. Krek, Gojmir. »Naše skladbe.« *Novi akordi* 1-4.13 (1914): 16-17.

Zbori so naslednja slovenska glasbena revija, ki je objavila dve Ravnikovi skladbi. Leta 1925 najdemo v različnih številkah dva moška zbor *Kam si šla* in *Sonce v zenitu*. Nikjer v omenjeni reviji pa ne zasledimo poročil ali ocen teh dveh zborov, niti kakršnihkoli prispevkov, ki bi se nanašali na ustvarjalno ali poustvarjalno delo Janka Ravnika.

Omeniti je treba, da trideseta leta 20. stoletja predstavljajo zatišje na polju Ravnikove ustvarjalnosti, kajti v tem obdobju ni nastala niti ena skladba. To si lahko razložimo z dejstvom, da se je Ravnik intenzivno posvečal pedagoškemu delu na takratnem ljubljanskem konservatoriju in tudi precej koncertno udeleževal. To potrjujejo zlasti poročila in kritike takratnega dnevnega časopisja z naslovi: *Sklepna produkcija klavirskih gojencev Janka Ravnika*⁹, *Klavirski večer gojencev Janka Ravnika*¹⁰ in *Komorni koncert Rupel-Ravnik*¹¹, *Violinski koncert v Filharmoniji: Karlo Rupel – Janko Ravnik*¹² itd. Vilko Ukmar piše leta 1935 v *Slovenecu*: »Z veseljem moremo ugotoviti, da uspehi v okviru ljubljanskega konservatorija očevidno rastejo nasproti resnim umetniškim vrednotam. Prireditve, kot je bila produkcija gojencev klavirske šole prof. Janka Ravnika, glasno pričajo za resni umetniški nivo, ki ga dosega to vzgojno delo... Priznati je treba, da je sedaj po isti poti dosegla opisana prireditve že tolikšno vrednost, da ji gre že naziv resnega koncerta»¹³. Ta in podobne kritike pričajo o zagnanem in intenzivnem pedagoškem delu J. Ravnika, ki je pred svoje študente postavil visoke zahteve in pričakovanja. Nagrajen z dobrimi rezultati svojih študentov je najbrž začutil svoje poslanstvo v pedagoško poustvarjalnem delu in tako skladateljsko pero za nekaj časa opustil.

V dvajsetih, intenzivneje pa še v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja, se je Janko Ravnik preizkušal in tudi uveljavil na ljubljanskih koncertnih odrih, zlasti na področju komornega muziciranja. Pogosto je nastopal z violinistom Karlom Ruplom, ki se je po študiju v Franciji vrnil nazaj v Slovenijo, po Adamičevem mnenju¹⁴ pa je veljal za prvega slovenskega violinskega virtuozu. Njune nastope je kritika komentirala takole: »[...] za svojega klavirskega spremljevalca pa si g. Rupel izmed naših pianistov ni mogel izbrati boljšega kot je prof. Janko Ravnik [...] Naše občinstvo ima prav dober nos, - če smem tako reči - in pride mnogoštevilno le na one koncerte, ki so tega v najvišji meri vredni...»¹⁵, »[...] kar je tuptam notranje dinamike in kontrasta manjkalo Ruplovi, formalno blesteči igri, je nadomestil živi Ravnikov glasbeni čut v spremljavi»¹⁶, »smiselnemu in tehnično izdelanemu podajanju obeh umetnikov gre vse priznanje»¹⁷.

Iz koncertnih poročil in kritik je razvidno, da je Ravnik nastopal tudi z drugimi, takrat že uveljavljenimi izvajalci, izmed katerih izstopajo zlasti pevci: Josip Rijavec, Julij Betetto, Pavla Lovšetova in drugi.

Nagnjenost do vokalne glasbene literature, predvsem samospeva in mogoče posledično tudi do tovrstnega komornega muziciranja, nam razkriva Ravnik sam v članku objavljenem leta 1961, izpod peresa Janka Grilca: »Bilo je v letih 1907–1910. Takrat smo imeli na šoli Glasbene maticе nekakšen ožji skladateljski krožek, člani pa so bili pevci, violinisti in pianisti. Med njimi je bil tudi Josip Rijavec, pozneje pevec evropskega formata. Že tedaj je zablestel kot odličen interpret slovenske pesmi, predvsem Lajovčevih samospevov. Ni bilo zgolj samo naključje, da sva se našla oba na isti poti - oba polna navdušenja za slovensko pesem. Obenem sem

⁹ Ukmar, Vilko. »Sklepna produkcija klavirskih gojencev prof. Janka Ravnika.« *Slovenec* 25. jun. 1935: 4.

¹⁰ Ukmar, Vilko. »Klavirski večer gojencev Janka Ravnika.« *Slovenec* 21. marec 1936: 7.

¹¹ Vurnik, Stanko. »Komorni koncert Rupel-Ravnik.« *Slovenec* 1. dec. 1931: 4.

¹² Ukmar, Vilko. »Violinski koncert v Filharmoniji.« *Slovenec* 9. feb. 1933: 4.

¹³ Ukmar, Vilko. »Sklepna produkcija klavirskih gojencev prof. Janka Ravnika.« *Slovenec* 25. jun. 1935: 4.

¹⁴ Adamič, Emil. »Dva komorna koncerta.« *Jutro* 11. dec. 1931: 3.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Vurnik, Stanko. »Komorni koncert Rupel-Ravnik.« *Slovenec* 1. dec. 1931: 4.

¹⁷ Ukmar, Vilko. »Violinski koncert v Filharmoniji.« *Slovenec* 9. dec. 1933: 3.

razširil krog svojih prijateljev na mlade pisatelje [...] Posledica tesnih vezi z Jušom in Ferdodom Kozakom je bila, da sem se začel močneje zanimati za našo pesniško tvornost in leposlovje [...] Tako je čedalje bolj rasla v meni težnja po združitvi pesniške besede z muziko.¹⁸

Iz omenjenih stavkov gre razbrati in razumeti Ravnikovo ustvarjalno nagnjenje, ki je v številu del sicer skromno zastopano, pa vendarle v takratnem času živo prisotno in doma priznано. Tudi hrvaška kritika ni obrnila hrbta Ravnikovemu kompozicijskemu slogu. Ravno nasprotno; v hrvaškem časopisu *Obzor* je do Ravnikovih dveh ženskih zborov (*Zimska pesem* in *Kmetiška*) s klavirsko spremljavo nekoliko zadržano simpatiziranje izrekel Lujo Šafranek-Kavič.¹⁹

Konec štiridesetih in petdeseta leta 20. stoletja predstavljajo po količini napisanih skladb drugo, nekoliko 'intenzivnejše' skladateljsko obdobje. V tem času so *Naši zbori* objavili osem mešanih in moških zborov J. Ravnika, od tega šest novitet. Takratni urednik glasbene revije Adolf Groebming ni imel v navadi, tako kot urednik *Novih akordov* Gojimir Krek ali pa urednik *Nove muzike* Emil Adamič, podajati ocen in kritik objavljenih skladb. V eni številki pa zasledimo članek Janka Ravnika, ki je kot takratni rektor Akademije za glasbo ob pregledu skladb za novo številko *Naših zborov* poslal daljšo oceno. Urednik je bil mnenja, da »bodo ugotovitve bolj koristile, če jih sporoči javnosti, kakor da bi jih prikrivalo s plaščem uredniške tajnosti²⁰. V članku *Še nekaj besed o zborovski glasbi* opaža Ravnik, da »mnogo skladateljev ne pozna več tehnike vokalne kompozicije in da nima prave predstave o zvoku zbora [...] Tej vrsti zborovskih skladateljev stoji nasproti druga, številčno močnejša vrsta, ki sicer odlično obvlada zborovski slog, ki pa v izbiri sredstev in gradiva hodi venomer po starih izvoženih poteh. Tem skladateljem sledi še tretja vrsta, ki svoje skladbe dobesebdo 'sklada', in sicer od verza do verza, od besede do besede, ali glasbeno povedano od akorda do akorda...²¹. S temi stavki in tistimi, ki še sledijo izraža Ravnik splošno razočaranje nad takratnim stanjem zborovske ustvarjalnosti. Pravi, da vse skladbe razen nekaterih, kažejo grozovito enoličnost in stereotipnost in ne povedo prav nič novega in naprednega. Sodi, da o kompozicijski tehniki ni več govora, o muzikalni invenciji pa še manj. Ravnik zaključuje, da kvaliteta vokalne ustvarjalnosti na splošno upada in, da bi bilo nujno odkriti vzroke za ta žalostni pojav.

Deset let pozneje se v isti reviji oglasi Vilko Ukmar s člankom *Zborovske pesmi Janka Ravnika*, v katerem oriše glasbeno, umetniško in izrazno podobo Ravnikovih zborov. Povod temu je bil izid zbirke *Deset zborov* pri Društvu slovenskih skladateljev. Ukmar jih je označil kot »bisere našega glasbenega zaklada, ki so bili doslej raztreseni²². Avtor članka skuša skozi življenjsko filozofijo in glasbeno-estetske nazore skladatelja izpostaviti kvalitete Ravnikovih zborovskih del. Pri tem se sicer ne spušča preveč v skladateljevo poetiko, omeni pa »značilne akorde« brez kakršnekoli podrobnejše razlage. Ukmarjev prispevek predstavlja, če izvememo poznejše Lipovškove članke, enega redkih primerov kjer avtor, sicer brez glasbeno-analitičnih obravnav, komentira in ocenjuje Ravnikovo ustvarjalnost. Če sem bolj natančna, najdemo podobno obravnavo Ravnikovega kompozicijskega sloga že prej v Ukmarjevem članku z naslovom *Janko Ravnik ima šestdeset let²³*, iz leta 1951. Zanj velja večja širokopoteznost podana v nekoliko poetičnem jeziku, kjer seveda ni bilo prostora za konkretne razlage in strokovna utemeljevanja dejstev.

Slovenska glasbena revija je v prvem in tretjem letniku objavila skupaj dve Ravnikovi klavirski skladbi: *Nokturno* (1952) in *Groteskno koračnico* (1955). Obe skladbi je uredništvo v

¹⁸ Grilc, Janko. »Janko Ravnik – sedemdesetletnik.« *Naši razgledi* 10 (1961): 243.

