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»Ustvarjalni duh metafizične naravnosti«

‘A Creative Spirit of a Metaphysical Attitude’

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IZVLEČEK

In memoriam Urošu Kreku (1922-2008), klasiku novejšje slovenske glasbe, avtorju obsežnega in dragocenega orkestralnega, komornega, klavirskega in zborovskega opusa ponuja v premislek oporne točke in premise njegovega skladateljevanja. Analizira njegovo duhovno osišče, temeljni odnos do glasbe in vrsto strateških odločitev, ki pogojujejo fiziognomijo njegove kompozicijske tehnike. Umešča ga pogojno v področje neoklasicističnega ludizma in avtonomije glasbe ter obravnava avtorjev odnos do modernizma, novega in tradicije, do zgodovinskega in ljudskega glasbenega izročila.

ABSTRACT

In memoriam Uroš Krek (1922-2008), a classic of newer Slovene music and composer of an extensive as well as precious orchestral, chamber, piano, and choral output, discusses bases and premises regarding his composing. It analyses the spiritual axis his strategic decisions that conditioned the physiognomy of his compositional technique. Conditionally, the article gives him a place in the sphere of neoclassical ludism and the autonomy of music, at the same time dealing with the composer's relation to modernism, novelties and tradition, and to the historical and folk music heritage.

Dokončno sklenjen življenjski in ustvarjalni krogotok skladatelja akademika Uroša Kreka, velike osebnosti slovenske glasbe 20. stoletja, vabi k spoštljivem poklonu njegovemu delu in poskusu premisleka njegovega bivanja v glazbi. Značajske poteze nepotvorjene tolerance do okolja, vedra in topla odprtost do sočloveka, aristokratska, omikana drža izobraženca – ti temelji mojstrove osebnosti so seveda zarisovali tudi okvir njegovega skladateljevanja, sodelovali pri odločitvah in usmeritvah. Njegovo delo je namreč potekalo v glasbenem kontekstu, ki taki človeški in intelektualni

podstati ni bil pisan na kožo in ga je sam obzirno opredelil kot *zapleteno duhovno ozračje*.¹

V času splošnega propadanja vrednosti, ko je umetnost izgubljala svojo filozofsko-estetsko osnovo (ki je skozi stoletja fungirala kot urejujoča moč sveta), v času zatona izobražene družbe z njeno samoumevno estetsko kulturo je Uroš Krek očitno vztrajal na področju estetskega in v njem videl pribežališče ideje humanega; razumel ga je kot nepogrešljivi del tistega spoznanja v katerem se človek artikulira v celovitosti svojih čutnih, emocionalnih in kognitivnih zmožnosti. Čutil je potrebo po širokem obzorju in hkrati trdnem lastnem duhovnem središču, ki ne pozna nietzschejanskega bivanja »zunaj dobrega in zla«. Klasična izobrazba, slavistična in kompozicijska diploma, trdna zasidranost v domačih tleh in mentaliteti, opredelitev za lepo kot gonilno moč umetnosti, zaupanje v ustvarjalno potenco, nagib, domislek in vizijo – to so bile oporne točke na katerih je zgrajena Krekova glasbena zapuščina. Tej dostojanstveno-resni drži, ki priča o odgovornosti do glasbenega dela, je njegova narava dodajala tudi vedro igrivost (le-ta je zapuščala jasne sledove v domiselni, včasih skoraj neugnani kombinatoriki glasbenih prvin) kot eno od plati glasbe, ki jo je imel za *samostojno kategorijo estetskega uživanja*. Mnoge Krekove danes že klasične skladbe, ki pripadajo temeljni zakladnici novejše slovenske glasbene literature (spomnimo, iz bogatega orkestralnega opusa, vsaj na antologijsko *Sinfonietto*, 1951, *Mouvements concertans*, 1955, *Inventiones ferales* za violino in godala, 1963, *Sinfonio per archi*, 1973) izhajajo iz uravnovešene soigre refleksije in občutenja samega sebe na temeljni matrici estetskega. V časih, ko se je položaj estetske izkušnje kot razvojno sposobnega čutnega fenomena bistveno spreminjal in se je vse bolj oddaljeval od svoje humanistične podstati, ko je diskurzivno občasno močno in zapovedovalno prekašalo čutno ter so se v glasbenem svetu porajali različni *leseni jeziki* (G. Orwell) je Krek vztrajal pri univerzalni humanistični orientacijski točki kot nepogrešljivi opori za oblikovanje kritične zavesti in vsaj minimalnega skupnega imenovalca za sporazumevanje z občinstvom. Čeprav pri komponiranju *ni mislil na občinstvo* je imel vendar *v sebi neprestano človeka, ki bo nekoč poslušal te moje note*. Torej: ne samozadostnost ustvarjalnega dejanja, temveč *poslanstvo*, potreba po prenosu lastne ustvarjalne energije in doseženega cilja drugemu, upanje, da njegova glasbena govorica zmore doseči poslušalca in ga *voditi skozi različna območja doživljajskih odtenkov*.

Morda je v naravi ustvarjalnosti, da njeni cilji, tudi če so ozaveščeni in celo oznanjeni, največkrat ostajajo zakriti. Uroš Krek se v časih manifestnih opredeljevanj za »novo« ni pretirano oziral na modo, na različna umetnostna gibanja in ideologije; obžaloval je *razkrojenost družbe* svojega časa in tolikšno *diferenciacijo* v glasbi, ki je pripeljala do tega, *da se glasbeniki ne razumejo več med seboj*. Okoliščine je prepoznaval, ugotavljal, vendar je optimistično verjel, da družba vendar premore *neki normativ za urejanje glasbenih vrednot*. Za svoje lastno skladateljsko delo si je take normative postavljaj sam, ne glede na trenutno privlačne modne skrajnosti pred katerimi pa se tudi ni zapiral z odklonilnimi ali obrambnimi zasloni. In čeprav je menil da *ni genialno navdahnjen* in da njegov opus morda *ni tako enovit* kot naj bi bil, je pravzaprav na svoji skladateljski

¹ Vse navedbe iz naslednjih pogovorov s skladateljem: Marijan Zlobec: *Komponiranje – aristokratsko opravilo*, *Delo* (Sobotna priloga), 7. 2. 1992; Marjan Kunej: *Kjer sem, naj bo veliko ustvarjalnega dela*, *Večer*, 7. 2. 1992; Milena Vehovar: *Glasba je zame vera, svetovni nazor*, *Slovenec*, 22. 6. 1996.

poti izkazoval doslednost in stanovitnost koraka. Zasledujoč vidike in izgleda aktualnih glasbenih idej in gibanj okoli sebe, se je očitno zavedal, da se tam, kjer naj se ideje spreobračajo v umetnost, spet začena individualna svoboda pri odločanju in nepredvidljivost izidov. Arnold Schönberg bi dejal, da *pravi skladatelj ne more ustvariti ničesar drugega, razen to, k čemur ga silita njegova narava in razvoj.*

Krekova narava je nalagala premišljenost, red, jasnost, razvoj pa je potekal v odmiku od kompozicijske šole L. M. Škerjanca proti predvsem neoklasicističnim modelom, ki so v petdesetih letih močno prevevali naš glasbeni prostor. Ne glede na dvomljivost in nezadostno utemeljenost termina kot morebitne slogovne opredelitve, je polje določil, povezanih z značilnostmi skladateljskih poetik, ki jih uvrščajo med neoklasicistične, tako blizu Krekovi poetiki, da je tudi sam potožil: *škoda, da je obdobju te slogovne naravnosti bil odmerjen tako kratek čas!* Vendar, če naj bi za neoklasicistične imeli različne fermentacije eksperimentalnih dosežkov in načelno opozicijskost do eksperimentalnih pretiranosti nasploh, pa ideal estetske enostavnosti in oblikovne jasnosti, dalje stilistično odprtost in palimpsestnost, ki sta se kasneje tako dobro stikali s postmodernistično sproščenostjo v odnosu do različnih plasti izročila in postopanja z izbranimi modeli – potem je taka opredelitev ostala Krekova stalnica, ne glede na spremembe od skladbe do skladbe, oz. glede na konkretne »delovne načrte« vsake posamezne.

Ti »delovni načrti« pa odkrivajo pravo naravo Krekove umetnosti kompozicije. Očitna je bila želja po čim večji artikuliranosti in enovitosti, hkrati pa tudi individualiziranosti tonskega stavka. Kljub temu da bi globlji analitični pogled (nič drugače kot pri vsakem »pravem« skladatelju) tudi pri Kreku ugotovil obstoj nekakšne temeljne matrice (avtor jo je razumel kot danost po sebi, ki jo je bilo treba »napolniti« z invencijo), je očitno zasledoval misel, da tudi sama zasnova mora biti invencija, ki angažira celotno umetnikovo originalnost. Skušal pa se je izogniti sprevračanju glasbenih idej v krut sistem, saj mu je »navidezni nered«, ki pravzaprav izpričuje svobodno gibanje v zarisanem okviru, predstavljal spodbujevalno gonilo. Zavedal se je pomena improvizacijskosti kot prvega izhodišča domisleka in potrebe po trdni kompozicijski logiki v njegovi nadaljnji razdelavi in organizaciji. V tej logiki prevladuje igra analogij in kontrastov, skrbno delo s kombiniranjem prvin, »subtilno razgrinjanje različnega z enakim«, »premene poudarkov med prvinami« (L. Stefanija). In če je kontrast praviloma enoznačen, neposreden in pogojen s semantično (občasno celo »oznanjeno« zunajglasbeno) intenco, ki tudi Kreku ni bila tuja, so analogije zagotovile enovitosti. Krek je z njimi operiral virtuosno, na sledi prepričanja, ki ga je delil s Stravinskim, namreč, da je »glasba toliko bolj krepka in močna kolikor je bolj sposobna ubraniti se zapeljivosti raznoterosti. Kar izgublja s sumljivimi bogastvi, pridobi z resnično konsistenco.«

»Sumljiva bogastva« za Uroša Kreka niso bila preveč zapeljiva. Bil je radoveden, vendar izbiričen, ker modernost zanj ni bila temeljna vrednost, ki bi pogojevala vse ostale. Ni zasledoval predvsem težnjo po spreminjanju, prej tisto po *umirjanju turbulentenc*. Komunikacijo z različnimi glasbenimi sistemi (ki se je občasno ostrila v ludično transkripcijo modelov) je umeval prej kot izkazovanje večšine, na način, ki ga razume nekdanji pojem *ars*, torej kot stik večšine in umetnosti. *Obrtna sposobnost naj se podredi živemu tkivu*. V inovativni gesti ni priznaval vidika razvrednotenja obstoječih vrednosti, še posebej tuje mu je bilo ovrednotenje profanega, neuglajenega, grobega. Dovolj je bilo

prevrednotenje znanega, ki naj ostane prepoznavno. Tudi ta drža je izhajala iz umevanja skladateljskega dela kot izražanja lastnih občutij in pričevanja o občutljivosti človeka nasploh, iz pojmovanja glasbe kot *vere, svetovnega nazora*; in v osnovi pripadanja *tistim idealom glasbe, ki jih je realiziral ustvarjalni duh metafizične naravnosti*. Sledi torej impulzom ideje in izbranega gradiva, določa svoje omejitve, ki so hkrati opora in izziv, se veseli domiselnemu tehničnemu delu pri izdelavi logične, dosledne, disciplinirane glasbene fakture.

Iz takega odnosa do skladateljskega dela, iz potrebe po omejitvah izhaja tudi Krekov odnos do starega, znanega, tradicije. Bolj ga zanima dialog z znanim, kot pa inovacija, kateri je vse odprto in dostopno in katere morebitna »pravila« pravzaprav kličejo po kršitvah. Novo in enkratno najdeva v domisleku, zasnovi, izpeljavi, učinku svojega, po sebi enkratnega kompozicijskega predloga. Zato je večinoma ostajal v okvirih tradicije zvrsti, preizkušenih oblikovnih obrazcev, ki jih je treba »napolniti« z novo duhovno vsebino in realizirati s pomočjo izbrušene tehnike.

Tradicija pa je zanj tudi zgodovinsko glasbeno izročilo, enako kot ljudsko. Obe izročili je zase odkrival, z naporom in skrbnostjo (v petdesetih letih kot glavni urednik glasbenega programa Radio Ljubljane, v šestdesetih kot znanstveni sodelavec v Glasbeno-narodopisnem inštitutu, kjer je zbirki prispeval približno dvajset tisoč transkripcij gradiva, zabeleženega na terenu). V obeh je zaznaval lastne korenine in prepoznaval svojo muzikalično bit. Zavedal se je torej sedanjosti, ki je v bistvu funkcija preteklosti. In se močno upiral *novemu analfabetizmu*. (Tudi kot pedagog, ki je v svojem kompozicijskem razredu izobrazil vrsto danes pomembnih, priznanih skladateljev, je zastopal poklicno kompetentnost, obrtniško izurjenost in skrajno toleranco do njihovih lastnih izbranih poti.)

Med orodja Krekove skladateljske strategije torej sodi že omenjena identifikacija z intonacijami, načini strukturiranja in izrazno vsebino ljudskega izročila. Zveza z njimi je zanj bistvenega pomena. Ozavestil je ta pomen, se mu prepustil in mu dovolil inicialne spodbude za preoblikovanja in prevrednotenja v artificialnih preoblekah. Vzoroval se je pri Béli Bartóku in ga pogosto citiral glede na pomen izvirnega, ljudskega gradiva za umetniško glasbo. Motivične celice, pa tudi cele ljudske napeve je včasih komajda razlikoval od lastnih domislevkov, tako globoko so bili ti prvi zasidrani v njegovem občutenju glasbenega. Enako kot Bartók pa je v istovetenju ljudskega in lastnega videl kratkomalo naravno danost glasbeno občutljivega človeka določenega podnebja. (Le-ta po njegovem mnenju sodi v človekovo *muzikalično dušo*. O njej je želel izvedeti kaj več, odtod njegovo napotilo na primerjalne študije folklore.)

Šele v delu z glasbenim gradivom (zdaj že katerimkoli) pa je prepoznaval pravo bistvo komponiranja. Tisto, ki utemeljuje skladateljevo identiteto. Iskati jo je v tem *kako* vtise, doživetja, izbrano gradivo oblikuje, kako realizira svoje spekulativno hotenje, kakšen red vzpostavlja v svojih strukturah, kako sledi napetostnim energijam gradiva, kako se obnaša do »prisile gradiva«, o kateri govori A. Schönberg, ko utemeljuje svoj pojem glasbene logike. V takšnih postopkih, vzpostavitvi pravil in ravnanju po njih se je dogajala Krekova umetnost. V intimi in osami delavnice. V globoki koncentraciji in veselju do dela. Vedel je, kako je treba nekaj narediti, da zveni dobro; bilo je to znanje »od znotraj«, glasbeno znanje. Tu je zmožeg izpričati domiselnost svoje kombinatorike, svojo

konstruktivistično spretnost, pokazati, kaj premore na področju glasbeno avtonomne umetniške igre. Jasno je razporejal gradivo, »premerjal« dolžine in odnose, gradil mikro in makro variantne povezave, spreminjal podobo glasbene geste, iznajdeval pravila, ovire, omejitve. In nadzoroval sam sebe.

Superiorna, in hkrati skromna distanciranost do sebe samega – zaznavali in ugotavljali so jo mnogi – je povsem v soglasju s takšno držo. Govor o samem sebi, romantično, vihravo, samovšečno razkrivanje intime, ne sodi med osebne in glasbene značilnosti Krekovega glasbenega lika. Ni čutil potrebe po pretiranem psihologiziranju. Objektivizirani, rahlo zastrti individualizem modernega časa mu je bil pri tem v oporo. Zadržanost, opazovanje od zunaj, vstopanje v različne vsebinske in doživljajske položaje, izstopanje iz njih, opazovanje, nevsiljivost, odmaknjenost. Celostna podoba, harmonična in uravnovešena.

Vsako umetniško delo je svojevrstno šifrirano sporočilo, oporočno zapuščeno Drugemu, ki naj bi ga ustrezno sprejel in razumel. Prav to je bila Krekova najintimnejša želja: uganili naj bi namen in vsebino njegovih sporočil, jih sprejeli in zadržali v spominu. *Vtisniti se slovenskemu narodu v spomin* s svojimi skladbami, to si je zaželel ob sprejemu Prešernove nagrade za življenjsko delo leta 1992. V času, v katerem vse glasnejša postajajo razmišljanja o koncu umetnosti, se up, da Krekove glasbene oporoke vendarle ne bodo izneverjene, opira na Rilkejevo misel, da »umetniška dela predstavljajo neskončno samoto in se do njih najtežje predira s kritiko. Edinole ljubezen jih lahko razume, obdrži na življenju in zmore biti pravična do njih.« Upati je, da takšno ljubezen premoremo.

SUMMARY

The large and precious orchestral, chamber, piano, an choral output of Uroš Krek (1922-2008), a classic of newer Slovene music, came into being in circumstances that he himself characterized as *a complicated spiritual environment* which, taking into account his tolerant, humanly warm character and aristocratic, intellectually accomplished points of departure, was certainly not his cup of tea. In times, during which the arts losing their philosophical-aesthetic basic, Krek preserved in the field of the aesthetic, to his thinking, a retreat for the idea of the humane. The aesthetic is an indispensable part of man's recognizing as well as articulating his sensual, emotional, and cognitive abilities in their entirety. Classical education, Slavonic and compositional studies, firm embeddedness in his native soil and mentality, his siding with the beautiful as the driving force of art, and his trust in creative power, inventiveness, visions, and impulses, all these were the pillars of Krek's musical legacy.

This rather serious poise is complemented by playfully cheerful ease that can be detected in the composer's inventive, at times irrepressible combinations of musical elements, since for him

music is *an independent category of aesthetic pleasure*. Many of his nowadays already classical compositions (e.g. the orchestral *Sinfonietta* (1951) or *Mouvements concertants* (1955), *Inventiones ferales* for violin and strings (1964), *Sinfonia per archi* (1973)) result from a balanced interplay between reflecting on as well as perceiving oneself on the ultimate matrix of the aesthetic. And more: the creative act is not self-sufficient. Krek considers it *a mission*, a transfer of one's own creative energy to the Other, i.e. the listener, with the aim of *leading him through various spheres and niceties of experience*.

Constants of Krek's music are prudence, clarity, and order, whereas his development (after leaving L. M. Škerjanc's compositional school) led him towards neoclassicistic models, and, later, to postmodern ease in dealing with various layers of tradition and chosen models. Individual 'work schedules' of his compositions reveal further characteristics of Krek's writing: the wish to achieve the highest possible degree of articulated unity, as well as individuality of the texture, evade the (even with him detectable) possibility of the compositional matrix's turning into a straightjacket, and to be aware of the improvisatory nature of the original idea that, in its further development, should be

followed by firm compositional logic, in which elaborated combinations of elements as well as interactions between analogies and contrasts prevail. In his work Krek is always inquisitive, through fastidious, since modernity as such has no basic value everything else might be conditioned by. Communication between various musical systems is to be understood as a revelation of skill in the sense of the bygone notion of *arts*, i.e. in constant contact with art, since, to Krek, music is *faith* or rather *Weltanschauung*. Actually, Krek is after *those ideals of music that have been realized by the creative spirit of metaphysical attitudes*.

Among the means of his compositional strategy one should also mention his bartókianly understood identification with information, ways of structuring, and the expressive content of folk music tradition. The equating of folklike with personal the composer appears to consider as an actual fact inherently present in a musically sensitive person that belongs to a certain milieu.

The composer's most intimate wish was to *impress himself* – through his compositions – *on the memory of the Slovene man*. One can only hope that we do enjoy Rilke's 'understanding through love' which might keep Krek's work everlastingly alive.

Leon Stefanija

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Uroš Krek: ustvarjalna izhodišča in zapuščina

Uroš Krek: Creative Concepts and Legacy

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek prinaša pogled na ustvarjalna izhodišča in rešitve letos preminulega akademika, skladatelja, profesorja kompozicije na ljubljanski Akademiji za glasbo, etnomuzikologa in radijskega glasbenega urednika Uroša Kreka. Obravnava opus, ki je z vzvišeno preprostostjo že zarana postal in z vsakim novim delom ostajal deležen iskrene hvaležnosti tako izvajalcev kot poslušalcev. Krekov opus se izmika togosti glasboslovnih značnic in ga vezem s preteklostjo navkljub prežema čar nekakšne neminljive igre. Zaradi obojega je še posebej umetniško privlačen v obdobju, ko ustvarjalci skušajo združiti za 20. stoletje tako značilno hrepenenje po novem, ki so ga mnogi ustvarjalci skušali najti v temeljitem odstopanju od minulega in uveljavljenega, z ustvarjalnim zanosom, ki ohranja in spodbuja pristnost dialoga s preteklostjo in uveljavljenimi umetniškimi merniki.

ABSTRACT

The article describes the creative views and solutions of Uroš Krek, a prominent Slovenian musician: composer, professor of composition at the Academy of Music in Ljubljana, ethnomusicologist and chief broadcasting music editor, academician of the Slovenian, Croatian and European Academies of Sciences and Arts, who passed away on 3. May 2008. The article presents an oeuvre that was crowned with genuine gratitude by performers and audiences thanks to its sublime simplicity from the very beginning of the composer's career. One can seldom find a composer's output in which – despite its deep rootedness in the past, especially in neoclassicism and in folk music – the role of spiritual creativity is so distinctive as not to allow to compare the music with past futures, because it somehow resists ageing.

Pogled muzikologa

Redkost je skladateljski opus, ki bi s tako vzvišeno preprostostjo že zarana postal in z vsakim novim delom ostal deležen iskrene hvaležnosti tako izvajalcev kot poslušalcev.

Še večja redkost je opus, za katerega je kljub očitni ukoreninjenosti v preteklost, zlasti novoklasicizem in ljudsko glasbeno dušo, tako značilna vloga duhovne kreativnosti, ki je ni mogoče umestiti med pretekle prihodnosti, ker se upira staranju.

Tak skladateljski opus se izmika togosti glasboslovnih značnic. Njegovim vezem s preteklostjo navkljub ga prežema čar nekakšne neminljive igre. Zaradi obojega je še posebej umetniško privlačen v obdobju, ko ustvarjalci združujejo za 20. stoletje tako značilno hrepenenje po novostih, ki so ga mnogi ustvarjalci skušali najti v temeljitem odstopanju od minulega in uveljavljenega, z ustvarjalnim zanosom, ki ohranja in spodbuja pristen dialog s preteklostjo in uveljavljenimi umetniškimi velikostmi. Obdobje, v katerem so se glasbene vrednote skupaj s skrajnostmi obeh avantgard domnevno porazgubile v nepreglednem veriženju različnosti, namreč izsiljuje ponoven premislek o spoznavnem obzorju glasbe, ki ima na voljo malo raznorodnih izrazil – samo tone in zvoke –, kljub mnogim različnim možnostim njihovega povezovanja in preoblikovanja.

Danes se zdi, da so se dodobra prepletle nekoč vsaj deklarativno razmejene niti klobčiča ločnic med avantgardnim in tradicionalnim, novim in starim, visokim in nizkim, resnim in zabavnim, cerkvenim in posvetnim, kompleksnim in enostavnim. Obenem pa ni jasno, ali so se pričakovanja in hotenja, povezana z glasbo, spremenila: ostajajo primerljiva s tistimi, ki jih preteklost vseskozi potiska naprej.

Pri Urošu Kreku (21. 5. 1922, Ljubljana – 3. 5. 2008, Jesenice) izstopa prav zavest o nenehnem pretakanju istih glasbenih želja skozi različne pojavne oblike. Njegov opus izhaja iz prefinjenega duha, ki ostaja zvest tradiciji velikanov glasbene Zahoda, pri katerih je glasba umetnost *posluha* in *slišanja*, ne le golega sluha in poslušanja.

Izhodišča

Krek je na Akademiji za glasbo doštudiral kompozicijo (1947) pri Lucijanu Mariji Škerjancu in se istega leta zaposlil na Radiu Ljubljana (glavni glasbeni urednik od 1950 do 1958). Nato je delal kot asistent Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU in od 1967 do leta 1982 profesor za kompozicijo na Akademiji za glasbo v Ljubljani. Verjetno sta tudi širina in raznolikost poklicne poti prispevala k previdnosti v ustvarjanju, ki je suvereno, idejno sklenjeno, vsebinsko zaokroženo, skratka: zvesto samemu sebi, čeprav je daleč od slogovnega čistunstva. Prav ta nevsiljena, z lastno roko brzdana navada vključevanja in prežemanja izbranih glasbenih izrazil v izrazito samosvojo celoto dopušča reči, »da je bil [Uroš] K[rek] vedno postmodernist (še pred nastopom postmoderne)«¹.

Krek je svoje ustvarjalno vodilo razkril z besedami fizika W. Heisenberga: »Le pristni konzervativec zmore postati pravi revolucionar, kajti pristni konzervativec pozna vso bolečo težo protislovnosti starih teorij, da se mu nekoč odpro tista ozka, zanj edina veljavna vrata, skozi katera bo naravnal svoj korak.«² Deloval je v nekakšni »nezgodovinski sredini«³, kjer se je izmikal možnostim, »da bi prišla kakršna koli ideologija v umetnost

¹ Andrej Rijavec, »Krek, Uroš«, v: Enciklopedija Slovenije, 6. zvezek, Ljubljana 1992, str. 6.

² Iz pogovora s skladateljem ob podelitvi Prešernove nagrade leta 1992; Marijan Zlobec, *Komponiranje – aristokratsko opravilo*, Delo 7. 2. 1992.

³ Matjaž Barbo, »Zgodovinskost« skladateljskega opusa Uroša Kreka', v: zbornik referatov z Muzikološkega kolokvija ob 75-letnici skladatelja in akademika prof. Uroša Kreka, Posebna številka Biltena Slovenskega muzikološkega društva, Ljubljana, 1997, 25.

[...], da bi že vnaprej določali kvaliteto po smernicah različnih struj.«⁴ Tako je imel v kompozicijskem procesu »neprestano v sebi človeka, ki bo nekoč poslušal te moje note«.⁵

Lahko rečemo, da je bil Krekov umišljeni poslušalec najraje vpet med »nacionalno in osebno poetiko« in se je ravnal po fasetah »stapljanja obeh govoric v enovit glasbeni jezik«.⁶ Ključno načelo, ki se ga je vseskozi držal, je bilo aristokratsko: »sebe potisneš v ozadje, da postaneš svoj«.⁷ Nenehno iskanje odtenkov pretapljanja obstoječega sicer dopušča dvom v novum skladateljevega opusa. Toda Krekorva samokritičnost – bil je skladatelj, ki je vsako zapisano noto temeljito presejal, zato je njegov opus številčno razmeroma majhen – zavrača vsakršno poenostavljanje ali posplošitev. Krekov imaginarni poslušalec se je s »konzervativnostjo« opiral na »zasebno« (»subjektivno«) veljavo glasbenega izraza, ki ga je iskal in našel s pretanjenim razslojevanjem »občega« (starega, univerzalnega, »objektivnega«). Pri ustvarjanju se je opiral na izrazito univerzalno vodilo, ki ga ni mogoče poenostavljati in posploševati z opozicijami tipa staro – novo, moderno – postmoderno, avantgardno – tradicionalno ipd. Tovrstnih izrazitih nasprotij v Krekovem opusu ni: prebrani delci, značilni za posamezne »tokove«, so v njegovih skladbah vedno našli neko skladje, ne pomiritve, pač pa prostor, znotraj katerega so se dopolnjevali in žasrčili drug drugega, nikoli izključevali.

Čeprav nikoli ni iskal stika z glasbeno avantgardo, je vsako delo novost: po svežini misli in prefinjenosti, dodelanosti in klenosti izraza. Krekov novum je torej osebni novum, ki črpa iz tradicije ne da bi jo skušal preoblikovati, temveč da bi umetniško »izrabil« njeno moč. »Novo mu je le na novo obvladana, domišljena in povedana vsebina.«⁸ Krek išče novum v starem, klasičnem. Ne skuša ga *presegati*, temveč *dodelovati*, ustvarja »neobtežen s prisilo estetske originalnosti, antipsihologizirajoče zbran in ubran«⁹. Brez filozofije in brez izrazitih zunanjih pokazateljev je Krek ohranjal žlahtno glasbeno tradicijo, ki glasbi ne pusti postati »dekla vsakdanjega izkoriščanja in zlorabe do skrajnih meja«.¹⁰

Rešitve

Glasbeni opus Uroša Kreka je prvenstveno instrumentalen. Težko je izbrati reprezentativno delo v vrsti tistih, ki so jih tako kritiki kot poslušalci toplo sprejeli in sodijo med skladateljeve glavne stvaritve: *Sonati za violino in klavir* (1946 in 1994), *Simfonietta* (1951), *Mouvements concertant* (1955), *Sonatina za godalni orkester* (1960), *Inventiones ferales* za violo in godalni orkester (1962), *Concertino* za piccolo in orkester (1966), *Staroegiptovske strofe* za tenor in orkester (1967), *Sinfonia per archi* (1973), *La journée d'un bouffon* za kvintet trobil (1973), *Sur une mélodie* za klavir (1977), *Trije impromptuji*

⁴ Pogovor s skladateljem, »Kjer sem, naj bo veliko ustvarjalnega dela«, v: Večer 7. 2. 1992.

⁵ Prav tam.

⁶ Delo, 7. 2. 1992.

⁷ Prav tam. Prim. še spremeno besedo Boruta Loparnika k avtorski zgoščenki Uroša Kreka iz zbirke Edicije Društva slovenskih skladateljev. Portreti slovenskih skladateljev Ed. Dss. 996002.

⁸ Borut Loparnik, »Premislek o Urošu Kreku«, v: zbornik referatov z Muzikološkega kolokvija ob 75-letnici skladatelja in akademika prof. Uroša Kreka, Posebna številka Biltena Slovenskega muzikološkega društva, Ljubljana, 1997, 9.

⁹ Marija Bergamo, »Krekov »Pegaz na uzdi«, v: zbornik referatov z Muzikološkega kolokvija ob 75-letnici skladatelja in akademika prof. Uroša Kreka, Posebna številka Biltena Slovenskega muzikološkega društva, Ljubljana, 1997, 27.

