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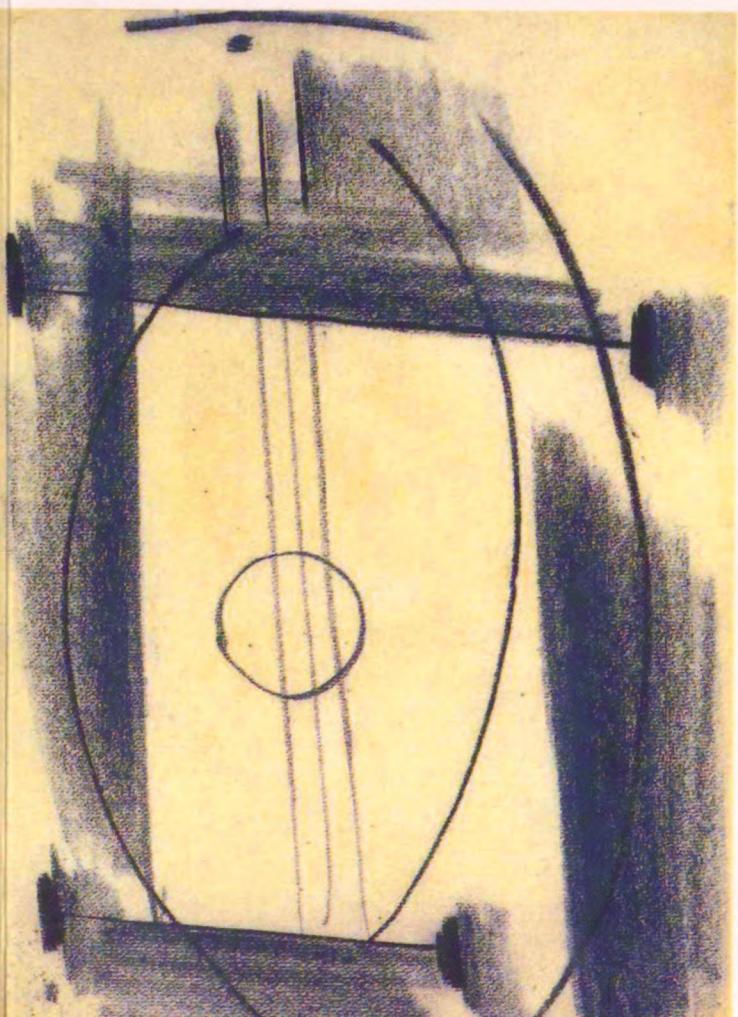
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# RETHINKING MUSICAL MODERNISM

## МУЗИЧКИ МОДЕРНИЗАМ Нова тумачења



СРПСКА  
АКАДЕМИЈА  
НАУКА И  
УМЕТНОСТИ  
Одељење  
ликовне и  
музичке  
уметности



SAFM

**RETHINKING MUSICAL MODERNISM**

**МУЗИЧКИ МОДЕРНИЗАМ – НОВА ТУМАЧЕЊА**

СРПСКА АКАДЕМИЈА НАУКА И УМЕТНОСТИ

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НАУЧНИ СКУПОВИ

Књига СХХII

ОДЕЉЕЊЕ ЛИКОВНЕ И МУЗИЧКЕ УМЕТНОСТИ

Књига 6

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## МУЗИЧКИ МОДЕРНИЗАМ – НОВА ТУМАЧЕЊА

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др **МЕЛИТА МИЛИН**

БЕОГРАД 2008

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**Volume CXXII**

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# **RETHINKING MUSICAL MODERNISM**

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FROM OCTOBER 11 TO 13, 2007**

Accepted at the II meeting of the Department of Fine Arts and Music  
of 20 June 2008, on the basis of the reviews presented by Academicians  
*Dejan Despić and Dimitrije Stefanović*

**E d i t o r s**  
Academician DEJAN DESPIĆ  
MELITA MILIN, PhD

**BELGRADE 2008**

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## FOREWORD

The articles collected in this volume were presented at the conference *Rethinking Musical Modernism* that took place in Belgrade from 11–13 October 2007 and was organised by the Institute of Musicology and the Department of Fine Arts and Music of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The working language of the conference was English which explains the publication of the contributions in that language (with one justifiable exemption).

As the title of the conference indicates, the main aim of the organisers was to stimulate novel investigation of musical Modernism. The papers were thus focused on discussions of the ideas, characteristics, and meanings of the diverse and often contradictory tendencies that existed in that period. The thematic scope of the papers was wide: from new approaches to musical Modernism using the categories of nostalgia and appropriation, and novel observations on the relationship between centres and peripheries, to questioning of the ties between Modernism and politics, the problems of terminology, and analysis of important aspects of the modernist achievements on the international and Serbian modernist scene.

The contributors did not – and could not – pursue the aim of reaching firm conclusions, definitions, and classifications. They instead offered rich and complex examinations of this exciting musical epoch turned toward the future and progress, seen from the perspective of the disillusioned twenty-first century, necessarily leaving vast space for new rethinking.

Melita Milin

## УВОДНЕ НАПОМЕНЕ

Зборник који је пред читаоцима садржи радове претходно представљене на међународном научном скупу *Музички модернизам – нова тумачења* који је у организацији Музиколошког института САНУ и Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности САНУ одржан у Београду од 11. до 13. октобра 2007. године. Чињеницом да је радни језик скупа био енглески, објашњава се објављивање текстова на том језику (с једним оправданим изузетком).