¹⁹ Lujo Šafranek-Kavič. »Koncert slovenske moderne vokalne glasbe.« *Obzor* 15.169 (1928): 3.

²⁰ Glej uvod k članku: Ravnik, Janko. »Še nekaj besed o krizi v zborovski glasbi.« *Naši zbori* 3.8 (1953): 2-3.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ukmar, Vilko. »Zborovske pesmi Janka Ravnika.« *Naši zbori* 17 (1964/65): 47.

²³ Ukmar, Vilko. »Janko Ravnik ima šestdeset let.« *Naši zbori* 6 (1951): 13-14.

rubriki *Naše skladbe* pospremlilo s kratko razlago in komentarjem ter apeliralo tako na interprete kot izdajatelje, naj se s svojim deležem oddolžijo uglednemu skladatelju.²⁴

Urednik *Slovenske glasbene revije* Marijan Lipovšek je že v prvi številki izkoristil skladateljev jubilej in objavil članek *Ob 60-letnici Janka Ravnika*²⁵. V njem se ozira nazaj v preteklost in ponovno spomni na pomen, ki so ga imeli *Novi akordi* v slovenskem glasbenem življenju na začetku 20. stoletja. Omenjena vsebina mu služi kot uvod v članek, dejansko pa se osredotoči na glasbeno analizo in intepretacijo Ravnikovih skladb objavljenih v *Novih akordih*. Pri podajanju analize Lipovšek ne sledi določenemu izbranemu konceptu glasbene analize, temveč pri različnih skladbah poudari različne značilnosti kompozicijskega stavka. Tako npr. v nekaterih skladbah izpostavi harmonsko sliko, v drugih oblikovne ali pa kadenčne rešitve. Razlage neredko popestri s Krekovimi citati ali pa oriše ozadje nastanka skladbe. Lipovšek zaključuje prispevek z naslednjim stavkom: »Ravnik ni mož napisane ali izgovorjene besede, temveč mož melodike in akordov. O njegovih drugih delih, o katerih malo vemo, pa bodo morali spregovoriti natančneje muzikologi, ki imajo tu še mnogo neobdelane ledine».²⁶

Lipovškova pričakovanja se še do danes niso uresničila, kajti tehtnega, strokovno argumentiranega prispevka o Ravnikovem kompozicijskem stavku ni prispeval še nihče.²⁷

Skoraj dvajset let mlajši Lipovšek je v Ravniku videl pomemben mejnik v slovenski glasbeni ustvarjalnosti²⁸, katerega skladbe so v poznejših besedah Andreja Rijavca »potegnile črto čez dotedanjo, vse preveč čitalniško salonskost»²⁹. Že Gojimir Krek je v Ravniku prepoznal »poklicanega za izpolnitev najglobljih želja svojega naroda in za doseg najvišjih ciljev umetnosti»³⁰.

Ozaveščen s takratnim stanjem slovenskega glasbenega življenja je Lipovšek priznaval Ravniku izreden pomen pri oblikovanju slovenske glasbene moderne. Slednje trditve izpričuje avtor zlasti v obeh člankih objavljenih v glasbeni reviji *Zvuk*.

Iz vseh ohranjenih virov, ki tako ali drugače poročajo predvsem o ustvarjalnem delu Janka Ravnika je razvidno, da je večino besedil zlasti po letu 1950 prispeval Marjan Lipovšek. Lipovškova strokovna besedila s poudarkom na glasbenih analizah skladb Janka Ravnika, so zastopana s po enim prispevkom v reviji *Zvuk*³¹ in *Slovenski glasbeni reviji*³², če izvzamemo spremni besedi ki so zbirka *Lirični spevi in Klavirske skladbe*. V prispevku z naslovom *Kompozicioni stav Janka Ravnika* razdeli Lipovšek skladateljevo ustvarjalnost na tri obdobja, ki se vežejo na »tri slovenske glasbene moderne«. Pravi, da Ravnikov kompozicijski stavek korenini v prvi slovenski glasbeni moderni, katere začetnik je Anton Lajovic, se nadaljuje v drugo moderno s Škerjancom, Kogojem in Ostercem na čelu, ter vstopa še v obdobje tretje moderne, približno okrog leta 1960. V tem članku izpostavi avtor na primerih izbranih glasbenih analiz posamezne značilnosti skladateljske poetike znotraj omenjenih časovnih razdelitev. Tovrstni pristop – poskus slogovne razdelitve v luči analize izbranih del ter interpretacije skladateljske ustvarjalnosti – predstavlja osamljen primer v zapisani 'zapuščini', ki nam je danes na voljo.

²⁴ V komentarju iz leta 1952 piše uredništvo (Marjan Lipovšek in Matija Bravničar): »Kdor pozna prejšnje Ravnikove skladbe, se bo ob tem Nokturnu nemalo začudil: To je vse kaj drugega v izraznih sredstvih kakor tiste Ravnikove skladbe, ki smo jih na primer skušali analizirati v prvi številki naše revije.« Gl. SGR 2.1 (1952): 32. Iz navedka je razvidno, da je Ravnikov kompozicijski slog v tistem času doživljal določene spremembe, ki so se pozitivno manifestirale tudi v recepciji takratne glasbene srenje.

²⁵ Lipovšek, Marjan. »Ob 60-letnici Janka Ravnika.« *Slovenska glasbena revija* 1 (1951): 12-15.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Čeprav najdemo nekaj poskusov na področju diplomskih nalog (prim.: Jaroslava Erzina, *Klavirske sklade, zbori in samospevi Janka Ravnika*. Ljubljana, Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za muzikologijo, 1971. Ann-Marie Michelle Bastar. *Klavirske skladbe v Novih akordih*. Ljubljana, Akademija za glasbo, Oddelek za glasbeno pedagogiko, 1995. Mladen Delin, *Klavirske skladbe Janka Ravnika*. Maribor, Pedagoška fakulteta, Oddelek za glasbeno pedagogiko, 2001.) pa žal nobena ne ponuja globljih interpretacij skladateljevih del, temveč se zadovoljuje s harmonsko-oblikovnimi analizami, ki so pogosto same sebi namen.

²⁸ Prim.: *Zvuk* 49/50 (1961): 524-526.

²⁹ Rijavec, Andrej. *Slovenska glasbena dela*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije 1979, 253.

³⁰ Gl. op. 2.

³¹ Lipovšek, Marjan. »Kompozicioni stav Janka Ravnika.« *Zvuk* 117-118 (1971): 360-370.

³² Lipovšek, Marjan. »Ob 60-letnici Janka Ravnika.« *Slovenska glasbena revija* 2.1 (1952): 32.

Vsi drugi avtorji, ki so poleg Lipovška pisali o Ravniku, so se sklicevali in prevzemali potrebne in ustrezne podatke iz že obstoječih virov nastalih izpod peresa Marjana Lipovška. Naj kot najrelevantnejše vire iz katerih so le-ti črpali navedem naslednje članke: *O Seguidillab Janka Ravnika*³³, *Ob 60 letnici Janka Ravnika*³⁴, *Jubilej slovenskega umetnika*³⁵, *Sedamdesetogodišnjca Janka Ravnika*³⁶, *Janko Ravnik – petinsedemdesetletnik*³⁷, *Kompozicijski stav Janka Ravnika*³⁸, *Uvod k izdaji zbirke 'Lirični spevi' za glas in klavir z naslovom 'Društvo slovenskih skladateljev je izdalo to zbirko samospevov za skladateljevo petinestdesetletnico'*³⁹ in *Uvod k izdaji 'Klavirske skladbe'*⁴⁰. Nič ni nenavadnega, da omenjeni viri predstavljajo oporno točko v morebitnih nadaljnjih kompozicijsko-analitičnih raziskavah ustvarjalnosti Janka Ravnika. Lipovškova besedila se zagotovo najgloblje dotikajo Ravnikove umetnosti, saj edina skušajo predreti v bistvo skladateljeve ustvarjalnosti in razumevanja njegovega glasbenega jezika. Vendar v primeru Lipovšek lahko govorimo le o fragmentih, ki nakazujejo in odpirajo smeri raziskovanja. Nobeno besedilo pa ne ponuja izpeljave določenega problema.⁴¹ Pri tem ne gre zameriti Lipovšku njegovega nekoliko (za današnje čase) pomanjkljivega muzikološkega argumentiranja – brez Lipovškovih prispevkov bi Ravnikova osebnost obtičala na margini slovenskega glasboslovja – temveč vsem naslednikom, ki so se sklicevali na Lipovškove trditve, ne da bi jih pri tem ustrezno poskusili utemeljiti. Tovrsten primer se kaže v prispevku Manice Špendal z naslovom *Samospevi Janka Ravnika*.⁴² Prispevek ponuja v okviru nedefinirane metodologije blede, nezanimivo in sploh že nekajkrat 'prežvečeno' intepretacijo Ravnikovih samospevov. Avtorica se denimo poslužuje Lipovškovega citata⁴³, ne da bi ga pri tem strokovno utemeljila ali pa ovrgla. Žal ga uporabi le kot dodatek lastnemu plagiatskemu zaključevanju, ki v osnovi prevzema Lipovškove trditve.

Ravnikove skladbe so bile tudi predmet zanimanja ruske muzikologinje Marine Melnikove, toda le kot sredstvo utemeljevanja teorije »glasba kot glasbeno sporočilo« na primeru klavirskih del Stanka Premrla in Janka Ravnika.⁴⁴

Iz navedenega gre zaključiti, da v muzikološkem raziskovanju ustvarjalnost J. Ravnika doslej ni bila deležna tehtne, še manj pa sistematične obravnave. Izhodišča, ki jih je v svojih prispevkih fragmentarno nakazal Lipovšek, so kljub nekaterim osamljenim poskusom v osnovi ostala neraziskana.

Vprašanje biografskih in bibliografskih podatkov, ki nam v določenem segmentu izpričujejo skladateljevo vpetost v slovenski glasbeni prostor je naslednja kazalka v smeri recepcije njegovega življenja in dela.

Navedbe biografskih podatkov Janka Ravnika se v obstoječem gradivu v različnih prispevkih ponavljajo in ne ponujajo novih oz. podrobnejših podatkov o skladateljevem

³³ *Náš val* 17.1 (1934): 7-10.