¹⁰ Marjan Zlobec, »Komponiranje – aristokratsko opravilo«, v: Delo, 7. 2. 1992.

za violino solo (1985), *Koncertni diptihon* za violončelo in orkester (1985), *Koncertna fantazija* za klarinet in orkester (1987), *Canticum Resianum* za mezzosopran in komorni orkester (1988), *Dedicatio* za simfonični orkester (1989), *Invocation* za obojo in klavir (1992), *Cantus gratias agentis* za sopran, trobento in orgle (1994), *Mala suita* za 5 violin in violi (1996), *Dve uglasbeni epizodi iz Haydnovega dnevnika* za sopran, tenor in komorni orkester (1996, 1997).¹¹

Z jezikom estetične topologije postmoderne, ki v »diferencah« pravzaprav ne ponuja drugega kot drobirja v osnovi prastare sopostavitve »grobega« in »prefinjenega«, bi mogli reči: Krekov glasbeni stavek ne kaže nobenih posebnih analogij z oblikoslovnimi predlogami, temveč njegove temeljne poteze izhajajo iz iščočega odnosa do izbrane tradicije zvrsti – iščočega doslednosti glasbene logike, zasnovane na dopolnjevanju med glasbenimi prviniami. Misel Boruta Loparnika, ki je Krekovo mladostno poetološko vodilo in »najbolj pomenljivi facit nove umetniške narave« strnil z eno samo besedo – disciplina –, tako ponuja primerno izhodišče analize Krekove glasbe. Tako kot o prvi ohranjeni skladbi Uroša Kreka velja namreč tudi za oblikovnost njegove glasbe v celoti: »Nobene prisile ni v njej, tudi nobenih [...] vajeti«¹² v smislu skrajnosti racionalnega urejevanja glasbenega toka.

Krekovo osnovno oblikotvorno načelo je: razvijanje glasbenega poteka po nekakšnem intuitivnem, vselej dodobra prečiščenem dopolnjevanju med glasbenimi izrazili. Zanj je značilna dosledna subtilna *igra prvinskih simetrij*, bolje: *igra premen poudarkov med glasbenimi prviniami*. Po doslednosti tenkočutno izoblikovane stavčne teksture bi Krekove skladbe sodile med kompozicijske predloge ireduktibilnega, v osnovi modernističnega procesa »prevrednotenja« istega – kljub sicer (novo)klasi(cisti)čni podstati.

Vprašanje semantične vsebnosti glasbenega stavka – tako pomembno tako za modernizme 20. stoletja kot za obdobje postmoderne – se zdi odveč zaradi (novo)klasi(cisti)čne zasnove in klasičnega tematično-motivičnega razvijanja. Tematično-motivična mreža povezav in njena biologistična vzporednica z organsko obliko – oblikoslovnim izhodiščem »čisto glasbenega« vsaj od kompozicijskih učbenikov A. B. Marxa dalje – je sicer resda razpršena po kompleksni vrsti, zlasti v obdobju romantizma reflektiranih »zgodovinskih in filozofskih razsežnosti« (Tadday 1999: 2).¹³ Toda dosledna igra prvinskih premen in tematska zasnova Krekovih del razkrivata le svojo lastno estetsko sporočilnost, ki zunanje pomenske vzporednice prepušča le v tolikšni meri, kolikor se jim po oblikovnosti izmika.

¹¹ Krekova dela so tiskana v edicijah Društva slovenskih skladateljev (Ljubljana), Breitkopf & Härtel (Wiesbaden), Peters (Leipzig), Pizzicato (Videm), Helvetia (Basel).

¹² Borut Loparnik, *Premislek o Urošu Kreku*, v: Muzikološki kolokvij ob 75-letnici skladatelja in akademika prof. Uroša Kreka, Zbornik referatov, Posebna številka Biltena SMD, Ljubljana, 1997, 8.

¹³ Ulrich Tadday, *Das schöne Unendliche. Ästhetik, Kritik, Geschichte der romantischen Musikanschauung*, J. B. Metzler Verlag, Stuttgart-Weimar, 1999, 2. Taddayeva študija pojma »romantike« v glasbi je revizija vplivne študije o estetiki instrumentalne glasbe z naslovom *Die Idee der absoluten Musik* Carla Dahlhausa (1978). Tadday izčrpno argumentira tezo, da je ideja funkcijsko nevezane glasbe – po Dahlhausu temeljna estetska premisa instrumentalne in posledično »romantične« glasbe – eden od postulatov estetike 19. stoletja, ki so močno vplivali tudi na pojmovanja glasbe v 20. stoletju. Avtor ne zanika pomena in vloge ideje absolutne glasbe, vendar je ne obravnava kot edine premise estetike avtonomije dela, temveč jo utemeljuje s stališča subjektivnosti recepcije estetskega.

Zapuščina

Težko je reči, zakaj je Krekova glasba slišati in videti tako preprosta, na videz morda staromodna za okolje, ki je bilo priča eksploziji samosvojih – po mnenju mnogih revolucionarnih – avtorskih rešitev. Z različnimi glasbami (pre)nasičena sodobnost se je seveda odrekla nekaterim med njimi; navidezno bogastvo se je nemalokrat izkazalo za varljivo, četudi samo v posameznih plasteh. Pravzaprav bi oporekali misli, da ravno to kulturno okolje, prežeto z različnimi glasbami, krepi zavest o dejstvu, da bogastva ustvarjalnega življenja ne kaže meriti z vatli trenutne dopadljivosti, temveč po aristokratskem učinku, ki se izmika primežu časa. Odtod nemara izvira šarm razsrediščene glasbene sodobnosti, ki jo polnijo razlike: nihče ne more mimo podrobnosti. S tem se osrednje glasbene tradicije Zahoda ne razkrivajo kot skupki kompozicijskih obrazcev, temveč se v njihovih obrisih razgaljajo živa znamenja ustvarjalnega procesa. In zanj niso ključne slogovne usmeritve. Njegova mernika sta discipliniranje miselnega toka skozi konico pisala in stvariteljska entelehija, ki oblikovornim gradnikom najdeva tančine zunanje sklenjenosti in učinkovne privlačnosti.

Ravno v procesu, katerega osrednje gibalo razkriva v nekem časopisnem pogovoru zapisano Krekovo načelo *sebe potisneš v ozadje, da postaneš svoj*, kaže iskati bogastvo skladateljskega opusa, ki izraža iz glasbene zgodovine, a se hkrati izmika zgodovinskosti, in ki črpa iz poglobljenega, tako rekoč ljubezenskega odnosa do ljudske glasbe, vendar je svetove oddaljen od izvirne ljudskosti tudi takrat, kadar si jo prilašča kot del glasbenega izraza. V tem procesu iskanja odprte estetske povednosti znotraj formalno dovršenega tonskega jezika – znotraj prefinjene brezinteresne igre podrobnosti v večidel klasicistično naravnani oblikovni čistosti glasbenega toka – je namreč neprecenljiv dar, ki ga more glasbena tradicija prejeti od ustvarjalca. Nemara pa je v tem procesu tudi največji dar, ki ga ustvarjalec nameni – tudi sebi.

SUMMARY

The article describes the creative views and solutions of Uroš Krek, a prominent Slovenian musician: composer, professor of composition at the Academy of Music in Ljubljana, ethnomusicologist and chief broadcasting music editor, academician of the Slovenian, Croatian and European Academies of Sciences and Arts, who passed away on 3. May 2008. The following points are emphasized. Seldom is a composer's output so early and thanks to its sublime simplicity crowned with a genuine gratitude by performers and audiences. Even more seldom one can find a composer's oeuvre in which despite its deep rootedness in the past, especially in neoclassicism and in folk music, the role of spiritual creativity is so distinctive as not to allow to compare the music with past futures, because it somehow resists aging.

Such a musical oeuvre evades rigidity of the musical key words, and is in spite of its ties with

the history imbued with a kind of imperishable play. Because of both these features it is attractive in the period when artists are tempted to combine the longing for the new, specific to many composers of the 20th century and their strivings to radically surpass the past and the established compositional practices, with the creative enthusiasm that preserves and stimulates the dialogue with the history of music and other established musical values. Namely, the age in which musical values, including the extremes of the avant-garde, have dispersed through the complex chain of differences enforces us to rethink the horizon of topoi involved in our understanding of music. For, once at least declaratively demarcated threads became in the last decades immersed in the clew of oppositions between avant-gardistic and traditional, new and old, high and low, spiritual and secular, art and pop, complex and simple.

The present times, (over)saturated with different musics, might for many seem alienated; indeed,

fictional richness has frequently proved itself deceptive. Though for many others exactly this cultural milieu strengthens the consciousness about the fact that wealth of a creative life cannot be measured with the cells of momentary pleasurable sensations, but should be appreciated because of the lasting aristocratic agency it awakens. Hence perhaps the alluring spell of the many faces of contemporary (and not only) musical culture, pervaded with differences: no one should overlook the details. That is the reason why today great Western musical traditions reveal themselves not as a collection of compositional models, but their contours emerge as live signs of a creative process. And for this process no stylistic orientation is central. Its main bushels are the discipline of the mental flow through the pencil and creative entelechy which is successful at finding as many telling details as possible

between the formal completion and efficacious aesthetic appeal.

Precisely in this process, the main motive of which could be seen in a newspaper interview unveiled principle saying *shove yourself aside to become yourself*, one should search for the richness of the musical oeuvre that grows out of the musical history, albeit avoids to become historical, and that is intimately related to Slovenian folk music, although at the same time stays far distant from the originally folk music, even if it comes to the fore. In this process of searching for an aesthetic openness within formally well rounded-off musical language – within refined disinterested play of details throughout classicistic formal purity of the musical flow – actually lies the invaluable gift a musical tradition can receive from an artist. Moreover, it seems that this process veils also the greatest gift an artist can receive – from himself.

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The Music of Uroš Krek: Towards a Definition of its Style

Glasba Uroša Kreka: k vprašanju opredelitve njegovega stila

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Avtor opredeli stil Uroša Kreka, katerega glasba slovi po svoji visoki kakovosti in čustveni vsebini. Pri tem so upoštevana osnovna stilna obdobja, neoklasicizem, vpliv ljudske glasbe, melodične celice ter kombinacije vseh treh, pri čemer ugotavlja, da med le-timi ne obstaja jasno začrtana meja.

The author defines the style of the composer Uroš Krek whose music has a reputation for high quality and emotional content. He uses the basic stylistic periods, neo-classicism, folk music influence, melodic cells, and a combination of these three, but argues that there is no clear-cut division between them.

The music of Uroš Krek (1922-2008) has for a long time been widely recognised for its high quality, as it clearly communicates its message at all levels with its audience without in any way compromising its impeccable standards. The composer studiously avoided following any fashion, as he felt that music comes from the heart and is not produced simply to fit in with any stereotyped formula. The development of his music has always been evolutionary, with new works growing organically out of the previous ones, because the composer viewed any sudden change of style as something to be avoided, and considered that it could be thought to be a false identity imposed on his musical thinking. Despite all these pointers, however, the essential character of Krek's music remains curiously elusive. What, in fact, is the essential secret of his art?

A superficial acquaintance with Krek's music suggests that it falls roughly into four periods: the early neo-classical phase when he was establishing a style (1946-58); the following years in which his idiom was influenced by folk music, especially that of Slovenia (1958-1969); a period in which melodic cells became an important part of his technique (1970-1980); the final period in which his music drew features from all these periods (1980 onwards). A greater familiarity with the individual works makes clear that these useful simplifications can be misleading, because within them they include a wonderful variety and mixture of techniques, and that there are no rigid stylistic divisions in his musical output. Over his creative working life, Krek developed his music by evolution with a tightly organised style that communicates directly and effectively. His music has never become 'advanced' stylistically, although it does sometimes use new techniques. It is always conceived sonically, with excellent use of instrumental and/or vocal resources, especially but not exclusively string instruments, together with strong and distinctive melodic writing and vivid harmonic sounds.¹ The formal planning of Krek's music is varied and progressively more flexible. A strong characteristic of this wide-ranging development is the way that the different features seem to arise naturally in the course of the composition of each work, and then take their place in the range of techniques at his disposal.

Krek studied in Ljubljana under Škerjanc and Švara, completing his studies in 1947. In the previous year he had composed an imaginatively written Sonata for violin and piano that shows the romantic influence of Škerjanc. During the next few years he developed a neo-classical idiom, in pieces such as the *Simfonieta* of 1951,² *Mouvements concertants* for strings of 1955 and the *Sonatina* for strings of 1956. It is these works that form the bedrock of his style.

Let us consider one of the composer's most substantial and accomplished early works. The *Simfonieta* is traditional in outlook, concisely written and attractive in sound. While some commentators have suggested a strong influence of Prokofiev, this is relatively slight because his music lacks the Russian's biting turns of phrase and presents a distinctive lightness of touch and a humanity that is apparent in the gently turned melodic phrases and springing rhythms that characterise the music of this period. Moreover, the second theme of the first movement has more than a hint of the march from the third movement of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No.6 in B minor (*Pathétique*). The work is strongly thematic, with the subtly shaped melodic material of the first movement treated in a symphonic development that concentrates on the augmentation of the first theme and inversions of the others. It is notable that traditional key-relationships are maintained in both exposition and recapitulation. In the second movement Krek excels himself in his ingenuity, economy and emotion. The opening theme (Andantino) is developed in three extended free variations, more in the nature of transformations. Krek combined scherzo (first variation, Poco presto) and slow movement (second variation, Adagio molto cantabile), each 'variation' being strongly

¹ A particularly valuable study of the sonorities of Krek's music is found in Andrej Rijavec: 'Klangliche Realisierungen im Werk von Uroš Krek - Zvočne realizacije v delu Uroša Kreka', *Muzikološki zbornik* xii (1976), pp. 97-109.

² Krek used this spelling in the published score (Edicije DSS 460, 1973) and the Musica Slovenica recording (FLP 10-015) rather than the strictly correct Latin form 'Sinfonieta'.

contrasted, while the third alternates slow and fast tempos before a brief return to the opening Andantino. This rather prosaic description conceals the fact that this movement contains the emotional heart of the work with short phrases that are intense in feeling and hauntingly memorable. It is in the slow parts of the third variation that the radiant intensity of his string writing emerges so powerfully, with a yearning phrase that is closely harmonised diatonically; this section appears three times, more emotionally involving each time. Krek's ability to create such passages occurs again and again in his later works, but surprisingly they almost defy analysis such is the integration of the melody, the harmony and the sound quality. The finale again asserts its thematic nature with a simple theme harmonised on a tonic chord, an almost banal touch countered by an immediate symphonic development with elements from the theme reversed and reorganised. A central episode rather than a development proper follows, with a free recapitulation of the main material. All this may suggest a straightforward neo-classical composer, but in every respect the work is subtly and imaginatively composed with some unpredictable moves. The sound quality is completely distinctive and the form, while touching aspects of tradition, is moving towards a convincing but totally unsteretyped organisation.

From 1958 to 1967 Krek worked at the Ljubljana Ethnological Institute, making close contact with folk music, particularly of Slovenia and the neighbouring republic of Croatia. Krek's views on folk music are very revealing. Unlike his Croatian contemporary, Milko Kelemen, who wrote an article in which he said 'farewell to folklore' as something of a relief,³ Krek positively welcomed its influence on his music. In an article entitled 'Encounter with Folklore',⁴ he made clear his belief that music that derived from folklore enriched his art in a way that many of the then current trends in Central Europe did not. Krek was very careful not to mention names, but it is clear that he was thinking of the composers who had gathered around his German contemporary, Karlheinz Stockhausen.

When one considers the music of this period, it is clear that Krek's musical style was by this time too fully formed for this to produce any fundamental change, but there are numerous instances in his music of this period in which melodic and rhythmic elements of folk music appear. Therefore it is more appropriate to consider Krek's music of this time as an extension of his neo-classical idiom. A good work to consider in this context is the short orchestral piece *Rapsodični ples*, a reworking in 1959 by the composer of an earlier commission for violin and piano. It draws on a variety of folk materials from all over the former Yugoslavia, yet it is true to the style that Krek had established in his earlier music. The *Concerto* for horn and strings of 1960 does have some folk-like influences: the first movement contrasts a simple unaccompanied horn melody with a predominantly rhythmic section that uses 8/8 time divided into 3+2+3, a common folk rhythm from Slovenia and from the Medjimurje region of Croatia. The combined rhythm used in this movement offers a good rhythmic

³ Milko Kelemen: 'Abschied von der Folklore', *Melos* xxvi (1959), pp. 178-80.

⁴ Uroš Krek: 'Susret sa folklorom', *Zvuk* 75-76 (1967), pp. 15-17; and in Slovene, 'Srečanje s folkloro', *Naši zbori* XVIII, no. 5 (1966), as reprinted in *Slovenski skladatelji akademiki – Slovenian Composers Academicians* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2003), pp. 122-29, together with an English translation.

contrast to the 4/4 time of most of the movement. In addition, though, we encounter new stylistic features, especially the development and extension of the chromatically inflected lines found in the earlier neo-classical pieces, as well as the more 'open' intervals of fourths and fifths. Krek's melodic lines are shaped with an ear for balance but not undue symmetry, the near-repetitions carefully crafted to allow the listener to absorb the ideas without haste. But other features are also carried over from his earlier works: his harmonies, sometimes static with use of ostinato patterns based on triadic formations, and frequent chord sequences rich with added notes, with or without melodic decoration.

This grafting of folk music features continues in two more works for solo instruments and orchestra: *Inventiones ferales* for violin and strings of 1962 and the *Concertino* for piccolo and orchestra of 1967. The earlier work sounds anything but folk-like, but Krek was able to work his folk connections into his varied style without difficulty. The rhapsodic writing and fast-moving folk-like virtuoso passages of the central section of the first movement give a taste of fondness for the techniques and there is also some use of the Istrian mode. There is a melodic passage that turns back on itself with chromatically altered notes, one very good method of Krek's for enhancing the emotional effect of the music (Ex. 1). It is a feature that is found in much of Krek's subsequent melodic writing, especially from the mid 1970s. But alongside this there is a new mood: intended as a memorial to the composer's father, the work has two brooding slow movements flanking a central *Risoluto* of typical Krekian rhythmic vigour. The first begins with a highly chromatic fugato introduction using a non-serial 'twelve-note' theme. The harmonic language is notable for its simple use of chord sequences. One example can be heard in a passage in which a simple progression (dominant-tonic in C major) is smothered by added notes and then the sudden removal of all the additions reveals a plain C major chord.



Example 1. *Inventiones ferales* – second movement.

The two-movement *Concertino* for piccolo and orchestra is equally distinctive, a much lighter work, and smaller in scale. As in the earlier works, there are passages using folk-derived rhythms, e.g. 2+3+3 in the coda of the second movement. But as in other works of this period there are numerous other features, including an increasing use of free rhythm in unbarred sections. The melodic materials make memorable motifs that help to unify the work, very much a strong feature of the music. But there are looks back to the past as well: a curious little phrase at the end of the first movement has more than a

passing resemblance to a theme from Prokofiev's *Lieutenant Kijé*. There is no suggestion here that the composer made an unacknowledged borrowing, more a coincidence. This type of melodic phrase is a good example of Krek's use of a melody that turns back on itself with chromatically altered notes, a feature mentioned above in *Inventiones ferales*. The formal plans of the two movements owe something to traditional schemes, but Krek is approaching the stage at which it is less important to mention similarities with these forms. Motivic connections constituting the main thematic interest present an effective unifying factor. In addition to this, Krek added a wealth of decorative and contrapuntal detail, as he did in the central movement of the earlier *Inventiones ferales*.

From the same year, 1967, comes a cycle of six songs for high voice and string orchestra, which includes two harps, called *Staroegiptovske strofe* ('Old Egyptian Stanzas'). Comparable in some ways to Benjamin Britten's *Les Illuminations* of 1939, Krek's vocal lines show his customary variety, ranging from those with simple, folk-like and mostly stepwise movement to recitative and more elaborate word-setting, in which the words do not appear to dictate the course of the melodic line, yet they fit its inflections very well. There are numerous passages in which the string parts seem to follow a separate development from that of the vocal line. Harmonically, Krek always aimed to use a straightforward tonal harmonic progression, even if he enriched the chords with added notes.

All these pieces show in one way or another some aspect of the influence of folk music, but these features are all fully integrated into the now established style that Krek had developed. Right in the middle of these achievements, chronologically, he did make one adventure into arranging folk music directly, in *Pet narodnih pesmi* ('Five Folk Songs') of 1963, which employ melodies from the Medjimurje region of Croatia as well as from Rezija and Prekmurje in Slovenia itself. Its characteristics include a frequent use of pentatonic melodies and use of combination rhythms, e.g. 4+6/8 and 3+2+2/8. In these settings Krek has harmonised the melodies pianistically in a harmonic idiom that is similar to the extended diatonicism of his other works from the early 1960s. In every way the melodic line of the singer is always presented clearly, with a correspondingly effective projection of the words.

After this period in which folk music took its place in his style, Krek expanded and developed his use of the short motif. It was not an abrupt change, but more a shift of emphasis, with the folk influence never being far away. It led to a succession of works which employ a concise economy of means, in some cases almost obsessively so, that leave one amazed at their sheer sense of intellectual focus. This is not to say that Krek's emotional and dramatic sense is lost – far from it – but it took its natural place in his musical idiom.

It is instructive to take a brief work, *Thème varié*, for trombone and piano, to illustrate Krek's newer manner of varying his thematic material. This is shown in the composer's reprises, which earlier had been fairly literal, but more recently had become only suggestive. The theme is subjected to considerable but recognisable transformations throughout the work.⁵ One new feature in this work is the use of an arch plan, suggesting some

⁵ For further details see Niall O'Loughlin: *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 2000), pp. 149, 156.

influence from certain works of Bartók, notably the String Quartet No.5 and the *Music for strings, percussion and celesta*. This would seem to be confirmed by a study of the later *Solo-Sonata for two violins*.

The next few pieces by Krek were three finely crafted chamber works, of which the first two, *Episodi concertanti* for wind quintet and the *Sonatina* for solo oboe, are essentially small-scale and lightweight in character. The third chamber work of this group, the *Solo-Sonata for two violins* of 1971, is a far more substantial three-movement work of some 22 minutes' duration with a complex formal structure. Even with an abundance of thematic material, the composer's customary thematic connections give the work a strong formal coherence. The opening theme of the first movement is subjected to transformations similar to those found in *Thème varié*, in rhythm and intervals. In the central 'Tempo primo' the rhythms of the opening are suggested, although the melodic lines themselves are drastically altered. Krek had now virtually abandoned classical forms, preferring to use the arch-forms favoured by Bartók. A good example of this is the second movement, whose form can be defined by *tempo* as ABCBA, although the thematic material of the two B sections is different. The middle sections frequently employ the intervals and figurations that appeared in the first movement. The plan of the finale is also straightforward, ABCDBA, with a fairly literal reprise of A and B in reverse order. The parallel with Bartók can also be heard in numerous canons, imitations and mirror forms, but also very strikingly in passages in the finale, with its irregular rhythms and melodic lines of limited range.

Up to now in this discussion of Krek's music, his use of traditional forms has been frequently mentioned, but usually, as mentioned above, the detailed plans have shown no slavish adherence to traditional schemes. In his *Sinfonia per archi* Krek breaks completely with tradition in his formal working and in other aspects of his style, too; in all respects it represents a major landmark in his development and, despite its short duration (15 minutes), it is masterly in its unorthodox control of musical materials. These include the use of freely coordinated parts, especially ostinatos, a greater use of angular and fragmented melodic lines, and a concentration on short sections of intense motivic working. Juxtapositions of material, motifs, harmonies and textures are often abrupt. The three movements have unexceptional tempos; the first is slowish, the second slow and the third quite fast, but Krek untypically relied completely on metronome markings to define these tempos. The titles of the movements, *Pozivanje* ('Invocation'), *Prebujenje* ('Awakening') and *Ozdiv* ('Return'), would seem to have nothing more than general rather than programmatic significance.

It is in Krek's thematic and motivic working in the *Sinfonia per archi* that his brilliance and imagination are shown. Even when the economy of material is evident, the logic and variety of treatment keep the musical interest to the fore. One example that must suffice to illustrate this involves the use of the octave leap, which often begins phrases, and which sometimes is altered by a semitone and at others it has an intervening note, e.g. a fourth. In the second movement it is the diminished octave that first appeared in the first movement which features prominently, both

rising and falling, with or without the intermediate note, usually the third. The minor ninth occurs much less often, while extensive use of similar leaps of the octave, minor ninth and major seventh appears in the finale. Krek maintains no rigid sense of traditional tonality because of his avoidance of progressions that might define a key-centre, although triadic shapes are common in the harmonies. The focal point of the work is the note E, with which the work starts so memorably with a fugato on one note.

The motivic compression of the *Sinfonia per archi* was followed in the succeeding works in almost virtuoso fashion by four chamber works from 1975-77 which add immeasurably to Krek's achievement. The *Duo* for violin and cello, the solo piano piece *Sur une mélodie*, the Sonata for clarinet and piano, and the *Trio* for violin, viola and cello. *Sur une mélodie* and the Clarinet Sonata are both in two parts, slow and quick, the former playing without a break and the latter in two separate movements. The first part of the former features typically Krekian harmonies, but often breaks into two-part textures in which the melody of the title played in one hand is decorated by a range of elaborate flourishes in the other.

The first movement of the Sonata goes much further with an elaborate interconnection between the players' parts in a way that totally respects the two instruments' particular abilities. Krek integrates the two parts with many short motifs that often dominate the texture. Particularly prominent is a four-note grouping or cell which appears both melodically and harmonically, but whose exact intervals are constantly changing. This four-note cell is the source of much of the music of the second movement of the Sonata for clarinet and piano, entitled *Toccata con canzone*, a tour-de-force of motivic working, and a staggering display of how these fragments can be repeated, juggled, transformed and juxtaposed. The four-note motif in its basic form rises or falls an octave with an intervening third or sixth and then returns to the middle note normally lowered by a semitone, a characteristic feature of Krek's style. Ex. 2 presents the opening of the second movement in which these shapes can be traced in their various forms, a passage which repays very close study for its numerous repetitions, imaginative variety and subtle transformations. The intellectual side of the Sonata is balanced by a warm and moving intensity in the first movement and in the second movement by an exultant virtuosity that always arises from the needs of the music. One notes that the second part of *Sur une mélodie* also uses the same four-note cell as the Clarinet Sonata, but in a much less insistent and explicit fashion.

Con brio $\text{♩} = 152$

Clarinet in B \flat

Con brio $\text{♩} = 152$ **f**

Piano

5

9

13

17

21

25

28

Example 2. Sonata for clarinet and piano – opening of second movement.

The modestly titled *Duo* for violin and cello of 1975 is a substantial work of nearly 20 minutes' duration. With its three movements, laid out in unorthodox fashion as slow, quick, quick, there are many subtle tempo changes and an incredible network of motivic identities and transformations. The relationship between the parts of the two players is very varied and constantly changing. Free contrapuntal lines merge into imitative passages and frequently they are both interrupted magically with moments of harmonic stasis using the type of glowing harmonies that Krek had exploited so vividly in the *Sinfonia per archi*. The last work of this group, the *Trio*, has much in common with the *Duo* of 1975. The composer's skill in handling string writing and keeping the textures crystal clear is apparent at every stage in the work.

After this intensely intellectual group of works, Krek's style appeared to mellow. He drew back into his music all the other elements that had played such an important part in his earlier music without losing the lessons learned from the previous decade. The relaxation in concentration was only an illusion, of course, as the finest works from this period stand high in Slovene music of the second half of the 20th century, with techniques established in his earlier music, applied imaginatively and almost unobtrusively. The small-scale choral works, for example, use a well-managed combination of homophonic and contrapuntal techniques. *Three Autumn Songs* from 1991 for mixed chorus combine straightforward but subtly varied imitation between the different voices, with chordal passages of an unambiguous luminosity that one finds at all stages in the composer's career and false relations creating a very colourful sound. Word setting in *Salmo XLII* also of 1991 and in the four-part chorus, *Vester; Camenae* of 1994 makes the texts clearly audible, with numerous examples of words being sensitively presented. While the composer keeps his music within a broad tonality, his use of a wide range of dissonance points the meaning of the words very emphatically. The choral setting of *Jutranja pesem* ('Morning Song') by Adam Bohorič with accompaniment of brass quintet and bells is a typically unusual touch by Krek who builds up a range of motifs that infiltrate the texture without ever dominating the choral parts. Krek's thanksgiving cantata for soprano, trumpet and organ called *Cantus gratias agentis – Zahvalni spev* of 1994, set to Krek's own Latin words, appears like a baroque passacaglia or a series of free variations. Its various melodic cells or motifs are expanded, contracted or transformed in the composer's flexible manner and it is the contrast of intense emotion with his economy of means which gives the work its power. Even more impressive is the cantata *Canticum Resianum* of 1988 for mezzo-soprano and chamber orchestra (mostly strings). Here Krek returns to his use of original folk music, including two popular songs from Rožice in Rezija, in a work which is variously radiant, luminous and dance-like. It is a reminder of how much Krek's melodic lines owe, sometimes distantly, to folk music.

In Krek's recent works for solo instrument and piano his handling of form shows little debt to any models, but is always controlled by a skilful handling of motifs and harmonic material. Typical of this is his *Appassionato* for flute and piano of 1989, a single-movement work in a number of sections of varying tempos which are almost seamlessly linked by the similarity of motifs. Krek balances repetition and change with the development of new phrases out of previous ones, although there is also a connection with traditional formal structures. Even a modest single-movement work like the

charming *Sarabanda per Nataša* of 1993 for clarinet and piano is scrupulously worked out in all its motivic transformations. As in *Appassionato* for flute, the shorter sections are naturally grouped by their sharing of melodic motifs and by the skilfully composed transitions between them. It happily combines the style of Krek's neo-classical music of the 1950s with a neat and precise economy of melodic motifs.

While Krek's writing for wind instruments is sonically effective and gratefully written, but often difficult to play, his music for string instruments is exceptional. *Vigoroso* of 1991 and *Seconda sonata (Erinnerungen)* of 1994 for violin and piano display numerous of Krek's techniques. The former is a single-movement multi-tempo piece that has a fantasy character with some features which suggest folk violin playing, with a strong emotional character coupled with thematic unity. *Seconda sonata (Erinnerungen)* is more expansive and cast in three separate movements, with considerable variety within each one. In the *Seconda sonata* the motif which owes something to the works of 1975-77 takes many forms, but it is immediately recognisable in most cases, with the intervals constantly changing, a hallmark of the composer's style and a strong unifying factor.

The freedom with which he treats the changing identity of his motifs gives a clue to the understanding of the variation technique in the *Streichsextett über ein Thema von Frank Martin* of 1990. Krek's choice of a theme by Frank Martin was a tribute to the nationality of the Swiss players, but it was also because of the affinity that Krek's music has with that of the Swiss composer. The work's emotional tone is very strong, with a powerful intensity immediately obvious in the harmonies found in the theme taken from the opening of the second movement of Frank Martin's Cello Concerto. This atmosphere is maintained throughout despite the many tempo changes and the constantly changing textures which are enabled by the six string parts. Although written as a continuous piece of nearly twenty minutes' duration, it is composed in nine distinct sections in a symmetrical pattern that owes little to traditional formal planning.

An all-important three-note motif appears immediately in all the string parts of Frank Martin's theme. This is taken in its original form and rescored for the string sextet, onto which Krek has spliced his music seamlessly. The variations, interludes and postlude that follow saturate the textures with these motifs and their imaginative transformations. The most important point is that the musical processes that Krek uses in the *Streichsextett* depend for their effect on an *audible* association of ideas. The fact that this constant flux of motifs is being handled so apparently effortlessly makes the work's intense expression easily communicated. It is in fact this combination of motivic economy and expressive sound that gives Krek's music its distinctive character and its unique power.