Циљ скупа био је да се подстакну и прикажу нова сагледавања стваралаштва музичког модернизма, сложеног покрета чије је деловање обележило развој музике скоро целог XX века, а првенствено да се на свеж начин протумаче естетичке дилеме и расправе о карактеристикама, смислу и значењу разноврсних и често контрадикторних стремљења у овом раздобљу. Тематски спектар приказаних радова био је изузетно широк: кретао се од преиспитивања музичког модернизма помоћу категорија носталгије и присвајања, преко сагледавања односа центара и периферије, до разматрања сложених веза између модернизма и политике. Као што смо и очекивали, пажња је била усмерена не само на значајне личности и појаве у међународним музичким токовима, већ и на оне у српској музici.

Аутори радови нису себи поставили циљ – нити су то могли – да понуде чврсте закључке, дефиниције, класификације. Уместо тога, они су донели вишеслојна и иновативна разматрања ове узбудљиве уметничке епохе окренуте будућности и прогресу, из перспективе XXI века који је остао без многих илузија, неминовно остављајући широк простор за нова тумачења.

Мелита Милин

Academician Dejan Despić  
President of the Programme Committee

## INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS AT THE CONFERENCE 'RETHINKING MUSICAL MODERNISM'

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 11 October 2007.

Dear colleagues, honoured guests!

As secretary of the Department of visual and musical arts in the building under whose roof we are finding ourselves now, I have been assigned the great honour and pleasure of greeting you at the beginning of our conference, and to wish you successful and fruitful work.

The theme that has gathered us this time is very wide, is expanding, and has many meanings. It is therefore challenging and stimulating. Its many meanings already begin to manifest themselves when its basic concepts are defined and differentiated, which might lead to new interpretations. By that I mean the concepts: **modern music**, **new music**, and **contemporary music**. As we know, the first and the third concept could coincide in colloquial use, but in fact they need not. As to the first and second concept, our biggest Encyclopaedia of Music (of the Institute for Lexicography) seems to equate them, since the entry on "*Modern music*" directs us to the entry "*New music*", where a detailed article by our distinguished specialist Vlastimir Peričić is given. Staying in the circle of our colleagues and contemporaries, a statement by the composer Rajko Maksimović also comes to my mind: "In the times of the militant avant-garde it was thought that only *new* music can be *good* music. I however think that only *good* music can really be *new* music!" This turn is not just wittily playing with words and concepts, but also the possible attitude of a musical creator – and I must say, it is very close to me personally! At any rate, it introduces into the discussion a related concept that cannot be bypassed and that has also many meanings: the very relative concept of **avant-garde** music. Because, as we know, avant-garde features marked the works of some indisputably talented composers of the past such as Guillaume de Machault, Philippe de Vitry, Monteverdi, and also those of the other great and greatest of them such as Bach, Beethoven, Debussy, and Stravinski. The list could be very long! The list of all those who contributed to musical art always making progress, develops and is constantly new – if it is good. So: be it modern, or new, or contemporary, or avant-garde – you are about to enter into that complicated matter – which is also a kind of labyrinth – of close but also sufficiently different concepts during this first session. We shall see at the end of the conference how many new interpretations and views will be introduced, and indeed they can be expected even when it seems that everything has been said and observed about a certain problem. Music is – fortunately – an infinitely large space and thereby it deserves and challenges us to deal with it, everyone his/her way! Having that in mind, I wish you, dear colleagues, to find right exits from the labyrinth that is in front of you!

And you even don't have Ariadne's help...

Академик Дејан Деспић  
председник Организационог одбора

УВОДНА РЕЧ НА НАУЧНОМ СКУПУ  
„МУЗИЧКИ МОДЕРНИЗАМ – НОВА ТУМАЧЕЊА“

У Српској академији наука и уметности, 11. октобра 2007.

Поштоване колеге и уважени гости!

Као секретару Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности у кући под чијим се кровом налазимо, припада ми је велика част и задовољство да вас поздравим на почетку овога нашег научног скупа и да вам пожелим успешан и плодан рад.

Тема која нас је овом приликом окупила веома је широка и свеобухватна, многозначна и – управо зато – изазовна и подстицајна. Њена многозначност почиње већ од потребе да се дефинишу и диференцирају неки основни појмови, да би се онда у оквиру њих могла покренути и евентуална нова тумачења. При том мислим на појмове: модерна музика – нова музика – савремена музика. Јер, као што знамо, први и трећи појам колоквијално могу бити подударни, али реално уопште не морају. Што се пак тиче првог и другог појма, наша највећа Музичка енциклопедија (Лексикографског завода) као да их изједначава, јер одредници „Модерна музика“ упућује на одредници „Нова музика“, где следи опсежан текст нашег веома цењеног стручњака Властимира Перичића. Остајући у кругу наших колега и савременика, пада ми на ум и један исказ композитора Рајка Максимовића, који отприлике гласи: „У време милитантне авангарде сматрало се да само нова музика може бити добра музика. Ја пак сматрам да је само добра музика заиста нова музика!“ Овај обрт није само згодна игра речима и појмовима, већ и могућан став једног музичког ствараоца – морам рећи, и мени лично врло близак! Како год било, он уводи у оптицај још један сродан а незаобилазан и такође, са своје стране, вишезначан и врло релативан појам: авангардне музике. Јер су, као што знамо, за време у којем су стварали, били прави авангардисти још и Гијом де Машо, и Филип де Витри, па Монтеверди и други неспорни велики и највећи, као Бах, Бетовен, Дебиси, Стравински и – списак би могао бити још врло дуг! Списак свих оних који су чинили да музичка уметност иде увек напред, да се развија, да стално буде нова – ако је добра. Дакле: модерна, или нова, или савремена, или авангардна музика – у тај преплет – и својеврстан лавиринт – блиских а и довољно различитих појмова и простора предстоји вам да зађете у овом нашем сусрету. Остаје да се види колико ће тај залазак донети (и) нових тумачења и виђења, која су могућа и кад нам се чини да је о нечему све већ речено и сагледано. Јер музика је, на срећу, несагледив простор – чиме и заслужује и изазива нас да се њоме бавимо, свако на свој начин! У то име, драге колеге, желим вам да из лавиринта који је пред вама нађете прâве излазе.