³⁴ *Slovenska glasbena revija* 1 (1951-52): 12-15.

³⁵ *Slovenski poročevalec* 9. maj 1951: 2.

³⁶ *Zvuk* 49/50 (1961): 524-526.

³⁷ *Niši zborni* 6.18 (1966): 41-43.

³⁸ *Zvuk* 117/118 (1971): 360-370.

³⁹ *Lirični spevi*. Ed. DSS 41.

⁴⁰ *Klavirske skladbe*, Ed. DSS 537.

⁴¹ Ob tej trditvi imam v mislih denimo naslednji Lipovškov stavek »Ako se vež Lajovic udaljio od crkveno-čitalničkog- načina harmonizovanja k koncipiranja kompozicionog stava, Ravnik je otišao dalje. Postao je rani glasnik slovenačkog impresionizma, iako po svojoj biti nije mogao postati impresionista, jer je u sebi nosio suviše izražajne snage, a da bi mogao da se ograniči na ono trpno-slikovito pružanje utisaka i boja koje je za impresionizam tako karakteristično.« Prim.: *Zvuk* 49/50 (1961): 524-526. Omenjeni navedek ponuja trditve, ki denimo ni bila v Lipovškovem besedilu deležna tehtnejše argumentacije.

⁴² Špendal, Manica. »Samospevi Janka Ravnika.« *Muzikološki zbornik* 17/2 (1981): 191-198.

⁴³ Gl. op. 41.

⁴⁴ Melnikova, Marina. »Klavirska dela Stanka Premrla in Janka Ravnika kot glasbeno sporočilo.« *Slovenska glasba v preteklosti in sedanjosti / Slovenski glasbeni dnevi 1988*. Zbornik referatov z mednarodnega simpozija Ljubljana – Kostanjevica, april 1988. Ljubljana: Kres, 1992: 100-106.

življenju in delu. Lahko rečemo: kar je Lipovšek prispeval v omenjenih člankih, predstavlja celotno vedenje o skladateljevem življenju.⁴⁵

Če se ponovno vrnem na Ravnikove biografske podatke, najširše in najpodrobneje predstavljene v Lipovškovih prispevkih, sklepam, da je bil njihov izvor skladatelj sam. Iz številnih člankov je moč direktno ali pa med vrsticami razbrati, da je bila prijateljska navezava med Ravnikom in Lipovškom podčrtana z iskrenim medsebojnim spoštovanjem. Nenazadnje to razkriva tudi Lipovškova spremna beseda k Ravnikovi knjigi *Odsevi in obličja*⁴⁶. Slednja pravzaprav ni knjiga v vsakdanjem pomenu besede, temveč album umetniških fotografij posnetih v Triglavskem narodnem parku. Edini argument ki opravičuje tovrstno sodelovanje je njuno prijateljstvo. To potrjuje tudi naklonjenost in privrženost Marijana Lipovška do te umirjene, razsodne in globoko čuteče osebe.⁴⁷

Podatki o J. Ravniku v enciklopedijah in leksikonih ne kažejo večjih vsebinskih (v smislu sorodnosti in obsega podatkov) odstopanj, vsekakor pa bi veljalo izpostaviti skladateljev opis v *Slovenskem biografskem leksikonu*⁴⁸. Le-ta je vsekakor najobsežnejši in najzanimivejši, ker ponuja določene podatke, ki jih potem ne zasledimo nikjer več. Avtor tega članka je Rafael Ajlec, ki poleg biografskih podatkov v nadaljevanju besedila našteje Ravnikove skladbe v nekakšnem kronološkem zaporedju glede na glasbene zvrsti. V besedilu zasledimo dve skladbi (*Koncertna etuda* iz leta 1920 in *Preludij* za orgle brez dodatnih oznak), ki ju nikjer prej ne pozneje ne srečamo več v nobenem viru. Postavlja se vprašanje, ali je Ravnik dejansko napisal ti dve skladbi, ki nista bili pozneje nikjer objavljeni, rokopisa pa mogoče izgubljena. Toda če je to res, se postavljata tudi vprašanji, zakaj ju ne omenja noben vir in kje si je avtor pridobil ta dva podatka.

Če pogledamo literaturo, ki jo je avtor navedel ob koncu članka, po natančnem preiskovanju ugotovimo, da noben od naštetih virov ne omenja teh dveh skladb. Poleg tega ugotovimo še, da bi manjkale mnoge letnice nastanka skladb, ki jih avtor navaja v biografskem opisu Janka Ravnika, če bi Ajlec dejansko upošteval le omenjeno literaturo. Lahko celo rečemo, da avtor ni naštel vseh naslovov iz katerih je črpal podatke za svoj prispevek. Eden je vsekakor Ravnikova mapa⁴⁹, brez katere ne bi dobil nekaterih datumov nastanka skladb. Obstaja tudi možnost, da je Ajlec komuniciral direktno s skladateljem, toda noben vir ne priča temu v prid. Tudi arhiv Slovenskega biografskega leksikona⁵⁰ vsebuje Ravnikovo mapo, v kateri se nahajajo nekateri viri (časopisni izrezki) in redigirano besedilo R. Ajleca⁵¹, ne ponudi pa nobenega odgovora na zastavljeno vprašanje.

Ta, nekoliko obsežnejši primer priča, da se v poznejši recepciji Ravnikove ustvarjalnosti ni nihče spopadal z omenjenim problemom. Podatkov ni nihče kontroliral, bili so samoumevni in tako so (kot nepreverjeni) neredko prispeli v nekatere poznejše enciklopedične članke.

Recepcijo Ravnikove glasbene ustvarjalnosti v slovenski publicistiki lahko opazujemo na več ravneh. Prvo raven predstavljajo predvsem kritike v takratnih glasbenih revijah⁵², ki od *Novih akordov do Slovenske glasbene revije* izkazujejo kontinuirano naklonjenost in priznavanje Ravnikovih glasbenih stvaritev. Tu gre seveda izpostaviti dve ključni osebnosti, ki sta botrovali tovrstni zgodovinsko-kritičski sliki – Gojmir Krek in Marjan Lipovšek. Kakšno

⁴⁵ Iz tega gre razbrati Ravnikovo umirjeno, brez večjih stresov in prelomnic zaznamovano življensko pot.

⁴⁶ Gl. predgovor k: Ravnik, Janko. *Odsevi in obličja*. Maribor: Obzorja, 1980, 5-13.

⁴⁷ Prim.: *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Gspan, Alfonz, ur. *Slovenski biografski leksikon*, zv. III. Ljubljana: SAZU, 1960-1971.

⁴⁹ Nahaja se v glasbeni zbirki Narodno-univerzitetne knjižnice Ljubljana.

⁵⁰ Nahaja se na Inštitutu za biografiko in biografijo Znanstveno-raziskovalnega centra SAZU v Ljubljani.

⁵¹ Redaktor je bil Marjan Lipovšek, ki je v popravljeno besedilo označil tudi datum 10. 12. 1958.

⁵² O kritikah Ravnikovih skladb v dnevnem časopisu takratnega časa skoraj ne moremo govoriti. Tisto kar sicer obstaja (*Jutro, Slovenec, Slovenski narod*) zadeva predvsem poustvarjalno Ravnikovo udejstvovanje na področju komornega muziciranja.

receptijo je doživel skladateljev opus v očeh svojih sodobnikov (Anton Lajovic) in poznejših mlajših generacij (če izvzamemo M. Lipovška), nam iz obstoječih zapisov in virov ni znano.

Drugo raven tvorijo prispevki s področja glasbeno-analitičnega dela Ravnikovih skladb. Kot je razvidno iz pričujočega prispevka, je večino tovrstnih člankov podpisal Marjan Lipovšek. Tisti, ki so se za Lipovškom preskušali v tovrstnem delu, so zapustili slabo kopijo »že povedanega«.

Tretjo raven, ki bi morebiti razkrila nekatere manjkajoče povezave v razumevanju Ravnikove ustvarjalnosti predstavljajo obstoječi življenjepisni viri in podobni orisi skladateljevega življenja in dela. Če zanemarimo enciklopedične primere prispevkov ugotovimo, da je vse relevantne življenjepise ponovno podal Marjan Lipovšek.

Obstoječi viri, iz katerih torej lahko razberemo življenje in delo slovenskega skladatelja in klavirskega pedagoga Janka Ravnika, so kljub navidezni številčnosti in raznoterosti⁵³ zelo skopi in enosmerni. Skopost se kaže v uporabi in ponavljanju vedno istih podatkov na katerih temelji večina poročil, opisov, predstavitev in jubilejev⁵⁴ o samem skladatelju. Enosmernost pa lahko razumemo predvsem kot pisanje večine besedil izpod peresa ene od avtoritet slovenskega glasbenega življenja 20. stoletja, Marjana Lipovška. Lahko rečemo, da se oba momenta prepletata skozi naslednji proces: Marjan Lipovšek si je kot poznavalec in tudi osebni prijatelj Janka Ravnika na nek način 'lastil pravico' do pisanja o skladatelju, bodisi samoiniciativno ali po nasvetu drugih glasbenih avtoritet takratnega časa in tako večino besedil prispeval sam.

Torej če govorimo o recepciji Ravnikove glasbene ustvarjalnosti in nasploh njegovega glasbenega delovanja v slovenski glasbeni publicistiki je jasno, da bi ta brez Lipovškovih prispevkov zdrknila v marginalnost. Iz virov je vsekakor razvidno, da Janko Ravnik ni predstavljal revolucionarne osebnosti, ki bi s svojimi skladbami močno predramila slovenski glasbeni svet. Bil je nekdo, ki je tako Gojmira Kreka kot mladega Lipovška opozoril na posebnost svoje glasbene govorice. O tej govorici pa sta si žal »drznila« spregovoriti le onadva. Krek je nanjo opozoril, Lipovšek pa je skušal utemeljevati njeno svojskost.

Zagotovo bi si Ravnikove skladbe zaslužile sistematično in tehtno muzikološko obravnavo, ki bi jasno dodelila vlogo in pomen tega skladatelja in njegove ustvarjalnosti v slovenskem prostoru.

⁵³ Raznoterost razumem v upoštevanju različnih virov oz. različnih ravni spremljanja recepcije Ravnikove glasbene ustvarjalnosti.