Krek's contribution to Slovene music has been considerable. His opus, although not prolific, has been consistent, emotionally strong and has employed the highest quality of musical craftsmanship. On the other hand it has shown a flexibility and variety that might not be expected from a composer who has not courted avant-garde trends, but has maintained a focus on traditional methods and styles. His music is never predictable, but the surprises are always measured and understated. Krek's music has a strong intellectual focus balanced by an instinctive dramatic sense, with the outstanding works, especially *Inventiones ferales*, *Sinfonia per archi*, the Sonata for clarinet and piano and

the *Streichsextett über ein Thema von Frank Martin*, standing high in the European music of the 20th century.

POVZETEK

Glasba Uroša Kreka, ki je obče priznana zavoljo svoje kakovosti, se je le polagoma razvijala, in to brez modnih ali nenadnih sprememb stila. Nova dela organsko rastejo iz predhodnih, čeprav je njegov opus možno na splošno razdeliti na štiri obdobja, v katerih prevladujejo neoklasicistične ideje, vpliv ljudske glasbe, široka uporaba melodičnih celic ter kombinacij vseh omenjenih značilnosti. Neoklasicistična stilnost predstavlja osnovo njegovega glasbenega jezika v takšnih delih, kot je *Simfonieta*, medtem ko je obdobje Krekovega delovanja v Glasbenonarodopisnem

inštitutu v Ljubljani dodatno zaznamovalo njegovo glasbeno govorico z uporabo ljudsko pogojenih melodij in ritmov. V zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih je Krek razvil svoj način uporabe melodičnih celic v vrsti komornih del, ki skupaj s *Simfonio per archi* kažejo intelektualno plat njegovega glasbenega značaja. Istočasno se je Krek popolnoma oddaljil od tradicionalnih form. Od približno leta 1980 dalje je te različne tehnike začel povezovati na raznovrstne načine, tako da sta se poudarek kot tudi delovanje tehničnih procesov od skladbe do skladbe spreminjala. Ta čas je zaznamoval tudi nastanek precejšnjega števila vokalnih del.

UDK 784.15Gallus

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Notes on the style and spiritual categorisation of *Moralia* by Jacobus Handl Gallus

Zapisi k stilu in duhovni kategorizaciji *moralij* Jacobusa Handla Gallusa

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Proti koncu svojega življenja je Jacobus Handl Gallus (1550-1591) napisal dve knjigi madrigalov: *Harmoniae morales* in *Moralia*. Razen moralizirajoče vsebine je povezovalni element obeh ciklusov latinščina, kar vsekakor ni značilnost madrigalnega stila.

Toward the end of his life, Jacobus Handl-Gallus (1550-1591) wrote two books of madrigals: *Harmoniae morales* and *Moralia*. The uniting element of both cycles is, except for the moralizing contents, Latin language, which is not usual for madrigal style.

Towards the end of his life when the famous Slovenian composer, Jacobus Handl Gallus (1550-1591), had been long settled in Prague, he composed two sets of secular madrigals whose names bear a moral message – *moralia*.

The first book *Harmoniarum moralium liber* (henceforth *Harmoniae morales*, HM), is divided into three parts and contains 53 four-part vocal works. As the full title¹

¹ *Quatuor vocum liber I – III Harmoniarum moralium, quibus Heroica, Facetiae, Naturalia, quolibetica, tum facta fictaque poetica etc admixta sunt. Nunc primum in lucem editus. Authore Iacobo Hándl. Cantus. Pragae, excudebat Georgius Nigrinus. Anno M.D.LXXXIX.*

indicates, it was published in 1589 by the typographer Georgius Nigrinus in Prague. Seven years later the second book was posthumously published in Nuremberg (Germany). These are works of a similar character to those of the first book but which had hitherto not been published. As the introduction by his brother, Georgius Handelius Carniolus, indicates, they were already well-known in artistic circles and were being performed. The second book was published under the title, *Moralia* (henceforth *Moralia*, M), and contains 47 five, six and eight-voice works.² They were printed again, this time in Douai, Belgium; this copy was made with some slight changes by Jean Bogard in 1603.

In the text which follows, we will focus on two significant elements which manifest in both cycles. One is the moral content of the majority of the texts, and the other is his employment of Latin as an important phenomenon of humanistic tendencies of the era, despite this language being unusual in madrigals.

Cogitate miseri

»Das Sittengeschichtliche haftet gleichsam noch an der Oberfläche der Dinge, ist ein Kunstmittel neben vielen anderen, deren sich der Manierismus bediente, und ohne tiefere selbständige Bedeutung für das geistige Sichbewusstwerden der Lebenszusammenhänge.«

»A description of morality does not penetrate far below the surface. It is an artistic device used by, among others, Mannerism, without giving any underlying independent significance to an awareness of the relationships we have in life.«

Max Dvořák³

There is considerable variation in the subject matter of the poetry that Gallus set to music. The overriding themes are those of morality and censure of people's shortcomings, though not always intended seriously. Apart from those concerning the inconstancy of friendship, depending as it does on a person's affluence and good fortune, one also finds poetry disparaging moral disintegration – ingratitude, pride, avarice, adultery, hatred, deception, affectation, slander, hypocrisy, cowardice, excessive consumption of wine, false boasting, the negative influences of wealth and money, and at the same time mediocrity and ignorance. Contrasting with these themes are those of the need for friendship, the exhortations for humility, poverty and courage.

In keeping with the overall spirit of the cycle, the poems about a love which is usually destructive or futile are mostly inspired by Ovid. However, his *Metamorphoses* are primarily intended as light and entertaining reading and the instructions how to gain

² *Moralia Jacobi Handl Carnioli, musici praestantissimi, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinnata, atque tam seriis tam festiuis cantibus voluptati humanae accomodata, et nunc primum in lucem edita. Cantus. Cum gratia et privilegio Imperiali, ad annos decem. Noribergae, in officina typographica Alexandri Theodorici. MDXCVI.*

³ *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte. Studien zur abendländlichen Kunstentwicklung.* R. Piper & Verlag, München 1924, pp. 226-27.

the favour of a man or woman, or alternatively, how to dispense with it, are cast in the same mould. The madrigal *Uxor amice* (HM 19) warns against a wife as a great evil: a wife is only good in the grave: »... *sed bona, si moriatur, erit ...*«.

Not all of Gallus' *moralia* models involve moral inclinations. There is range of themes represented by poems celebrating music or Latin. An example of a work which stands apart is *Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio* (HM 32), whose text clearly serves as a mnemonic for remembering Aristotle's rules of logic.⁴ The moral principles inconspicuously permeate the madrigals on other themes as well. This can be seen in the madrigal, *Livide, quare tibi mea Musica displicet uni?* (HM 50). From the text which turns abruptly on a certain critic by way of the question, why would you be the only one to not like Gallus' music, we can deduce that the author is obviously a friend of the composer, if not the composer himself. The critic is called *Lividus*, the Latin equivalent of this bearing the metonymic meaning of »envious« or »jealous«. Consequently, this work can be classified as one of his moralistic works.

The question remains whether this torrent of moral teaching in Gallus' collection is meant sincerely.

It seems rather that the *moralitas*, as used here, is little more than a superficial unifying device. The closing moral lesson is rarely sincere or convincing, the magic resting in other features of the individual compositions. Vacuous moralizing (e.g. about the capriciousness of friendship), which takes the form of hollow didactic precepts, is only of a formal character and resembles »the technique of the metamorphosis« in Ovid. And as in the *Metamorphosis*, metamorphosis itself is just a peripheral formal element. Similarly in Gallus, one finds that the effect does not lie in the overall idea but in the individual pieces. The cycles have been assembled somewhat haphazardly with no sense of catharsis emerging from them, as the name of the work might imply. On the contrary. Individual madrigals have an entertaining character deriving from the nature of the verse as well as the music. There are, for example, the onomatopoeic portrayals of birdsong, the tumult of battle, the chiming of bells.

Could we perhaps extrapolate this perfunctory and diverting interpretation of the morals as the overall atmosphere of the period?

Shakespeare's words come to mind that the world at the end of 16th century, i.e. the era of Gallus, but also of Tasso, Tintoretto, Gesualdo and others, is »out of joint«. The disintegration of renaissance ideals resulted in a crisis of traditional values, morality being one such victim.

Renaissance absolutisation of man ended up in egocentrism. This resulted in a frequent contempt for moral principles to which the notions of the period testify. For example, Francesco Vettori (1474-1539) asserts that man, in his egoism, is only capable of pretending that he is guided by some moral idea. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) speaks with absolute frankness about human egoism which only pursues its own advantage since morality is said to be not innate. Through such a view, Hobbes manages to deprecate the positive evaluation of human nature which the likes of Thomas Aquinas and Grotius depict. On the contrary - when taken to its logical conclusion - in contradiction

⁴ A more detailed explanation is provided by Petr Peňáz in: Marie Kučerová, Petr Peňáz: »Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio Jakoba Handla Galla. Poznámky k textové a hudební stránce díla.« *Opus musicum* xvi (1984), no. 4, pp. 106-112.

with biblical teaching, not even the first man prior to committing the original sin – man, in his essence, is bad.

For extreme examples of egoism, one need look no further than Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) who detests not only traditional religious dogma, but also the centuries old principles of moral consciousness. On the path to power, he condones using hitherto disreputable means such as force, deception, betrayal, bribery and the like. Not that these methods are novel products of the era, but in *The Prince (Il Principe, 1513)* it is the first time that they had been theoretically sanctioned and considered not as immoral but as normal.

The accompanying phenomenon of the intensive emotional and moral atmosphere of the period becomes on one hand a moral probabilism, which as propagated by the Jesuits among others, represents sin as nothing more than a conscious digression from the laws of God. On the other hand, it is a »a pretence to be moral«. The question is to what extent these »moral« attitudes were meant seriously. For example, in 1566 Pope Pius V directed all prostitutes to leave Rome within 12 days. And in the same year Roman law decreed that doctors stop treating patients who do not confess their sins within three days. We concur with Sypher,⁵ that these and similar absurdities amount to a manifestation of the »guilty conscience« of their instigators.

There is a similar theoretical moralizing without any genuinely felt catharsis, with no »moral context«, in Sypher's words, to be found in Jacobean drama (e.g. Tourneur). Moral aspects serve only as instruments for the extreme emotions and are directly subordinate to dramatic effect. This leads to an independent life of moral ideas, since they do not emerge from an inner conviction of the character. The resulting »depersonalisation« then moves over also into the realm of the emotions. The character is consumed with profound agitation only for the sake of dramatic effect. As it is, in an attempt to achieve the main dramatic goal, namely excitement, the character swings frequently from one moral extreme to the other.

It is difficult to decide which of these current tendencies Gallus took on board.

We have attempted here to outline the atmosphere in which he worked, and account for why the many moral lessons in his *moralia* cannot be taken seriously, given the context of the era. So do other explanations offer themselves? The extent of the pessimism in his works cannot simply be an expression of the breakdown of renaissance ideas; it may also be a pointer towards the baroque Jesuit ideology of the insignificance of man before God. That is reflected in the selection of poems by pre-Christian authors.

The poetry about the capriciousness of fate, the compositions expressing the creaturalness of man compared to God, and the exhortations to piety differ markedly from those in the style of Ovid, some of which are overly lascivious. Some poetry contains advice on learning how to suffer, since real victory is said to be born only of suffering. In other literary models one finds the fear of death and even an almost baroque submitting oneself to the hand of fate. For example, the madrigal *Cogitate miseri* (HM 14), whose accented goliard verse points to the unknown medieval author,⁶ urging us

⁵ Wylie Sypher: *Four Stages of Renaissance Style. Transformations in Art and Literature 1400-1700*. Garden City, New York 1955.

⁶ Ullyse Chevalier: *Repertorium hymnologicum*. Graz 1892-1921. UB. 546 (s. XIII.) f. 166'.

wretched mortals to recognise their insignificance at the last judgement. No-one will find judgement there based on earthly codes of law, as God alone will be the judge, the only judge and witness:

*Cogitate miseri, qui vel quales estis,
quid in hoc iudicio dicere potestis.
Hic non erit codici locus nec digestis,
idem erit Dominus iudex, actor, testis.*

In a similar vein, the compositions rail against mortality and the smallness of man: *O homo si scires* (HM 28), *Quid sis, quid fueris* (HM 41), *O mors quam dura, quam tristia sunt tua iura* (HM 42) etc.

Latina linguarum regina

In his *moralia*, Gallus set poems from Antiquity, late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Whilst the book, *Harmoniae morales*, consists mainly of medieval texts, with only seven texts from Antiquity and six from late Antiquity, the *Moralia* collection has a vast majority of antique poetry with 27 from that period and four from the late Antiquity.

The Latin poet who takes centre stage in the two collections is Ovid (22 texts), followed by Virgil (3), Horace (2), Martial (2), Catullus (1) and Tibullus (1). The late Antiquity is represented in texts by Maximian (3), Claudian (1), Ausonius (1) and the remaining six poems from this period are contained in the collection *Anthologia latina* (Lipsiae /Leipzig/ 1869, 1870).

Medieval authors are predominantly anonymous though their poetry was published in anthologies.⁷ Some of the poems were evidently written by members of Gallus circle of friends. And it is just as likely that some of the poems were written by the composer himself given the wording of the foreword to *Harmoniae morales*: »... quidquid poetice conflare possum ...«. ⁸ This is striking especially for the madrigals linked to Handl's pseudonym which in Latin means »cock«: *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* (HM 6). Or perhaps in the feminine, »hen«: *Quam gallina suum parit ovum* (HM 7).

The formal unifying element in both books is language, for which he chose the »queen of languages«, Latin, which as mentioned in the foreword to *Harmoniae morales*, was unjustly neglected in artistic circles despite being the »most renown and most widespread language here and everywhere«. ⁹ And as mentioned above, secular madrigals of the 16th century typically use the national language, the vernacular. This use of Latin is

⁷ Of fundamental significance for Gallus' *moralia* are, first and foremost: *Carminum proverbialium, totius humane vite statum breviter delineantium, nec non utilem de moribus doctrinam iucunde proponentium Loci communes*, Basel 1576; Andreas Gartner: *Proverbia Dicteria, Ethicam et Moralem Doctrinam complectentia*, Frankfurt a. M., 1575.

Heinz Walter Lanzke endeavoured to identify the unknown texts in his dissertation, *Die Weltlichen Chorgesänge (»Moralia«) von Jacobus Gallus*, Mainz 1964, which established the standard for the bulk of the works. This research was partly completed and in some instances the findings were corrected by Pavel Sýkora: *Texty světských skladeb Jacoba Handla-Galla*, unpublished magister dissertation, Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts, 1986.

⁸ Jacobus Gallus Carniolus (Jacobus Händl): *Harmoniae morales – quatuor vocum*. Ed. Dragotin Cvetko, Slovenska matica, Ljubljana 1966, p. 2.

⁹ Ibidem.

exceptional in this genre. We will now examine some of the circumstances which could have inclined the composer to set Latin texts to music.¹⁰

Gallus's Prague base was the church, sv. Jan na Zábradlí (St. Johannes in Vado, St. John's Church). He rubbed shoulders at the court of Rudolf II, to which his compositional style was suited, and with the Latin humanists in Prague. It is more than likely that at least one of Gallus' Prague circle of humanistically-oriented men of letters contributed poems to *moralia*. One of the most likely candidates is his friend, Jiří Bartholdus, known as Pontanus (died 1614), author of some of the texts he set, such as *Epicedion harmonicum*, 1589, *Panegyrica Iesu Christo*. The poet Tomáš Mitis (1523-1591), also wrote texts that Gallus set, and he dedicated a poem to the composer, *Aeternitas utriusque musicae*, included in the *Synopsis biblica* (1586). Other friends include *Salomon Frenclius* (1561-1601), other authors of the anthology *In tumulum Iacobi Handेलii Carnioli...*,¹¹ which was published shortly after the composer's death: Jan Kerner (Ioan Khernerus, died 1612), Martin Galli, Jan (Ioan) Sequenides Černovický (Czernovicenus, 1569-1633); there is another author known only by his initials, IMV.

This almost blind admiration for Latin which resulted from not only the untraditional use of this language for madrigals, but also displays the author's attitude to this »queen of languages«, carries the spirit of the age of humanism which Italian academies brought to Prague and with whom Gallus was in frequent contact.

Apart from the cited passage from the foreword to *Harmoniae morales*, there is another text amounting to a defence of Latin, the madrigal *Linguarum non est praestantior ulla Latina* (HM 49). A poem by an unknown author, composed as an elegiac distich and largely unrhymed, celebrates Latin and propagates its essential knowledge for the educated man:

*Linguarum non est praestantior ulla Latina,
quam quisquis nescit, barbarus ille manet;
sis Italus, Gallus, Germanus sive Polonus,
nil nisi vulgaris diceris arte rudis.
Quisquis Latine nequit, nulla se iactet in arte,
nil scit, nil didicit, barbarus ille manet.*¹²

This poem resonates, in reaction to the deterioration of contemporary art, with a defence of admirable poetry (*Casta novenarum*, HM 5), as well as with a celebration of music: *Musica noster amor* (M 28) and *Musica Musarum germana* (M 29).

We will now turn our attention to more formal aspects of the verses. Poems originating in Antiquity, which form the bulk in *moralia*, are written in classical metres,

¹⁰ Dragotin Cvetko developed an interesting account of the use of Latin in Handl's madrigals, in which he highlights the fact that the composer was equally a foreigner in both Bohemia and Moravia. Handl set neither Czech texts nor German despite spending some of his life in Austria. This begs the question to what extent he was conscious of his Slovenian roots. (D. Cvetko: *Iacobus Händl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus*. Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti /Academia scientiarum et artium slovenica/, Ljubljana 1991, pp. 102-103.)

¹¹ *In tumulum Iacobi Handेलii Carnioli, insignis musicae practicae artificis, qui Praegae IIII. Idus Iulii pie in Christo obdormivit anno 1591.*

¹² No language exceeds Latin, / he who knows it not will forever be a barbarian; / whether Italian, Gaul, German or Pole, / you will be regarded as vulgar and uncultured. / He who knows not the Latin tongue, let him not glory in any art, / nothing does he know, nothing has he learnt, he will forever be a barbarian.

mostly dactylic hexameters and elegiac distichs; less frequent are the dactylic pentameters and the hendecasyllabus phalaeus, which are governed by the rules of ancient prosody.

Considerably fewer are examples of the rhythmic poetry typical of the Middle Ages. In fact, across the entire *moralia*, there are only three rhythmic poems, and they are in the book *Harmoniae morales*. The first of them, *Currit parvus lepulus* (HM 3), is a young hare's lament, fleeing hunters and their dogs. It ends by making its point as a searing lesson of life, but depicted comically. The moral poem, *Cogitate miseri* (HM 14), mentioned above, is made up of goliard verses, a fingerprint of medieval student verse. The last example is the poem *En ego campana* (HM 43), whose protagonist is a bell recounting its essential and irreplaceable role in the lives of the people.

An important phenomenon for *moralia* is the imitation of ancient models. Even this tendency bears the spirit of Italian academies, where an unrestrained admiration for Latin is carried in the extreme results even as far as the production of falsifications. The majority of poems set to music in the *moralia*, whose texts appeared in the Middle Ages, try to appear related to the traditions of Antiquity, at least in their formal aspects. The poems are composed in classical metres taken from the style of classical writers. The likeness is not entirely faithful, however, owing to the introduction of rhyme as a new element. Metrical poetry interweaves with the rhythmical and thus a rhythmical-metrical poetry arises, poetry written in rhymed dactylic hexameters or pentameters.

Formally this poetry follows the style of the ancient models while at the same time reproduces the structure which corresponds better to the literary and conceptual taste of the Middle Ages. At the same time could be mastered up to a point, especially the dactylic hexameters and elegiac distich. The rules of ancient prosody are on the whole intact, an insufficient feeling for the number of syllables however ensures that in many instances it was little more than an attempt to emulate ancient metres. This was particularly evident in the errors concerning the length of syllables. As already mentioned, there were various methods of rhyming in the classical verse schema. Gallus' *moralia*, contains the following types of rhyme:

- *versus leonini* – rhyming with the word before the caesura in the third metrical foot (penthemimeres) with the last word of the hexameter;
- *versus caudati* – rhyming at the end of two verses;
- *versus unisoni* – in two hexameters rhyming the last word before the caesura with the last verse (aaaa);
- *versus cruciferi* – with the chiasmic rhyme scheme (abba);
- *tripertiti dactylici* – in every verse the ends of the second and fourth metrical feet rhyme with each other, the end of each hexameter rhymes with one another.¹³

Gallus chooses from the poetry of Antiquity models whose content corresponds to the conception of the period and of the given theme. In several of the works he manages to link ancient poetry with that of the Middle Ages, and on occasions with contemporary poetry. The linking of various literary sources into a single whole is achieved through the affinity of their themes. Sometimes there are medieval verses adapted to Antiquity

¹³ See Jana Nechutová, Josef Hejnic: *Úvod do studia středověké latiny*. Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, Brno 1977.

- becoming for example, the second part of an elegiac distich. Elsewhere however, this method leads to forms that are imperfect formally and at the same time asymmetrical. For example, the linking of a hexameter with an elegiac distich.

As an example of such an attempt at synthesis, consider *Tempore felici* (M 2):

*Tempore felici, multi numerantur amici.
Cum fortuna perit, nullus amicus erit.
Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.*

The poem binds the medieval double verse and the antique model into a single whole. Both parts have form and content in common. The medieval text (*Carmina proverbialia* 9) was created in the mould of Ovid's famous verses (*Tristia* I) which treats the inconstancy of grace and friendship. The affection (i.e., the quality of friendship) changes according to whether the person is prospering well or not.

There is a striking similarity between the individual verses of the ancient and medieval poems which we present as a derivative work in the second place. In both hexameters, there is a concord among four words which are distinguishable only in their grammatical forms:

*felix – felici
multos – multi
numerabis – numerantur
amicos – amici.*

This permutation is nothing more than time-setting at the beginning of the verses: *Donec eris – tempore*. The second verses expresses a sad truth: if fortune turns her back on us, (... *tempora si fuerint nubila*, Ovid; *cum fortuna perit*, CP) we no longer prosper and so our friends desert us: ... *solus eris* (Ovid); ... *nullus amicus erit* (CP).

The medieval texts took Ovid as a model even in formal aspects. The imitation of the elegiac distich, at least as far as the observation of the regular quantity of syllables is concerned, is perfect; »unstylish« exclusively through rhymes, the poet here creates *versus leonini*:

*felici – amici
perit – erit.*

The combination of ancient verses with those of the Middle Ages exudes erudition and is supposed to evoke a sense of continuity between renaissance humanism and the Latin poetry of classical Rome. While the poetry has a unified theme without catharsis (an imitating poet merely repeating the standpoint of the Roman author), the result is unnatural: unlike ancient unrhymed poetry, the medieval verses are rhymed and they even have internal rhymes. Such treatments employing ancient models are not unusual just in this epoch. This appears for example, in the eighth book of madrigals by Claudio Monteverdi, *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi* (*Warlike and Amorous Madrigals*, ed.1648 in Venice) in the poem *Ogni amante è guerrier*, an adaptation of Ovid (*Amores* I. 9) by Rinuccini in fact.

The mannerist poetic techniques reflect this intellectual exhibitionism. In the opinion of several scholars, the inauspicious Trident council (1545-1563) also had an effect on the formal aspect of mannerism. The emphasis on the infallibility of the church which, in the person of the pope, is the bearer of the one right view, excluded all non-official views. Science and philosophy became suspicious disciplines within whose framework was permitted at best vacuous »Plato-ising«. According to Francesco de Sanctis,¹⁴ banning the cultivation of ideas influenced the unprecedented development of the form.

Presaging the next generation of Italian marinists, several shortcomings such as rhetoric, verbosity, affectation and artifice manifest in the *moralia*. It might even be worth raising the issue of *meraviglia*, as advanced by Gallus' younger contemporary, Giambattista Marino (1569-1625). Amazement and wonder, the basic expressive means of the Marino School, can be elicited by a refined Latinisation – Latin as a characteristic of sacred madrigals, though not secular ones – and an effective combination of ancient verses, and in some cases of verses from late Antiquity, with medieval ones. For that matter, the concept of morality is in some aspects similar: Marino's extensive work the mythological epic, *Adonis* (*Adone*, Paris 1623), is full of insincere portraits of love manifesting as empty displays of virtuosity. It is unified by a would-be moralistic closing: »boundless pleasure ending in torment.« With such originality, Gallus is categorised into a line of manneristic culture: his sacred compositions and his compositional style both meet the criteria of the late renaissance.

The poetry of Gallus' secular cycle has only a superficial formal perfection. The technique of »continuous commentary« is on one hand appropriate for medieval culture as a whole, and yet the *moralia* is not concerned with a creative commentary – the poet does not develop the thoughts of his predecessors. It is as if he would hide behind Horace, Ovid, Catullus, Virgil, Martial, Tibullus, Maximian, Claudian, Ausonius and be afraid to express his own opinion. Is this formalism a mere result of creative impotence or an expression of fear?

Gallus spent his whole life writing sacred music above all else. He wrote an extensive foreword to the cycle *Harmoniae morales* in which a substantial part forms a defence »of the stepping down from the hallowed lofts into the streets«. He asserts in this that »the major part of this composition dwells on supremely virtuous moral questions and he simply cannot abide any form of salaciousness whatsoever«. It is possible that the composer was afraid of an unfavourable reception to the profane content of his compositions, and so he hid under the veil of a moralising that was difficult to criticise.

The foreword to the 1596 *Moralia*, written by Gallus' brother Georgius, is imbued with a similarly defensive spirit. And at the end of the publication of the same collection in Douai (Belgium) in 1603, one finds the note: »*In his Moralibus Cantilenis Iacobi Handelini nihil est quod pietatem aut bonos mores offendat.*« (In these moral songs by Jacobus Handl there is nothing that would offend piety and good morals.) Signed Georgius Coluenerius, S. Theol. Licentiatu et Professor, librorumque visitator (Saint. Theology Licentiate and Professor, as the inspector of books). Latin is not the only language the humanists like to employ, but it was essentially the official language of the church.

¹⁴ Francesco de Sanctis: *Storia della Letteratura italiana*. Editori riuniti, Roma 1948.

These defences are surely in place since Gallus managed to smuggle into the *moralia* poems that were simply amoral. An example of such an amoral poem is the celebration of the Archpoet (HM 36), one of the most famous representatives of medieval secular poetry (died around 1140). The Archpoet composes poetry for a thousand poets, while at the same time imbibes for another thousand:

*Archipoeta facit versus pro mille poetis,
et pro mille aliis Archipoeta bibit.*

In closing this short excursion into the world of the Latin works of Gallus, we have observed that the serious moralistic verses are set to music with a detached renaissance polyphony and are a long way from the pessimism of the manneristic generation of Gesualdo. Even though Gallus does not overlook serious conceptualisations of life, as can be seen in the »mors« (accentuating the pedal, for example) rather than abrupt mood swings, as we know from the madrigals of Monteverdi, he does react to the text with an intellectual objectivity of musical figures. Such features place Gallus more at home in the spiritual world of the renaissance. And another aspect connecting him with renaissance ideals is his joy from music as such, the joy of the numerous linguistic and musical games, the use of sound painting, and even the joy of Latin versification.

POVZETEK

Proti koncu svojega življenja je Jacobus Handl Gallus (1550-1591), znameniti slovenski skladatelj, ki je deloval v Pragi, napisal okoli 100 latinskih madrigalov. Te skladbe so izšle v dveh zbirkah: *Harmoniae morales* (1589) in *Moralia* (1596, 1603). Razen moralizirajoče vsebine je latinščina

povezovalni element obeh ciklusov, kar vsekakor ni značilnost madrigalnega stila. Gallus je uglasbil posnitve antičnih, poznoantičnih in srednjeveških avtorjev, pri čemer je skušal povezati klasičen in srednjeveški verz. Kar zadeva moraliziranje, ki se pojavlja v večini pesnitev, se vsiljuje misel o tem, ali Gallus iskreno tako misli, ali pa je le-to samo pretveza za manieristično poigravanje.

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The Movement Order of Mahler's Sixth Symphony: Musical Considerations

Sosledje stavkov v Mahlerjevi Šesti simfoniji: glasbeni premisleki

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IZVLEČEK

Mahler je svojo Šesto simfonijo napisal s Scherzom kot drugim stavkom, pred Andantejem, a je pred prvo izvedbo zaobrnil njuno zapovrstje, ki naj bi veljalo za vse poslednje izvedbe in natiske. Nekateri vidni glasbeniki kljub temu vztrajajo pri tem sosledju. Na podlagi številnih povezav med Allegrom in Andantejem ter Scherzom in Finalom se Mahlerjevo zapovrstje kaže kot popolnoma prepričljivo.

ABSTRACT

Mahler composed his Sixth Symphony with the Scherzo preceding the Andante, but reversed them before the first performance for all performances and published editions. However, some prominent musicians still insist on this order. With numerous thematic and harmonic connections between Allegro and Andante, and Scherzo and Finale, Mahler's revised order is completely convincing.

Gustav Mahler composed the two middle movements of the Sixth Symphony at his country retreat at Maiernigg (Majrobnik) on the Wörthersee (Vrbskem jezeru) in the summer of 1903. It seems that he also sketched some of the first movement during the same period. The opening movement and the finale were composed in draft form the following summer. The autograph score was ready in May 1905 for the copyist, with the Scherzo placed before the Andante, and the score being published in this form some three months before the premiere in Essen in May 1906. However, in the final rehearsals in Essen, Mahler reversed the order of the middle movements for the first performance.

He immediately issued instructions for a correction slip to be inserted into the remaining unsold copies of the published scores and prepared a new edition to take account of the movement order and the revised orchestration. All the performances in Mahler's lifetime, whether conducted by him or not, adhered to this order. Mahler had discussed the symphony in 1907 with his friend the Dutch conductor, Willem Mengelberg, who performed the Sixth Symphony in 1916 with the Andante-Scherzo order. For reasons that may be connected with the existence of copies of the uncorrected first edition study score of the symphony, in 1919 Mengelberg wanted to check that Andante-Scherzo was really the correct order.¹ He contacted the composer's widow who reportedly sent a famous telegram on 1 October 1919 saying 'Erst Scherzo dann Andante herzlichst Alma'.² We do not know whether this represents the composer's last thoughts on the issue, which is conceivable but otherwise totally unsubstantiated, or whether this represented her own opinion as to how the music should be performed, which is also possible. It, of course, contradicts the statement in her book *Gustav Mahler: memories and letters* that the Scherzo was the third movement.³ On the strength of this telegram, Mengelberg marked his score 'Nach Mahlers Angabe II erst Scherzo dann III Andante'⁴ and performed it accordingly in 1920. Virtually all performances from then on,⁵ however, followed the revised published order of movements (Andante-Scherzo), in public performances and recordings until the late 1950s when Erwin Ratz cast some doubt on the authenticity of this order, persuading some conductors to use the movement order, but not the orchestration, of the first published score.⁶ Conductors such as Charles Adler, William Steinberg, Eduard van Beinum and Norman Del Mar adhered to the Andante-Scherzo order for the middle movements. Then Ratz put his ideas into concrete form with his edition of the work for the Internationale Gustav-Mahler-Gesellschaft Critical Edition of 1963, placing the Scherzo before the Andante.⁷

The Dissenters

While the *factual* basis for Ratz's decision has been conclusively repudiated by Jerry Bruck and Reinhold Kubik,⁸ there have been persistent voices saying that *musically* the order Scherzo-Andante is the 'correct' one. Various points have been raised by numerous commentators in support of this position, ones which purport to represent the

¹ Jerry Bruck: 'Undoing a «Tragic» Mistake: Determining the inner-movement order of Mahler's Sixth Symphony', in Gilbert Kaplan (ed): *The Correct Movement Order in Mahler's Sixth Symphony* (New York: The Kaplan Foundation, 2004). I am very grateful to Mr Bruck for allowing me to read an early version of his paper in advance of publication.