И без Аријаднине помоћи...

Danica Petrović  
Director of the Institute of Musicology

**INTRODUCTORY GREETINGS AT THE CONFERENCE  
'RETHINKING MUSICAL MODERNISM'**

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 11 October 2007.

Dear Colleagues,

It is my greatest pleasure to be able to greet you at the beginning of this important musicological conference, held at our extended home institution – the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and at our specific research institution – the Institute of Musicology, whose members have organised this meeting. I am glad to see here no only our old acquaintances and colleagues, but also the new participants from both home and abroad.

As a rule in work as in life old and new, known and unknown, seen and unseen entwine. These are the questions addressed also by the topic of this conference – modernism – the truth at a certain epoch and its interpretation today. The everlasting topic of all those who work in culture or art. Is there a composer who did not rely on what already existed and was inherited, or who did not look forward, looking for a way to make his art approachable to his contemporaries and the future generations? Critics, while listening to the mixed reactions to the new music, try to evaluate it as objectively as possible and to place it within its epoch. On the other hand musicologists and music analysts study the development of both the composers and their work with the advantages and at the same time disadvantages of a time distance. They attempt to see the music and its impact through a period of time, thus discovering the efficacy or complete lack of power or certain attitudes, practices and stylistic trends.

The same processes were at work at the time of Ioannis Koukouzelis (the greatest Byzantine composer in the fourteenth century) and Guillaume Dufay (the greatest Netherlands composer in the fifteenth century). Today, due to the time distance, our perception of the time when this music was created, its interpretation and performance as well as the reception among its contemporaries is not only less precise but significantly more complicated.

I believe that this conference will provide answers to certain questions regarding the music modernism in the twentieth century, and will certainly show a range of dilemmas, both in the main centres of the European culture and along the periphery, especially where the historical and cultural developments were atypical. I hope a whole range of new questions will emerge, which would grasp the attention of the new generations and help us also to understand better the tendencies in the contemporary music.

I wish you all a purposeful and successful meeting, and a very pleasant stay in Belgrade, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and its Institute of Musicology.

Даница Петровић  
директор Музиколошког института САНУ

ПОЗДРАВНА РЕЧ НА НАУЧНОМ СКУПУ  
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У Српској академији наука и уметности, 11. октобра 2007.

Поштоване колеге,

Веома се радујем што ми је пружена прилика да вас поздравим на почетку рада овог значајног музиколошког научног скупа, који се одржава у нашој широј кући – Српској академији наука и уметности, и нашој непосредној истраживачкој институцији, чији су сарадници и организовали овај сусрет – у Музиколошком институту САНУ. Драго ми је што овде видим наше старе знанце и сараднике, али и нове учеснике, како из земље, тако и из иностранства.

У животу и раду увек се по правилу преплићу старо и ново, познато и непознато, виђено и невиђено. То су питања која намеће и тема овог скупа – модернизам – истина у одређеном историјском времену, и његово тумачење данас. То је вечита тема свих оних који се баве културом, уметношћу, стваралаштвом. Има ли композитора који се није ослањао на већ постојеће, наслеђено, и који није гледао у будућност, тражећи начин како да своја уметничка казивања пренесе савременицима, али и будућим генерацијама. Ослушкујући несигурне трагове рецепције нових дела, музички критичари покушавају да их колико је то могуће објективно вреднују и утемеље у датом времену. Музиколози и аналитичари, уз предности, али и баријере историјске дистанце, анализирају пређени пут и аутора и њихових дела. Сагледавају стваралаштво у његовом уметничком трајању и деловању кроз време, откривајући делотворност или потпуну немоћ одређених ставова, поступака и стилских усмерења.

Било је тако у времену Јована Кукузела и Гијом Дифаја у средњем веку, тако је и данас, само се дистанце повећавају према прошлим епохама, па се тако усложњава наша веза са временом настанка дёла, њиховим тумачењем, начином извођења и увидом у њихову рецепцију у прошлом и у нашем времену.

Верујем да ће овај скуп одговорити на поједина питања када је у питању музички модернизам у XX веку, свакако ће указати на низ дилема, како у центрима европске културе, тако и на периферији код малих народа, посебно оних чији су токови историјског и културног развоја имали свој специфичан пут. Очекујем да ће се отворити и низ нових питања која ће окупирати будуће истраживаче, а можда и помоћи да боље разумемо токове савременог музичког стваралаштва.

Желим свим учесницима скупа садржајан и успешан рад, али и пријатан боравак у нашем граду, у Српској академији наука и уметности и њеном Музиколошком институту.

# EITHER / OR

JIM SAMSON

1. I WILL begin with a little story rather than a grand narrative. Actually, it is quite a big story. It is just not much reported, and it certainly does not make the music history books. It concerns the transfer of music all the way from the western rim of Europe to its eastern rim. In 1492, following an expulsion edict by the Catholic Monarchs, the Jews left Spain, and a bit later they left Portugal too. Some went to the Protestant North, some to the Mahgreb, some to Italy. But the majority came to the European territories of the Ottoman empire, in a word to the Balkans: first to the major ports (Valona, Salonika, Istanbul), then over the following half century to the inland cities (Monastir, Skopje, Sarajevo, Belgrade). They were known of course as Sephardim (literally, Spanish Jews), and they came in such numbers that they assimilated existing Jewish communities and preserved many aspects of their Spanish culture (including their language: dialects of Judeo-Spanish or Ladino that are of great interest to romaniasts as they preserve elements of old Castilian that have disappeared from modern Spanish); there was in short something of a 'transplanted Sepharad' here in the Balkans, as Iberian cultural forms entered the Ottoman ecumene.<sup>1</sup> They brought their music too, and as it happens I have done some work on it; there is a surprising amount of data that helps us to reconstruct its history. But I do not really want to talk about that in detail here. Instead I want to use the story to explore some larger questions about modernism, which is after all our theme.