⁵⁴ Številčnejši jubileji, ki predvsem zadevajo novejšje prispevke različnih avtorjev tako v glasbenih revijah kot dnevnem časopisu (*Večer, Delo, Naši zbori, Glasbena mladina*) niso bili deležni obravnave v tem prispevku zato, ker povzemajo že obstoječe vedenje o življenju in delu J. Ravnika.

UDK 821.162.3-6 Janáček:Beran

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The forgotten correspondence between two friends: Leoš Janáček (1854-1928) and Emerik Beran (1868-1940)

Pozabljena korespondenca med prijateljskima:
Leoš Janáček (1854-1928)
in Emerik Beran (1868-1940)

Ključne besede: korespondenca, Leoš Janáček, Emerik Beran, Brno, Maribor

Keywords: Correspondence, Leoš Janáček, Emerik Beran, Brno, Maribor

POVZETEK

Češka in Moravska sta skoraj tri stoletja pošiljali svoje glasbeno nadarjene sinove po svetu ter si s tem prislužili vzdevek konservatorij Evrope. Val čeških glasbenikov je v drugi polovici 19. stoletja segel tudi na Slovensko, kjer so kot glasbeni ustvarjalci, poustvarjalci in pedagogi odločilno prispevali k rasti mlade slovenske glasbene kulture in tako na prehod iz glasbeno-navdahnjenega diletantizma v postopen kvalitativen in kvantitativen dvig glasbenega dela na Slovenskem. Med slednje prav gotovo sodi Emerik Beran, ki je tudi po selitvi iz rojstnega Brna na Moravskem v Maribor na Slovenskem leta 1898, prek pisemske korespondence privatnega značaja ohranil tesne prijateljske vezi s svojim nekdanjim profesorjem na Orglarski šoli v Brnu Leošom Janáčkom. Korespondenca med Janáčkom in Beranom ponuja dragocen vpogled v njune glasbene ambicije, odnose do drugih kolegov, delovanje tamkajšnjih glasbenih institucij ter kulturno in politično vzdušje časa v katerem sta delovala. Janáček in Beran sta

SUMMARY

Bohemia and Moravia were sending their musically talented sons into the world for nearly three hundred years thereby earning the title of Europe's conservatorium. A wave of Czech musicians also reached Slovenia in the second half of the 19th century, where they decisively contributed to the growth of the young Slovene musical culture as composers, music performers and music pedagogues and thereby, to the passage from the musically-inspired diletantism into a gradual high quality and quantity increase in the musical work in Slovenia. One of the latter is certainly Emerik Beran, who maintained close and friendly contacts with his former professor at the Brno Organ School, Leoš Janáček, through letters of correspondence of a private nature, even after moving from his birth town Brno in Moravia to Maribor in Slovenia in 1898.

The correspondence between Janáček and Beran gives us valuable insight into their musical ambitions, relations to other colleagues, the

ves čas dopisovanja (od 1890 do 1928) ohranila zelo dober odnos, njuna korespondenca pa navaja več primerov njune medsebojne pomoči pri poklicnih zadevah.

functioning of musical institutions and the cultural and political climate of those times. Janáček and Beran maintained very good relations throughout their letter-exchange period (from 1890 to 1928) and their correspondence provides evidence of several instances of mutual generosity as they helped each other in their careers.

Not only in Slovenia but also elsewhere in Europe, works on music history seem to be, as a tradition, strongly influenced by national criteria. Thus, music is too often merely observed within a defined national framework. On the contrary, a characteristic feature of the period during the transition to the 20th century is the numerous pieces of correspondence, showing the high intensity and closeness of the composers', music performers' and music pedagogues' international dialogue. The topics of these pieces of correspondence are discussed again and again, but only rarely systematically researched.

Bohemia and Moravia were sending their musically talented sons into the world for nearly three hundred years thereby earning the title of Europe's conservatorium. A wave of Czech musicians also reached Slovenia in the second half of the 19th century, where they decisively contributed to the growth of the young Slovene musical culture as composers, music performers and music pedagogues. One of the latter is certainly Emerik Beran, who maintained close and friendly contacts with his former professor at the Brno Organ School, Leoš Janáček, through letters of correspondence of a private nature, even after moving from his birth town Brno in Moravia to Maribor in Slovenia in 1898.

Among the twenty-one preserved letters from Janáček to Beran, written during 1890 and 1928, eight of Janáček's letters and eight of Janáček's postcards have been preserved, in addition to five official letters written during Beran's pedagogical work at the Organ School in Brno. Among twenty-one of Beran's letters to Janáček, written during 1911 and 1928, we can find eight of Beran's letters and thirteen of Beran's postcards, where in five of them, the place and time are not exactly given.¹

Janáček corresponded with Beran mostly from Brno, and only rarely wrote to him from other places. On the other hand, Beran wrote most of his letters in Maribor where he worked until 1928. The only exceptions are later letters to Janáček's spouse, which were sent from Ljubljana.

¹ In spite of this, we can more or less precisely determine with regard to the content when each letter was written.

Beran was ever thankful to Janáček for his tutorship at the Brno Organ School, and therefore, several times emphasising in his letters, that it was »Janáček who had given the most to the school's students.«² His opinion was that the Organ School set stricter criteria for promotion to a higher grade under his tutorship and was more »modern« than »the traditional« Prague Conservatorium.³ The study programme at that time »only« had three grades; however, the requirements were so extensive that students rarely managed to complete their studies in three years.⁴ Janáček undoubtedly saw a capable musician in Beran, excelling in »rich musical knowledge and with exceptional musical talent.«⁵ As the Organ School's Headmaster, he entrusted several pedagogical obligations at the only higher education institute in Moravia at that time (the Brno Organ School) to Beran after he had completed his musical studies at the age of 22. Janáček's official letters, sent to Beran during 1890 and 1896, show that Janáček had even consulted Beran in preparing programmes for the Organ School's production. The trust won by Beran with Janáček through his conscientious performance of pedagogical obligations and his »exemplary behaviour within the school« soon grew into a close friendship.⁶ Thus Janáček had already begun addressing Beran with »Dear friend« while they were colleagues at the Brno Organ School.⁷

After Beran had left for Maribor in autumn 1898, the correspondence between Janáček and Beran was interrupted for more than a decade. It seems reasonable to find the reason why the musicians did not write to each other during that period in Beran's breaking off of any contacts with his mother country after his arrival to Slovenia. The disappointment because he could not get a permanent job in Moravia,⁸ and the disappointment after the love of his life (Roza Stvrtníček)⁹ had refused him was probably so painful for Beran that he even ceased his contact with Leoš Janáček. Although a more personal note between the correspondents in Janáček's official letters to Beran during 1890 and 1896 can be traced, it only appears openly in Janáček's congratulation to Beran upon his wedding with Marija Podobnik dated 1908.¹⁰ Christmas and New Year greetings then preserve the continuity in their letter contacts until the beginning of World War I. However, their correspondence is not only marked with Christmas and New Year

² The merits for the high professional level of the Organ School were mostly due to its pedagogic head and first headmaster, Leoš Janáček, who was always endeavouring to introduce new didactic and educational methods, thus gradually increasing the teaching level of the Organ School. Janáček as a capable organizer managed to put together an enviable teachers' assembly through the Institute's Supervisory Board, which consisted of the highest representatives of the worldly and church authorities in Brno of that time.

³ Beran wrote several times in his letters to Janáček that at the time of his studies, the Organ School's graduates had exceeded the Prague Conservatorium's graduates in their knowledge. See Beran's correspondence with Janáček located in Oddělení dějin hudby of Moravské zemské muzeum in Brno.

⁴ Thus only Emerik Beran and Cyril Metoděj Hrazdírka successfully passed all examinations and completed their studies with a public diploma examination in the 1887/88 Academic Year from among sixteen students of the last grade. See Beran's legacy in the Maribor University Library.

⁵ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, Brno, 30th March 1893.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, Brno, 20th January 1896.

⁸ Wishing to improve his financial situation, he applied to advertised posts in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, which is revealed from his great number of applications for the full-time post of a music teacher between 1890 and 1898. As many as thirteen applications from this period were unsuccessful – six for posts at Czech and seven at German teacher training colleges. There were too many candidates for full-time employment, but it was also partly due to language and nationality fights in Czech countries, in which relations were extremely strained. As Beran was employed at a Czech teacher training college, teaching there in the Czech language, his applications for German teacher training colleges were already doomed to failure in advance. On the other hand, the Czech institutes held a grudge against Beran because he had passed the state professional examination in Vienna and not in Prague. In such a fighting atmosphere, saturated with mutual dislodging, both sides used unprofessional criteria in occupying vacant posts. During the decade until 1898, Beran's professional fate was thus, several times, left in the hands of the intolerant policy of national divisions. See Beran's legacy in the Maribor University Library.

⁹ In numerous short love letters written from 1891 and 1898, Beran showed his wish to get married to the love of his life, Roza Stvrtníček, who, however, was not intended for him. He dedicated numerous musical works to her: on 14th July 1892, *Two love songs* for the piano, on 26th August 1892, the piano extract of the cantata *Rama*, on 25th May 1893, the solo *Lotos blossom*, and on 26th August 1893, on her 17th birthday, *Six saloon works* for the piano. Beran's »Brno muse«, Roza Stvrtníček, was eight years younger than Emerik. After she had left for Maribor, Beran was grieved that he had lost his love in Brno and never saw her again as she had married another man. She was said to have remembered the young Beran, who used to be her teacher in Brno, several times. See Beran's legacy in the Maribor University Library.