² Henry-Louis de La Grange: *Gustav Mahler, Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion (1904-1907)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 815.

³ Alma Mahler: *Gustav Mahler: memories and letters* (London: John Murray, 3rd edition, 1973), p. 70. The German edition was originally published in 1940. It is not clear if Alma is referring only to the order maintained in performances during her husband's lifetime or what was considered to be the definitive order in the published score of the second and third editions.

⁴ de La Grange: op. cit., p. 815.

⁵ It appears that Webern's performances in 1932 and 1933 followed the order of the discarded first edition. See Henry-Louis de La Grange: *Gustav Mahler, A New Life Cut Short (1907-1911)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 1583.

⁶ Two conductors in the late 1950s who followed Ratz's ideas were Hans Rosbaud and Dmitri Mitropoulos.

⁷ Gustav Mahler: *Symphonie Nr. 6 in vier Sätzen für großes Orchester* (Lindau-Bodensee: Kahnt, 1963).

⁸ In Gilbert Kaplan (ed): *The Correct Movement Order in Mahler's Sixth Symphony* (New York: The Kaplan Foundation, 2004).

composer's musical thoughts. A small number of these have some plausibility, but most of them are highly subjective or misguided and are often argued from mistaken factual evidence, while others are quite obviously invented without any supporting evidence to provide corroboration. We can safely ignore the writers of superficial programme notes who express unsubstantiated opinions that have little or no basis in fact,⁹ but there are established Mahler experts who still maintain the discredited movement order and who should be taken very seriously. Let us take these in turn.

Before the publication of Jerry Bruck's researches, even if there were some dissenters, Ratz's ideas were widely accepted. Hans-Peter Jülg, for example, in 1986 expressed the mistaken view (later disproved) that Mahler had returned to the original order for the Vienna performance of 1907, using this as part justification for the Scherzo-Andante order employed in his study.¹⁰ In 1992 a short article by the then current editor of the Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft, Karl Heinz Füssl, set out his view of the position, backing Ratz.¹¹ His summary is missing some important points and talking about the middle movements, he wrote, 'It remains something of a mystery why their reversal took place several times.'¹² There is no hard evidence for this statement, only speculation; from all that is known Mahler changed his mind only once. Füssl wrote that the first movement is parodied by the scherzo, which is a reasonable assumption, and that they should be played consecutively, which is not necessary; and that the key structure was such that the Andante is better positioned just before the finale. He also put forward the idea that the scherzo was a 'developing variation', in much the same way as the second movement of the Fifth Symphony connected to the first movement.¹³ There is some truth in this, but the first two movements of the Sixth Symphony are so completely different from those of the Fifth, especially in their proportions and their length, that the argument is difficult to sustain. It may well have been the case that Mahler was thinking on similar lines to the first two movements of the Fifth Symphony when he composed the Sixth, but what appears satisfactory on paper may not have worked well in practice. Three years later Robert Samuels in his book on the symphony carefully avoids the issue in the earlier part of his book by discussing the individual movements out of order, but later makes clear that he follows Ratz's order when he makes speculations about a possible programme.¹⁴ However, in this book he never really addresses the issue of the order of the middle movements.

The first major challenge to the new arguments that were produced by Jerry Bruck was that of the outstanding Mahler scholar Henry-Louis de La Grange in the new English version of his monumental Mahler biography.¹⁵ In an appendix devoted to the Sixth

⁹ Remarks like 'Mahler changed his mind many times.'; 'Mahler was constantly unsure of the right order.'

¹⁰ Hans-Peter Jülg: *Gustav Mahlers Sechste Symphonie* (Munich: Emil Katzbüchler, 1986), pp. 110-13.

¹¹ Karl Heinz Füssl: 'On the Order of the Middle Movements in Mahler's Sixth', *News about Mahler Research* 27 (Vienna: Internationale Gustav Mahler Society, March 1992), pp. 3-7.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 5.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

¹⁴ Robert Samuels: *Mahler's Sixth Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 150.

¹⁵ Henry-Louis de La Grange: *Gustav Mahler, Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion (1904-1907)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). De La Grange made an unfortunate mistake in a note to his main text in which he wrote the following: 'For the première, the Oct. performance in Berlin and the Nov. performance in Munich, the Andante followed the Scherzo. In Vienna in Jan. 1907 Mahler apparently reverted to the original order of the movements.' (p. 412 note 63) In all these performances, however, the Andante preceded the Scherzo, as is clear from other parts of his text. The author graciously accepted this mistake and apologised for it in a personal communication (2000).

Symphony¹⁶ he includes a section entitled 'The Order of the Middle Movements'.¹⁷ Here he sets out the main facts and restates the arguments of Karl Heinz Füssl: 'The Scherzo belongs after - and with - the opening Allegro,' 'The Scherzo uses the same keys as the first movement', 'The key of the Andante ... is furthest removed from the end of the Allegro', while the C minor final introduction links the E flat of the Andante with the main key of finale, and 'A slow movement precedes the Finale in five other of Mahler's symphonies.' This is tantamount to telling the composer his business: one can only speculate about what Mahler might have said in reply. What is also a little disturbing is the appearance of some statements of doubtful authority, for example, '... given that Mahler himself changed his mind so many times, it is understandable that a conductor might nowadays wish to stand by the order in the second version, if he is deeply convinced that he can serve the work better by doing this.'¹⁸ Did Mahler really change his mind so many times? This suspect statement has been regularly repeated since by other writers. Further de La Grange suggests without any real evidence that one of Mahler's friends and disciples said to him that the similarity between the first and second movements was a weakness and should be changed.¹⁹ To state categorically that the irony and parody of the scherzo is lost when separated from the first movement is an opinion that is just as easily denied as stated (see my example of Liszt's *Faust Symphony* below).

A more detailed presentation of this position was given by David Matthews a year later.²⁰ One possibility that he puts forward is the idea that Mahler changed the order of the middle movements for the first performance because of a 'fear of the Symphony's prophetic power, and an instinctive wish to diminish it.'²¹ This surely is mere speculation. In actual fact, Mahler had plenty of opportunity to return to his original order if he really thought this was needed to put across the work's prophetic power undiminished. The basis of this statement is completely undermined by the fact that Mahler stood by his decision in two more performances which he conducted and in the new editions which he instructed his publishers to undertake. It is my opinion that the revised order strengthens the power of the symphony rather than weakens it. This point will be addressed when dealing with the narrative issues involved. More significant is the investigation of key oppositions that are noted by Matthews: his point about the avoidance of A minor in the later parts of the first movement so that the impact of the A minor of the Scherzo is enhanced may well have been in Mahler's mind, at least to start with. It is as well to remind ourselves that Mahler knew this music so well that he must have been acutely aware of exactly what he was doing and why.

Three recent books have continued to assert that performers should use the discarded Scherzo-Andante order. A collection of Donald Mitchell's outstanding writings on Mahler includes an appendix by Gastón Fournier-Facio entitled 'The 'Correct' Order of the Middle Movements in Mahler's Sixth Symphony'.²² While he accepts Jerry

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 808-41.

¹⁷ Ibidem, pp. 814-16.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 815.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 816.

²⁰ David Matthews: 'The Sixth Symphony', in Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson: *The Mahler Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 366-75.

²¹ Matthews: Ibidem, pp. 372-73.

²² In Donald Mitchell: *Discovering Mahler: Writings on Mahler, 1955-2005* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 633-47.

Bruck's findings as *historical* facts, he insists that the *musical* evidence tells a different story, even if no convincing reason emerges from his text as to why Mahler changed his mind. He repeats Füssl's arguments about 'developing variation' and harmonic connections between the first movement and the Scherzo and between the Andante and Finale. His text cites the arguments of David Matthews who makes a strong case for the progress from E flat major to C minor to A minor (that is moving directly from the Andante to the finale). This of course may well have been in Mahler's mind when composing it, but he did not feel strongly enough on the issue not to reverse the order of the middle movements. Donald Mitchell has maintained a neutral position on the order, suggesting that there are two versions.²³ For Mahler, of course, there was only one version, and only one version was ever publicly performed in his lifetime, unlike *Das klagende Lied* or the First Symphony, both of which were actually performed in different versions by the composer. The recent *Cambridge Companion to Mahler* includes a chapter by Stephen Hefling which outlines the history of the problem, but keeps to the Scherzo-Andante order.²⁴ The most recent statement has come with a revisitation of the problem from Henry-Louis de La Grange in an appendix to the fourth volume of his biography of the composer.²⁵ This distinguished of Mahler biographers takes a careful and low-key approach to the issue, presenting various documents that cast light on the situation, but provide no really convincing proof that Mahler did return to his original order – suspicions possibly, but no proof. He, like Donald Mitchell, does seem to settle for the rather unsatisfactory solution that there are two versions and performers should choose whichever they prefer.

In all these views, however, there is an enormous assumption made by these writers: that they know better than the composer how his music should be performed. There are various suggestions that he was so emotionally upset on the day of the first performance that he could have made a 'mistake'. The fact that once the emotional tension of the first performance was over, he then changed the movement order for the new edition and for subsequent performances suggest that it was no accidental decision taken in a moment of stress. This must lead to a very important point that should be stressed: the question about choosing the musically 'correct' order of the middle movements is both impertinent and mistaken. Mahler decided the definitive order of the movements before the first public performance, used this in the second and third editions of the score and maintained this in all the performances in his lifetime, whether he conducted them or not. The first edition was superseded on the instructions of the composer and there is no credible evidence that he changed his mind again. The only legitimate musical question to ask is not whether one version is better or not, but what musically made Mahler change his mind.

Trying to understand the mind of a composer, especially one as complex as that of Gustav Mahler, poses a great many difficulties, an issue that the present study takes fully into account. For this reason one must progress with care. Even with this caveat, we may

²³ Ibidem, pp. 387 and 644.

²⁴ Stephen E. Hefling: 'Song and Symphony (II)' in Jeremy Barham (ed): *Cambridge Companion to Mahler* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 108-27, especially pp. 119-24.

²⁵ Henry-Louis de La Grange: *Gustav Mahler, A New Life Cut Short (1907-1911)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Appendix II, pp. 1578-87.

begin to understand what made Mahler make the decisive move, before the premiere, to establish the Andante-Scherzo order for the middle movements of the Sixth Symphony for all public performances in his lifetime and for all the published material apart from that issued before the first public performance.

The most relevant areas of investigation would seem to be the following:

1. Thematic connections between separate parts of movements and more importantly between different movements.
2. Harmonic links within movements and between different movements.
3. The narrative issues.
4. The views of conductors who have gone through the same experience as Mahler himself.

Thematic Connections

What questions can be asked? What relationships are there between the themes and motifs of the four movements? What significance is there in them? Do connections between the themes have any bearing on the order of the movements?

There are a number of thematic connections that may have had some relevance to the movement order that Mahler eventually adopted. Norman Del Mar associated the first theme with the composer himself, having no doubts about its significance, 'And it required no great stretch of imagination to see the stormy but heroic material of the primary subject matter as a self-character-study'.²⁶ The second main theme of the first movement was said by the composer's wife, Alma, to represent her in music.²⁷ Its expansive arching melodies and yearning character and above all its emphatic major key make this one of the most positive elements in the movement. Interestingly the two themes have some melodic parts in common. The first of these themes seems to be parodied in the Scherzo. No doubt this was intentional and may have been influenced by the way the first two movements of the Fifth Symphony are connected. The question whether the Scherzo should follow the first directly or whether the slow movement should intervene was probably not in Mahler's mind at this stage.

At the rehearsals for the first performance, and possibly also at the earlier run-through in Vienna, there was probably some concern in Mahler's mind about an important thematic connection that could have persuaded him to adopt the Andante-Scherzo order. This relates to the chorale which separates the two main thematic areas of the first movement and which appears briefly in the E flat major 'pastoral' episode. Significantly it then returns as a 'memory' at the climax of the Andante. The connection between this calm episode in the first movement and the general peace of the Andante can be no coincidence. In performances which place the scherzo second, this subtle connection is completely lost.

²⁶ Norman Del Mar: *Gustav Mahler's Sixth Symphony a study* (London: Eulenburg, 1980), p. 16.

²⁷ Some doubt has been raised about this supposed association by Robert Samuels in his book *Mahler's Sixth Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 157. The validity of this association does not affect the thematic argument which follows.

The similarity between the opening of the first movement and the opening of the Scherzo, however, would hardly be missed even by the least attentive listener. This awareness is not reduced at all by placing the Andante between the two movements. The suggestion that it does not make its true parodistic effect unless it follows the first movement is patently untrue. The assertion that the Scherzo simply 'develops' the music of the first movement, rather than parodies it, is an equally difficult position to maintain, because the appearance of the menacing xylophone and the brass and woodwind trills make this one of the most sinister movements in all of Mahler's music. One can point to a parallel with another work which Mahler may well have known, but does not seem ever to have conducted, Liszt's *Faust Symphony*. In this work the third movement representing the devil parodies the first movement which stands for Faust. There is no problem understanding the intended parody, despite the fact that the gentle 'Gretchen' slow movement is played second.

Other thematic links, especially the major-minor 'Fate' motif of the first movement which is played at the end of each appearance of the main Scherzo, are equally memorable and are not in any way rendered less significant by the intervening Andante. Further, the fact that the same motif appears at numerous points in the finale then suggests that its significance in the parodistic Scherzo can be thought of as a preparation for the complex operations and ultimately tragic outcome of the finale. The appearance in the finale of episodes in which the cowbells are used recalls the Andante, but now parodied and played in the minor key. While Mahler may have originally decided that this thematic (and instrumental) reference to the Andante would be satisfactory with the Andante placed third, the idea of a more 'distant' memory would be enhanced by placing the slow movement second.

Harmonic Links

This is a very contentious issue. The move from the first movement to the second is a good point to start. There would be no problem harmonically for the listener when the first movement ends in A major and the second movement (the Scherzo) starts in A minor.²⁸ Because of the point of possible thematic connection noted above, Mahler then had to consider the issue of whether the A major of the end of the first movement could be followed directly by the E flat major of the Andante. Adherents of Mahler's original order are horrified by the idea of making such a fundamental harmonic shift, especially as the reverse move would then have to be made after the end of the movement to return to the A minor of the Scherzo. This did not seem to worry Mahler. A few seconds' pause between the movements would be enough to separate them for the audience. But we need only go back a few minutes into the E flat major Pastoral

²⁸ Peter Andraschke: 'Struktur und Gehalt im ersten Satz von Gustav Mahlers Sechster Symphonie', in Hermann Danuser (ed): *Gustav Mahler*, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlicher Buchgesellschaft, 1992), pp. 234-37, suggested that the A major of the ending of the first movement is then naturally followed by the A minor of the Scherzo, mirroring the notes of the »fate« motif. This argument is ingenious but difficult to support. The major-minor change in the motif is effected by sustained chords with a lowered third, but the first movement ends with only a quaver and the Scherzo starts with low As from timpani and string basses without a sustained A minor chord.

episode in the first movement to see how the composer extricates himself from this precise harmonic situation. From his E flat major tonality in the episode he moves through a very fluid tonality until at bars 250-251, he wrenches the music into B major ('sehr energisch'), a truly magical moment that might have surprised Beethoven. The path back to A major/minor for the recapitulation was then not difficult to achieve smoothly.

Let us turn to Adorno's support for Ratz's position: 'his [Mahler's] last arrangement of the movements, with the E-flat major Andante before the Finale, should be respected, if only for the modulation scheme; E-flat major is the relative of C minor, with which the Finale begins, only to decide, after long preparation, on A minor as its principal key.'²⁹ Leaving aside the opening erroneous statement – it was *not* Mahler's last arrangement of movements – this insidious remark about key relationships involving major keys and relative minors has more to do with Beethoven than Mahler. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the predominance of tonic and dominant relationships no longer held such importance. Mahler found much greater interest in mediant relationships and major-minor relationships involving the same tonic.³⁰

On the same point Andraschke wrote: 'the E flat of the Andante relates better to the C minor at the beginning of the Finale'. This arises from the Classical idea of relating major and minor keys with the same number of sharps and flats – the so-called relative minor/major. In Mahler's musical language A minor would connect just as well with the finale's opening keys. Again one can look nearly in vain for harmonic relations such as this in Mahler's music.³¹ Mahler's harmonic structures normally use mediant and submediant relationships in much of his work, including this symphony. Moving from the E flat major of the Andante to the C minor which opens the finale is one such move which Mahler must have considered satisfactory. In the revised order, however, the placing of the Finale immediately after the ending of the Scherzo also has a strong continuity which must have satisfied the composer even more. The Scherzo exhausts itself in fragments and whimpers, including a number of disguised appearances of the fate motif, ending in A minor with the double bassoon, double basses and timpani playing only the notes A and C. While Mahler did not indicate 'attacca' there is no problem linking this passage with the C minor of the first nine bars of the finale and of the A minor section which follows. Adorno's point about the long delay of A minor at the beginning of the final is not helpful, because the harmonic focus is in a state of flux, which is no surprise after the disruptions of the Scherzo.³² Again Mahler would have been able to recognise the harmonic implications of that very readily.

²⁹ Theodor W. Adorno: *Gustav Mahler* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1992), p. 85.

³⁰ One can read the detailed evidence of Christopher Orlo Lewis in his *Tonal Coherence in Mahler's Ninth Symphony* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1984) to understand how this functions.

³¹ The Second Symphony starts in C minor and ends in E flat major, but the intervening movements do not support the idea of any traditional relationship between the two keys.

³² This point had already been made by Hans Redlich in 1963 in his article, 'Mahler's Enigmatic »Sixth«' in *Otto Erich Deutsch Festschrift* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), pp. 250-56. Redlich changed his position completely in his edition of the superseded first score (London: Eulenburg, 1968) though, significantly, he did not include the amendment to the movement order that Mahler instructed his publisher to include in the scores that were still remaining in the unsold stock. On p. xxv of this score Redlich makes a very surprising unsubstantiated statement: 'His intention to revert to the original sequence of movements ... was never incorporated in print because no further edition of the symphony was issued in his lifetime.'

Christopher Hailey charts a very convincing large-scale tonal scheme that makes a great deal of sense of the order that Mahler always used for his performances. He also closely connects the idyllic E flat major episode in the development of the first movement with the key of the Andante, and catalogues numerous motivic connections between the two movements.³³ The implication is that the two belong together just as strongly as many commentators suggest that the first movement and Scherzo belong. Hailey interestingly relates and interprets the motivic connections between Andante and Scherzo in two ways³⁴ depending on which order is chosen, but he gravitates strongly towards placing the Andante first.

The motivic and tonal relationships between Scherzo and Finale are even more important.³⁵ After discussing the first movement and Andante, Hailey emphasises this point: 'Still more compelling reasons, however, argue in favor of having the Scherzo immediately precede the Finale.'³⁶ He points to the use of the rising octave in both the Scherzo and Finale and elaborates a number of harmonic connections that relate the Scherzo and Finale that are too complex to summarize. While Hailey felt that Mahler's indecision was well founded, he went on to write: 'I would argue on esthetic grounds for an Andante-Scherzo ordering.'³⁷ Of course, so did Mahler, and that is what really counts.

Musical Narrative

Since the publication of Theodor Adorno's study of Mahler's symphonies, one commonly encounters the idea of a musical narrative, not so much that the symphonies 'tell a story', but rather that there is a certain progression to the music, movement by movement. This can be seen in the early symphonies, but from the Fifth Symphony onwards it becomes a very strong feature.

The narrative idea can be seen very clearly in the Fifth Symphony.³⁸ We can take part one (movements 1 and 2) as an interconnected series of recurring minor-key sections, much of march-like character, which reach their climax at the D major chorale near the end of the second movement. It is the rondo-like elements that build up the tension and expectation. The music collapses into A minor in some kind of 'failure'. Part two (the scherzo) reintroduces D major now in an exuberant dance-related context. Part three (*Adagietto* and Rondo-Finale), almost exclusively in major keys, presents another interlinked series of three 'rondo' materials: the middle section of the *Adagietto* and its related *grazioso* of the finale; the finale's main rondo theme itself; and the five fugal episodes. As in part one the music reaches a climax in the appearance of the same D

³³ Christopher Hailey: 'Structure and Tonal Plan in Mahler's Sixth Symphony', in Hermann Danuser (ed): *Gustav Mahler* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), pp. 265-66. Some of these connections are also given by Robert Samuels in *Mahler's Sixth Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 26.

³⁴ Hailey: op. cit., p. 266.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 267-68.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 267.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 268. Hailey's remark: 'there is no reason that the ordering should not be left to the discretion of the conductor' (also p. 268) is one point too many and one which flies in the face of Mahler's final decision.

³⁸ I presented this material in considerably greater detail in a previous article: Niall O'Loughlin: 'Interconnecting Musicologies: Decoding Mahler's Sixth Symphony', *Muzikološki zbornik* xxxix/1-2 (2003), pp. 31-49.

major brass chorale. In contrast to the collapse in part one, the music remains firmly anchored in D major right up to its triumphant conclusion. The narrative relates to the significance of major and minor keys, and the opposition of the march (the first movement) to the dance (the Scherzo).

In the Sixth Symphony the process is reversed, but only with the Andante-Scherzo order of the middle movements. In this form the first two movements then each contain triumphant climaxes, the third and fourth movements each include the collapses. The conflict between the A minor march material of the first movement (perhaps the music representing the composer) and the 'Alma' theme results in a triumph for the latter (and for the major key). The Andante follows with major key tranquillity and references to the first movement before coming to rest on a sustained E flat major.

The scherzo and finale now turn the triumphs on their head. The scherzo parodies the first movement, tonally, rhythmically and thematically, in a way that the listener would have no difficulty in recognising, even with an intervening slow movement. Its three-in-a-bar music sardonically mocks the march material, while the keys of the two trio sections (F and D major) mirror in parodistic fashion the predominant keys of the positive 'Alma' music. The main scherzo section is progressively contracted at each appearance with a devastating collapse at the third time. As noted above, this disintegration ends by emphasising the two notes A and C, significantly the key-notes of the two minor-key tonalities that dominate the early part of the finale which results in the biggest collapse in all of Mahler's music.

There have been suggestions that Mahler reversed the order of the middle movements to soften the impact of the work, but in performances that I have heard the opposite is the case. With the Scherzo first the Andante is left in limbo, but with the Scherzo third the Andante can fulfil the positive yearnings of the coda of the first movement. The first two movements (Allegro and Andante) represent the optimistic outcome, while the third and fourth movements (Scherzo and Finale) give us the frightening end with its sinister preparation. If this is what the composer wanted, it makes a great deal of sense. The original order (Scherzo-Andante) does pose problems for some performers and it is to those that one can turn to see how Mahler might have been thinking when he settled for the new movement order.

Conductors' Views

Why Mahler himself made the decision to reverse the order of the middle movements of his Sixth Symphony before the first performance is a matter of speculation. The writings of Klaus Pringsheim give some clue to his tortured state of mind during the rehearsals, and there have even been some suggestions that he was influenced by other people in this decision. Henry-Louis de La Grange is convinced that Mahler was persuaded, by implication against his better judgement, by those around him to change the order at the time of the first performance.³⁹ The points mentioned above give pos-

³⁹ Henry-Louis de La Grange: *Gustav Mahler, Vienna Triumph and Disillusion (1904-1907)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 815-16.

sible reasons for Mahler to have changed this order, but they are by no means definitive. The best that one can say is that he imagined that the original order was satisfactory, *until he performed the work*. Then he realised that by reversing the order of the two middle movements, he could create the balance that he wanted. There is a great deal of evidence that the Andante-Scherzo order is completely satisfactory from the point of view of thematic links, harmonic connections and the somewhat disputed area of musical narrativity. The composer would never have insisted on the new order for his performances and for the second and third editions of the printed material if he had any real doubts.

Norman Del Mar is a conductor who performed Mahler's Sixth Symphony on at least two occasions,⁴⁰ using the Andante-Scherzo order at both and, unlike Mahler, we know why he used this order. In his book on the Sixth Symphony Del Mar went out of his way to state his view that the 'correct' order of movements was that found in the revised Kahnt edition of 1906. His justification for this view still carries weight today: 'For Mahler's reaction, even during rehearsals, had been to realise that the Scherzo was too similar in style and dynamism to follow directly upon the enormously strenuous twenty-two-minute opening movement. Equally, for the Andante to precede the long slow introduction that opens the monumental Finale was not really satisfactory, whereas by reversing the order the necessary contrast and relief on both counts was solved at a single stroke.'⁴¹

Following the publication of Ratz's score in the Critical Edition in 1963, very few conductors continued to use the Andante-Scherzo order. Norman Del Mar, as mentioned above, and John Barbirolli were two. It is quite well known that until Jerry Bruck's research into the facts about Mahler's performances were well publicised, the only other conductor that consistently maintained the order was Simon Rattle. He had been convinced by the thematic resemblances noted earlier not to separate the first movement and Andante.

Since Bruck's revelations, many conductors have been convinced that this order is the one that should be followed. These include Glen Cortese, Leonard Slatkin, James Judd, Mariss Jansons, Charles Mackerras, Claudio Abbado and Iván Fischer.⁴² The authority of both Jansons and Abbado must carry a lot of weight in correcting the situation. Jansons, for example, has made recordings with both the London Symphony and the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestras, in addition to numerous public performances, all with the Andante-Scherzo order. It is interesting to note that in 1979 Abbado had made a very well received recording with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra using the Scherzo-Andante order, whereas he changed his mind in his recent award-winning recording with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and his 2006 performance at the influential Lucerne Festival in Switzerland⁴³ which both use the Andante-Scherzo order.

⁴⁰ With the BBC Symphony Orchestra at the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts in the Royal Albert Hall in London on 26 August 1963 and at the Edinburgh Festival in the Usher Hall on 2 September 1963.

⁴¹ Norman Del Mar: op. cit., p. 90.

⁴² Of leading conductors, the only ones to my knowledge who now maintain the Scherzo-Andante order are Bernard Haitink, Pierre Boulez and Christoph Eschenbach.

⁴³ With the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Deutsche Grammophon 423 928-2 (1980); with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Deutsche Grammophon 477 5684 (2005); and with the Lucerne Festival Orchestra, Euroarts DVD 2055649 (2007).

One of these conductors, Iván Fischer, has given an explanation of his decision to set-
tle finally for Mahler's final order. His decision and the reason for it are very revealing:

'There is the famous discussion about the order of the middle movements. Putting the scientific arguments aside I have been fascinated by the question what Mahler's doubts felt like when he suddenly abandoned his beautifully constructed original symphonic plan. To relive this experience we took the sixth symphony on a long European tour and changed the order of the middle movements every single concert. In the Scherzo-Andante performances the transitions from one movement to the next felt wonderful, the whole architecture made sense but I felt a clear unease about the size and weight of the Scherzo after the first movement. In the Andante-Scherzo concerts there was a fantastic balance and variety. I became convinced that Mahler's abrupt decision was a stroke of genius.'⁴⁴

In effect, this is the same point that Norman Del Mar made and it may well have been what Mahler was thinking, too. Needless to say, Fischer's recording uses the Andante-Scherzo order. The American conductor James Conlon also recognises the correctness of the Andante-Scherzo order and now performs it that way. Like Del Mar, Fischer and probably Mahler himself, Conlon feels that the Scherzo is too weighty to follow the first movement directly: 'On a purely subjective level, I found the contrast between the first movement and the beginning of the *Andante* much more satisfying than once again hearing the repeated thumping of the timpani immediately after the first movement. Its reappearance at the beginning of the third movement is far more effective.'⁴⁵ He did express some regret about the loss of the Scherzo-Andante order, especially in what he calls the self-revelation of the Andante, which he thinks appears prematurely if played as the second movement.⁴⁶ In the end, however, he wrote: 'None of this proves that Mahler was wrong to want to change the order of the inner movements of the Sixth. By definition he cannot be wrong; the composer's wish is our command.'⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Iván Fischer on p. 6 of the booklet insert for his recording with the Budapest Festival Orchestra on Channel Classics CCS SA 22905 (2005).

⁴⁵ 'The Curious Problem of Mahler's Sixth', *Gramophone* (November 2007), pp. 50-51.

⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that in recent compact disc recordings conducted by Abbado, Fischer and Valery Gergiev the Andante (played second) lasts less than 14 minutes with correspondingly less emotional stress being placed on this movement, rather than the normal 15 to 17 minutes with the Andante third. The duration given by Mahler in the correction slip of 1906 is 14 minutes, which suggests that the Andante as third movement has been made to carry more emotional weight than was intended by Mahler.

⁴⁷ James Conlon: op. cit. p. 51.

POVZETEK

Gustav Mahler je svojo Šesto simfonijo napisal s Scherzom kot drugim stavkom, medtem ko je Andante postavil na tretje mesto, in v tej obliki je delo tudi izšlo pred njegovo prvo izvedbo. Na zadnji vaji pred premiero pa je skladatelj zaobrnil zapovrstje the stavkov, nakar je svojemu založniku izdal navodilo glede novega sosledja, ki je bilo sprejeto v vseh nadaljnjih natiskih. Vse izvedbe so se za Mahlerjevega življenja držale tega načrta, vendar pa je po njegovi smrti dirigent Willem Mengelberg v dvomih povprašal Mahlerjevo vdovo o pravilnem zapovrstju stavkov. Alma Mahler je dejala, da bi Andante moral slediti Scherzu, česar se je dirigent tudi držal. Vendar pa je večina dirigentov sledila revidiranemu zapovrstju, dokler ni Erwin Ratz pred izdajo zbranih Mahlerjevih del prepričal nekatere dirigente, da so omenjena stavka izvajali v zapovrstju Scherzo – Andante, nakar sta Jerry

Bruck in Reinhold Kubik diskreditirala Ratzovo početje. Ne glede na to je precej uglednih muzikologov smatralo, da original predstavlja »glasbeno konkretno« različico. Razni argumenti naj bi namreč podpirali to in tako odločitev, predvsem pa dejstvo, da bi si tematsko sorodna prvi stavek in Scherzo morala slediti in da bi se zavoljo tonalnih povezav med Andantejem in Finalom le-ta morala izvajati eden za drugim. Vse to so utegnile biti tudi Mahlerjeve misli, vse dokler ni v živo izvedel svojega dela. Na podlagi »dokaznega gradiva«, zbranega v štirih poglavjih – tematske povezave, harmonske zveze, povéd skladbe in pogledi dirigentov – članek zastopa mnanje, da Mahlerjevih sprememb mišljenja ni pripisati nekakšni napaki, ki so jo implicirali nekateri zagovorniki vrnitve k prvotnemu zapovrstju. Predloženi argumenti kažejo, da je Mahlerjev revidiran načrt glasbeno smiselni, čemur pritrjujejo izvedbe skoraj vseh vodilnih dirigentov.