Now what, you may reasonably ask, has this Sephardic story to do with modernism? I will try to answer that question in three ways. First, I will say something about how modernity impacted on the Sephardim. Second, I will suggest that modernism, understood as a cultural and intellectual response to modernity, influences how we might tell their story. And third, with inevitable circularity, I will argue that these modes of telling can in turn help us understand a few things about modernism. It is all premised on the idea that little sto-

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<sup>1</sup> E. Benbassa and A. Rodrigue, *The Jews of the Balkans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), xvii.

ries can speak into grand narratives in several ways; they can instantiate them; light them up; critique them; deconstruct them. By focusing on marginalia, we can sometimes see around the edges of familiar, canonised portraits of music, musicians, and music-making.

So, first my Sephardic story. I will be rather specific here, and confine the discussion to Sarajevo, one of the main centres of Sephardic Jewry in the Balkans. The Sephardim were established there by the 1560s. They came mainly from Salonika, and before that from Aragon and Catalonia rather than Andalucia; there was also a small component of Portuguese. Much of our knowledge of their life under Ottoman rule comes from references by both Turkish and European travellers (Evliya Çelebi is indispensable, as he is for anything to do with the Ottoman Balkans),<sup>2</sup> but there is also factual data in the Archives of the Jewish Sephardic Community, as recorded by Moric Levy,<sup>3</sup> as well as the *qadi* records of the local Muslim court, and for a limited period the *temettuat* registers in Istanbul.<sup>4</sup> As to their music, well we might describe a spectrum, taking us from synagogal cantillation, where continuity with Hispanic origins was most apparent, to newly composed *piyyutim*, influenced more by Middle Eastern music, and from there to paraliturgical repertoires, including *coplas*, and finally to what interests me most: secular Judeo-Spanish repertoires, including romances and *canciones*, generally performed by women.

Now, the poetic forms and some of the texts of these Sephardic songs can often be traced directly to Hispanic origins, no doubt because for the texts, though not for the music, there emerged a stabilising written tradition: *romanceros* and *cancioneros*. There is actually a substantial body of romanist scholarship on these texts.<sup>5</sup> And that scholarship in turn helped to shape the musicological agenda, particularly in the work of Judith Etzion and Susana Weich-Shahak.<sup>6</sup> The general thrust of their work was to bolster the idea of a

<sup>2</sup> Çelebi was a seventeenth-century courtier and 'professional' traveller, whose monumental *Seyahatname* [Book of Travels] is an indispensable source of information on Ottoman life and culture, and on what R. Dankoff calls the 'Ottoman mentality'; see Dankoff's *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> M. Levi, *Die Sephardim in Bosnien* (Sarajevo, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> More detailed accounts of Jewish life in Sarajevo can be found in H. Pass Freidenreich, *The Jews of Yugoslavia: A Quest for Community* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979).

<sup>5</sup> See S. G. Armistead and J. H. Silverman, *The Judeo-Spanish Chapbooks of Yakob Abraham Yoná* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Bosnia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from New York Collected by Mair Jose Benardete* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981), and *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Oral Tradition*, Vol. I, *Epic Ballads*, with musical transcriptions and studies by I. J. Katz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

<sup>6</sup> See J. Etzion and S. Weich-Shahak, 'The Spanish and the Sephardic Romances: Musical Links', *Ethnomusicology*, 32/2 (1988), 173–209. Arguments for the Spanish roots of the music

transplanted Sepharad by demonstrating Hispanic survivals in the music as well as the texts. But actually there was quite a bit of wishful thinking in all that. It has now been convincingly shown that Sephardic repertoires in the main surrendered to Ottoman forms and genres at a fairly early stage, borrowing well-known Greek or Turkish melodies, including Sufi *Ilahije*, and using the instruments, the *makamlar* and performance styles characteristic of Ottoman music generally.<sup>7</sup> There is hard evidence of this from earlier periods, and it is confirmed by the earliest recordings as well as by ethnographic work, including interviews with some of the older Sarajevan singers, notably Jagoda Flory.

Modernity impacted on the world of the Sephardim with the switch to a Habsburg administration in 1878, one of many collisions of Ottoman and Habsburg dynasties in the Balkans. With the Habsburgs came on the one hand new infrastructures and new programmes of education; on the other hand new kinds of bureaucratic control, crippling license systems, censorship.<sup>8</sup> But something else came with the Habsburgs, and that was a growing awareness of what Anthony Smith calls *ethnies*, with their constitutive cultures.<sup>9</sup> For the Sephardim, the contact with modernity inaugurated a process of self-reflection that culminated in agendas of what we might call Sephardic nationalism, though it is perhaps not quite the right term. The necessary foil for this process was not so much the Habsburg administrators themselves as the Ashkenazi Jews who accompanied them and who established their own community in Sarajevo. The Sephardim defined themselves against the Ashkenazim, who had a different lifestyle and a different political agenda, in the main Zionist. In any event, with the change of administration the Sephardim got themselves organised, establishing formal structures of identity, through which they might articulate a new sense of self and history, and also a new sense of self-division, as some of their published novellas indicate. I do not want to suggest here that pre-modern societies were somehow free of internal contradictions. The issue is whether or not these were given cultural articulation. So, structures of Sephardic identity were instituted. The charitable foundation *La Benevolencia* was founded; then the Judeo-Spanish magazine *La Alborado*; then the Sephardic nationalist magazine *Jewish Life*, set up in opposition to the Zionist *Jewish Conscience*, and in due course Benjamin Pinto's consciously synthesising *Jewish Voice*. And it was in this climate that there appeared the kind of identity-defining collections of

are also made by A. Galanté, in *Turcs et Juifs: Étude historique, politique* (Istanbul: Haim, Rozio, et cie, 1932).