¹⁰ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, Brno, 19th May 1908. This was the first Janáček's letter to Beran in the 20th century.

greetings. Thus Janáček expressed his condolences to Beran over the death of his father, Vincenc Beran, in his telegram dated 1914.¹¹

Beran tried to mediate with Janáček in the same year for the premiere staging of the operetta *Princesa Vrtoglavka* (The Dizzy Princess) by the Slovene composer Josip Ipavec (1873-1921), whose Viennese tutor during 1904 and 1905 was Alexander Zemlinsky. Probably it was just the closing of the Ljubljana Opera House in 1913 that encouraged Ipavec to intensively search for contacts with other opera theatres, after there was no possibility of performing his operetta in Ljubljana.¹² The surname of Ipavec was certainly not unknown in the Moravian capital since the opera *Teharski plemiči* (The Teharje Noblemen) of Josip's uncle Benjamin had been performed there in 1895. Beran was immediately willing to help Ipavec and also wrote to Janáček in this sense.¹³ The latter was an undisputable authority in the Brno musical circles in the opera field at that time and could have influenced the theatre administration with his reputation so that they would include Ipavec's operetta in their programme.¹⁴ In his answer to his former student, Janáček assessed Ipavec's work well and asked Beran to also send him his own opera *Melusina* so that he would also try to mediate for its premiere staging in the Brno theatre.¹⁵ Beran informed Ipavec of the favourable outcome of his intervention without delay, and at the same time also reported to him about the situation in the opera orchestra in Brno as Janáček had described it in his letter to him: "The group is sufficiently large and sufficiently capable of co-operating in opera performances such as *Fidelio*, *Dalibor* or *Carmen*."¹⁶ He also informed Ipavec that a successful premiere in the Moravian capital would probably also ensure his operetta a performance in Prague, from where *Princesa Vrtoglavka* could continue its victorious march through the world musical stages. At last, Beran asked Ipavec to write to Janáček himself: "You can also write in Slovene since the Master is a keen Slav."¹⁷ However, only a few days after that, fatal shots resounded in Sarajevo and the world was plummeted into the catastrophe of World War I.

In spite of the war, the correspondence between Janáček and Beran remained uninterrupted. It even seems that the hope for the times which would be more in favour of the Slav idea connected them even more closely and thus strengthened their correspondence during the War. Their main bond seems to be Beran's dissatisfaction, which is most probably due to ever stronger German ideological pressures with regard to "everything of Slav character" and Beran's concerns due to the (non)staging of *Melusina*.

Beran thus asked Janáček in his letters from that period several times whether a premiere of his opera could be staged in Plzeň, where he had achieved great success as a composer during his work in Brno.¹⁸ From the creation of *Melusina* in 1896, Beran had consistently endeavoured to have it staged and had sent the opera to various addresses, but was refused

¹¹ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, Brno, probably 6th May 1914. It is not known when the above-mentioned telegram was sent. Based on the post seal on the telegram, we can assume that Janáček sent it to Beran on 6th May 1914.

¹² GRDINA, IGOR, *Ipavci: zgodovina slovenske meščanske dinastije*, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana 2001, 437-438.

¹³ BERAN, EMERIK, Maribor, 24th May 1914.

¹⁴ DANUSER, HERMANN, *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Ed. DAHLHAUS, CARL, *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, 7, Laaber Verlag, Laaber 1984, 49.

¹⁵ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, 16th June 1914.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ BERAN, EMERIK, Maribor, 17th June 1914. Both the Czech and Slovene languages are descended from Proto-Slavic, a Western offshoot of the Eastern Indo-European ('satem') group of languages. It took approximately three millennia for the Proto-Slavic language to evolve. Even towards the end of the first millennium AD, the Slavic language was still essentially uniform in its grammar and phonology. WINGFIELD, PAUL, *Janáček: Glagolitic Mass*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1992, 27.

¹⁸ On 21st November 1897, Beran's *Legenda I* (Legend I) for orchestra (marked 'Ossian') achieved a splendid success with the public. *Moravské Listy*, No. 12, 24th November 1897.

each time.¹⁹ At last, he offered it to the theatre in Zagreb just prior to the beginning of World War I, but the opera was not included in the theatre programme. After his last unsuccessful attempt, he abandoned all efforts for its staging for more than a decade.

Beran as a decided Panslavist and Russophile was, in principle, against everything Austrian. In his interest for the Russian world, he followed Janáček's direction to the Slavonic East.²⁰ In spite of German pressures, he confessed his Czech origin and that his ideas had always belonged to the Czech nation. Janáček was pleased with Beran's national pride and wrote: »I can feel from your letter that you have not lost your Czech soul abroad.«²¹ Janáček felt Beran's distress, which was a consequence of stronger and stronger pro-German pressures and also of Beran's long-term pedagogical work. In his letter from this period, Janáček wrote: »It is easy for me to believe that you have enough of teaching at the Teacher Training School. I myself cried with pleasure when I had escaped from this torture chamber! You are young and you still have the time for composing.«²² Janáček retired in 1904, when he was only 50, and afterwards, in the pedagogical field, dedicated himself solely to teaching at higher schools. Beran was 60 when he returned to the Higher Musical School once more. He had worked in schools practically all his life. It seems that Beran chronically lacked time to compose just due to his too extensive pedagogical obligations.

Beran somehow idealistically hoped that after the end of the war, a number of things would change for the better in Slovenia.²³ He and Janáček believed in the final solution of the national question - the nations living in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.²⁴ Because of his dissatisfaction with the situation in Slovenia, Beran started to seriously think about applying for a job at the Brno Conservatorium after the establishment of the first Czech-Slovak Republic in 1918 when he was 50. It was especially Janáček, who persistently encouraged him to apply from the very beginning, since especially after the end of the war, he continually complained about the level of the pedagogical work at the Brno Conservatorium.²⁵ Janáček was so dissatisfied with the poor pedagogical situation at the Conservatorium that he even wrote in his

¹⁹ After the first performance of *Jenufa*, Janáček also faced a similar fate while attempting for over a decade in vain to have the opera staged with the Director of the Opera of the Prague National Theatre, Karl Kovařovic. The latter continually expressed the technical shortcomings of the score only allowing the premiere after he himself had revised the score. He thus conducted the premiere performance of the opera in Prague on 26th May 1916. The Prague staging widely opened the door of the European opera stages for *Jenufa*. It is interesting that among the first performances of the opera abroad, we can also find the premiere staging of *Jenufa* on the stage of the Ljubljana Opera house on 28th October 1922. ŠTĚDRŮŇ, BOHUMÍR, *Leoš Janáček: Vzpomínky, dokumenty, korespondence a studie*, Editio Supraphon, Praha 1986, 91-119. See also ŠTĚDRŮŇ, BOHUMÍR, *Zur Genesis von Leoš Janáčeks Oper Jenufa*, Universita J. E. Purkyně, Brno 1968, 110-114, 179-183.

²⁰ In 1883, even a disciplinary procedure was initiated against Janáček at the German teacher training college in Brno as -his national fanaticism bordered on insanity-. Janáček worked at the above-mentioned teacher training college as an auxiliary music teacher from 1872, and from 1880 onwards as its main music teacher. Therefore, it is not surprising that he deeply influenced the young Beran with his example during eleven years. Beran worked at both schools in Brno where also Janáček taught (in addition to the above-mentioned teacher training school, also at the Brno Organ School). JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, *Feuilletons aus den Lidar's notiny*, Ed. SPIES, LEO, Breitkopf und Härtel, Leipzig 1959, 114-120. See also ŠTĚDRŮŇ, BOHUMÍR, *Leoš Janáček in Briefen und Erinnerungen*, Artia, Praha 1955, 72-81.

²¹ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, Brno, 21st May 1915.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ After it seemed that nothing worse could happen to the Slovenes than the past -horror years-, a new national disaster arose and with it, a new test of emancipation for the Slovene nation. In the first years after the war, the Slovenes lost the Primorje region through the Rapallo Treaty (12th November 1920) and with the Carinthian plebiscite (10th October 1920), the country of their historical beginnings - Carinthia. The price the Slovenes had to pay for having decided for Yugoslavia in the years after World War I was thus far from low, as more than one quarter of the Slovene population and territories had been cut off from their homeland. PEROVŠEK, JURIJ, *Iz Avstrije v Jugoslavijo*, Ed. MARJAN DRNOVŠEK, DRAGO BAJT, *Slovenska kronika XX. stoletja*, Nova revija, Ljubljana 1995, 203.

²⁴ The Austrian German bourgeoisie and conservative aristocratic elites which were prepared to make a compromise with Hungary, the Italian provinces and the Polish Galicia refused any Czech or Slovene autonomy until the disintegration of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. The Slovene national-political prospects strongly deteriorated in spring 1916, when German political parties in Austria demanded an immediate constitutional act in their political programme whereby one half of the entire Austrian state would be transformed into a German national state. Thereby the Czech and the Slovene nations would be doomed to national death. The latter hoped, after the end of World War I in November 1918, to get more autonomy in the newly founded -Slavic- countries (the first Czech-Slovak Republic and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). PRUNK, JANKO, *Kraljica zgodovina Slovenije*, Založba Grad, Ljubljana 2002, 85-86.

²⁵ In his letter to Karl Kovařovic dated 30th September 1918, he writes: »Among my colleagues at the Brno Organ School, I feel as a bumblebee caught behind a window pane who doesn't know how to get back out to freedom.« VOGEL, JAROSLAV, *Leoš Janáček: Život a dílo*, Státní hudební vydavatelství, Praha 1963, 153.

letter to Beran that there was nothing for him to do there: »Here, practically all jobs are occupied although not always with the best capacities. Especially not at this Conservatorium! I assume that you will soon retire? Will you come back then?«²⁶ Janáček's open judgement of some professors of the Brno Conservatorium is interesting. It is obvious that Janáček assessed Beran as more suitable for the pedagogical work there. Thus he wrote in his letter to Beran: »I think that through your origin you belong to us. Apply, but soon! Send your application form directly to the Institute's Headmaster's Office.«²⁷ Beran did not respond to Janáček's invitation to return to his former post in Brno. He still had to work six years until his retirement and he was already quite of age. He became a citizen of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and continued his employment without any interruption at the State Men's Teacher Training School in Maribor. Practical reasons thus had priority over the mother country's call. That the second option must have been quite strong and that the circumstances there were more attractive for Beran than at any time before can probably be assumed due to the ideological change which happened after the end of World War I in Brno which remained pro-German nearly until that time.²⁸ Janáček in his letter to Beran reported that many new things were happening in Brno. He wrote that both the Municipal Theatre and the town itself were in their hands from that time on.²⁹

Beran's last working years in Maribor were not simple for him as he was afflicted with several quite serious illnesses.³⁰ Perhaps it was due to the abundance of free time during his sick leave during 1924 and 1925 that his correspondence with Janáček became the most intensive ever, since more than one half of them were written at that time. Upon the awarding of an honour's doctorate to Janáček, awarded to him on 28th January 1925 by the Masaryk University in Brno, Beran visited Brno on Janáček's invitation for the last time. In his letters from that time, Beran again mentioned *Melusina*, which he wanted to send to Janáček. It seems that attempts to stage the opera abroad were once again made in this time. However, it is not clear from the correspondence whether Beran indeed sent *Melusina* to Janáček. Undoubtedly, he had lost confidence in the theatre administration there.