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Ljubljanska filharmonija

The Ljubljana Philharmonic

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IZVLEČEK

Ljubljanski filharmoniji, ki je formalno delovala med letoma 1934 in 1943, je v šestih aktivnih glasbenih sezonah ob nekaterih manjših prireditvah uspelo izvesti dvajset večjih orkestralnih nastopov in tako zapolnjevati vrzel v prirejanju simfoničnih koncertov v Ljubljani med obema vojnama. Besedilo nudi vpogled v način, vsebino in dosežke njenega delovanja.

ABSTRACT

The Ljubljana Philharmonic, formally active between 1934 and 1943, managed in six active music seasons beside some minor concerts to give twenty bigger orchestral concerts and consequently to bridge the gap in symphonic concert performances during the interwar years in Ljubljana.

Po koncu prve svetovne vojne in razpadu Avstro-Ogrske monarhije so se Slovenci znašli v novi državi in v spremenjenih kulturnih okoliščinah. Čeprav so v njej živeli v času, polnem usodnih (nacionalnih, političnih, gospodarskih, socialnih) pretresov, so na novo kulturno zaživali. Glasbeniki so si med drugim prizadevali za ponovno oživetev rednih simfoničnih koncertov v Ljubljani in med temi poskusi je bila tudi leta 1934 ustanovljena Ljubljanska filharmonija. Kljub temu da so se v času med obema vojnama v Ljubljani prirejali simfonični koncerti, je bila zanje značilna improvizirana oblika. Ker ni bilo stalnega simfoničnega orkestra, so ga za vsak posamezen koncert sestavljali sproti in ga dopolnjevali z glasbeniki z različnih koncev. Glavno pobudo za ustanovitev stalnega ljubljanskega simfoničnega orkestra je (kljub nekaterim predhodnim neuspehim poskusom) prevzela Zveza godbenikov¹ (*»Prilike v središču Slovenije so žal še vedno take, da bi nikdar ne prišlo do stalne Filharmonije, če bi morali čakati na gmotna sredstva s strani*

¹ Ustanovljena je bila septembra 1922, med njenimi glavnimi cilji je bila organizacija simfoničnih *»abonement-koncertov«* in matinej *»po znižanih cenah«*. »Slovenska filharmonija - oživljena?«, *Slovenski narod* 56 (6. 1. 1923), 4, 2.

*javnih oblasti ali kulturnih društev*²). Idejo za ustanovitev orkestra naj bi dali orkestraši sami, predvsem mladi konservatorijski »naraščaj«³. Tako je bila Ljubljanska filharmonija kot sekcija društva *Podsavez muzičara v Ljubljani* ustanovljena **29. decembra 1934**. Njen glavni namen je bil prirejanje kvalitetnih simfoničnih koncertov pod vodstvom najboljših jugoslovanskih in tujih dirigentov. Redni člani filharmonije so bili vsi stalni člani opernega orkestra, ki so hkrati morali biti člani Podsaveza muzičara, po pravilniku pa je orkester imel tudi izredne člane, akademsko izobražene glasbenike, ki so občasno pomagali pri koncertih.⁴ Tako so v orkestru poleg opernih orkestrašev sedeli nekateri člani radijskega orkestra in Orkestralnega društva ter gojenci konservatorija. Število orkestrašev je skozi čas delovanja nihalo med 50 in 70. Mešana sestava orkestra je na eni strani omogočala pestro in veliko zasedbo, na drugi strani pa je povzročala precej težav pri organizaciji dela.

Ljubljanska filharmonija ni imela stalnega dirigenta in je praviloma za svoje redne simfonične koncerte sklepala pogodbe s tujimi dirigenti. Ker so ti prihajali v Ljubljano le nekaj dni pred koncertom, so orkester zanje pripravljali domači dirigenti, med njimi Anton Neffat, Niko Štritof, Drago Mario Šijanec, Vinko Šušteršič. Na koncertih so orkester vodili: Rhené-Bathon, Lovro Matačić, Mirko Polič, Danilo Švara, Niko Štritof, Hermann Scherchen, Louis Siegel, Drago Mario Šijanec, Krešimir Baranović, Demetrij Žebre in Samo Hubad. Za sodelovanja so se dogovarjali še s številnimi drugimi, med drugim resno z Václavom Talichom, Alexandrom von Zemlinskym, Nikolajem Malkom, Gazom Cooperjem.

Delovanje

Do druge svetovne vojne je Ljubljanska filharmonija v vsaki sezoni priredila 1 do 3 simfonične koncerte, skupno dvajset večjih nastopov. Prvi koncert filharmonije je bil v dvorani hotela Union **29. marca 1935**, kjer je kot gost sodeloval francoski dirigent in skladatelj Rhené-Bathon⁵. Ta je orkestru ponudil program francoske glasbe (Berlioz, Franck, Rabaud, Dukas), ki mu je na njihov predlog dodal Bravničarjevo *Slovensko plesno burlesko*.⁶ Skladbi Rabauda (*Nočna procesija*) in Dukasa (*Črnošolec*) sta doživeli prvo slovensko izvedbo. Zaradi francoskega programa je organizatorjem uspelo dobiti podporo Francoskega inštituta v Ljubljani; koncert je potekal pod njegovim

² Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (besedilo o Ljubljanski filharmoniji za objavo v časopisu Naš val, 22. 9. 1935), NUK M.

³ »[...] [P]omembno je, da so jo ustanovili izvajajoči umetniki sami, neodvisni od kogarkoli, razen od narodove volje. V tem vidim najvažnejšo stran ustanove, kajti oni, iz katerih miselnosti in iniciative izhaja organizacija, so sami izvajalci in hočejo s svojim pokretom preduseljati pravo muziciranje, kakor se spodobi resnemu umetniku. Obenem odločajo sami o denarnih zadevah in o delikatnem vprašanju honorarja. Ne tajimo, da je bilo prav to vprašanje vzrok doslej neuspešnih poskusov poleg trhle sestave orkestrrov.« Marijan Lipovšek: »Ljubljanska filharmonija in APZ«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 55 (1935), 6, 348-351. Glej tudi: Matija Tomc: »Koncerta glasbena sezona v l. 1934-1935«, *Dom in svet* 48 (1935), 9-10, 542 in Josip Raha: »Značajan uspeh Ljubljanskega podsaveza muzičara«, *Muzičar* 13 (5. 6. 1935), 11, 3.

⁴ Pravilnik Ljubljanske filharmonije se je ohanil v mapi Saveza muzičara, Podsavez za Slovenijo, NUK M.

⁵ Rhené-Bathon (1879-1940), francoski dirigent in skladatelj. Kot dirigent je debitiral s koncerti sodobne glasbe v organizaciji Jacquesa Duranda leta 1910. Po vodenju simfoničnih koncertov v Bordeaux in Angersu in organizaciji prvega festivala francoske glasbe v Nemčiji (München 1910), je bil angažiran pri Djagilevu kot dirigent orkestra Ballets Russes (sezona 1912-13). Kasneje je dirigiral orkestru Concerts Pasdeloup in pripravil številne krstne izvedbe Ravela, Honeggerja in drugih. Kot gostujoči dirigent je sodeloval z orkestri po Evropi in Južni Ameriki

⁶ Ponudili so mu štiri slovenske skladbe, Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (12. 2. 1935) NUK M.

častnim pokroviteljstvom, prenašala pa ga je tudi ljubljanska radijska postaja. Koncert, ki so ga s predstavitvami dirigenta najavljali v različnih časnikih, je bil odlično obiskan (1047 obiskovalcev) in je doživel velik uspeh. Kritiki so v ocenah poudarjali tako dobro pripravljenost orkestra (*»Zvok orkestra je bil nenavadno lep. Zaokrožen ton godal in dobra intonacija pihal in trobil sta odločila sodbo o prvovrstni kvaliteti orkestra«*⁷) kot izredno oblikovalno silo dirigenta (*»Dirigent je v štirih sicer napornih vajah heterogeno orkestralno maso zgnetel in zmesil v jedrnato in enakomerno celoto in z njo dosegal čudeže«*⁸). Koncert naj bi dokazal, da je Ljubljanska filharmonija absolutno potrebna in da ji je (tudi zaradi prvega ambicioznega nastopa) zaupana naloga, da izpolni vrzel v glasbenem življenju Ljubljane. Rhené-Bathon je bil zaradi prvega nastopa novoustano- vljenega orkestra označen za krstnega botra Ljubljanske filharmonije.

Drugi koncert je Ljubljanska filharmonija priredila pol leta kasneje ob češkoslovaškem državnem prazniku, **28. oktobra 1935**. Sprva je bilo v načrtu, da bo koncert vodil Václav Talich in prek njega so se s Češko filharmonijo že dogovarjali o izposoji notnega materiala. Koncert je bil načrtovan za 16. oktober 1935 (ta datum naj bi bil Češkoslovaški narodni ligi sicer prezgoden za proslavo, vendar je edini ustrezal Talichu), konec septembra pa jim je Talichova soproga sporočila, da sodelovanje žal ne bo mogoče.⁹ Zaradi smrti vodje Opere Narodnega gledališča v Pragi, Otakarja Ostrčila (1879-1935), je namreč češkoslovaška vlada zadolžila Talicha, da v času, ko iščejo naslednika, skrbi za umetniško vodstvo hiše. Tako so iskali primerno zamenjavo, ponujen jim je bil Zemlinsky in na priporočilo Osterca Ančerl. Ker Češkoslovaška liga z njima ni bila zadovoljna (Zemlinsky jim ni bil všeč, ker je bil Žid in Nmec, sprejet pa tudi ni bil mladi Ančerl), je predlagala nova imena (Matačić, Brezovšek, Balatka).¹⁰ Koncert, zaradi Češkoslovaške narodne lige prestavljen na 28. oktober, je tako vodil Lovro Matačić. Spored je bil zaradi priložnosti slovansko obarvan (Smetana, Šostakovič, Osterc, Suk, Borodin), Osterčevo in Šostakovičevo skladbo so v Ljubljani igrali prvič. Najbolj zanimiva točka sporeda je bila Šostakovičeva *Prva simfonija* (1925).¹¹ Matačić je v intervjuju poudaril, da mu je še posebej všeč, ker je Ljubljana *»avantgarda modernizma v Jugoslaviji«* in goji potrebo po razvoju. Koncert so časniki opisali kot najboljše nadaljevanje začete akcije in zagotovilo, da lahko nova filharmonija prevzame vlogo prvega koncertnega orkestralnega telesa v Ljubljani. Bil naj bi najsvetlejša točka in višek glasbene sezone 1935/36.¹² Orkester da je vdano sledil temperamentnemu in zanosnemu dirigentu ter zmožgel presenetljivo zvočno bogastvo. Posebej dobra so bila v tehniki in zvoku pihala in trobila, hvalili pa so tudi koncertnega mojstra Karla Rupla. Do popolnosti igre naj bi manjkala samo še večja ubranost in prožnost, ki jo bosta prinesla čas in bolj stalno vadenje.¹³

Še pred svojim tretjim koncertom so marca 1936 objavili naslednji razpis: *»Odbor Ljubljanske filharmonije se obrača na vse slovenske skladatelje s prošnjo, da do 1. 9.*

⁷ Marijan Lipovšek: »Ljubljanska filharmonija in APZ«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 55 (1935), 6, 349.

⁸ [Emil Adamič]: »Simfonični koncert Ljubljanske filharmonije«, *Slovenski narod* 68 (30. 3. 1935), 73, 3.

⁹ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (pismo Vide Talich, 24. 9. 1935), NUK M.

¹⁰ Dragotin Cvetko: Fragment glasbene moderne, Iz pisem Slavku Ostercu, Ljubljana, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti 1988, str. 112-113, 303-304 (pismo Karla Rupla Slavku Ostercu, 11. 10. 1935).

¹¹ *»Bila nam je razodetje.«* Marijan Lipovšek: »Šostakovičeva Simfonija in jesenski koncerti«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 55 (1935), 12, 669.

¹² Matija Tomc: »Koncertna glasbena sezona 1935/36«, *Dom in svet* 49 (1936), 7-8, 451. Marijan Lipovšek: »Šostakovičeva Simfonija in jesenski koncerti«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 55 (1935), 12, 668.

¹³ [Vilko] U[kmar]: »Koncert Ljubljanske filharmonije«, *Slovenec* 58 (31. 10. 1935), 251, 5.

1936 vpošljejo orkestralne materiale, katere namerava LF izvesti na svojih simfoničnih koncertih [...]«. ¹⁴; poziv so tri leta kasneje še enkrat ponovili. ¹⁵

Tretji koncert so v Ljubljanski filharmoniji načrtovali za marec 1936. Vodil naj bi ga skladatelj in dirigent Alexander von Zemlinsky. Dogovori z njim so potekali od septembra 1935, usklajevali so termine in tehtali predloge za spored (Wagner: uvertura k *Mojstrom pevcem*, Mahler: *Adagietto* iz *Pete simfonije*, Kogoj: *Plesna suita*, Beethoven: *Peta simfonija*). Orkester naj bi tehnično pripravil Danilo Švara, zadnje vaje pa bi vodil Zemlinsky. Prvotno načrtovani datum (13. 3. 1936) so nekajkrat prestavili in iskali nove termine (dogovarjali so se tudi za povezavo koncerta z nastopom dirigenta v Beogradu), nato pa so obisk preložili za nedoločen čas. ¹⁶ Do sodelovanja kasneje ni prišlo. Marca 1936 so se začeli kazati tudi prvi znaki neskladja v delovanju odbora Ljubljanske filharmonije, 29. 3. se je iz njega umaknil Jan Šlais, ki je v odstopni izjavi med drugim pisal o zastrupljenem ozračju, ki naj bi, namesto da je glasbi v ponos, uničevalo korenine komaj zraslega debla. ¹⁷ Pol leta kasneje, 21. 9. 1936, je odstopil še predsednik Anton Neffat (med razlogi navedel neurejene tajniške posle, nezaupanje znotraj odbora, osebne razloge zaradi zaposlenosti v Operi), ki ga je za kratek čas nadomestil Karlo Rupel. ¹⁸ Eden od problemov naj bi tičal v pomanjkanju smisla za dosledno organizacijo. Odbor naj bi bil, kljub navdušenju občinstva po prvih koncertih, počasen pri zbiranju podpore (podpise podpornikov so zbirali šele mesece kasneje, ker legitimacije niso bile pravočasno natisnjene) in v svojem delu nekoliko lagoden ter oklevajoč. ¹⁹

Hkrati se je Ljubljanska filharmonija od začetka leta 1936 dogovarjala z Glasbeno matico za skupen vokalno-instrumentalni koncert. Načrtovali so izvedbo Lisztovega oratorija *Kristus*, ki naj bi bila 3. aprila 1936 v ljubljanski stolnici, vendar so se dogovarjanja zaradi nesporazuma, predvsem okrog finančne plati nastopa, zavlekla do konca koncertne sezone ²⁰. Tretji nastop Ljubljanske filharmonije je bil tako **5. oktobra 1936**, skupaj z zborom Glasbene matice ob otvoritvi prenovljene velike filharmonične dvorane. Koncert je vodil Mirko Polič. Obsežno Lisztovo delo naj ne bi bilo preveč posrečeno izbrano, pri izvedbi pa naj bi s prepričljivim igranjem vzbudil pozornost predvsem orkester Ljubljanske filharmonije. ²¹ Zahtevno nalogo naj bil rešil dostojno, z dobrim razmerjem med instrumenti, z zvočno zlitostjo, v splošnem naj bi bil ohranil svoj poln, lep ton, ki ga je imel pod vodstvom Rhené-Bathona. ²² V otvoritvenem govoru na koncertu

¹⁴ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (1. 3. 1936), NUK M.

¹⁵ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (25. 11. 1939), NUK M.

¹⁶ Iz dopisov so razvidni različni razlogi: tehnični problemi, prezaposlenost orkestrašev, prezaposlenost dirigenta. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (28. 2., 29. 2., 9. 5. 1936), NUK M.

¹⁷ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (25. 3. 1936), NUK M.

¹⁸ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (21. 9. 1936), NUK M.

¹⁹ Marijan Lipovšek: »Poglavje o našem koncertnem življenju«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 56 (1936), 372.

²⁰ Ljubljanska filharmonija je očitno predlagala prevelik honorar in Glasbena matica se je odločila, da si bo (brezplačno) pomagala s svojimi močmi (Orkestralno društvo, gojenci konservatorija, učitelji). Hkrati je Matica prosila Zvezo godbenikov za nastop nekaterih njenih članov. Stekla je burna debata o netaktnem ravnanju, o tem, da naj imajo prednost poklicni glasbeniki in da je učiteljem Glasbene matice grozila z odpustom, če ne bi sodelovali, o tem, zakaj morajo konservatoristi brezplačno sodelovati na prireditvi, ki ni šolska. Na koncu so se odločili, da je bolje, če skupne projekte načrtujejo na daljši čas (podobno vabilo so dobili tudi iz Radia) in so skupaj nastopili jeseni 1936. Nesporazumi pa so (med drugim zaradi neplačanih honorarjev) ostali tudi po tem koncertu.

²¹ Stanko Premrl: »Koncertna poročila«, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 59 (1936), 11-12, 186.

²² Marijan Lipovšek: »Marginalije o letošnji glasbeni sezoni«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 57 (1937), 270.

je predsednik Glasbene matice dr. Ravnikar poudaril, da je prenovljena dvorana novi slovenski glasbeni dom in da simbolizira »neločljivo simbiozo treh glavnih činiteljev slovenske glasbene umetnosti: Glasbene matice, Filharmonije, konservatorija, ki v redko složnem sodelovanju delujejo v naš glasbeni prospah in napredek«²³. Koncert so čez mesec dni, **2. novembra 1936**, ponovili.²⁴

Ob petem koncertu Ljubljanske filharmonije je bilo precej težav in neugodnih okoliščin. Sprva so se prek Marjana Kozine dogovarjali za sodelovanje dirigenta Nikolaja Malka²⁵. Zaradi zapletenih postopkov pri pridobivanju potrebnih vizumov se je dogovarjanje zavleklo in šele dva tedna pred načrtovanim koncertom so dokončno izvedeli, da ministrstvo ni izdalo dovoljenja za njegov prihod. Tako so morali na hitro najti zamenjavo. K sodelovanju so povabili bolgarskega skladatelja in dirigenta Bojana Georgijeva Ikonomova²⁶, se obrnili na Jugoslovansko-bolgarsko ligo ter na spored uvrstili njegov *Simfonični stavek* (najbrž stavek iz Prve simfonije, ki jo je dokončal istega leta). Vendar je spravil Ljubljansko filharmonijo v precejšnje škripce, saj naj ne bi bil zmožen voditi orkestra in tako je zadnji hip vskočil Danilo Švara. Koncert, ki ni bil posebno dobro obiskan, je bil **11. decembra 1936** v dvorani Union.²⁷ Na sporedu so bili poleg Ikonomove skladbe Prvi klavirski koncert Čajkovskega (igral ga je Ivan Noč), prva celotna izvedba Škerjančeve skladbe *Preludij, arija in finale* ter Ibertov *Escales*. Kritiki so v ocenah koncerta napisali, da je bil koncert v primerjavi z dotedanjsimi nazadovanje. Prepričljivi naj ne bi bili niti vsebina niti izvedba, kakor da bi začel popuščati prvotni zagon. Pokazala se je potreba po stalnem dirigentu in stalnih vajah. Poleg težav z dirigentom je prišlo tudi do nesoglasja znotraj orkestra. Člani Ljubljanskega godalnega kvarteta, ki so bili člani filharmonije, so namreč istočasno pripravljali svoj javni nastop in so vodstvo prosili, da zaradi tega ne bodo mogli sodelovati na tem koncertu. Sledili so hudi očitki (nekolonialnost, materialni razlogi, osebni odnosi s predsednikom, izvajanje Škerjančeve skladbe), predvsem članov odbora.²⁸

Naslednji nastop Ljubljanske filharmonije je zaradi te slabe izkušnje segel po preverjenem gostu in šesti simfonični koncert je **8. marca 1937** vodil Rhené-Bathon. Ta naj bi bil ob prihodu v Ljubljano opazil velik napredek orkestra. Skupaj jim je uspelo napolniti dvorano in koncert je doživel velik uspeh. Na sporedu so se zvrstila dela različnih slogov (Corelli, Haydn, Weber, Debussy, Bravničar, Berlioz)²⁹. Najbolj je navdušila izvedba Haydnove simfonije, ki naj bi bila zaradi perfektnosti izvedbe višek večera, do-

²³ [Emil Adamič]: »Koncert Glasbene matice in Ljubljanske filharmonije, Velik uspeh Lisztovga oratorija Kristusa«, *Slovenski narod* 69 (6. 10. 1936), 228, 2.

²⁴ Drugi koncert naj bi bil v celoti boljši od prvega. Stanko Premrl: »Koncertna poročila«, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 60 (1937), 1-2, 24.

²⁵ Nikolaj Malko (1883-1961), ameriški dirigent ruskega izvora. Študiral je pri Rimskem-Korzakovu, Ljadovu, Glazunovu in Čerepninu na konservatoriju v Sankt Peterburgu. Sprva je tam dirigiral opere in balete in postal vodilni ruski dirigent. V času sovjetskega režima je zapustil Sovjetsko zvezo in kot gost nastopal na Dunaju, v Pragi, Buenos Airesu, Kopenhagnu, Londonu. V štiridesetih letih se je preselil v ZDA, nato v Avstralijo. Marjan Kozina je v Pragi (1930-32) pri Malku študiral dirigiranje.

²⁶ Bojan Georgijev Ikonomov (1900-1973) je glasbo študiral v Sofiji in Parizu (d'Indy, Boulanger, Roussel), obiskoval je predavanja iz dirigiranja pri Weingartnerju v Baslu. V Bolgariji je deloval na filmskem inštitutu in sofijskem radiu ter komponiral. Pisal je instrumentalno glasbo, odrska dela in v njih izhajal iz bolgarske ljudske dediščine. Kot dirigent se je ponujal Ljubljanski filharmoniji že maja 1936, vendar takrat ni prišlo do sodelovanja (delo z Lisztovim oratorijem, gostovanje opere v Dalmaciji ...).

²⁷ Obiskovalcev je bilo 548. Glej Koncertna poslovalnica Glasbene matice, NUK M.

²⁸ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (2., 9., 10., 11. 12. 1936), NUK M.

²⁹ Iz dopisov med dirigentom in orkestrom je razvidno, da so se resno dogovarjali tudi za izvedbo Ravelovega *Bolera*, do katere pa ni prišlo.

bro pa naj bi se orkester vživel tudi v zvočni svet *Preludija k favnovemu popoldnevu*.³⁰ Nekoliko manj prepričljiva se je zdela izbira Bravničarjevih *Divertissements*, sestavljenih iz treh plesnih skic in napisanih za šolski orkester. Zadnjo točko večera (Berlioz) je moral orkester zaradi burnega odobravanja ponoviti. Kritiki so igro orkestra pohvalili (kljub temu da so nekateri operni orkestraši še pet dni pred koncertom zaradi preobremenjenosti prosili za odpoved koncerta)³¹, poudarili zvočno zlitost in skoraj brezhibno igro. Skupina godal naj bi napredovala, prav tako so se odlikovali nekateri solisti (Rupel, Korošec, Laun, Moravec, Lipovšek³²). Lep umetniški dogodek naj bi zopet zbudil vero v domače simfonično življenje in predsednik Rupel je bil na občnem zboru pohvaljen. Kljub težkim časom (ki jih je filharmonija doživljala po koncertu »Ikonomova«, zapletenim pogajanjem s Scherchenom in sporom z Ljubljanskim godalnim kvartetom) si je upal storiti pogumen korak.³³ Toda že mesec kasneje so se spet pokazale težave pri organizaciji dela orkestra in zaradi nesoglasij z Zvezo godbenikov glede sodelovanja na koncertu Arničevih del 19. 4. 1937 je Karlo Rupel odstopil.³⁴ Mesec kasneje je zveza pripravila predlog načrta o boljšem skupnem sodelovanju med predstavniki Opere, Radia, Glasbene matice, Filharmonične družbe, Ljubljanske filharmonije in Zveze godbenikov. V njem je s konkretnimi predlogi želela ustvariti boljše pogoje za organizacijo simfoničnih koncertov.³⁵ Uresničil se je samo deloma.

Naslednja sezona, **1937-1938**, je bila precej živahna. Začela se je z (brezplačnim) sodelovanjem na komemoraciji za Masarykom, ki jo je 17. septembra 1937 v dvorani Tabor pripravil ljubljanski Sokol. Prvi del sporeda je dirigiral Anton Neffat (B. Smetana: *Tabor*), v drugem delu je sodeloval tudi Pevski zbor Glasbene matice, pod vodstvom Mirka Poliča so izvedli nekaj delov Mozartovega *Requiem*a.

Drugič so nastopili **15. oktobra 1937**, ko so v Filharmonični dvorani priredili poslovilni večer sopranistke Zlate Gjungjenac³⁶, ki je odhajala iz ljubljanske Opere. Spored je bil sestavljen iz samospevov (Lajovic, Škerjanc, Osterc, Musorgski, Štritof) in znanih arij (Čajkovski, Puccini, Massenet, Verdi). Gjungjenčeva je na koncertu doživela mnogo toplih aplavzov, prav tako naj bi se orkester predstavil v »*impozantnem številu z izravnanim zvokom in z resnim stremljenjem priboriti si svoje mesto v našem kulturnem življenju*«. ³⁷ Koncert je bil organiziran v prid Ljubljanske filharmonije, sodelujoči so nastopili brezplačno.³⁸

³⁰ Dirigent Rhené-Bathon naj bi bil dobil navodila za izvedbo neposredno pri skladatelju Debussyju. Franc Šturm: »Koncert Ljubljanske filharmonije«, *Slovenski narod* 70 (11. 3. 1937), 57, 4.

³¹ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (3. 3. 1937), NUK M.

³² Marijan Lipovšek je kot solist poleg Rupla, Jeraja in Müllerja sodeloval pri izvedbi Corellijevega *Concerta grossa št. 8* ter pri Bravničarjevi skladbi *Divertissements*.

³³ Glej Poročilo tajnika za XV. redni občni zbor Podsaveza muzičara Ljubljana, 12. 4. 1937, v: Podsavez za Slovenijo, NUK M.

³⁴ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (odpoved predsednika, 12. 4. 1937), NUK M.

³⁵ Med drugim je predlagala, da bi bilo na sezono 5 koncertov in sicer 1 vokalno-instrumentalni z zborom Glasbene matice in orkestrom Ljubljanske filharmonije, eden simfonični v organizaciji Narodnega gledališča, eden v organizaciji Radijske postaje ter dva samostojna koncerta v organizaciji Ljubljanske filharmonije. Glej *Predlog oz. načrt P.M. in L.F. za anketno glede simfoničnih koncertov 1936/37* (23. 5. 1937), v: Podsavez za Slovenijo, Mapa Korespondenca 1937, NUK M.

³⁶ Zlata Gjungjenac-Gavella (1898-1982) je študirala je na konservatoriju v Zagrebu in na Dunaju (Schlemmer-Amros), debitirala leta 1918 v Zagrebu in med leti 1919-1947 bila operna prvakinja v Zagrebu, Ljubljani in Beogradu. Kasneje je poučevala na Akademiji za glasbo v Ljubljani (1947-1952) in Beogradu (1955-1964).

³⁷ Franc Šturm, »Poslovilni koncert ge. Gjungjenčeve«, *Slovenski narod* 70 (16. 10. 1937), 237, 5.

³⁸ Kljub temu je večer prinesel finančno izgubo, stroški so bili večji od prihodkov. Glej Koncertna poslovalnica Glasbene matice, NUK M.

17. decembra 1937 je v dvorani Union sledil osmi koncert, ki ga je vodil nemški dirigent Hermann Scherchen.³⁹ Z njim so se dogovarjali že od decembra 1936 in imeli pri tem precej težav. Zatikalo se je pri iskanju ugodnih terminov in Scherchen je Ljubljanski filharmoniji celo grozil s tožbo in »odprtim ožigovanjem« v glasbenem tisku, ker je zaradi njih moral odpovedati koncert v Londonu.⁴⁰ Spored je ponudil kar dve krstni izvedbi slovenskih skladb (Švara, Žebre), poleg njiju pa Brahmsovo *Tretjo simfonijo* in Mozartovo *Serenado v D-duru*. V napovedih koncerta so pisci občudovali odločitev Ljubljanske filharmonije, da na svoje koncerte ne umešča slovenske glasbe iz prisiljene vlnudnosti (po eno na koncert), ampak da stopa korak naprej. Vendar je ravno ta drznost vplivala na slabši obisk koncerta in izkazalo se je, da je tvegano posvetiti polovico koncerta sodobni glasbi. Koncert je bil eden izmed (materialno) manj uspešnih. Najtrši oreh za občinstvo je bila izvedba Žebretove simfonične slike *Tek*, ki naj bi prinašala preveč eksperimentov; toplejši sprejem je doživela *Prva simfonija* Danila Švare⁴¹. Orkester, so zapisali, je igral dobro, vendar naj bi manjkale fineše, pri Mozartu pa so se dobro odrezali solisti (Rupel, Jeraj, Šušteršič, Medved).

Kljub temu da se je finančno stanje Ljubljanske filharmonije nenehno slabšalo in je v začetku leta 1938 kazalo, da je njen obstoj resno ogrožen (*»finančno stojimo pred polomom in vprašanje je, če bo Filharmonija sploh še obstajala«*),⁴² so vztrajali pri začrtani nameri ter svoje cilje celo širili. Naslednji podvig je bil prvi nastop orkestra zunaj Ljubljane – **11. marca 1938** so nastopili na 1. ljudskem koncertu v Prosvetnem domu v Šentvidu nad Ljubljano. Širjenje orkestrske glasbe po slovenskih krajih je bilo sicer bolj značilno za Orkestralno društvo Glasbene matice, ki je med obema vojnama priredilo kar 30 takih nastopov, leta 1938 pa je tudi Ljubljanska filharmonija poskusila tako razširiti svoje delovanje. Pri organizaciji gostovanja v Šentvidu je entuziastično sodeloval takratni profesor glasbe na škofijski gimnaziji Matija Tomc. Spored je bil namenjen širjenju simfonične glasbe in je bil prilagojen priložnosti⁴³: ponudil je glasbo Mozarta, Schuberta, Griega, Dvořáka, Masseneta ter plesno suito *Nizki rej* Matije Tomca. Koncert je prenašal ljubljanski radio.