<sup>7</sup> See I. Katz, *Judeo-Spanish Traditional Ballads from Jerusalem: An Ethnomusicological Study*, 2 vols. (Brooklyn: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> For an insight into the effects of this bureaucracy on music, see R. P. Pennanen, 'Controlling Sound and Music: Aspects of Musical Life in Sarajevo under Austro-Hungarian Rule', in T. Karača and S. Kazić (eds.), *4th International Symposium "Music in Society"* (Sarajevo: Academy of Music in Sarajevo, 2005), 114–125.

<sup>9</sup> A. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

oral culture that were common in nationalist movements at the time, by the romanicists Fernández and Pidal, for example, but above all by the ethnologist Manrique de Lara.<sup>10</sup> *La Benevolencia* also supported the tamburitza society *La Gloria*, who made some of the earliest recordings we have of Sephardic music in Sarajevo in 1907. They were made by Felix Hampe, as part of a truly historic tour, and copies are extant.<sup>11</sup>

In all of this we see some of the characteristic transforming functions of modernity, and thus some of the ways in which this little story speaks into the grand narrative. One such function is the firming up of borders, in what might be called modernity's categorical quest. There was a novella published in *Jewish Voice* that illustrates this.<sup>12</sup> It's called *Friday afternoon*, and it just depicts two old Sephardi women sitting on a step discussing those mysterious Ashkenazim with their unfamiliar ways. It's about identity, telling us about the self and the other, about how we draw borders between communities but also between generations. It tells us too that modernity doesn't just create borders; it transmutes difference into alterity. Now in his book *The Fetishism of Modernities*, Bernard Yack translates this from the little story to the grand narrative.<sup>13</sup> He reminds us that the ideology of the modern reduced particular human states to notionally integrated wholes, even when it seemed to be arguing just the opposite, so that identities are created through mechanisms of contrast or opposition rather than of interrelation. Thus it was modernist thought stemming from the enlightenment, and including ideas of nationhood, that created the so-called 'minorities'—religious and linguistic—that we discuss so glibly nowadays. It's hard to unpick this process: something is assigned; something experienced; but maybe experienced only because it's assigned. And there are I think similar social technologies at work with centres and peripheries. Wherever I am is inevitably the centre. Yet others may disagree. And I may be persuaded by the others. The tension generated by the co-existence of these two states—we are simultaneously centred and decentred—can result in highly defensive self-representations; we may be sidelined by the grand narrative but at the same time we mimick it. Thus do people become victims of ideology. I should perhaps just

<sup>10</sup> A. Pulido Fernández, *Los Israelitas españoles y el Idioma Castellano* (Madrid, 1904) and *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardi* (Madrid, 1905).

<sup>11</sup> R. Menéndez Pidal, *Catálogo del romancero judio-español* (Madrid, 1906); S. G. Armitstead (ed.), *El Romancero judeo-español en el Archivo Menéndez Pidal*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Catredra-seminario Menéndez Pidal, 1978).

<sup>12</sup> See R. P. Pennanen, 'A Forgotten Treasure-Trove—The First Gramophone Recordings Ever Made in Sarajevo', in I. Čavlović (ed.), *3<sup>rd</sup> International Symposium "Music in Society"* (Sarajevo: Academy of Music in Sarajevo, 2003), 172–7.

<sup>13</sup> See M. Nezirović, *Jevrejsko-španjolska književnost* (Sarajevo: Institut za književnost, 1992), 56.

<sup>14</sup> B. Yack, *The Fetishism of Modernities: Epochal Self-Consciousness in Contemporary Social and Political Thought* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997).

add here, without elaborating, that for thinkers such as Levinas a philosophy of the centre lies right at the heart of a European mind set, so that peripheries can't really avoid adopting a language of the centre.

The Sephardim's response to modernity, I suggest, was not to reclaim their culture, but rather to promote *as* a culture what had previously been self-defined. That actually is quite a good description of how Enlightenment thought spawned both cultural modernism and a nationalist ideology. Daniele Conversi speaks of the 'modern re-enactment of a pre-modern idea'.<sup>14</sup> And that in turn invokes what Svetlana Boym sees as another by-product of modernism, the nostalgia that follows innovation (and also trauma). Nostalgia was a palpable part of Sephardic self-definition in response to modernity. 'In Sephardic homes, like mine', says Jagoda Flory, 'as much as we remember the terrible things of the Inquisition, we still have a deep feeling for Spain. We love the language. We love the food. We love everything'.<sup>15</sup> But note that, as Boym argues in her excellent book *The Future of Nostalgia*, nostalgia is almost always a second generation phenomenon.<sup>16</sup> And it was indeed among the second generation of Sephardic collectors that we encounter what has been described as a longing to reconnect. I mentioned briefly the first generation, notably Manrique de Lara. The key figure of the second generation was Alberto Hemsi, who collected in the Balkans in the 20s and 30s, and who also made arrangements of Sephardic melodies for voice and piano.<sup>17</sup> Now in these arrangements the traditional melodies are contextualised in a highly specific, Spanish-influenced manner (the accompaniments sound pretty much like Granados or Albéniz). I will play two recordings of the beginning of the Sephardic song *Tres Herminicas*, a song that was actually published in *Jewish Voice*, though it appears in many places.<sup>18</sup> The first recording was made by an immigrant to Israel: you'll hear the oriental instruments and vocal style, and the untempered Hijaz tetrachord; this music has clearly been absorbed by the Middle East.<sup>19</sup> In the second recording you'll hear Hemsi's cleaned-up, harmonised, Spanish-sounding arrangement of the same song: the key to this translation in some ways is the sub-dominant.<sup>20</sup> Here

<sup>14</sup> D. Conversi, 'Mapping the Field: Theories of Nationalism and the Ethnosymbolic Approach', in A. S. Leoussi and S. Grosby (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 15–30.