Both Beran and Janáček were aware of their different esthetical views and directions as composers. Therefore, they only rarely discussed issues of aesthetics and composition in their correspondence. Beran adhered to the traditional musical sentence all his life.³¹ They preferred discussions on topical questions of an organisational nature. Thus after his departure to the Ljubljana Conservatorium in 1928, Beran searched with Janáček through the final grade of students at the Conservatorium in Brno for those who would be prepared to teach at the Conservatorium in Ljubljana several times. Yet, Beran's calls to Janáček, except for some exceptions, did not

²⁶ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, Brno, 9th January 1919.

²⁷ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, Luhačovice, 25th July 1919.

²⁸ In Moravian towns, the fights between the German majority and the Czech minority were the worst in the towns in Moravia in the nineties of the 19th century. The conflicts were especially grave in Brno where the Germans maintained the strongest influence with a convincing majority. In the provincial assembly, it was only in 1905 that the two nations decided on negotiations, which led to a partial settlement (*Ausgleich*) by changing the electoral order and a compromised arrangement on some other disputed issues. LÉBL, VLADIMÍR, *Hudba a společnost*, Ed. Ústav hudební vědy Československé akademie věd, *Dějiny české hudební kultury 1890/1945*, 1, Academia Praha, Praha 1972, 253-260.

²⁹ JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, Luhačovice, 25th July 1919.

³⁰ Beran had already asked to be retired because of his chronically repeated health problems on 31st July 1923. His work-pedagogical path runs without any interruption from his first employment on 16th April 1890 to his retirement on 25th July 1926. On 18th October 1912 he went on sick-leave in the winter semester, which he extended until the 1912/13 Academic Year. From 17th November 1921 to 17th February 1922, Beran was again given a three-month sick-leave. The reason for Beran's illness problems is not known. See Beran's legacy in the Maribor University Library.

³¹ Contrary to this, we can trace the composer's explicit aesthetic direction to new music in Janáček's musical poetics, especially during the last decade of his creating, in spite of the seemingly traditional conceptual starting points. EWANS, MICHAEL, *Janáček's Tragic Operas*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London 1977, 13-33. See also STRÖBEL, DIETMAR, *Motiv und Figur in den Kompositionen der Jenufa - Werkgruppe Leoš Janáček's*, Ed. EGGBRECHT, HANS HEINRICH, *Freiburger Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft*, 6, Musikverlag Emil Katzschler, München and Salzburg 1975, 14-18.

bear the desired fruits.³² Most probably he was also searching among them for his successor who could replace him after his retirement at the Ljubljana Conservatorium. Beran's pedagogical load at the Conservatorium in Ljubljana was even higher than that at the Organ School in Brno.³³

Beran saw Janáček for the last time at the Maribor railway station in autumn 1925. Janáček and his wife Zdenka had travelled by train to attend the Musical Festival in Venice.³⁴ They travelled through Maribor, where Beran was waiting for them with his family. A year later, Beran, who had obviously attended this Musical Festival, sent his best regards to Janáček from there. In spite of the fact that Beran called festival novelties »exaggerations« in his letter, they were nevertheless interesting for him.³⁵ Beran could not follow them as far as the composition was concerned, but did not refuse them as an idea.

The last preserved pieces of their correspondence are from 1928. Beran, together with his wife Marija, traditionally sent Janáček a Christmas and New Year greeting card. Janáček in his reply to Beran, precisely seven months prior to his death, wrote that he would be extremely pleased if he could see him again.

The close friendship between Beran and Janáček is also revealed by the continued correspondence with Janáček's wife in the thirties. Beran did not only report on family and professional matters but also asked Janáček's wife to mediate in the staging of his opera.³⁶ In his letter, he wrote that he would be extremely happy if his *Melusina* was finally staged. It is supposed that he even discussed the staging with the Brno Opera's Headmaster at that time. However, the latter was supposedly rather reserved to stage it in their theatre. Beran also wrote that he was still hoping for better times for his opera. In his last letter to Janáček's wife, he also mentioned that *Melusina* was still lying waiting in his drawer.³⁷ In the same letter, he also wrote that he was losing hope that he would ever see its first performance.

In spite of many efforts to stage it, Beran never saw the first performance of his only opera. In fact, the opera has been waiting for more than a century after its creation in the musical archives of the Maribor University Library for its premiere staging. Although it seems that the step-motherly treatment of *Jenufa* and *Melusina* says a lot about the degree of importance Janáček and Beran faced in their musical cultural environments, the various demands of the environment in which they worked should be described in more detail in order to determine their roles more comprehensively. Great Czech composers such as Smetana, Dvořák and Janáček, among others, probably could not have done as much in Slovenia in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century as did many »unknown« Czech musical immigrants, since the gap between their expectations and the environment's requirements would be probably too wide. Thus the sound craftsmanship of the numerous representatives of musical immigrants to Slovenia in the musical-productive, musical-reproductive and musical-pedagogical fields seems to be exactly what the Slovene musical culture needed in the early phase of its development.

³² The most interesting among them seems to be Beran's study colleague at the Brno Organ School, Cyril Metoděj Hrazdřira, who conducted at the first performance of *Jenufa* in the German Opera Theatre in Brno on 21st January 1904. Hrazdřira succeeded Václav Talich as the main conductor of the Slovene Philharmonic Society and of the Ljubljana Opera conductor in the 1912/13 season. CVETKO, DRAGOTIN, *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru*, Slovenska matica Ljubljana, Ljubljana 1991, 344-350.

³³ In the first five years, his teaching obligations at the Brno Organ School were 22 to 26 hours weekly and later, 20 hours weekly. See Beran's legacy in the Maribor University Library.

³⁴ Between 3rd and 8th October 1925, Janáček attended the third festival »Internationalen Gesellschaft für zeitgenössische Musik« in Venice with his spouse. At the festival, Janáček's string quartet after *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1923) was also performed with great success. JANÁČEK, LEOŠ, *Feuilletons aus den »Lidové noviny«*, Ed. SPIES, LEO, Breitkopf und Härtel, Leipzig 1959, 137.

³⁵ BERAN, EMERIK, Venice, 20th October 1926.

³⁶ Further close connections between Beran and Janáček's spouse Zdenka (born Schulz) are surprising as Janáček's marriage was slowly losing its meaning during the last decade of his life due to Janáček's friendship with Kamilla Stössl. SUSSKIND, CHARLES, *Janáček and Brod*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1985, 54-57.

³⁷ BERAN, EMERIK, Ljubljana, 22nd December 1936.

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Magistrsko delo • M. A. Work

Ivan Lešnik

Tonski sistemi v slovenski ljudski glasbi

Namen magistrske naloge z naslovom *Tonski sistemi v slovenski ljudski glasbi* je določiti vpliv temperacije na tonske sisteme v ljudski glasbi na slovenskem etničnem ozemlju. Zanima me ali in s kakšno intenziteto se spreminja odnos do temperacije pri izvajalcih ljudske glasbe in sicer glede na parametre prostora, časa, ter odnosa med vokalno in inštrumentalno domeno.

Izhodišče naloge je delitev slovenskega etničnega ozemlja na nazvočja, kot jih je na podlagi slušnih predstav definirala France Marolt. S pomočjo sodobne računalniško pogojene metodologije se preverja ustreznost omenjene delitve in matematično izražajo značilnosti posameznih tonskih sistemov. Aplikacija računalniškega programa *Melodyne*, ki ga odlikuje izredna natančnost meritev predstavlja novost v slovenskem etničnem prostoru in raziskovanju ljudske glasbe nasploh.

Rezultati kažejo, da je na določenih področjih izvajalska praksa bolj pod vplivom temperacije kot drugje. Na večini slovenskega etničnega ozemlja je ugotovljeno približevanje temperaciji, kot izjemi sta se pokazali le področji hrvaške Istre in italijanske Režije. Raziskave v različnih časovnih intervalih so pokazale različno intenzivnost vpliva temperacije, kar je razvidno iz koeficientov odstopanj. Poudarek pri raziskavi je na vokalni praksi zaradi dominacije le-te na slovenskem etničnem ozemlju. Razsežnosti odnosa med vokalno in inštrumentalno domeno so v nalogi sicer predstavljene, vendar ta aspekt zahteva posebno pozornost in je bo deležen v nadaljevanju raziskovanja.

Magistrska naloga, pri kateri so v ospredju meritve tonskih razmerij, pomeni zavestno vrnitev k izhodiščem etnomuzikologije in se izogiba kontekstualnim aspektom, ki so nedvomno v ospredju pozornosti sodobnih etnomuzikologov. Ob uporabi sodobnih tehničnih pripomočkov registrira in natančno določa zvočne spremembe, ki dejansko niso v domeni slušne prepoznavne. V prihodnosti bi raziskavo bilo koristno razširiti na vprašanja metruma in ritma, ter določiti povezave med rezultati sonografskih in kontekstualnih pristopov.

Obranjeno 7. junija 2005 na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani.

Tone Systems in Slovene Folk Music

*The aim of the thesis titled *Tone Systems in Slovene Folk Music* is to determine the influence of the tempered tuning on tone systems of folk music in the Slovenian ethnic territory. I am interested whether and how strongly the performers of Slovene folk music have accommodated the tempered tuning in regard to the parameters of place, time, and the relation between vocal and instrumental domains.*

The starting point of the thesis is the division of the Slovenian ethnic territory into musical dialects, as defined by France Marolt on the basis of sound images. Modern computer-aided methods were used to verify the relevance of this division and to express mathematically the characteristics of particular tone systems. The application of the computer program Melodyne, which is characterized by extremely precise measurements, is a novelty both in dealing with the Slovenian ethnic territory and in the research of folk music in general.

Results show that the influence of the tempered tuning on the performance practice has been greater in certain areas than in others. Increasing tendency towards the tempered tuning has been noted in the greater part of the Slovenian ethnic territory, with the exception of Istria (Croatia) and Rezija (Italy). Research in different time intervals has proved a differentiated intensity of the influence of the tempered tuning, which is evident from the discrepancy coefficients. The main stress in the research has been given to vocal practice due to its dominance in the Slovenian ethnic territory. The thesis also presents the range of relations between the vocal and instrumental domains, although this aspect calls for more detailed research in the future.