Istočasno so skušali razširiti delovanje še na mlado občinstvo in 16. februarja 1938 so poslali na prosvetni oddelek kraljeve banske uprave prošnjo za prirejanje koncertov za srednješolsko in meščansko mladino.⁴⁴ S povabilom k sodelovanju so se obrnili na različne naslove (Saša Železnikar, Marijan Lipovšek, Pavel Šivic, Franc Šturm, Vilko Ukmar, Valens Vodušek, Božidar Borko, Fran Govekar, Matija Tomc, Slavko Osterc). Koncerti naj bi bili ob torkih in petkih, prvega so načrtovali za 25. 2. 1938 na III. državni realni gimnaziji.

³⁹ Hermann Scherchen (1891-1966) je bil eden pionirjev glasbe 20. stoletja in je svojo kariero posvetil boljšemu razumevanju sodobnih del. Pripravil je številne krstne izvedbe del, predvsem je postavil model interpretacij skladb druge dunajske šole, Busonija, Stravinskega, Dallapiccole, Hindemitha, Prokofjeva (mdr. je krstil Schönbergov cikel *Pierrot lunaire*, Bergov *Violinski koncert*). Ustanovil je glasbeno revijo *Melos*, aktivno sodeloval pri ustanovitvi ISCM, ustanovil zbirko Ars Viva Edition (za sodobno glasbo) v Zürichu 1950.

⁴⁰ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (11. 1.; 2. 3. 1937), NUK M.

⁴¹ Danilo Švara je študiral dirigiranje pri H. Scherchnu v Frankfurtu. V intervjuju pred koncertom je poudaril, da si ne bi mogel za svojo simfonijo želeti boljšega interpreta.

⁴² Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (7. 1. 1938), NUK M.

⁴³ Matija Tomc je organizatorjem svetoval, naj na vabila napišejo število godbenikov, ker bi si mnogi, ki bi sicer prišli, pod besedo filharmonija ne mogli veliko predstavljati. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (1. 3. 1938), NUK M.

⁴⁴ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (16. 2. 1938), NUK M.

Naslednji veliki koncert je bil namenjen 25-letnici umetniškega delovanja violinista Zlatka Balokovića. Med svojo jubilejno turnejo po glasbenih središčih je **21. marca 1938**, dva dni po koncertu v Zagrebu, nastopil tudi z Ljubljansko filharmonijo v Unionski dvorani. Violinista sta na turneji spremljala dirigent Louis Siegel⁴⁵ in skladatelj John Alden Carpenter,⁴⁶ ki je za to priložnost napisal koncert. Carpenterova skladba je bila poleg Bachovega koncerta v E-duru osrednja točka sporeda, v obeh se je Baloković izkazal s plemenito igro ter popolnim obvladovanjem tehničnih in glasbenih problemov.⁴⁷ Poleg koncertov je Siegel dirigiral še Debussyjev *Preludij k favnovemu popoldnevu* in Ravelovo skladbo *Alborada del grazioso*. Izkazal se je kot odličen dirigent z dobrim smislom za zvočno barvo. Uvodno in sklepno delo tega koncerta je ognjevitno dirigiral Mirko Polič (Beethoven, Stajnov). Nastop orkestra je bil deležen številnih pohval, posebej pihalci. Večer, ki je bil dobro obiskan, so v ocenah razglasili za enega najlepših, v vseh ozirih najuspešnejših te sezone, zato menda publika ni varčevala z odobravanjem.⁴⁸

Aprila 1938 je Ljubljanska filharmonija skupaj z zagrebško in beograjsko filharmonijo sodelovala na monstre-koncertu v Beogradu. Gostovanje je sodilo v okvir beograjskega glasbenega festivala, katerega pokrovitelj je bil knez namestnik Pavle. Orkestraši so odpotovali 7. aprila in se vračali 11. aprila 1938, koncert pa so pripravili v največjem paviljonu beograjskega velesejma **10. aprila 1938**. Igralo 210 godbenikov, ki so jih vodili trije dirigenti. Uvodni dve skladbi, Wagnerjevo uverturo k *Mojstrom pevcem nürnberškim* in Beethovnovi *Tretjo simfonijo* je dirigiral Lovro Matačić, sledili sta Bravničarjev *Hymnus Slavicus* in Smetanova *Vltava* pod vodstvom Nika Štritofa⁴⁹, sklepno delo večera, *Peto simfonijo* Petra Iljiča Čajkovskega, pa je dirigiral Krešimir Baranović. Koncert naj bi bilo navdušeno poslušalo 6500-7000 ljudi. Med obiskom v Beogradu so želeli člani Ljubljanske filharmonije navezati poslovne stike z Batovo tovarno v Borovu. Pripravili so idejni načrt za t. i. Bata-simfonični koncert, ki naj bi ga jeseni 1938 pod njihovim pokroviteljstvom priredili v Ljubljani, dobiček pa bi v korist zimske akcije v obliki obutve razdelili revnim Ljubljančanom. Do sodelovanja zaradi finančnih pomislekov pri vodstvu tovarne ni prišlo.

Filharmonija je hotela **sezono 1938/1939** otvoriti s koncertom na proslavi 20-letnice Češkoslovaške republike zadnje dni oktobra 1938. Skupaj s Češkoslovaško ligo so iskali primerne češke dirigente (Rafael Kubelík, Zdeněk Chalabala) in spored (Suk, Dvořák), vendar koncerta ni bilo: banska uprava zaradi težke politične situacije (kapitulacija, Münchenski sporazum) ni dovolila proslave češkoslovaškega narodnega praznika.⁵⁰

Hkrati je Glasbena matica za začetek sezone načrtovala serijo koncertov ob 20-letnici jugoslovanske države in je k sodelovanju povabila tudi Ljubljansko filharmonijo. Sprva so načrtovali dva koncerta: 3. oktobra naj bi skupaj izvedli Beethovnovi *Deveto*

⁴⁵ Louis Siegel (1885-1955), ameriški dirigent in skladatelj. Študiral je v Belgiji, bil nekaj časa v Španiji (kjer je sodeloval s čelistom Casalsom), nato se je vrnil v Ameriko.

⁴⁶ John Alden Carpenter (1876-1951), ameriški skladatelj in veleindustrialec.

⁴⁷ Franc Šturm: »Koncert Zlatka Balokovića«, *Slovenski narod* 71 (22. 3. 1938), 65, 1.

⁴⁸ Obiskovalcev je bilo 786. Glej Koncertna poslovalnica Glasbene matice, NUK M.

⁴⁹ Po pripovedovanju Sama Hubada naj bi bil Štritof za diriganje teh dveh skladb izbran v Beogradu kot najmuzikalnejši dirigent.

⁵⁰ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (13. 10. 1938), NUK M.

simfonijo, 9. decembra pa kantato *Zedinjenje* Lucijana Marije Škerjanca.⁵¹ Do izvedbe Beethovnovne simfonije ni prišlo, drugi načrt pa so zaradi vsakoletnega novinarskega koncerta predstavili na **7. november 1938** (pokrovitelj koncerta je bil kralj Peter II.). Poleg Ljubljanske filharmonije in zbora Glasbene matice so sodelovali solisti V. Heybal, M. Kogej, S. Banovec in J. Betetto, dirigiral je Mirko Polič. Krst Škerjančevega *Zedinjenja* pa je sprožil veliko polemik. V prvi vrsti so zadevale besedilo, ki ga je skladatelj uglasbil (dva Gradnikova soneta iz zbirke *De profundis*). Zdi se, da je bilo v ozadju teh polemik pomembno vprašanje slovenskih kulturnih delavcev tistega časa in ključni problem kulturne politike pri oblikovanju nacionalne identitete. Vprašanju, ali ohranjati slovensko narodno in jezikovno samobitnost ali pristajati na kulturno asimilacijo s Hrvati in Srbi, pa je v ozadju botroval še stari kulturni boj med katolicizmom in liberalizmom.⁵² Škerjančeva glasba, ki naj bi opevala narodovo preteklost (Ukmar je zapisal, da bi jo lahko primerjali s Smetanovo *Libušo*)⁵³ je bila zasnovana v treh delih (dva soneta in medigra), v katerih so se izmenjavali različni elementi in slogi, zaradi zvočne nasičenosti in zapletenosti pa izvedba ni dosegla prave umetniške višine.⁵⁴ Glasbena matica je nameravala s tem delom gostovati v Mariboru in Celju.

Proti koncu leta 1938 je sledil koncert, ki so ga s pomočjo skladatelja Blaža Arničar organizirali **28. novembra 1938** v Unionski dvorani. Odlično uspel in razprodan večer je vodil dirigent Lovro Matačić. V prvem delu so zazvenele Bachova orgelska *Passacaglia* (v priredbi Aleksandra Goedicka), Mozartova *Simfonija št. 40* in *Noč na Golem brdu* Modesta Musorgskega. Drugi del koncerta je bil posvečen mlademu skladatelju Blažu Arničar. Prvotno sta bili načrtovani krst dveh njegovih skladb (*Ples čarovnic*, *Duma*), toda zaigrali so samo drugo, pravzaprav le počasni plesni stavek iz Simfonije *Duma*. Koncert je bil velik uspeh za Arničar, za Matačićar in za Ljubljansko filharmonijo. Orkester naj bi dobro in prožno zvenel ter vneto sledil dirigentovi volji. Ta dogodek ni bil prvi, ki ga je Arničar priredil tako rekoč v lastni režiji.⁵⁵

Kmalu po novembrskem koncertu je Glasbena matica povabila Ljubljansko filharmonijo k sodelovanju na slavnostnem koncertu ob 60-letnici Antona Lajovica, toda odborniki filharmonije so se odločili, da bodo Lajovičevo obletnico praznovali raje tako, da bodo kakšno njegovo delo uvrstili na svoj redni koncert.⁵⁶ Na Lajovičevi proslavi pa so Orkestralno društvo Glasbene matice kot vedno dopolnjevali tudi člani opernega orkestra.

Marca 1939 so želeli nadaljevati s prirejanjem ljudskih koncertov, ki so jih bili začeli leto prej v Šentvidu. V načrtu so imeli seznanjati podeželje s simfonično glasbo, zato

⁵¹ Ker so sprva načrtovali, da bodo Beethovnovno simfonijo naštudirali že pred poletjem 1938, so imeli v mislih tudi koncert v Rogaški Slatini, kjer je dober del orkestra igral med počitnicami. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (20. 4. 1938), NUK M.

⁵² Prim. Ervin Dolenc, *Kulturni boj: Slovenska kulturna politika v Kraljevini SHS 1918-1929*, Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba 1996, str. 105.

⁵³ V[i]lko U[kmar]: »Koncert Glasbene matice, L. M. Škerjanc *Zedinjenje*«, *Slovenec*, 66 (12. 11. 1938), 261, 5.

⁵⁴ Glasbena matica in Lucijan Marija Škerjanc sta med pripravami na koncert Ljubljanski filharmoniji očitala dezorganizacijo in neredno obiskovanje vaj, Ljubljanska filharmonija pa se je na očitke pritožila, saj naj bi bili njeni člani preobremenjeni (priprave ne premiero opere *Poljub*, predstave *Gorenjskega slavčka*, *Prodane neveste* in *Era*, izvajanje operet, vaje za koncerte Glasbene matice in Arničar, koncerte radiofonske postaje in redne vaje). Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (pismo Ljubljanske filharmonije L. M. Škerjancu, 27. 10. 1938), NUK M.

⁵⁵ Organiziral je bil že koncert z radijskim orkestrom – 20. 11. 1936 in koncert združenih ljubljanskih orkestror – 19. 4. 1937. Za koncert 28. 11. 1938 je priskrbel honorarje orkestra in dirigenta, najel dvorano, poskrbel za reklamo, notni material, tanieme ter prenos notnih stojar in instrumentov. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (10. 10. 1938), NUK M.

⁵⁶ Do tega je prišlo z izvedbo Lajovčega *Capriccia* šele 17. 11. 1939.

so se dogovarjali na Vrhniki, z Narodno čitalnico v Kranju in s Sokolskim društvom v Novem mestu.⁵⁷ Do prvega gostovanja na Vrhniki je prišlo **13. marca 1939**, ko so nastop združili s počastitvijo 20. obletnice smrti Ivana Cankarja. Imeli so brezplačen popoldanski koncert za šolsko mladino, nato so se pred spomenikom poklonili Cankarju ter izvedli še večerni koncert, ki ga je prenašal radio. Tudi finančno uspeli obisk je dirigiral Drago Mario Šijanec.

Za vodenje spomladanskega simfoničnega koncerta v Ljubljani se je Ljubljanska filharmonija s pomočjo Srečka Koporca dogovarjala z angleškim dirigentom Gazom Cooperjem⁵⁸. Koncert, na katerem naj bi dirigent nastopil brezplačno, je bil načrtovan za začetek maja 1939. Prvi del sporeda naj bi zajemal iz angleške glasbe (Henry Purcell, Michael Arne, William Walton, Gaze Cooper), drugi del iz slovanske (Anton Lavrin, Peter Ilič Čajkovski, Antonín Dvořák, Srečko Koporc).⁵⁹ Obe načrtovani slovenski skladbi (Lavrinova *Uvertura* in Koporčev *Epilog*) sta bili pred tem pod Cooperjevim vodstvom izvajani v Nottinghamu. Zadnji dopis v zvezi z Cooperjevim gostovanjem je bil poslan 20. 4. 1939, toda do sodelovanja le ni prišlo.⁶⁰

Hkrati je konec februarja prek Milana Markovića, šefa prosvetnega oddelka pri jugoslovanskem poslaništvu v Parizu, Ljubljanska filharmonija dobila ponudbo za ponoven obisk Rhené-Bathona. Sodil naj bi k dirigentovemu gostovanju po državi v okviru izmenjalnih koncertov med Francijo in Jugoslavijo. Zaradi ugodnega dirigentovega honorarja je filharmonija ponudbo načeloma sprejela in kot datum predlagala 27. marec 1939, ko pa je izvedela za trikratno povečanje honorarja, je Markoviću sporočila, da je zaradi svoje obupne finančne situacije prisiljena koncert odpovedati. Marković je sicer vztrajal, da do koncerta mora priti in je dirigentu celo sam vnaprej plačal honorar, vendar je Ljubljanska filharmonija koncert zaradi tehnične neizvedljivosti odpovedala (prekratek čas za pripravo in rezervacijo dvorane, preobremenjenost orkestra, nepripraven čas).⁶¹ Orkester je tako postopoma zašel v resno krizo.⁶² Po štirih letih delovanja mu ni uspelo dobiti niti državne podpore niti prostorov za vaje in delovanje, poleg tega je imel 20.000 dinarjev dolga. Močno je pogrešal tudi moralno podporo, saj naj bi ga od kulturnih institucij podpirala samo ljubljanska radijska postaja. Oktobra 1939 se je z »*zadnjim poskusom pred razpustitvijo*«⁶³ obrnil na različne naslove in po njem se je stanje nekoliko izboljšalo. Istega meseca je dobil prvo letno subvencijo iz banovinskega proračuna.

Peto koncertno sezono je Ljubljanska filharmonija tako začela s ponovnim zagonom in prvi koncert je bil označen kot njena nova zmaga. **17. novembra 1939** je z Antonom Trostom in pod vodstvom Draga Maria Šijanca zaigrala pred razprodano

⁵⁷ »Ljubljanska filharmonija si je nadela nalogo seznanjati tudi podeželje s simfonično glasbo, zato je sklenila po vsej Dravski banovini privrediti serijo koncertov.« Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (pismo vrhniškemu šolskemu upravitelju Franu Pavletiču, 1. 3. 1939), NUK M.

⁵⁸ Gaze Cooper (1895–1981) se je rodil v Nottinghamu. Študiral je klavir in kompozicijo, nato pa deloval kot pedagog in dirigent. Napisal je 9 simfonij in veliko klavirske glasbe (med drugim štiri klavirske koncerte).

⁵⁹ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (20. 4. 1939), NUK M.

⁶⁰ Glej tudi »Kaj pravite?«, *Slovenec*, 67 (14. 5. 1939), 110, 6.

⁶¹ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (marec 1939), NUK M.

⁶² »Ljubljanska filharmonija in njena letošnja glasbena sezona«, *Slovenski dom* (26. 5. 1939), 120; »Kaj pravite?«, *Slovenec*, 67 (14. 5. 1939), 110, 6. Poleg finančne krize še napadanje v časopisih.

⁶³ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (5. 10. 1939), NUK M.

Unionsko dvorano. Koncert je bil lep dogodek tako po sporedu izključno slovanskih del (Rahmaninov, Lajovic, Čajkovski) kakor po umetniški stopnji izvedbe. Šijanec⁶⁴ je bil deležen spodbudnih pohval, pohvaljen pa je bil tudi orkester, ki naj bi bil blestel tako z resno voljo in dozorelostjo kot tudi po tehnični in po interpretativni plati. Enako je pianist Anton Trost nastopil kot odličen interpret z mojstrsko tehniko, pa globokim in tenkočutnim doživljanjem.⁶⁵ Kritiki so hkrati poudarili željo po še bolj pomembni vlogi orkestra v slovenskem glasbenem življenju (potrebo po abonmajskih koncertih, ljudskih koncertih ...).

Drugi simfonični koncert pete sezone so s Krešimirom Baranovičem kot dirigentom organizirali **9. februarja 1940**.⁶⁶ Na njem so že drugič zapored igrali docela slovanski program (Čajkovskega, Smetano, Bravničarja, Balokovića). Bravničarjeva *Belokranjska rapsodija*, ki jo je bil skladatelj poslal na razpis Ljubljanske filharmonije, je po krstu na koncertu jugoslovanske glasbe v Parizu januarja 1939 prvič zazvenela pred domačo publiko.⁶⁷ V podobnem folklorno obarvanem slogu je zazvenela tudi Baranovičeva baletna suita *Srce iz lecta*. Orkester Ljubljanske filharmonije naj bi pod izkušenim vodstvom hrvaškega dirigenta zvenel prožno; koncert naj bi bil pomemben tudi kot znanilec vedno globljeje stikanja slovanskih kultur.⁶⁸

Dobra dva tedna kasneje, **26. februarja 1940**, je sledil že tretji nastop v sezoni. Člani Ljubljanske filharmonije so pod vodstvom Mirka Poliča sodelovali na koncertu Glasbene matice in z njenim moškim zborom v Unionski dvorani izvedli kantato Lucijana Marije Škerjanca *Sonetni venec*. Šlo je za izvedbo prve različice dela na Prešernovo besedilo prvotne izdaje v *Illyrisches Blatt* iz leta 1834.⁶⁹ Ta enostavčna uglasbitev je bila napisana za tri soliste, moški tercet, moški zbor in orkester.⁷⁰ Kot solisti so nastopili Julij Betetto, Jean Francl, Anton Sladoljev-Jolič, Roman in Tone Petrovčič. Orkester naj bi bil odlično pripravljen (mestoma je bil premočan, zakrival je soliste in zbor) in je nelahko nalogo opravil izvrstno.⁷¹ Koncert je bil odlično obiskan, načrtovali so ponovitve v Ljubljani (29. marca), Celju in Mariboru (maja).⁷²

22. aprila 1940⁷³ je v okviru bolgarskega tedna sledil XV. simfonični koncert Ljubljanske filharmonije, napovedan kot »pomemben koncert za kulturno zблиžanje obeh

⁶⁴ Na seji Ljubljanske filharmonije 1. 11. 1939 mu je bila odobrena prošnja, da skupaj z Vinkom Šusteršičem prevzame vodstvo orkestrskih vaj. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (10. 11. 1939), NUK M.

⁶⁵ Stanko Premrl: »Koncertna poročila«, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 63 (1940), 1-2, 21.

⁶⁶ Krešimir Baranović (1894-1975), hrvaški dirigent in skladatelj. V letih 1915-43 je vodil orkester Hrvatske opere v Zagrebu. Kasneje je nekaj časa živel v Bratislavi, kjer je dirigiral radijskemu orkestru, potem pa predaval dirigiranje za beograjski glasbeni akademiji. Dejavni je bil tudi kot skladatelj.

⁶⁷ Ljubljanska filharmonija je v tem času objavila drugi razpis za še neizvajane skladbe. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (25. 11. 1939), NUK M.

⁶⁸ [Dragotin Cvetko]: »XIV. simfonični koncert Ljubljanske filharmonije«, *Slovenski narod* 73 (13. 2. 1940), 35, 3.

⁶⁹ Andrej Rijavec: Slovenska glasbena dela, Ljubljana, DZS 1979, 312.

⁷⁰ Leta 1948 je Škerjanc kantato prenovil, povečal zbor, bolj izrabil solistični ansambel in znatno povečal orkester. Prva izvedba nove različice je bila 8. 2. 1949 s Slovensko filharmonijo. Glej prav tam.

⁷¹ [Dragotin Cvetko]: »Glasbeni krst Sonetnega venca«, *Slovenski narod* 73 (28. 2. 1940), 48, 4; Stanko Premrl: »Koncertna poročila«, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 63 (1940), 3-4, 57-58.

⁷² Prvič je bilo v Ljubljani 1230 poslušalcev, drugič 734. Glej Koncertna poslovalnica Glasbene matice, NUK M. *Ponovitev je bila v splošnem boljša kot krstna izvedba. Zlasti se je popravil in odlično postavil matični moški zbor*. Stanko Premrl: »Koncertna poročila«, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 63 (1940), 5-6, 89.

⁷³ Koncert je bil načrtovan za nekaj dni prej, prestavili pa so ga zaradi krsta Švarove opere *Kleopatra*. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (8. 4. 1940), NUK M.

bratskih narodov»⁷⁴. Na njem je kot solist sodeloval bolgarski pianist in skladatelj Pančo Vladigerov⁷⁵ ter se predstavil kot spreten, temperamenten in virtuozen glasbenik.⁷⁶ Pod vodstvom Danila Švare so uvodoma krstili *Scherzo za godalni orkester* Filipa Bernarda⁷⁷, sledili sta dve deli Vladigerova (*Koncert za klavir in orkester št. 3* in bolgarska rapsodija *Vardar*), za konec pa *Četrta simfonija* Petra Iljiča Čajkovskega, katere izvedba je »ugodno in globoko učinkovala«⁷⁸. Koncert naj bi bil imel velik moralen uspeh, poleg umetniškega užitka tudi v hudih časih »temeljito potreben izraz slovanske vzajemnosti«,⁷⁹ žal pa je prinesel 10.000 dinarjev izgube⁸⁰.

Čez nekaj dni, 26. aprila 1940, je orkester z dvema skladbama sodeloval še na dobrodelnem koncertu Odbora za zimsko pomoč v Unionu: pod vodstvom Nika Štritofa⁸¹ je zaigral dva odlomka iz Borodinove opere *Knez Igor*. Medtem so se za mesec maj dogovarjali z violinistom Urošem Prevorškom⁸² in s skladateljem Blažem Arničem. Arnič je za svoj koncert želel angažirati Lovra Matačiča, Ljubljanska filharmonija pa je želela prirediti večer ob 100-letnici rojstva Petra Iljiča Čajkovskega. Oba načrta so sprva name-ravali združiti v enega, potem pa so ju iz več razlogov (pozen termin, številni vpoklici na orožne vaje) predstavili na jesen. Arnič se je kasneje odločil, da se bo za izvedbo *Pesmi planin* dogovoril z Beograjsko filharmonijo, ki je gostovala v Ljubljani – koncert, ki ga je vodil Matačič, je bil 5. novembra 1940. Tako se je zaključila 5. koncertna sezona, o kateri je Lipovšek v letnem pregledu glasbenega življenja predvsem zaradi slabe organiziranosti pisal z majhnim razočaranjem.⁸³ Jeseni je odstopil Anton Neffat (kot razlog je navedel službeno preobremenjenost) in Vilko Ukmar je postal (zadnji) predsednik Ljubljanske filharmonije. Novi odbor, ki je prevzel dolžnosti 21. oktobra 1940, je sklenil posodobiti delovanje, urediti finančne razmere in dvigniti umetniško raven. Prva novost, ki je sledila, je bila uvedba rednih vaj.⁸⁴

Za šesto koncertno sezono je Ljubljanska filharmonija kljub vedno težjim političnim okoliščinam napovedala še obsežnejšo delo: 4 velike koncertne prireditve in organizacijo gostovanja Beograjske filharmonije z Lovrom Matačičem. Prva dva nastopa sta se zgodila decembra 1940. Na državni praznik, **1. decembra 1940**, je orkester sodeloval na tradicionalni proslavi v organizaciji ljubljanske sekcije Jugoslovanskega novinarskega združenja, ki je prvič niso oblikovali kot akademijo, ampak jo je nadomestil koncert. Na sporedu so bili Arničeva simfonična pesnitev *Zapeljivec*, Škerjančeva koreografska simfonična pesnitev *Mařenka*, *Koncertna fantazija za klavir in orkester* Petra Iljiča Čajkovskega (kot solist je nastopil Anton Trost) in Dvořákova *Deveta simfonija*, *Iz Novega sveta*. Dirigiral

⁷⁴ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (napoved koncerta, 12. 4. 1940), NUK M.

⁷⁵ Vladigerov (1899-1978) se je v Ljubljani prvič predstavil z opero *Car Kalojan*, ki so jo pod vodstvom Danila Švare uprizorili 15. 5. 1937. Bil je dober znanec Slavka Osterca in Mirka Poliča. Prim. Dragotin Cvetko: *Fragment glasbene moderne, Iz pesem Slavku Ostercu*, Ljubljana, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti 1988, 144-145.

⁷⁶ Pavel Šivic: »K sporedom letošnje koncertne in operne sezone«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 60 (1940), 7-8, 369.

⁷⁷ Skladbo je Bernard poslal na poziv Ljubljanske filharmonije skladateljem za nove skladbe novembra 1939.

⁷⁸ Stanko Premrl: »Koncertna poročila«, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 63 (1940), 5-6, 90.

⁷⁹ [Dragotin Cvetko]: »XV. simfonični koncert Ljubljanske filharmonije«, *Slovenski narod* 73 (24. 4. 1940), 94, 4.

⁸⁰ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (26. 4. 1940), NUK M.

⁸¹ Kot dirigent se je ponudil tudi Drago Mario Šijanec in predlagal poleg Borodinovih *Polovskih plesov* izvedbo Bernardove rapsodije *Kolo*. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (8. 4. 1940), NUK M.

⁸² S Prevorškom so se za koncert dogovarjali že od decembra 1939. Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (5.11. 7. 12. 1939; 24. 4., 26. 4.; 9. 5.; 11. 5.; 8. 9.; 23. 9. 1940), NUK M.

⁸³ Marijan Lipovšek: »O našem glasbenem življenju«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 60 (1940), 11–12, 580.

⁸⁴ Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (okrožnica 7. 11. 1940), NUK M.

je Drago Mario Šijanec, ki naj bi bil najbolje predstavil Čajkovskega.⁸⁵ Kljub dobro uspeli prireditvi (dobiček so namenili pomoči revnim dijakom), je bilo nekaj pomanjkljivosti (zaradi prehitrega študija naj bi bilo prišlo do manjših tehničnih težav, tudi vsebinska poglobitev je bila slabša, nekateri dobri orkestraši niso sodelovali).

Vzporedno so v povezavi z UJMA pripravljali (zelo dejavno je sodeloval Slavko Osterc) tako imenovani III. koncert slovenske simfonične glasbe.⁸⁶ Zajel je samo domača dela: *Ouverture classique*, *Simfonijo* in simfonično sliko *Mati* Slavka Osterca, simfonični pesnitvi *Pesem jeseni* Antona Lajovica in *Vizija* Demetrija Žebreta, *Rapsodično kolo* Filipa Bernarda in *suito Nizki rej* Matije Tomca. Koncert je bil načrtovan za sredino decembra, zaradi žalovanja ob smrti ministra dr. Antona Korošca pa so ga preložili na **30. december 1940**. Za dirigentskim pultom so stali trije mladi dirigenti, Demetrij Žebre, Samo Hubad in Drago Mario Šijanec, zato so imeli poslušalci možnost slišati »plemenito tekmovanje in različne individualne interpretacije«. ⁸⁷ Orkester naj bi bil, ne glede na drobne napake, dobro pripravljen in koncert, ki naj bi bil dokaz »pozitivne slovenske glasbene tvornosti«, je dosegel zavidljivo umetniško stopnjo.⁸⁸

Že 10. januarja 1941 je orkester ponovno sodeloval na dobrodelnem koncertu Akcijskega odbora za zimsko pomoč in pod vodstvom Danile Švara zaigral odlomek iz Mascanijeve opere *Cavalleria rusticana*, *Vizijo* Demetrija Žebreta in Dvořákovo uverturo *Karneval*.

3. februarja 1941 je Ljubljanska filharmonija sodelovala na žalnem koncertu v počastitev spomina dr. Antona Korošca. Z zborom Glasbene matice in solisti (Zlata Gjungjenac, Franja Golob, Jože Gostič, Julij Betetto) so pod vodstvom Mirka Poliča v Unionski dvorani izvedli Verdijev *Requiem*. Ta lepi in dobro obiskani dogodek naj bi bil prinesel dostojno in učinkovito izvedbo dela;⁸⁹ ponovili so ga na matineji v nedeljo, 9. februarja 1941 in čisti dobiček namenili zimski pomoči.⁹⁰

Zadnji nastop Ljubljanske filharmonije (XVI. simfonični koncert) je bil **19. maja 1941**, ko je bila Ljubljana že okupirana. Sprva so načrtovali, da ga bo vodil Krešimir Baranović, a ga je zamenjal Samo Hubad. Spored je bil sestavljen iz štirih del: A. Corelli: *Concerto grosso op. 6, št. 8*, L. M. Škerjanc: *Simfonija št. 2* (krstna izvedba), A. Glazunov: *Violinski koncert v a-molu* (kot solist je nastopil Karlo Rupel) in L. v. Beethoven: *Peta simfonija*. Ta orkestrov nastop pod vodstvom mladega dirigenta naj bi bil premalo izdelan, vzrok naj bi bil v prekratnem času priprave.⁹¹

Nato je koncertno udeleževanje ljubljanskih orkestrskih glasbenikov pod imenom Ljubljanska filharmonija usahnilo. Še zmeraj je deloval odbor, prihajale so ponudbe (novembra 1941 so dobili ponudbo italijanskih dirigentov, ker naj bi v Rimu izrazili željo po takih sodelovanjih)⁹², dogovarjali so se za povezave, vendar do koncertov ni več

⁸⁵ [Dragotin Cvetko]: »Slavnostni koncert Ljubljanske filharmonije«, *Slovenski narod* 73 (3. 12. 1940), 277, 4

⁸⁶ Združenje jugoslovanskih glasbenih avtorjev - UJMA - je poleg tega koncerta priredilo še koncerta slovenske mladinske in komorne glasbe. Žal občinstvo ni pokazalo takega zanimanja zanje, kot bi ga bile skladbe po vrednosti, pripravi in izvedbi zaslužile. Matija Tomc: »Glasba. Operna in koncertna sezona«, *Dom in svet* 53 (1941), 2, 108.