<sup>15</sup> See the interview on [www.nea.gov/honors/heritage02/Jagoda2.html](http://www.nea.gov/honors/heritage02/Jagoda2.html)

<sup>16</sup> S. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

<sup>17</sup> See A. Hemsi, *Cancionero sefardi*, ed. and with intro by E. Seroussi in collaboration with P. Díaz-Mas, J. M. Pedrosa and E. Romero (Jerusalem: Jewish Music Research Centre, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> S. G. Armistead and J. H. Silverman, *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Bosnia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971).

<sup>19</sup> From the CD *Cantares y Romances Tradicionales Sefardíes de Oriente*, Vol. 2, directed by S. Weich-Shahak, Saga, KPD – 10.906.

<sup>20</sup> From the CD A. Hemsi *Coplas Sefardíes*, Fondation du Judaïsme Français.

nostalgia has become a cultural project, something Svetlana Boym argues is a key symptom of the modern age.

2. Now I want to use those two examples as a way into the second part of my talk, which concerns how modernism has influenced how we tell, or might tell, the story of Sephardic music. The key to this, I suggest, is what I might call the 'either-or' mentality characteristic of the modernist citadel. Ethnomusicologists initially told this story as a narrative of displacement, and in doing so they implicitly favoured one of two possible philosophies of place. Both of these philosophies have a lengthy pedigree and both have, I suggest, a much wider resonance in Balkan studies.<sup>21</sup> At the root of displacement narratives lies the rather basic assumption that everyone has a proper place; we may not be there, but we should be, so we define our identity by constructing our proper place in our present place, which means constructing the past in the present; music is good at that, and it is basically what you heard in the second example. But actually, as I hinted earlier, one could equally tell the Sephardic story as an acculturation narrative, which is what you heard in the first example. Underpinning that narrative is the contrary assumption that we are creatures of the places we inhabit today, shaped more by our present than our imagined past. There's an Arab proverb that puts it nicely: 'People resemble their times more than they resemble their fathers'.<sup>22</sup> This can involve a kind of strategic amnesia. Defining our identities, in this narrative, might involve silencing certain historical voices, or deciding not to hear them. The key point is that for the Sephardim both narratives were in play. The ethnomusicologists—modernist story-tellers—made a choice.

Modernist story-telling also influences how we conceptualise the past. Heidegger reminds us (in *The Concept of Time*) that historical references can really only function within discourses, and that we therefore need to start at the discourse level rather than with the references themselves; we need, in other words, to understand the nature of the discourse before we 'do' history.<sup>23</sup> Now I want to suggest that the modern science of history, and that includes cultural history, produced a modernist discourse that effectively freezes the present, so that the present takes on something like an autonomy character rather than a dependency character. A line is drawn between past and present (though quite where the past ends and the present begins is something of a question here).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See J. M. Smith, A. Light and D. Roberts, 'Introduction: Philosophies and Geographies of Place', in Andrew Light and Jonathan M. Smith (eds.), *Philosophies of Place* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 1–19.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in L. Boia, *Romania: Borderland of Europe*, trans. J. C. Brown (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 47.

<sup>23</sup> M. Heidegger, *The Concept of Time*, trans W. McNeill (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992; orig. edn. 1924).

<sup>24</sup> See M. de Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'Histoire* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1975).

This then enables an autonomous present to appropriate the past, rather than to assimilate it, because assimilation will not produce history. From this self-absorbed present, synonymous with the modern, historical references then become points in a picture, and one has the illusion that this picture is rather stable. For cultural histories, it tends to be configured as so-called traditions with which the modern can negotiate, even if that means using the traditions against themselves. The comforts of classification are very seductive here, and very dear to the historian.

When I was thinking about this talk I amused myself by imagining something rather improbable: a history of Sephardic music by Carl Dahlhaus, a modernist historian if ever there was one. How would Dahlhaus have drawn the picture, I asked myself. Well my guess is that he would have created a structure, and he would have defined that structure by way of a *kairos*—a point of perfection—that reveals it retrospectively. He might, for instance, have represented the *kairos* as the point of maximum integration between two separate musical cultures, Iberian and Ottoman, allowing him to understand the essential dynamic of the history in the terms of a transitional state.<sup>25</sup> Understood in this way, the Sephardic story might then serve as a paradigm for other meeting-points of styles and traditions in Balkan music history. Indeed it might even exemplify one of the most common understandings of so-called Balkanism, raising familiar questions about the status of ‘betwixt and between’, of ‘in-betweenness’. I am using language from Maria Todorova.<sup>26</sup>

But we might, of course, tell the Sephardic story in very different ways. We might, for instance, draw on the literary critic Derek Attridge, or (perhaps at a greater distance) the philosopher Alain Badiou, by allowing for the new directions, the alternative visions, even the explosive transformative innovations that become possible through human agency in direct response to what both these writers call ‘events’, with their accompanying ‘evental sites’.<sup>27</sup> Music history here would not be about structures, but about agencies, about actions occurring within a practice, and often diverging from the ethos of the practice, just as, on another level, the interests of practices may diverge from those of the institutions that house them, something most of us know only too well.<sup>28</sup> If we were

<sup>25</sup> On transitional states, see N. Schwartz-Salant and M. Stein (eds.), *Liminality and Transitional Phenomena* (Wilmette, Ill., Chiron Publications, 1993). This is part of a wider literature whose orientation is psycho-analytical, but whose findings create interesting resonances for cultural history.