The thesis, which concentrates on the measurement of tone relations, points to a conscious return to the historical roots of ethnomusicology, unavoidably neglecting the contextual aspects that are the focus of attention of modern ethnomusicologists. Exploiting main modern technical aids, it records and precisely identifies sound modifications that are not in the range of audible recognition. In the future it would be worthwhile to broaden the research by encompassing the parameters of meter and rhythm, and by relating the results of sonographic and contextual approaches.

Defended on June 7, 2005, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

Magistrsko delo • M. A. Work

Aleš Miholič

Klavirski opus Janeza Matičiča do leta 1960

Časovno zamejitev magistrske naloge je narekoval skladatelj »izreden stilni premik« od prejšnjih del, ki ga je po letu 1960 uresničil v klavirskem delu *Resonance* (1963), eni svojih najbolj avantgardnih skladb, kot pravi sam. Vključitvi najstarejšega opusa, *Prehudijev* iz leta 1947, v analitično obravnavo je botroval natis tega dela, ki priča o skladateljevem javnem vstopu v slovensko glasbeno ustvarjalno okolje in najverjetneje tudi o njegovem stališču, da gre že za izoblikovano umetniško stvaritev, pred katero je že nastala kopica klavirskih del. V tem zamejenem trinajstletnem ustvarjalnem obdobju se je zvrstilo 10 opusov, od katerih so vsi, razen tretjega, ciklični: *Prehudiji* (1947), *Tri skladbe* (1951), *Nokturno* (1952), *Tri etude za levo roko* (1956), *Miniaturne variacije* (1957), *Suita št. 2* (1957, rev. 1984), *Dvanajst etud* (1958), *Groteskni plesi* (1959), *Sonata* (1960), *Suita* (1960).

Naloga je zasnovana tako, da so na začetku obravnave poleg nekaterih osnovnih življenjskih podatkov navedena izhodišča, ki jih skladatelj razkriva v različnih pričevanjih. V njih sem videl orientir pri iskanju vzporednic iz svetovne, v tem primeru klavirske literature. Osrednji analitični del podrobno razkriva tako na verbalni kot tudi vizualni ravni imanentne značilnosti Matičičevih klavirskih del. V sklepnem poglavju so prikazane poteze glasbenega stavka, ki potrjuje (ali ovržejo) in osvetlijo skladateljeve ustvarjalne teze in dosežke do leta 1960. Glavni namen naloge je bil, z natančnim kronološkim opazovanjem in obravnavanjem kompozicijsko-tehničnih kot tudi estetskih značilnosti, predstaviti niti kompozicijskega razvoja obravnavanega skladateljevega klavirskega opusa.

Analitični prerez oblikovnosti Matičičevih del kaže, da se je skladatelj pretežno opiral na tridelnost: v skupno od 52 skladb je uporabil tridelno obliko 38-krat, rondojsko 6-krat, sonatno 3-krat. Druge glasbene oblike so redke: kanon, mala perioda, petdelna oblika s štirimi različnimi deli, dvodelna oblika in palindrom po enkrat.

Operiranje z različnimi motivično-metričnimi oblikotvornimi enotami od prvega do zadnjega obravnavanega opusa kaže na skladateljevo umevanje glasbene oblike kot »ritma v širšem smislu«, ki ga glede na izsledke nekaterih analiz kaže nadgraditi z retijevskim

»izpeljevanjem iz praelice«. Obe načeli se namreč »v različnih stopnjah vzajemnega učinkovanja« lahko povežeta in dopolnjujeta.

Medtem ko je na eni strani opazna naklonjenost do oblikovne tridelnosti in oblikotvorne »simetrije, korespondence in proporcionalnosti«, so po drugi strani spremenljive kompozicijsko-tehnične značilnosti tiste, ki bistveno vplivajo na estetski razvoj v obravnavanem obdobju.

Matičičevi kompozicijski začetki domujejo v estetiki izraza 19. stoletja. Če *Preludiji* z zaostrovanjem izraznosti, razgrajevanjem funkcionalno-harmonske tonalitete, slabljenjem »akcentuirane taktne ritmike«, delnim oblikovnim eksperimentiranjem in za Matičičev opus ortografskimi novostmi kažejo značilnosti »poznoromantične moderne«, kaže *Tri skladbe* razumeti kot reakcijo na lastno dotedanje ustvarjanje. Ta je primerljiva z glasbenimi spremembami v Evropi okrog leta 1910, ko se je zgodil trojni odgovor na krizo napredno orientirane moderne.

Matičičeva reakcija ni vodila neposredno v katerokoli izmed treh smeri, torej »ekspresionistično moderno«, »klasicistično moderno« ali »historično avantgardno gibanje«, temveč se je s trdnejšim navezovanjem predvsem na funkcijski harmonski okvir in ohranjeno estetiko izraza zgodovinsko pomaknil nekoliko globlje v romantično preteklost.

Ob romantičnem zanosu (*Prélude* in *Nocturne* iz *Treh skladb*) se že pojavljajo nekatere poteze, ki kažejo na »posredovanje med [glasbeno] moderno in klasicizmom«, torej na »klasicistično moderno«. Na primer: v *Toccati* spojitev sonatne oblike in nekaterih modernističnih potez (vzporedna akordika, polarni harmonski odnosi), v zunanjih *Etudah za levo roko* spojitev »eksotizma francoske moderne« s periodično oblikovanostjo klasicizma, v osmi *Miniaturni variaciji* kvintna vzporedja s prav tako periodično oblikovanostjo.

Kljub odhodu v Pariz, kjer se je Matičič seznanjal z novejšimi smermi, med skupinama »pariških« in »ljubljskih« del ni opaziti popolnega preloma obstoječih načel, temveč prej določeno kontinuiteto. Tako so v zadnjih dveh »ljubljskih« opusih, *Suiti št. 2* v obliki osnutka in brez *Tarantelle* ter *Dvanajstih etudah*, nakazane nekatere modernistične poteze, značilne tudi za skladateljevo nadaljnje delo v Parizu. Med te poteze štejejo predvsem v *Valčku Suite št. 2* nakazana bitonalnost, ki jo je skladatelj dosegel z delitvijo klavirskih tipk po barvi v posamezno roko, in jo sistematično razvil v treh skladbah *Suite*, ter vzporedno vodenje tonskih tvorb, ki je v *Etudah* postalo eden temeljnih modernističnih kompozicijskih postopkov povezovanja tako intervalnih kot tudi akordičnih struktur, s katerim je Matičič funkcijsko harmonsko področje razširil, ne pa ga izrinil iz glasbene misli. V Parizu se je Matičič vzporednega povezovanja tvorb posluževal tako v *Groteskni plesi* kot *Sonati*, delno tudi v *Suiti*. Kot novosti »pariških« del kaže opozoriti predvsem na uporabo kratkega ostinata, linearno (*Groteskna plesa št. 3* in *5*, 1. stavek *Sonate*) in vertikalno (*Canon*) polimetrijo, poliharmonske zasnove (*Sonata*), tudi popolno izogibanje tonaliteti (*Groteskni ples št. 1*) na kompozicijsko-tehnični ravni in perkusivnost (*Sonata*, *Groteskni ples št. 5*, *Toccata* iz *Suite*), grotesknost (*Groteskni plesi*, *Sonata*) ter objektiviziranje (*Suita*) na estetski ravni.

Če je v delih iz konca petdesetih let (*Dvanajst etud*, *Groteskni plesi*, *Sonata*, *Suita*) opazno izrazito vključevanje vzporedne tehnike, je na ravni sredstev prav tako opazna težnja k vse večji uporabi (durovega) trizvoka, torej tiste tradicionalne harmonske tvorbe, katere vlogo je v nekaterih *Preludijih* izpodrinil dominantni septakord. Težnja je primerljiva z ugotovitvijo D. de la Motteja: »Za novo glasbo Hindemitha in Stravinskega je bil durov kvintakord bistvenega pomena – zvočno gradivo, ki je bilo kar 500 let na voljo različnim slogom od Dufayja do Regra. Nasprotno pa je Nova glasba dominantne in zmanjšane septakorde izpuščala. Ti imajo krajšo zgodovino in so leta 1925 neizogibno asociirali na dominantno, na funkcionalno harmonijo, na klasicistično-romantično glasbo.«

Obravnavani Matičičev klavirski opus je torej zaznamovan z raznolikimi kompozicijskimi značilnostmi. Kaže, da gre za proces, za katerega temelj je H. Danuser označil raznovrstno prepletanje »zgodnjega časa Nove glasbe in poznega časa [glasbene] moderne«. Tudi v obravnavanem Matičičevem opusu je osrednja slogovna značilnost *prepletanje* – prepletanje klasicistično-romantičnih in modernističnih kompozicijskih značilnosti. Na eni strani je prisotna močna naveza na tradicijo, v kateri je smiselno poudariti »prepričanje v substancialnost splošnega« ali »oblikovni esencijalizem«, in nagnjenje do »motivičnega mišljenja«, tonalitetne osrediščenosti, funkcijskih harmonskih zvez ter taktne metrike-ritmike, na drugi strani pa skladatelj vključuje spreminjajoče modernistične kompozicijske poteze, kot so skrbabinovski funkcijsko labilni harmonski sistem, svobodne akordične dispozicije, tehnika vodenja z vodilnimi toni, vzporedno vodenje tonskih struktur, mobilne tonalne celice, bimodalnost, poliharmonija, polimetrija. Če torej začetni opusi koreninijo v (pozno)romantični estetiki izraza, pa je s postopnim spreminjanjem kompozicijsko-tehničnega instrumentarija nakazano prehajanje od globljega, »metafizičnega zanosa« (*Prelude* in *Nocturne* iz *Treb skladb, Nokturno*) k tistemu estetskemu učinku, ki ga Danuser imenuje »neki novi, igrivi, miselno manj strog način«. Ali na kratko: gre za pot od »poznoromantične moderne« h »klasicistični moderni«.