⁸⁷ [Dragotin Cvetko]: »Koncert slovenske simfonične glasbe«, *Slovenski narod* 74 (4. 1. 1941), 3, 10.

⁸⁸ Prav tam.

⁸⁹ [Dragotin Cvetko]: »Žalni koncert«, *Slovenski narod* 74 (4. 2. 1941), 28, 2.

⁹⁰ Prvi koncert je poslušalo 1751, ponovitev 1358 ljudi. Glej Koncertna poslovalnica Glasbene matice, NUK M.

⁹¹ [Dragotin Cvetko]: »XVI. simfonični koncert Ljubljanske filharmonije«, *Slovenski narod* 74 (20. 5. 1941), 114, 3.

⁹² Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi (10. 11. 1941), NUK M.

prišlo. Ohranjena korespondenca (zadnji dopis je iz julija 1943) kaže, da se je delovanje odbora nazadnje omejilo samo na izposojno klavirja znamke Blüthner.

Dosežki

Društvo orkestrskih glasbenikov Ljubljanska filharmonija je formalno delovalo med letoma 1934 in 1943. V šestih aktivnih glasbenih sezonah mu je ob nekaterih manjših prireditvah uspelo izvesti dvajset večjih orkestralnih nastopov in tako zapolnjevati vrzel v prirejanju simfoničnih koncertov v Ljubljani. Na eni strani so v težavnih okoliščinah zmogli velik kulturni prispevek, saj so že s prvim koncertom navdušili občinstvo, nastopali z odličnimi dirigenti, sodelovali z Zagrebško in Beograjsko filharmonijo, krstili vrsto novih slovenskih del ter znatno obogatili ljubljansko glasbeno življenje. Koncerti Ljubljanske filharmonije so bili praviloma sestavljeni samo iz simfoničnih del, poglavitni delež so imela dela 20. stoletja. Če opazujemo njihov repertoar kot celoto, se pokaže, da je imela v njem največji delež slovenska sodobna glasba (večinoma iz tridesetih let): skoraj vsak koncert je ponudil tudi izvedbo domačega avtorja. Načrtno izvajanje slovenskih del so spodbujali z razpisi.

Delo Ljubljanske filharmonije pa so poleg uspehov ves čas spremljale raznovrstne težave, bodisi finančne bodisi organizacijske. Kot druga podobna društva Ljubljanska filharmonija ni imela stalnega vira dohodkov in je bila večinoma odvisna od požrtvovalnosti svojih članov. Ohranile so še številne prošnje, iz katerih je razvidno, kako se je trudila za stalno finančno podporo in si nenehno prizadevala, da bi v primerjavi z Beograjsko in Zagrebško filharmonijo dobila enakopravnejši položaj. Leto za letom je pošiljala dopise na mestno in bansko upravo ter na ministrstvo za prosveto.⁹³ Sprva ji je na ta način uspelo dobiti nekaj enkratnih denarnih podpor, letno subvencijo iz banovinskega proračuna pa so ji odobrili šele za leto 1939/40. V tej sezoni ji je Dravska banovina nakazala podporo v višini 10.000, leto kasneje v višini 20.000 dinarjev. Ob dotacijah ostalima simfoničnima orkestrima v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji je bil to zelo majhen znesek. Beograjska filharmonija naj bi bila poleg podpore mesta Beograda dobivala stalno državno letno subvencijo (120.000 dinarjev), Zagrebško naj bi podpirala Savska banovina in mesto Zagreb. Vse tri jugoslovanske filharmonije so pred oblastmi večkrat nastopale skupaj ter iskale rešitve, ki bi omogočile lažje delo, med njimi je bila na primer aktualna, da bi se financirale z radijskimi prispevki. Ljubljanska filharmonija se je tako večino časa vzdrževala s prispevki podpornih članov in (bolj redkimi) prihodki od koncertov. S prošnjami za sponzoriranje se je obračala na podjetja in kulturne organizacije, med njimi največkrat na Filharmonično družbo. Tej so že leta 1935 poslali dve prošnji za stalno podporo, s katero bi rešili prostorske probleme, uredili arhiv in kupili potrebne instrumente. Med društvoma je leta 1936 prišlo do nesoglasja, ker Ljubljanska filharmonija ni hotela ugoditi zahtevi Filharmonične družbe in ji poslati društvenih pravil: marca leta 1936 je Ljubljanska filharmonija svojo prošnjo demonstrativno umaknila. Za nujno podporo je Filharmonično družbo prosila le še oktobra 1936, potem ne več. Denar si je izposojala

⁹³ Poleg tega, da si je prizadevala dobiti stalno letno podporo, je te inštitucije prosila tudi za oproščanje raznih davkov (državne, banovinske, občinske takse, luksuzni davki). Glej Ljubljanska filharmonija, Dopisi, NUK M.

pri Podzvezi glasbenikov in ga obročno odplačevala. Boljše finančno stanje je dosegla šele ob koncu delovanja, ko je v času okupirane Ljubljane poleg banovinske podpore dobila še subvencijo Visokega komisariata ljubljanske province (15.000 lir). A takrat je njeno delovanje prišlo h koncu. Poleg tega je bilo v ospredju težav predvsem kronično pomanjkanje časa, zapleteno in nepredvidljivo organizacijsko delo, premajhna opora kulturnega okolja.⁹⁴ Kljub temu je Ljubljanska filharmonija odločilno sooblikovala glasbeno podobo medvojnega časa, nadaljevala tradicijo javnega orkestrskega nastopanja in pripravila teren za institucionalne orkestre, ki so nastali po drugi svetovni vojni.

SUMMARY

Slovenes, after the end of World War I and the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, found themselves in completely changed cultural circumstances. Even though they lived in a time full of fatal (national, political, economic, and social) shocks, they remained culturally active. Musicians strove to revive regular symphonic concerts in Ljubljana, and, among such attempts in 1934, the Ljubljana Philharmonic was established. The initiative for establishing a regular symphonic orchestra (despite some preceding unsuccessful attempts) was given by the Musicians' Association. The idea actually came from the musicians themselves, above all from the young conservatory generation. The Ljubljana Philharmonic, as a section of the Musicians' Association, was established on 29th of December 1934. Its basic aim was the organization of quality symphonic concerts under the baton of the best Yugoslav and foreign conductors. Regular Philharmonic members were all employed with the Opera Orchestra. By the book of rules, the orchestra had also occasional academically educated musicians, who sometimes played at the concerts. The orchestra consisted of Opera Orchestra musicians, some members of the Radio Orchestra, the Orchestral Society and Conservatory students. The number of musicians varied between 50 and 70. The mixed orchestral structure on one side enabled variegated and big concerts, and on the other caused many organizational problems. The Ljubljana Philharmonic did not have a regular conductor, and therefore signed contracts with foreign conductors for its regular symphonic concerts. At the concerts the orchestra was led by: Rhené-Bathon, Lovro Matačić, Mirko Polič, Danilo Švara, Niko Štritof, Hermann Scherchen, Louis Siegel, Drago Mario Šijanec, Krešimir Baranović, Demetrij Žebre, and Samo Hubad. They also made

arrangements of cooperation with several others, e.g. with Václav Talich, Alexander von Zemlinsky, Nikolaj Malko, and Gaze Cooper.

The establishment was formally active between 1934 and 1943. In six music seasons it managed to give twenty bigger orchestral concerts and consequently to bridge the gap in symphonic concert performances in Ljubljana. In very difficult circumstances they managed to offer an important cultural contribution. They performed under excellent conductors, worked with the Zagreb and Belgrade Philharmonic, premiered several new Slovene works and profoundly enriched Ljubljana's music life. The concerts consisted of symphonic works, mostly from the 20th century. Looking at their repertoire as a whole, the major part belonged to Slovene contemporary music (mainly from the thirties); every concert offered the performance of a national composer. Planned performances of Slovene works were supported by sponsors. Although the Ljubljana Philharmonic worked successfully, financial and organizational problems of different kinds were always present. Like other similar societies, the Ljubljana Philharmonic did not have a steady source of income and was for the most part dependent on the unselfish understanding of its members. Several written applications have survived, showing the constant efforts of the Ljubljana Philharmonic to gain a steady source of income, thus assuring a position equal to that of Zagreb's and Belgrade's Philharmonics. Apart from that, it had several other problems, such as the chronic lack of time, complicated and unpredictable organization, and hardly any local cultural support. Even so the Ljubljana Philharmonic did help to shape the interwar music image, continued with public orchestral performances and set the ground for institutionalized orchestras that were established after World War II.

⁹⁴ Vilko Ukmar, »Slovensko glasbeno življenje v dvajsetletju 1918–1939«, v: *Spominski zbornik Slovenije ob dvajsetletnici Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Ljubljana, Založba Jubilej 1939, 293.

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The Aggregate or Have the Notes Lost Orientation?

Mar so toni izgubili orientacijo?

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IZVLEČEK

Agregat in proces njegove iz(po)polnitve podelujeta k cilju usmerjeno gibanje tako netonalnim kot tudi (ponavadi) neserialnim delom. S tem so razmejene njegove sintaktične in oblikovne enote, dane povezave med njimi, ali pa se artikulirajo potrebni vzorci napetosti in sprostitve. Proces iz(po)polnitve je ali sukcesiven ali simultan, včasih tudi porazdeljen med teksturne plasti z določenimi funkcijami.

ABSTRACT

The aggregate and the process of its completion introduce goal-directed motion into a non-tonal and (usually) non-serial work. This can delimit its syntactic or formal units, provide connection between them, or articulate its tension-release patterns. The completion process is either successive or simultaneous, sometimes divided between textural layers with distinct functions.

When we hear a dominant, at least two things happen as far as our reaction is concerned (of course, I have in mind those listeners – whether professional or amateur – whose musical experience is based on European tradition): a) we experience the feeling of tension, which means a state we cannot accept as lasting or definite, which in turn means that we are expecting the continuation of musical motion, and b) we feel that the continuing motion would be directed towards a goal, namely the tonic. This applies to the level of elementary syntactical units: an entity which may variously be called a musical sentence (in Schoenbergian terminology), a phrase etc. is practically by definition¹ a process which strives towards a goal; what that goal would be is something that we can predict with a considerable degree of certainty, moreover, we even have

¹ William Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music*, Schirmer Books, New York-London, 1989.

some expectations as to the point in time at which the goal should be reached. This applies also to the global level, the level of the entire composition: no matter how the composer may lead us through the piece, he or she will ultimately take us to the tonic. Generally speaking, tonal music is goal-oriented. Not a small number of theorists saw the principle purpose of music analysis exactly in this way: to demonstrate how music progresses towards that goal, how digressions during that process none the less contribute to the progress etc.

Let us not forget, it is tonal music we are talking about. Not every music is tonal. When we hear, for instance, the excerpt of *Offrandes* by Edgard Varese (Ex. 1, bars 1-8, percussion omitted) or the first of György Ligeti's Ten Pieces for Wind Quintet (Ex. 2) do we have any idea as to where the music is going? 'The pitches appear to have lost the sense of linear direction. <...> The pitches don't want to go anywhere. Each seems content to occupy its own private place, without producing any particular expectation of an eventual move to a different place <...> The pitches don't move. They are displaced by other pitches.'² This was said with reference to Varese, but is applicable to a great deal of non-tonal music.

The image shows a page of a musical score for Edgard Varese's *Offrandes, Chanson de La-haut*. The score is written for a full orchestra, with parts for Horn (Hb.), Cor (fa), Trumpet (Tnp. ut), 1st Violin (1er V.), 2nd Violin (2me V.), Alto (A.), and Violoncello (V.C.). The music is in 4/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings such as *p*, *sf*, *ppp*, *pp*, *mp*, and *f*. The tempo is marked 'Lent' with a quarter note equal to 40, and 'Subitemant Tres vif' with a quarter note equal to 132. The score includes various performance instructions like 'Sourd.', 'con. sord.', and 'sul. pont. solo en dehors'. The music is characterized by its non-tonal nature and lack of linear direction.

Example 1. Edgard Varese: *Offrandes, Chanson de La-haut*.

² Robert Morgan, 'Notes on Varese's Rhythm', in *New Worlds of Edgard Varese - A Symposium*, ed. Sherman van Solkema, City University of New York, 1979, pp. 9-10.

(G. Ligeti continued)

The musical score consists of two systems of staves, each with five parts: Fl. Sol., C. Ing., Cl. Si b, Cor. Fa, and Fag. The first system covers measures 8, 9, and 10, while the second system covers measures 11 and 12. The Fl. Sol. part features prominent triplet markings and dynamic shifts between *pp* and *mf*. The C. Ing. part also uses triplets and dynamic markings. The Cl. Si b part includes sextuplet markings. The Cor. Fa and Fag. parts follow similar rhythmic and dynamic patterns. The score is written in a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature.

Example 2b.

(G. Ligeti end)

13 14 15

Fl. Sol. *mf* *pp* *morendo al niente*

C. Ing. *mf* *pp* *morendo al niente*

Cl. Si b *pp* *mf* *pp sempre*

Cor. Fa *mf* *pp sempre*

Fag. *pp* *mf* *pp sempre*

Poco più mosso

16 17 18 19

Fl. Sol. ^{*)} (*d=48*) *sub.fff ten., tutta la forza* *fff ten., simile* *fff ten., sim.*

C. Ing. ^{*)} *sub.fff ten., tutta la forza* *fff ten., simile* *fff*

Cl. Si b ^{**) (***))} *sub.fff ten., tutta la forza* *fff ten., sim.*

Cor. Fa ^{***))} *sub.fff ten.* *ff ten., simile*

Fag. ^{***))} *sub.fff ten., tutta la forza* *fff ten., simile*

Example 2c.

Example 2a, b, c. György Ligeti: *Ten Pieces for Wind Quintet, No. 1.*

If music appears not to be directed towards any particular goal, if the intervals have the potential to go anywhere, and if we agree with Jonathan Bernard (again talking about Varese) that the most important analytical considerations are point-to-point-connections,³ is there room then for larger structural processes? In other words, the issue to be raised here is: whether the non-tonal composer is capable of projecting

³ Jonathan Bernard: 'Pitch/Register in the Music of Edgard Varese', *Music Theory Spectrum*, No. 3, 1981, p. 3.

meaningful expectations and goals, of setting up a process which would unfold over a larger time-span?

Let us have a closer look at Varese's piece. It is easy to see that for several reasons *Subitement tres vif* marks the beginning of a new formal division. We can demonstrate that the unit which precedes it draws its formal coherence from the pitch organization. 10 out of 12 pitch classes have been employed by bar 3. At bar 5, the total chromatic, or the aggregate⁴ is all but complete, with only one tone (*F*) missing. Inasmuch as we feel that the 12-tone collection is a whole, the absence of a single tone should be experienced as a gap to be filled, as a kind of tension the release of which is brought about by the appearance of the hitherto absent tone (in this example: French horn, bar 6). Notwithstanding the above quoted opinion about the absence of linear direction, that tone is, after all, made into a kind of goal, and once it has been reached the unit has come to an end.

A very similar process unfolds in Ligeti's example.⁵ The key event, actually the climax of the piece is obviously in bar 16 (significantly enough, close to the golden section): the appearance of *C#* unison. And again, the previous 15 bars employ 11 pitch classes, the single one missing is that same *C#*. Can we say that the *C#* is the goal the music is expected to reach? Very probably yes.

This is hardly a revelation of any kind. Aggregates have long been known and discussed. It was already Webern who remarked: '... I had the feeling that when all 12 tones are exhausted, the piece has come to an end.'⁶ The idea of the aggregate and the process of its completion provides the basis for combinatoriality,⁷ indeed for 12-tone composition in general (even if the two phenomena generally remain distinct). In a certain sense it corresponds with some facets of Allen Forte's set theory, to be precise: that part of it which deals with complementation. This particular set contains these particular pitch classes, that is, one possible selection from the total chromatic. However, such a set, besides containing the given pitch classes and possessing given characteristics implies at the same time the missing pitch classes. It is precisely through this complement relation, the relation between what is used and what is left out, that some important analytical insights are gained.

A Gestalt-Psychology perspective on the phenomenon of the aggregate is also conceivable. Namely, with certain simplification, the European tonal system basically counts on 12 chromatic pitch classes, which are felt to constitute a whole. The absence of a pitch class is, as we have said, perceived as a gap in the system, and the situation is analogous to the often quoted Gestalt example of a circle from which a segment has been cut off and which we perceive not as a curve *sui generis*, but as an incomplete circle, which produces visual tension to be released by the (mentally construed) completion of the circle. The underlying idea can be summed up as: what is there is sometimes almost as important as what is not there.

⁴ The aggregate as used in this paper means an unordered 12-tone set, and is practically synonymous with the *total chromatic*. This definition of the aggregate, though widely accepted, is not universal. For different usage of this term see Nikša Gligo, *Pojmovni vodič kroz glazbu 20. stoljeća*, Muzički informativni centar KDZ, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1996, pp. 2-3 and 51-53.

⁵ The differences between the two will be pointed out later.

⁶ Quoted according to: Stefan Kostka, *Materials and Techniques of Twentieth-Century Music*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1990; p. 198.

⁷ Among many studies: Daniel Starr & Robert Morris, 'A General Theory of Combinatoriality and the Aggregate' *Perspectives of New Music*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 3-35 (Part I), and Vol. 16, No.2, pp. 50-84 (Part II).

The aggregate has been the object of some serious and extensive scholarly work. In that context, aggregate partitioning received particular attention in non-serial atonal works (Varese, for instance⁸), especially in pieces which employ the total chromatic with some consistency (Lutoslawski,⁹ George Crumb¹⁰...). So frequently occurring and so well documented is the process of aggregate completion, that it regularly features in undergraduate textbooks dealing with atonal (post-tonal, non-tonal) music.¹¹ None the less, some aspects seem to be lacking, or rather some aspects, albeit sporadically mentioned in various studies, have not been systematically treated. I am referring primarily to the following two:

1. The functions of the aggregate
2. The process of its completion

In addition, I will briefly address the question of how the aggregate behaves in a context which is to a certain degree 'foreign' (serial, tonal), and finally indicate some shortcomings and limitations of the study of the aggregate.

1. Functions of the Aggregate

Even though the distinction between the categories I am proposing cannot be completely clear-cut and in some instances they will overlap, there are several relatively distinguishable areas of aggregate functions:

- 1.1. Closural
 - 1.1.1. Syntactic
 - 1.1.2. Large-scale formal
- 1.2. Non-closural (transitional, connecting)
- 1.3. Dramatic/expressive
- 1.4. Idiosyncratic

1.1. Closural function means that 12-pitch collections are manipulated in such a way as to contribute to the delimitation of segments within a composition.

1.1.1. In the first example offered in this paper – Varese *Offrandes* – we have observed a process whereby the composer withholds a single pitch class, making its ultimate appearance a structural event, a gesture which signals the end of a syntactic unit (a phrase? a sentence?). By suppressing the given pitch class the composer implies the closure, and by finally supplying it, the closure is realized. The closure can also be implied but not realized

⁸ Larry Stempel: 'Varese's 'Awkwardness' and the Symmetry in the Frame of 12 Tones: An Analytic Approach', *The Musical Quarterly*, No. 65/2, 1979, pp. 148-166.

⁹ Michael Leslie Klein: 'A Theoretical Study of the Late Music of Witold Lutoslawski: New Interactions of Pitch, Rhythm & Form'; State University of New York, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1995; Mirjana Veselinović: *Svaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas*, Univerzitet umetnosti, Beograd, 1983, pp. 236-248; Nancy Woo: 'Witold Lutoslawski's Mi-Parti A Musical Essay in Sound Textures', http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/harley/nancy.html.

¹⁰ Ciro G. Scotto, 'Transformational Networks, Transpositional Combination, and Aggregate Partitions in Processional by George Crumb', *Musical Theory Online*, http://www.societymusictheory.org/mto/issues/mto.02.8.3/mto.02.8.3.scotto_frames.html

¹¹ Particularly in the context of 12-tone music: Joseph Strauss, *Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 2000; Stefan Kostka, op. cit.; Joel Lester, *Analytic Approaches to Twentieth-Century Music*, W. W. Norton & Comp., New York, London, 1989.

within the given section. In Ex. 3 (Varese *Density 21.5*, bars 1-19), a plausible segmentation based on a number of surface features might draw a boundary between bars 17 and 18, as indicated in the example. Again, 11 pitch classes are contained in the first section. The one missing is the B which initiates the next section, but remains completely absent from the first. One might speculate about these two excerpts as exemplifying a kind of analogy with tonic and dominant cadences, namely, in the former (*Offrandes*), the aggregate completion closes the section, in the latter the section ends with the aggregate almost, but not quite complete, leaving the listener with a sense of deficiency or inconclusiveness, hence of tension, which is to be resolved not in this, but in the next section.¹²

Example 3. Edgard Varese: *Density 21.5*.

1.1.2. In this function, aggregate completion is again of structural importance, only this time it plays a role in the construction of larger formal divisions or perhaps entire compositions. It could have been subsumed under the previous heading, but I felt it was necessary to draw special attention to the fact that aggregate completion can be more than just a purely local affair: it also functions on a larger scale. An obvious way in which this function is accomplished is when the boundary of a syntactic unit simply coincides

¹² Note, however, that the pitch we are waiting for in *Offrandes* is not necessarily the same as the focal intonation – D in this case. The referential pitch class and the goal of the process are separated. In that sense it is entirely different from the concept of tonic.

with a boundary between larger formal divisions. Admittedly, such cases do not add anything new to our picture of the aggregate: the same procedure as in the previous function is merely transferred to a higher hierarchical level, upgraded, as it were.

There are, however, other situations, somewhat more complex. A case in point is *Le merle noir* for flute and piano by Olivier Messiaen. The piece is written in barform (A A₁ B), with the first two sections further divided into six subsections. Ex. 4 reproduces the respective second subsections. The first leaves out the pitch class *Bb*, and the second makes it up by presenting it in a very emphatic way. Thus, the absence of *Bb* in the first section provides additional motivation for repeating this 'bird cadenza' in the second; the appearance of that note in the second section effectively blocks further development in that direction, and this in turn essentially defines the overall formal construction.¹³

Un peu vif, avec fantaisie

FLUTE

f *ff* *p*

2(pour 2p)

flatterzunge

ff *f* *ppp*

analogous passage from section A1

47

f *mf* *pp* *f* *ff* *ff*

ff *ppp* *pp*

flatterzunge

Example 4. Olivier Messiaen: *Le merle noir*.

In the first movement of Lutoslawski's Second Symphony the aggregate defines the overall structure in a twofold way. Firstly, it supports the differentiation between the

¹³ I owe this analysis to Roger Nichols, 'Messiaen's *Le merle noir* - The case of a blackbird in a historical pie', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 129, No. 1750, Dec. 1988, p. 649.

two types of sections¹⁴ which alternate throughout the movement (producing a pattern of A B A₁ B₁ A₂ B₂ etc.). The A sections employ the total chromatic, sections labeled as B contain an all-combinatorial hexachord (012678). Secondly, the pitch organization of the piece allows for variation and even directed motion. The variety between the aggregate sections is provided by different aggregate partitioning; the hexachordal sections are arranged in such a way that each subsequent appearance is transposed a semitone upward in the first six appearances, and afterwards a semitone downwards. This creates directed motion towards three goals:

- B₄ (rehearsal number 25), when all 12 pitch classes have been used in hexachordal section; this is an instance of the aggregate being completed over a large time-span;
- B₆ (No. 47) which exhausts all possible different transpositions of the hexachord, after that point the transposing process starts going backward, as it were;
- B₁₁ (end of the movement); significantly enough, Lutoslawski did not close the circle by finishing with a B₁₂ (return to the original transposition), thus leaving the movement open in a way.

Unlike the first goal, the second and third do not represent aggregate completion in the accepted sense. Yet the two processes share a common underlying idea: motion towards the point where the full spectrum of available resources has been used.

1.2. There are specific situations in which aggregate completion serves as a connection between adjacent segments, rather than a closure. This happens when:

- two adjacent segments containing a 12-pitch collection share a common pitch class or classes at the boundary region;
- the concluding and initial subsets of two adjacent aggregate sections themselves add up to an aggregate.

Both situations are frequently mentioned in association with hexachordal combinatoriality, which is sometimes seen as a means of phrase connection, or a way of progressing from one series-form to another.¹⁵ The connecting function of the aggregate can again be observed on various structural levels: connection between small syntactic units, connection between large sections of the global form... Furthermore, one will have noticed that this same function is accomplished by completely opposite means: through the sharing of common pitches between the adjacent sections, and through the absence thereof.

1.3. Instead of being a syntactic/formal boundary, aggregate completion may have a role in articulating the dynamic profile of music, its progressive or recessive tendencies, ebbs and flows; most typically, it creates and/or supports the climax of a given composition. We have seen this in Ligeti, Ex. 2. We can also see that, for instance, further in *Offrandes*, following the portion presented in Ex. 1. Namely, Ex. 5 presents the point at rehearsal number 5, when the aggregate appears within a single bar, the soprano reaches a very prominent G# which is in polar relation to the focal intonation D, the point of the golden section coincides with

¹⁴ There is no need to discuss here the obvious differences in timbre and texture.

¹⁵ As in Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 187-188; Lester, *op. cit.*, p. 211. It should also be noted that the applicability of this device is not limited to its connecting functions: it can be used both small-scale and large-scale, in ways similar to the ones described in 1.1.1. and 1.1.2.

aggregate completion, the volume is *ff*, the texture very dense: several factors collaborate to bring out that particular moment and the subsequent three bars as the high point of the piece.¹⁶ Therefore, if on the one hand aggregate completion can define the form of a composition, on the other, as the generator of tension, climax and release it discloses something that we might call the dramatic structure and expressive potential of the piece.

5 Animé *à tempo*

sans sourd.
sans sourd.
très declamé
gliss.
sans sourd.
sans sourd.
sans sourd.
sans sourd.
L.V.

... faire tourner la terre et je son - ne mon cli - ron vers tou - tes les mers.

Example 5. Edgard Varese: *Offrandes, Chanson de La-haut*.

¹⁶ Functions actually coincide in this case, as the moment of aggregate completion also signals the end of a syntactic unit. Incidentally, other examples are also to be found in *Offrandes*, like the bar 12 of its second part (*Le croix du sud*) which constitutes a local climax.

1.4. A composer sometimes assumes a highly personal attitude towards a given procedure, phenomenon etc. The following statement by Messiaen reveals just such an attitude: '<...> you play all the notes at once and there are no colors. You get grey or black – colours are absent. To produce colours you must suppress something. For example, if you're wearing, say, a yellow-orange sweater, that colour absorbs certain rays and reflects others. It's the same with a chord: if you have 11 notes out of the 12, or ten of the 12, that produces a colour.'¹⁷ This approximately translates as 'the aggregate implied, but not realized,' but with a specific function we haven't envisaged in our classification of functions. Being so individual, this frame of mind may not have the necessary level of objectivity to be included in this study, but I am doing it because Messiaen is far from being isolated in his equating pitch combination and color. And it is not only impressionism that I have in mind: the above statement, for instance, coincides very neatly with the way Lutoslawski understood his 12-tone constructions, only he looked for colors in the various ways the aggregate is partitioned.¹⁸

2. The Process of Aggregate Completion

When focusing on the very process of aggregate treatment, we are dealing with a range of questions such as: how are new pitches introduced and deployed, is the repetition of pitches possible, how are the pitches distributed among various lines/timbres/registers (aggregate partition), what is the rate of aggregate completion, what amount of emphasis is allotted to the completing pitch etc. While we cannot treat all of them in this paper, there are several types and subtypes of situations that I intend to examine, and they can be classified in the following way:

- 2.1. Linear aggregate completion
 - 2.1.1. conspicuous completion (completion as an event)
 - 2.1.2. completion inconspicuous
- 2.2. Non-linear aggregate completion
 - 2.2.1. simultaneous or near-simultaneous aggregates
 - 2.2.2. aggregate completion by the juxtaposition of textural layers (differentiation of texture with respect to function)

2.1. Linear completion

In the first type, the completion is a process unfolding in time, new pitch classes are introduced – over a longer or shorter time-span, successively but sometimes also simultaneously, some of them possibly repeated along the way – until all 12 have been used. This process can be accomplished in a twofold manner:

2.1.1. The composer may withhold a single tone which is thereby experienced as missing, its appearance is a conspicuous event and the completion of the 12-tone aggregate is perceived as an arrival. The reader may have noticed that all examples hitherto quoted, save for the last one, are of this type. Such a choice is not accidental: it

¹⁷ Quoted from: Roger Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 649.

¹⁸ Cf. Klein, *op. cit.*, particularly p. 28.

is precisely this manner of aggregate completion that offers the clearest view of what I believe to be the greatest asset of the aggregate, i.e. its potential for establishing a kind of directed motion. It should be noted that the completion is a major event regardless of its surface salience: the very prominent C# in Ligeti (Ex. 2), and the barely noticeable F in Varese (Ex. 1) both perform their completing roles successfully.

2.1.2. On the other hand, the appearance of the twelfth pitch class may not be an event at all, which typically happens when pitches are frequently repeated and/or when all of them have appeared relatively early on in a given portion of music. To go back to the distinction we have offered with respect to aggregate functions: in 2.1.1. the missing pitch is implied and subsequently may, or may not be realized. Now, the pitch is not even implied. The analytical relevance of this situation is certainly limited to local events: only when we perceive that the total chromatic is used with some consistency within small-scale syntactic units we are justified in claiming that the aggregate is a structural device.¹⁹ Apart from well known cases in Webern, another good specimen of this type is the already discussed first movement of Lutoslawski's Second Symphony. Within the A sections of the piece, aggregates complete relatively quickly, and for the rest of the section all 12 pitch classes are present. The emphasis is not on the process of completion, but on the distribution of pitches among various registers and timbres, namely, aggregate partitioning. Finally, I would like to mention the Violin Sonata of the Serbian composer Ljubica Marić. Again, aggregate completion does not convey the sense of arrival, but it can be noted that the small-scale units regularly contain complete aggregates.²⁰

Somewhere in-between are the following two types of situations:

- not only the aggregate as a whole unfolds in time, with successive entrance of different pitches, but the very moment of its completion is itself extended into a process unfolding in time: Violin Sonata by Croatian/Serbian composer Josip Slavenski starts with six bars of introduction containing eight pitch classes, excluding A, Eb, Ab and B; these four notes appear in bars 11, 23, 39 and 54, respectively, each time at an important structural point within the first subject of the sonata form;²¹
- the aggregate is completed not by a single pitch but by a collection of pitches; an extreme case is when an almost simultaneously presented aggregate (see next paragraph) serves as a closure of the ongoing aggregate completion process (the instances of this can be found in Ljubica Marić's Violin Sonata).