<sup>26</sup> M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>27</sup> D. Attridge, *The Singularity of Literature* (London: Routledge, 2004); A. Badiou, *L'Être et l'événement* (Paris: Seuil, 1988).

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of the practice as a category, see A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981). I have argued elsewhere (*The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*) that music histories seldom address the

to read Sephardic music history in terms of events and agencies in this way, we would have no difficulty in singling out the key transformative events, even to the point of identifying an origin and a *telos*. Again it is tempting to transfer such ideas to the larger Balkan canvas. For example, recent political history in this region might be understood as an event series that has been directly interventionist in music history, impinging on the beliefs, options and actions of musicians, and transforming their understanding of their practice. You could actually take that further if you want to follow Badiou. For him, events are prerequisites for subjectivity. You can't really have a subject without them.

It might be tempting to describe these two approaches as modernist and postmodernist respectively. But in any case what is interesting is that it is quite hard to see how we can find an accommodation between them. We seem to be forced to choose between what are on the face of it two very different ways of punctuating history. The *kairos* and the event (the point of perfection and the transformative moment) are after all very differently 'placed' in any given historical sequence. At this point, enter Jacques Derrida. Derrida warns us against just this kind of reductionism, against the excesses of either/or. His reading of the complex hinterland to 'events' in *Spectres of Marx*<sup>29</sup> offers us some possibility of an accommodation between our two approaches. It achieves this by embedding events within mini-histories—the hidden and intertwining backgrounds to events—and by viewing them as simultaneously reactive and proactive. This is an approach that is very sympathetic to the ambiguities of little stories, which have a way of constantly wandering away from simple characterizations such as the origin and the *telos*. What Derrida signals, and I'll come back to it at the end of this talk, is that contraries, unlike contradictions, do not exhaust the range of possibilities.

One further thought on telling the Sephardic story. It seems worth asking why, with a handful of exceptions, ethnomusicologists ignored Sephardic repertoires for so long. I want to remind you that in the formative stages of ethnomusicology, or 'comparative musicology' as it was then known, this discipline was just as much a product of modernity as historical musicology. The case is familiar enough in general terms; basically it's about how an elitist, Enlightenment-engendered Modernist ideology attributed privileged status to uncontaminated, supposedly 'natural' societies, and from a perspective that betrays all too clearly the European origins of the discipline (let's leave aside the further modernist impulses first to sanitise and then to classicise this music). That's the familiar case, and the darker side of such notions of cultural purity are of course familiar to us. But I want to emphasise something more particular; and that is

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relationship between practices (which have their own setting, history, tradition, values, ideals and ethos) and institutions, which are usually structured in terms of power and status.

<sup>29</sup> See J. Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. P. Kamuf (New York and London: Routledge, 1994).

again the either/or mentality that forced repertoires either side of a line demarcating progress and degeneracy. (Daniel Pick provides a context for this in his book *Faces of degeneration*).<sup>30</sup>

Thus, on one side of the line we find two unlikely allies: modernist art music and rural 'folk' music. Both were 'authentic', in the sense that they were respectively innocent of, or wary of, the debasements of mercantile art. On the other side of the line we have urban popular music, which was deemed to be tainted and degenerate, hybrid in a negative way. These repertoires were thought to lack authenticity by a Modernist generation, and this profoundly influenced the ethnomusicological agenda, which for long enough remained nervous of cultural hybridity. Moreover, to the extent that urban popular music in the Balkans was shaped by Ottoman traditions, it faced an additional layer of prejudice from native scholars. For Greece in particular, oriental hybrids were the worst kind of all. There were hard political reasons for this judgement in the 1930s of course, but there were also ancient tropes informing it. So how did this leave Sephardic repertoires? Within a modernist discourse, they were quite simply located on the wrong side of the line.

3. I want to come finally to just a very few reflections on modernism itself, generated by the Sephardic story and ways of telling it. It will already be clear that I have been using the term modernity here in the way many historians do, referring to political, social and intellectual transformations that took place mainly in the seventeenth century, including transformations of the idea of the past; it is in this sense that it has been recently argued by John Butt that the whole orientation of what we have come to call western Classical music, something marked by its exceptionalism, is a product of modernity.<sup>31</sup> I have been using the term modernism, on the other hand, to refer not just to cultural praxes that responded to modernity, but to the cultural climate that enabled those praxes, and to ways of interpreting them. Modernism, in other words, is an ideology of the modern, and if you force me to put dates on it I think I would track it back to the 1850s or thereabouts. I suppose I have been circling around the term rather than confronting it. And here I seize eagerly one of the most generous gifts ever handed to scholars: Walter Bryce Gallie's 'essentially contested concept' [ECC].<sup>32</sup> The beauty of this is that it immediately relieves us of any obligation to define the concept. Here is how Gallie describes ECCs. They are 'concepts the proper use of which inevitably involves endless disputes about

<sup>30</sup> D. Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848 – c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>31</sup> Unpublished lecture, *Classical Music and the Subject of Modernity*, sponsored by The British Academy.