Glede Matičičevih jasnih formalnih zasnov pa kaže, da se njegov novoklasicizem ali »klasicistična moderna« opira na Busonijev predlog iz leta 1920: »Pod "mladim klasicizmom" razumem obvladovanje, kritično tehtanje in izkoriščanje vseh dosežkov prejšnjih eksperimentov: njihovo umeščanje v trdne in lepe oblike. Taka umetnost bo – sprva – hkrati stara in nova«. V skladu s svojimi nazori je Matičič iz široke palete možnosti kritično pretehtal, izbral, in uporabil nekatere »dosežke prejšnjih eksperimentov«, ki so pri mojstrih prve polovice 20. stoletja postali v času nastanka Matičičevega obravnavanega opusa že klasični, in jih umestil »v trdne in lepe oblike«.

Glede na to, da Matičič izhaja iz »Škerjančeve kompozicijske šole«, je razumljivo, da se je tudi sam oprl na estetiko izraza 19. stoletja, ki ni izginila niti v delih, nastalih v Parizu – na primer v nekaterih odlomkih *Sonate*. S tem je morda bolj vestno sledil učiteljevim nazorom kot nekateri drugi Škerjančevi učenci, ki so kazali drugačna nagnjenja že v času študija. Potemtakem v tej nalogi obravnavano Matičičevo delo v nasprotju z, na primer, »napredno« usmerjenim »asketskim neoklasicizmom« Primoža Ramovša sledi »precej konservativni liniji, a s številnimi naprednimi tendencami«. Kljub temu pa ga kaže obravnavati kot obogatitev slovenske instrumentalne tvornosti z deli, med katerimi predstavljajo nekatera lepe dosežke slovenske klavirske ustvarjalnosti. Zato kljub morebitnemu očitku zapoznelosti klavirski opus Janeza Matičiča iz petdesetih let še danes ohranja svežino kompozicijske in pianistične kakovosti.

Obranjeno 23. februarja 2005 na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani.

The piano Opus of Janez Matičič until 1960

The time limit of my M.A. work was dictated by the composer's «extraordinary period shift» from his former works, which he realized after 1960 in his piano work Resonance (1963), one of his most avant-garde compositions, as he said. The incorporation of the oldest opus, Preludes from 1947, into analytical treatment, was due to the printing of this work that gives evidence of the composer's public entry into Slovene musical life, and most probably to his viewpoint had been already composed. That this was already a formed artistic creation, before which many piano works. In this thirteen-years creative period there came into existence 10 opera, all of which, except the third one, are cyclic: Preludiji-Preludes (1947), Tri skladbe-Three compositions (1951), Nokturno-Nocturne (1952), Tri etude za levo roko-Three etudes for left hand (1956), Miniaturne variacije-Miniature variations (1957), Suita št. 2-Suite No.2 (1957, rev.1984), Dvanajst etud-Twelve etudes (1958), Groteskni plesi-Grotesque dances (1959), Sonata (1960), Suita-Suite (1960).

The work is so designed that at the beginning of each treatment there are, beside some basic personal data, the starting points the composer revealed in various testimonies. Therein I found orientation in the search of parallels from the world piano literature. The central analytic part reveals in detail, on verbal as well as on visual level the immanent characteristics of Matičič's piano works. The concluding chapter presents the characteristics of his compositional technique, which confirm (or repudiate), and throw relevant light on the composer's creative theses and his achievements until 1960. The main intention of my work was to present, with exact chronological observation and treatment of the compositional-technical as well as the aesthetic characteristics, the threads of the compositional development in the composer's piano opus.

The analytic survey of formal procedures in Matičič's works shows that the composer preferred tripartition: in all of the 52 compositions he used ternary form in 38 examples, the rondo form 6 times, and the sonata form 3 times. Other music forms are rare: canon, little period, five partite with four various sections, binary form, and palindrome all used once.

The use of various motivic-metric formative units, from the first to the last dealt-with opus, reveals the composer's understanding of music form as «rhythm in a wider sense», which, according to the results of some analyses, is to be expanded with Reti's «derivation out of a prime cell». Both principles can «in various degrees of mutual effect» connect and supplement each other.

While on the one hand there is a noticeable inclination to formal tripartition and formative «symmetry, correspondence and proportionality», there are on the other, changeable compositional-technical characteristics those that have an essential influence on the aesthetic development in the discussed period.

Matičič's compositional beginnings dwell in the aesthetics of expression of the 19th century. If the Preludes, with their intensification of expressiveness, decomposition of functional-harmonic tonality, decline of «accentuated measured rhythmic», certain formal experimentation, and regarding Matičič's opus, orthographic novelties, reflect the characteristics of «late romantic modernity», it seems that Tri skladbe-Three compositions should be understood as a reaction to his own creativeness up to that point. This is comparable with the musical changes in Europe around 1910, when a triple answer to the crisis of advanced-oriented modernity emerged.

The reaction of Matičič did not lead directly to any of these three solutions, i.e. to «expressionistic modernity», «classicistic modernity», or the «historic avant-garde movement», but above all to his firmer attachment to functional harmonic procedures, and preserved aesthetics of expression, both of which he shifted somewhat deeper into the romantic past.

Apart from romantic verve (Prelude and Nocturne in the Three compositions), there appear some traits that point to the «mediation between [musical] modernity and classicism», i. e. «classicistic modernity». For example: in the Toccata, the fusion of the sonata form and some modernistic characteristics (parallel chords, polarized harmonic relations), in the outer Etudes for left hand the fusion of «the exotism of French modernity» with the periodically-oriented formativeness of classicism, or in the eighth Miniature variation parallel fifths with certain periodic formations.

Despite his departure for Paris, where Matičič acquainted himself with recent trends, one cannot notice a complete break of principles between his «Paris» and «Ljubljana» works; moreover, one can notice a definite continuity. Thus, there are in his last «Ljubljana» works, the Suite No. 2, in the form of draft, though without the Tarantelle and the Twelve Etudes, indicated some modernistic traits, characteristic also of the composer's later work in Paris. Among these traits one can above all mention in the Valse of the Suite No. 2 indicated bitonality, achieved by the division of keys of the piano according to colour for each separate hand, and systematically developed in three compositions of the Suite, as well as parallel leading of tone formations, which in the Etudes became one of the basic modernistic compositional procedures in connecting intervallic as well as chordal structures. In this way, Matičič broadened the functional harmonic sphere, without ousting it from his musical thinking. In Paris Matičič applied the parallel connecting of formations both in the Grotesque dances as well as in the Sonata, and partly also in the Suite. As a novelty of «Paris» works one should above all point to the use of short ostinatos, linear (Grotesque dances No. 3 and No. 5, 1st. movement of the Sonata) and vertical (Canon) polymetry, polyharmonic structures (Sonata), as well as to the complete avoidance of tonality (Grotesque dance No. 1) on the compositional-technical level, and to percussiveness (Sonata, Grotesque dance No. 5, Toccata from the Suite), grotesqueness (Grotesque dances, Sonata) and objectivism (Suite) on the aesthetic level.

If in the works from the end of the fifties (Twelve etudes, Grotesque dances, Sonata, Suite) a distinctive inclusion of a parallel technique is to be noticed, there is, on the level of compositional means, a noticeable tendency of a greater use of the (major) triad, i.e. the traditional harmonic formation role of which was in some Preludes replaced by the dominant seventh chord. This tendency is comparable to the conclusion of D. de la Motte: «For the new music of Hindemith and Stravinsky the major triad was of essential importance—acoustic material that was for 500 years at hand to various styles from Dufay to Reger. Contrary to that, New music omitted the dominant and diminished seventh chords. They have a shorter history, and in 1925 inevitably associated with the dominant, with functional harmony, and with classicistic-romantic music.»

The treated piano output of Matičič is therefore marked with various compositional characteristics. It seems that this is a process, the basis of which H. Danuser characterizes as a variegated intertwinement of «early-period New music and late-period [musical] modernity». In the discussed Matičič's opus the central stylistic characteristic is that of intertwinement – intertwinement of classicistic-romantic and modernistic compositional characteristics. On the one hand there is a strong attachment tradition present, in connection with which it is necessary to underline the «conviction in the substantiality of the universal» or the so-called «formal essentialism», and the inclination towards «motivic thinking», tonality, functional harmony, as

well as measured metrics and rhythmic; on the other hand, the composer makes use of variable modernistic compositional procedures, such as Skryabin's functionally labile harmonic system, free chordal structures, the technique of guidance by leading notes, parallel tonal structures, mobile tonal cells, bimodality, polyharmony, polymetrics. If the initial works are rooted in the (late)romantic aesthetics of expression, there is, together with the gradual changing of the compositional-technical vocabulary, also a transition from deeper, «metaphysical enthusiasm» (Prelude and Nocturne from Three compositions, Nocturne) to that aesthetic effect that Danuser calls «a new, playful, mentally less rigorous way». Or, in short: it is the way from «late-romantic modernity» to «classicistic modernity».

With regard to Matičič's clear formal solutions we can see that his neoclassicism or «classicistic modernity» is based on the proposal of Busoni from 1920: «Under «young classicism» I understand the mastery, critical weighing and exploitation of all achievements of former experiments: their installation to firm and beautiful forms. Such art will be – at first – at the same time old and new.» According to his opinions, Matičič has, from the wide range of possibilities taken into critical consideration, selected, and applied some of the «achievements of former experiments», which had with the masters of the first half of the 20th century, at the time of the origin of Matičič's discussed works, already turned classical be it as it may, Matičič installed them in «firm and beautiful forms».

According to the fact that Matičič comes from the «Škerjanc's compositional school», it is understandable that he himself based his aesthetics on that of the aesthetics of expression of the 19th century, which did not disappear even in the works composed in Paris – for example in some fragments in the more conscientiously than the Sonata. In this way he might have followed his teacher's views more conscientiously than some other pupils of Škerjanc, who showed other inclinations already during their studies. Consequently, the work of Matičič, in contradistinction to the «advanced»-oriented «ascetic neoclassicism» of Primož Ramovš, follows a «rather conservative line, though with numerous advanced tendencies». Nevertheless, he is to be regarded as an enrichment to Slovene instrumental creativeness with works among which some represent rather as concerning the fine achievements of Slovene piano music. Therefore, in spite of possible reproach the «latecoming» of Janez Matičič's works of the fifties, they have to this very day preserved their freshness of compositional and pianistic quality.

Defended on February 23, 2005, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

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