2.2. *Non-linear completion*

2.2.1. As opposed to the above, the pitches making up the aggregate may appear simultaneously, or nearly simultaneously. Note that I am allowing for a degree of imprecision in my definition, hence the qualification 'nearly'. Strict simultaneity would reduce this category virtually to 12-tone clusters, whereas my intention is to

¹⁹ If we search for aggregates on a large scale, not to mention the global level, we are almost bound to find them.

²⁰ It can also be noted that the period of aggregate completion varies, with an overall tendency to grow progressively smaller during the first portion of the piece: from 5-6 bars, to 3-4, to 2 and finally one. Generally speaking, the rate of aggregate completion, the manipulation of time-spans over which aggregates are completed, may prove to be of considerable analytical consequence.

²¹ More substantial research is yet to be done related to this mode of aggregate completion. At this time I will venture an informed guess that for this procedure to be workable, the missing collection must be considerably smaller than the principal one, and its members should appear at important strategic points.

accommodate a broader range of situations in which the emphasis is not on the progress towards completion, but on the density of texture, even if all 12 pitch classes are not literally present at the same time. Ex. 5 is a case in point. We have already discussed the aggregate in this example with respect to its function, indeed the double function it performs. Now, we can see *how* this aggregate has been constructed.

2.2.2. In contradistinction to general considerations of aggregate partitioning – pertinent though they are to this question, but basically outside the scope of this paper – this subcategory is meant to include such textural differentiation within the aggregate wherein different textural layers perform distinct *functions*. Typically, the aggregate is divided into two subsets differentiated as melody and accompaniment, as demonstrated by familiar textbook examples of Schoenberg's String Quartets Nos. 3 and 4.²²

A case apart, though related to the question of textural differentiation, are complex textures where only one, or several but not all layers participate in aggregate completion, in whatever way the process of completion is carried out, and whatever its function. In Ex. 6: V movement of the Second Symphony by Alfred Schnittke, the aggregate is confined to oboe d'amore and clarinets (excerpt written in C). The oboe theme clearly exemplifies linear completion, implied and ultimately realized with the final A#, serving an unequivocal closural syntactic function. All other instruments are completely independent in this respect: the three clarinets together make up a 12-note collection on their own; the remaining forces play no part in aggregate completion.

Certainly, there are numerous instances not readily classifiable with respect to the categories herein proposed. This is particularly noticeable when aggregates are found within the context of a dissimilar pitch organization, namely, a) aggregates in serial music, and b) aggregates within a tonal (even modal) context, and for that matter any context which is characterized by an appreciable degree of the heteronomy of pitch organization.²³

Apart from the already mentioned hexachordal combinations (and apart from the trivial observation that a 12-note row is itself a specific form of an aggregate) a 12-note row may be handled with a degree of freedom so that it becomes difficult to distinguish between series-based and aggregate-based music. Already Schoenberg and Berg are liable to produce situations of that type;²⁴ so is, for instance, Pierre Boulez in his Sonatine for Flute and Piano with its inconsistent use of the series, permutations of pitches within the series etc.; up to a point, whenever a series is used vertically, the exact order of pitches is impossible to decide, and unless the order is clarified by foregoing or subsequent passages, it verges on the aggregate.

²² Strauss, *op. cit.*, 82-83; Lester, *op. cit.*, 178-180. Predictably, the subsets involved are complement-related.

²³ As in the Slavenski example where the pitch organization strategies involve centrality, arguably tonality, folklore-based scales, and as we have seen, aggregates.

²⁴ Apparently, it is rather typical of Webern to treat aggregates in a kind of proto-serial manner. In this sense, aggregate strategies may seem to be a stage in the development of proper dodecaphonic writing. 'One day Schoenberg intuitively discovers the law that underlies the 12-tone composition. An inevitable development of the law was that one gave the succession of 12 notes a particular order.' See: John Peyser: *To Boulez and Beyond – Music in Europe Since the 'Rite Of Spring'*, Billboard Books, Watson Guptill Publications, New York, 1999, p. 60.

1 Andante

Oboe d'amore *mp*

Fag. *p*
(Cl. b., Ch. b. as written, C. fag. octave lower)

Cl. basso
C. fag.
Ch. basso *p*

Ch. *ppp* *2 soli*

3

4

Ob. dam. *pp sub.*

Cl. in Sib. *pp* *mp*

Cl. in Sib. *pp* *mp*

Cl. in Sib. *pp* *mp*

Fag. *pp sub.* *mp* *p* *pp*

Cl. basso
C. fag.
Ch. basso *pp sub.* *mp* *pp*
Cl. basso - Arpe (sound as written)

Tbn. *pp*

Example 6. Alfred Schnittke: *Second Symphony*, movement V.

A further step away from the serial and towards aggregate strategies has been taken by Shostakovich and several other Soviet composers (Volkonsky, Pärt, Slonimsky, Karaev), with their use of multiple rows, the alternation of serial, freely atonal and tonal passages etc.²⁵

Even more intriguing is the aggregate found in tonal music (Beethoven, Ninth Symphony, I movement: all 12 pitch classes exist within the first subject; Mozart, G minor Symphony, Finale, the beginning of the development section contains 11 pitch classes, the only one missing is G[♯]). In so far as we have to negotiate two totally different (mutually exclusive?) modes of pitch organization, the presence of the aggregate may be deemed accidental, as it were, something which is simply the realization of an unlikely possibility of the given system, and only under specific conditions. None the less, we cannot altogether exclude the perceptual effects of such situations, so from that vantage point looking for aggregates in Mozart (however incongruous with the system they might be) is not necessarily a meaningless exercise. Even more meaningful it becomes

²⁵ For an extensive discussion of 'twelve-toneness' in Soviet music, its functions and effects, see Peter J. Schmelz, 'Shostakovich's 'Twelve-Tone' Compositions and the Politics and Practice of Soviet Serialism etc.', in: Laurel E. Fay, ed., *Shostakovich and His World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Oxford, 2004, pp. 303-355.

in the highly chromaticized late romantic harmonic language of Liszt and Wagner, for instance.²⁶

A mindful reader will have noticed that I also mentioned modal music. Instances of this hardly abound, Gesualdo da Venosa being one of very few, if not the only composer that could be of some interest in this respect. Yet, it ought not to pass unnoticed that the madrigal *Moro lasso* from his Sixth Book, employs 11 out of 12 pitches at the beginning, and likewise in the last three bars. Even if large-scale tonal process do play an important role in Gesualdo's works, it is certainly his exploitation of the expressive potentials of dense chromaticism, unusual voice leading and chord connections that make a more striking feature of his music. And that provides a more fertile ground for aggregate strategies.

Although the importance of the aggregate as the generator of tension, as a way of establishing a certain degree of the orientation of pitches – for all practical purposes lost with the recession of harmonic functionality – is well understood and well described, I must warn about its limitations, about several problematic aspects, including problems which arise from the observations and conclusions presented in this paper:

1. Goal-directedness is by no means obligatory in non-tonal music, as it is in music based on tonality. On the contrary, circularity, stasis, timelessness, (perhaps originating in the most ancient archetypal layers of music) have won their rights particularly in 20th-century music to represent some of the most essential effects music can produce. Hence the limited scope of the use of aggregate completion as the generator of directed motion.

2. There are many instances in which aggregate completion is achieved over a very long time-span, pitches are frequently repeated, the moment of completion is rendered so as to pass practically unnoticed, and consequently the whole process is blurred to the point where its relevance becomes doubtful.²⁷ Fortunately perhaps, the question of relevance can sometimes be put to a good analytical use, so as to point out the complexity or ambiguity of the passage under consideration. Ex. 7 presents the beginning of *Le retour des Zephyres/Zefiro torna* for flute, violin and piano, a composition by the Serbian composer Vlastimir Trajković. Bar 1 is transposed by a tritone in bar 2, and together they add up to an aggregate. Let us then make a working hypothesis that the two bars form a closed syntactic unit. However, as the piece progresses, we can hardly find further evidence to substantiate this claim. In this composition, aggregate completion is simply not on the agenda. Would it be analytically meaningful enough to claim

²⁶ Research in that direction has been presented on conferences: Robert Gauldin, 'Major Thirds, Augmented Triads, and Aggregate Completion in Liszt's 1839 *Concertos symphoniques*', Music Theory Society of New York State Annual Meeting, Columbia University and Barnard College, 27-28 April 2002; Monahan Seth, 'Exploring the Relation of Aggregate Completion and Pitch-Class Displacement to Local Harmonic Propulsion in Wagner's Parsifal,' Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society for Music Theory, Boston/Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 2005. I have no information, however, that the papers have been published. See also Miloš Zatkalik, "Kroćenje mehaničkog čudovišta ili koliko je važan bas", (Taming of the Mechanical Monster or How Important Is the Bass), *Vlado Milošević Days, Proceedings from the Conference*, Banjaluka, April 2007, for the discussion on how aggregate completion serves to highlight tonal relations in Shostakovich's Eighth Symphony, III movement.

²⁷ Paradoxically perhaps, such dubious or 'nearly relevant' situations are quite typical of the most frequently mentioned composer in this paper, Edgard Varese. Gail Dixon, 'Some Principles of Structural Coherence in Varese's *Ameriques*', *Current Musicology*, 48, 1991, pp. 27-41, makes no mention of aggregates. Likewise, Morgan, op. cit. admits that in Varese 'the partition of pitch space, symmetrical relations and balancing plays a much more decisive role than the 12-tone closure. However, sometimes it is the avoidance of such a closure that plays a role.'

4. The question I have intentionally left out is the one of perceptibility. Do we here these processes? Or are they perhaps conceptual, rather than perceptual? Obviously, we do not hear them in the same way we hear and recognize tonal functions. But then, if the composer withholds a pitch, perhaps we intuitively sense that something is missing. At any rate, since I know of no research on the perception of aggregates I indicate this as a possible field for experimental work.

The aggregate is, therefore, not a kind of surrogate tonality, nor a strategy which could account for the underlying structure of non-tonal music in general, yet it does offer a range of structural, expressive and coloristic possibilities. By studying them, we may hope to gain some essential insights into the way music – and perhaps our mind as well – functions.

POVZETEK

Skupek neurejenih dvanajstih tonov ali agregat rabi kot okvir za organiziranje tonskih višin v precejšnjem številu skladb, še zlasti tistih, ki niso vpete v tonalni sistem niti v dvanajsttonske serije, pa čeprav se pri slednjih včasih zdi, da gre za heksakordno kombinatoriko. Sestavek izhaja iz podmene, da se skupek dvanajstih skupin oziroma razredov tonskih višin razume kot celota; vendar: če ukinemo eno skupino (ali celo več), slednja oziroma slednje postanejo nekakšen cilj, h kateremu je čutiti, da glasba teži, in to v sistemu, ki navidez shaja brez usmerjenega gibanja.

Medtem ko so nekateri aspekti agregata dobro raziskani, bi bilo treba sistematično preučiti njegove funkcije znotraj določene skladbe, kakor tudi različne poti iz(po)polnitve agregata. Sestavek obdeluje vrsto okoliščin v skladbah, ki so jih napisali

Edgard Varese, György Ligeti, Olivier Messiaen, Alfred Schnittke, Ljubica Marić, Josip Slavenski in Vlastimir Trajković, in skuša ponuditi taksonomijo agregatnih funkcij in iz(po)polnitvenih procesov. Kar zadeva prve, je bilo možno odkriti dvanajsttonske skupke, ki rabijo strukturalnim – zaključevalnim in povezovalnim – namenom kakor tudi ekspresivno-dramatskim diljem. Pri procesualnih vprašanih se je vzpostavila osnovna distinkcija med agregatom, ki se odvija v času, in takšnim, pri katerem se (skoraj) vse tonske višine pojavijo (skoraj) istočasno, včasih porazdeljene med jasno ločljivimi teksturnimi plastmi. Ponujena taksonomija želi biti fleksibilna, da bi tako mogla pokriti vso raznovrstnost agregatnih pojavljanj.

Upoštevani so tudi agregati v »tujih« (tonalnih, serialnih) kontekstih ter, končno, tudi vprašanje analitične relevantnosti agregatnih strategij.

Magistrski deli • M. A. Works

Karmen Salmič Kovačič

Orkestralni opus Demetrija Žebreta

Odločitev za analitično obravnavo orkestralnih skladb Demetrija Žebreta (1912–1970) je sprožilo dejstvo, da je bil opus tega Osterčevega učenca do sedaj v glasbeni stroki predstavljen le okvirno in nikoli kot predmet poglobljenega umevanja njegovih kompozicijsko-tehničnih in slogovnih prvin. Zato je v zavesti slovenske kulturne javnosti skladatelj veljal predvsem za odličnega dirigenta in uspešnega opernega direktorja. Delno sta temu botrovali njegova pretirana samokritičnost in zadržanost do javne predstavitve lastnih skladb ter prekinitve ustvarjanja po letu 1949. Dela, ki so bila izvajana med vojnama (tudi v tujini), so bila večinoma dobro ocenjena. Po letu 1950 so se le redko pojavila na odru, po smrti pa so odkrili še nekaj takšnih, ki so ležala v skladateljevem predalu in so sprožila novi val izvedb ter zanimanje za skladateljevo kompozicijsko potenco. O njej so glasbeni strokovnjaki in kritiki ves čas le namigovali – odkrivali so tehnično dodelanost skladb, mogočen notranji naboj, odlično orkestracijo, smisel za barvitost zvoka, za oblikovno arhitektoniko in za dodelanost detajlov v enoviti celoti.

Naloga, ki je nastala pod mentorstvom izr. prof. dr. Matjaža Barba, je razdeljena na uvodni, analitični in sklepni del. Prvo vsebuje predstavitev analitično-metodoloških vodil, oris Žebretove biografije in umestitev orkestralne glasbe v okvir njegove celotne ustvarjalnosti. V osrednjem sklopu so predmet analitične obravnave orkestralne skladbe v najožjem pomenu besede. Skladateljevi mladostni krajši poskusi za orkester, vokalno-instrumentalna dela, med katerimi je nekaj samospევov v priredbi za komorni ali simfonični orkester (denimo *Maja* in *morje* za sopran in orkester), ter *Concertino* za klavir in orkester so ostali zunaj izbora analiz. V središču pozornosti je bilo osem orkestralnih skladb: *Suita* za mali orkester (1932), *Tek* – simfonična pesnitev za veliki orkester (1935), *Toccata* za veliki orkester (1936), *Bacchanale* za veliki orkester oziroma *Dan*: balet (simfonična slika) v 3 stavkih za velik orkester (1938–1942), *Tri vizije* za simfonični orkester (1939–1943), *Svobodni naproti* – simfonična pesnitev za veliki orkester (1944), *Žalni spev* za velik orkester (spomin Slavku Ostercu) (1945) in *Allegro risoluto-marciale* za velik orkester (1949).

V analitičnem postopku sta imela ključno mesto pri obravnavi posameznega dela izrisovanje napetostnih krivulj na temelju slušnega učinka celote in opazovanje funkcije (prispevka) posameznih strukturnih parametrov v napetostnem nihanju skladb, ki ga je spodbudilo razmišljanje Wallaca Berryja v knjigi *Structural functions in music*.

Slednje je razširilo tudi analitični spekter pojmovanja teksture. Pri posamezni skladbi so bili posebej obravnavni stavčna gradnja in oblika, melodika in harmonija, ritem in metrum, tekstura in instrumentacija, v sklepnem delu pa spreminjanje njihove vloge in značilnosti skozi opus od leta 1932 do 1949.

Izsledki analiz so omogočili tudi umevanje spreminjanja Žebretovega odnosa do glasbeno novega in tradicionalnega kot posameznih kompozicijskih prvin v skupnem součinkovanju posamezne skladbe. Med drugim so dokazali in opozorili na skladateljevo bogato melodično-ritmično fantazijo (invencijo), na njegovo iskanje trdne strukturne logike, na razgibano napetostno nihanje oziroma »čustveni dinamizem njegove glasbe, na novo organizacijo tonske višine v horizontalni in vertikali, na kompleksno in novo teksturo, razkošno zvočnost, odlično obrtniško znanje in na njegov estetski premik od novobaročne in klasicistično parodične *Suite za mali orkester* prek avantgardistično usmerjenih skladb (*Tek*, *Toccata*) in impresionistične poetike (*Bacchanale*, *Tri Vizije*) do sonatnega mišljenja ter tradicionalne oblike v zadnjih orkestralnih delih (*Svobodi naproti*, *Žalni spev*, *Allegro risoluto-marciale*).

Iskanje in predstavitve kompozicijsko-tehničnih kot tudi slogovnih koordinat, znotraj katerih se je skladatelj gibal, ter vplivov njegovih učiteljev in sodobnikov, ima v sklepnem delu naloge osrednje mesto, medtem ko sta ostala biografski oris in opis Žebretovega celotnega opusa obrobne pomena. Okvirna primerjava skladateljevega orkestralnega opusa s fondom tovrstne slovenske ustvarjalnosti v 1. polovici 20. stoletja na koncu razkriva poleg ostalega tudi njegovo količinsko in kakovostno vrednost, skladatelja pa umešča med najpomembnejše tvorce orkestralne glasbe in radikalno »novega« na naših tleh (s skladbama *Tek* in *Toccata*) ter slovenskega modernizma med obema vojnama, ki mu čas političnega enoumja po drugi svetovni vojni in že nekaj časa pred tem žal ni bil najbolj naklonjen.

Obranjeno 2. februarja 2007 na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani.

Demetrij Žebre's Orchestral Output

The decision for an analytical study of orchestral works by Demetrij Žebrè (1912–1970) has been motivated by the fact that until now the output of this pupil of Slavko Osterc has been dealt with only superficially, and never as a subject of an in-depth study of his compositional, technical and style elements. For this reason, the Slovenian cultural public regarded the composer primarily as a brilliant conductor and a successful Director of the Opera. This was partly due to his excessive self-criticism and reluctance to see his works publicly performed, as well as to the discontinuance of composing after 1949. His works performed in the period between both world wars (even abroad) mostly received good reviews. Since 1950 they have rarely been performed on stage. After the composer's death a few more orchestral compositions were found in his drawer, and

they launched a new wave of performances and drew attention to his compositional creative power, which had until then been only hinted at by the experts and the critics from the sphere of music – the technical completion of his works, their powerful inner charge, the excellent orchestration, the composer's sense for timbre of sound and formal architectonics and the combination of details into a unifying whole were being repeatedly discovered in his works.

The thesis which was carried out under the mentorship of Assoc. Prof. Matjaž Barbo, is divided into the introduction, the analysis and the conclusion. The introduction contains a representation of the analytical and methodological guidelines, an outline of Žebrè's biography and the position of orchestral music within the framework of his overall creativity. The subject of the analytical treatment in the central part is his orchestral work in the strictest sense of the word. The composer's early attempts at short orchestral, vocal and instrumental pieces, among which there are also a few solos arranged for chamber and symphony orchestras (for instance *Maja in morje* for soprano and orchestra) and *Concertino* for piano and orchestra, were not included in the analysis selection. The study focuses on eight orchestral pieces: *Suita* for chamber orchestra (1932), *Tek* – symphonic poem for symphony orchestra (1935), *Toccata* for symphony orchestra (1936), *Bacchanale* for symphony orchestra or *Dan* – ballet (symphonic poem) in 3 movements for symphony orchestra (1938-1942), *Tri vizije* for symphony orchestra (1939-1943), *Svobodi naproti* – symphonic poem for symphony orchestra (1944), *Žalni spev* for symphony orchestra (in memory of Slavko Osterc) (1945) and *Allegro risoluto-marciale* for symphony orchestra (1949).

The analytical process focused primarily on the drawing of intensity curves based on the total musical experience and the observation of the function of individual structural parameters in the oscillation of intensity in these compositions, what was stimulated by Wallace Berry's reflections in his work *Structural functions in music*. The latter also broadened the analytical spectrum of texture conception. Musical growth and form, melody and harmony, rhythm and metrum, texture and instrumentation have been discussed in each individual composition. The conclusion of my thesis shows the alterations of the role and characteristics of these elements throughout the period from 1932 to 1949.

The findings of these analyses have also enabled a better understanding of Žebrè's changing attitude towards the new and the traditional in music as the individual compositional elements in the overall effectiveness of each composition. Among other things, these findings clearly reveal the composer's rich melodic and rhythmical inventiveness, his search for strict structural logic, variable tension oscillation or 'emotional dynamism' of his music, new horizontal and vertical organization of the tone pitch, complex and advanced texture, rich sonority and excellent craftsmanship, as well as his aesthetic move from the new baroque and classicist period parody *Suita* for chamber orchestra through compositions with avant-garde orientation (*Tek*, *Toccata*) and impressionistic poetics (*Bacchanale*, *Tri Vizije*) to the ideas of sonata and traditional form in his last orchestral works (*Svobodi naproti*, *Žalni spev*, *Allegro risoluto-marciale*).

The primary subject of the conclusion was the exploration and the representation of compositional and technical as well as style coordinates within which the composer moved, and the influences of his teachers and contemporaries. Biographical data and

the description of Žebrè's entire output remain of lesser importance. Compared to the fund of Slovene orchestral productivity in the first half of the 20th century, the composer's orchestral output reveals, to say the least, his quantitative and qualitative value. It also makes him one of the most important creators of orchestral music and the radically 'new' in Slovenia (with pieces Tek and Toccata) and in Slovenian modernism in the interwar period for which the circumstances of political restrictions after World War II, and even before that were rather unfavourable.

Defended on February 2, 2008, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

Prelomnice v razvoju koncertne harmonike

Koncertna harmonika je glasbilo s tremi manuali: klaviatura (tipke ali gumbi), standardni bas in baritonski bas. Namen naloge je bil raziskati zgodovinske prelomnice v razvoju današnje koncertne harmonike in jih ovrednosti z vidika pomena za razvoj danes znanega glasbila. Namen moje raziskave je bil tudi preučiti prisotnost harmonike v Sloveniji, in sicer tako v procesu izobraževanja kot tudi z vidika izvirne literature za koncertno harmoniko.

Osnova harmonike je prosto nihajoči jeziček. To je najpomembnejši del harmonike, saj prosto nihajoči jeziček s pomočjo zraka v harmoniki proizvaja ton. Glede na način pridobivanja zvoka se harmonika uvršča med *aerofone*. Prvo glasbilo s prosto nihajočim jezičkom se pojavi na Kitajskem okoli leta 2700 pr.n.š. v obliki instrumenta *sheng*. Prvič se instrument, imenovan *harmonica*, pojavi leta 1762. Eno izmed najpomembnejših prelomnic v razvoju današnje koncertne harmonike pa predstavlja patent Cyrilla Demiana na Dunaju iz leta 1829. Gre za instrument z enojnim ročnim mehkom, tipkami in prosto nihajočimi jezički, imenovan *accordion*. Ime *accordion* izvira iz dveh spremljevalnih akordov, pri odpiranju meha je zvenel C-durov akord, pri zapiranju pa dominantni septakord. S tem so bile narejene prve zasnove za nastanek standardnih basov. Razvoj harmonike je tesno povezal tudi razvoj ustne harmonike, *konzertine* in *bandoniona*.

Glavni centri za izdelavo harmonik v Evropi so se oblikovali v Avstriji, Nemčiji, Franciji, Angliji, Italiji in Rusiji. To niso bili le centri industrijske izdelave, ampak so v njih spodbujali tudi glasbeni razvoj in izpopolnjevanje instrumenta.

Prvi učbeniki za učenje harmonike so nastali v Leipzigu in na Dunaju v tridesetih letih 19. stoletja, takoj po izumu glasbila *accordion*. Učbeniki vključujejo tehnične vaje in skladbe, največkrat priredbe pesmi in arij.

Z razvojem instrumenta je neločljivo povezan tudi razvoj izvirne literature za harmoniko, kar predstavlja mejnik na razvojni poti harmonike od ljudskega instrumenta do instrumenta za koncertne odre. Prvo izvirno skladbo za harmoniko je leta 1926 napisal Hugo Herrmann. Razcvet izvirne literature za harmoniko je omogočil razvoj tretjega manuala.

Pri nas je harmonika prvič omenjena leta 1841. Gre za glasbilo, ki se je pojavljalo v različnih oblikah z različnimi imeni. Na razvoj znanja igranja na harmoniko, obvladovanja instrumenta in dviga kvalitete glasbenega izražanja je v slovenskem prostoru imel pomembno vlogo Albin Fakin. Postavil je osnove kvalitetnega izobraževanja harmoniki v takratni celotni Jugoslaviji in prvi učni program do osmega razreda, zapisan v knjižicah, imenovanih Šola za klavirsko harmoniko. Prvo organizirano izobraževanje se je pričelo v šoli Glasbene matice leta 1882. Prvi učitelj je bil Rudolf Pillich. Harmonika je v javne

glasbene šole prišla proti koncu pedesetih let dvajsetega stoletja. Srednješolsko izobraževanje pa je bilo prvič organizirano v šolskem letu 1969/70 v Mariboru in v šolskem letu 1970/71 v Ljubljani.

Raziskava je pokazala, da v slovenskem glasbenem prostoru obstaja veliko skladateljev, ki pišejo dela za harmoniko solo, komorne skupine s harmoniko (največkrat v povezavi z violončelom, saksofonom, flavto, trobento, klarinetom, kitaro, violino in klavirjem) in za orkestrske zasedbe s harmoniko. Najpomembnejši slovenski skladatelji, ki pišejo literaturo za koncertno harmoniko, so Uroš Rojko, Ernő Sebastian in Vitja Avsec. Prva skladba za harmoniko solo in simfonični orkester je nastala leta 2001. Dela največkrat nastajajo po naročilu izvajalcev na harmoniki in so jim pogosto tudi posvečena. Slovenske izvirne skladbe za koncertno harmoniko so žal, kljub pomembnim mednarodnim nagradam, premalo opažene, promovirane, znane in izvajane v Sloveniji.

Harmonika ima bogato tradicijo v slovenski kulturi in v svoji koncertni izvedbi kot najvišje razviti instrumentalni obliki predstavlja izjemen potencial za razvoj slovenskega glasbenega prostora.

Obranjeno 3. julija 2008 na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani.

Turning Points in the Development of the Concert Accordion

The concert accordion is an instrument with three sets of keys: keyboard (keys or buttons), standard bass and melody bass. The aim of this research was to analyse the historical milestones in the development of the contemporary concert accordion and to evaluate these in terms of their importance for the development of this instrument. Another aim was also to investigate the presence of the accordion in Slovenia in the education process, as well as from the perspective of music written for the concert accordion.

The basis for the accordion is the free reed. This is the most important part of the accordion since the free reed uses the air in the accordion to create sound. This attribute places it among the family of musical instruments known as the aerophones. The first instrument to possess the free reed was the Chinese sheng, which appeared around 2700 BC. The first instrument called harmonica came on the scene in 1762. One of the most important milestones in the development of the modern concert accordion was Cyrill Demian's 1829 patent from Vienna. This instrument, called an accordion, possessed a single bellows, keys and free reeds. The name 'accordion' derives from two accompanying chords, in the opening of the bellows the four-note C major chord, and in the closing of the

bellows which produces the dominant seventh chord. This constituted the first basis for the development of the standard bass. The development of the accordion linked closely the development of the mouth-organ, the concertina and the bandonion.

The main centres for the production of accordions in Europe developed in Austria, Germany, France, England, Italy and Russia. These were not just centres of industrial production, but also promoted musical development and the improvement of the instrument.

The first textbooks teaching how to play the accordion were created in Leipzig and Vienna in the 1830s, right after the invention of the accordion. Textbooks included technical exercises and compositions, mostly adaptations of songs and arias.

The development of this instrument is inextricably linked to the development of original music written for the accordion, which represents a milestone in the development of the accordion from folk instrument to concert instrument. The first original composition for the accordion was written in 1926 by Hugo Herrmann. The increase in quantity of original music written for the accordion enabled the development of a third manual.

In the territory of Slovenia, the accordion was first mentioned in 1841. The instrument appeared in different forms and also with names other than accordion. Albin Fakin's contribution to the development of the playing skill and the rise in the quality of musical expression in Slovenia was invaluable. Fakin set the foundations for quality education for the accordion in all of former Yugoslavia. He created the first study programme from Grade 1 to Grade 8 and published booklets entitled »School For Piano Accordion«. The first type of organised musical education started in the Glasbena Matica School in 1882. The first teacher was Rudolf Pillich. The accordion entered the public music school at the end of the 1950s. High school instruction of the accordion was organised for the first time in the school year 1969/70 in Maribor and in 1970/71 in Ljubljana.

This research demonstrates that there are many composers on the Slovene musical scene who compose for solo accordion, chamber groups which contain the accordion (mostly together with the cello, saxophone, flute, trumpet, clarinet, guitar, violin and piano) and orchestral groups that include the accordion. The most important Slovene composers for the concert accordion are Uroš Rojko, Ernő Sebastian and Vitja Avsec. The first composition for solo accordion and symphonic orchestra was written in 2001. The compositions are mostly commissioned and performed by accordion players themselves. Unfortunately, original Slovene compositions for the concert accordion, despite having won important international awards, are not receiving sufficient recognition, promotion and performance within Slovenia.

The accordion is a decisive element of tradition in Slovene culture. Its concert variety, as the most developed form of the instrument, represents outstanding potential for the development of the Slovene musical life.

Defended on July 3, 2008, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

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Miloš ZATKALIK (mzatkali@eunet.yu) deluje kot skladatelj in glasbeni teoretik v Beogradu. Trenutno predava kot izredni profesor na Glasbeni akademiji v Beogradu in je predstojnik tamkajšnjega Oddelka za glasbeno teorijo. Kot gostujoči profesor deluje tudi na Glasbeni akademiji v Novem sadu, Kragujevcu in Banjaluki. Osrednja področja njegovega raziskovanja so glasbena analiza v 20. stoletju, psihoanalitične osnove glasbene analize, odnos med literaturo in glasbo itd. Njegov glasbeni opus vključuje kompozicije za simfonični orkester (*Minas Tirit; What's He to Hecuba; Of Saralinda, Xingu and the Duke Who Was Swallowed by Golem – A Fable for Large Orchestra*), godalni orkester (*Dum Incerta petimus, Lost Fragments I*), godalne ansamble (*The Mad Carriage Greeter from Ch'u; Song of a Dead One; Lost Fragments II*), glas in klavir, solistične instrumente, kot tudi nekaj priložnostne glasbe.

Miloš ZATKALIK (mzatkali@eunet.yu) works as a composer and music theorist in Belgrade. He is currently associate professor at the University of Arts in Belgrade and head of the Department of Music Theory. He works also as a visiting professor at the Art Academies of Novi Sad, Kragujevac and Banjaluka. His particular fields of research are: analysis of 20th century music, psychoanalytical foundations of music analysis, relationships between literature and music etc. His compositional output includes works for symphony orchestra (*Minas Tirit; What's He to Hecuba; Of Saralinda, Xingu and the Duke Who Was Swallowed by Golem – A Fable for Large Orchestra*), chamber orchestra (*Dum Incerta petimus, Lost Fragments I*), chamber ensembles (*The Mad Carriage Greeter from Ch'u; Song of a Dead One; Lost Fragments II*), voice and piano, solo instruments, as well as some incidental music.

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