<sup>32</sup> W. B. Gallie, 'Essentially Contested Concepts', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Vol. 56 (1956), 167–198.

their proper uses on the part of their users'. He continues: 'these disputes cannot be settled by appeal to empirical evidence, linguistic usage, or the canons of logic alone'. I am proposing modernism as a prime candidate for this status as an ECC. The fact that everyone, including us, is rethinking it these days sort of makes the case. On the other hand, an ECC is not a permissive society, and I suspect that the danger of all this rethinking, whose main thrust seems to be to favour multiple parallel modernisms, is that we just might lose touch with certain essentials.

I've really been trying to signal one of those essentials in this talk. I called it an either/or mentality. If we project it from the little story to the grand narrative, then I would say it comes into sharpest focus, musically speaking, in the Weimar debates of the 1850s. From that point onwards the rhetoric tended to separate repertoires out into mutually exclusive categories that we might label classical, modernist and commercial. The category 'modernist music', then, was almost inevitably profiled through its oppositional relations to the other two categories. To some extent this remains the case even today, whether we focus on use value, in the manner of Roger Chartier, or on musical styles, as Leon Botstein does, for example, in his New Grove article on Modernism.<sup>33</sup> But the either/or mentality was to become yet more ruthless in the early twentieth century, through the dismissal of those notionally conservative repertoires that were coeval with modernist ones. And actually I suggest that if we really do decide to rethink modernism, we can only do so by rethinking conservatism as well. That may indeed be the more urgent task just now.

It was also in the nature of an early twentieth-century either/or mentality that definite views were advanced about value and authenticity. Interestingly, ideas of authenticity seem to cross some of the borders separating parallel modernisms, and I suspect they may add up to another of those essentials I spoke about earlier. Such ideas were probably articulated most forcibly by Schoenberg, who, as you certainly know, argued that art should be constructed according to certain principles rather than others and in close agreement with the materials of which it is made (understanding materials here as an historical category). For Schoenberg you really had to get all that right. And you had to know that the road would be a hard one. Yes, there must be the incipient vision that he saw as a precondition for an authentic creation, but there must also be the labour necessary to realise it, given that composers, like the rest of us, have been 'driven out of paradise' (his phrase, and modernist to the core).<sup>34</sup> And

<sup>33</sup> R. Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1988); L. Botstein, 'Modernism', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London: Macmillan, 2001).

<sup>34</sup> See M. Breivik, "Driven Out of Paradise": Schoenberg on Creation and Construction', in S. R. Havsteen, N. H. Petersen, H. W. Schwab and E. Østrem (eds.), *Creations: Medieval Rituals, the Arts, and the Concept of Creation* (Copenhagen: Brepols, 2007), 165–182.

while it is probably true to say that Schoenberg's commitments and his refusals came to seem rather sterile and self-congratulatory in the end, I personally doubt if this justifies the presumption of the term 'postmodern'. And here is the dilemma, I suppose. To reject the either/or of modernism is to introduce another either/or. About this, just one last thought, and then I am done.

Today, you can download Judeo-Spanish or Ladino ballads from the internet in pseudo-medieval garb; blended with flamenco, or in the guise of contemporary popular music; you can find it marketed as a species of Balkan folk music, or as a variety of Mediterranean song: and note by the way the different connotative values of the terms Balkan and Mediterranean, the latter an altogether sunnier affair. The point here of course is that Sephardic song is in revival; it has achieved a kind of afterlife. It is now part of 'world music', with a relatively free exchange of idioms across the several different Sephardic traditions, and between those traditions and more international popular music styles. The suggestion is that these songs now belong to a single global culture; that what lies beyond borders is just more of the same, if indeed the borders exist at all. It becomes in a quite literal sense impossible to *locate* Sephardic song.

At this point I want to put in a final word for modernism, or at least to caution against facile dismissals of the constraints it seems to impose. Or rather I want Susan Sontag to do it for me. We might counter Bernard Yack's critique of modernism with Sontag's *apologia*, in one of the last essays she wrote before she died in 2004.<sup>35</sup> For Sontag, whose work seemed to swivel constantly between aestheticism and ethics, the modern is not just 'a very radical idea'; it is 'one that continues to evolve'. She offers us a passionate defence of borders and singularities in that last essay. A world without borders, she seems to say, is a world without culture. What Sontag does, in a way, is to reject the illiberalism of the postmodern. In effect, she makes an ethical case for a soft version of what I have been calling the 'either/or mentality' of modernism, and it is the more striking because it comes from someone who was alive to, and wrote extensively about, the diminishing returns of elite culture. I say a 'soft version' because although she hangs on to contraries, she relinquishes contradictions. Sontag doesn't even *use* the term modernism. But then, like Hamlet, she is well aware that the world offers us far stranger and more unexpected combinations than are dreamt of in *either* modernist *or* postmodernist philosophies.

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<sup>35</sup> S. Sontag, 'Pay Attention to the World', *The Guardian*, Saturday 17 March, 2007.

*Дим Самсон*

## ИЛИ / ИЛИ

### Р е з и м е

У раду се истражује модернизам у музичи помоћу дискурса како историје тако и географије, а с посебним тежиштем на Балкану.

Скорашње ревизије нашег разумевања модернизма постављају се унутар дијалектике „догађаја“ (трансформативног момента, прочеља дејствености) и *каироса* (тачке савршенства, прочеља структуре). Ту се јављају два супротстављена модела динамике културне историје који се испитују у контексту идеја Бадијуа, Далхауса и Дерида. У контексту првог модела позивам се на категорију носталгије (Светлана Бојм) коју сматрам последицом модернистичке иновације и посебно реакцијом на интервенцију и трауму. У контексту другог модела позивам се на категорију присвајања, апрапријације (Роже Шартије). Моја теза је да, исцртавајући линију између прошлости и садашњости, ми стварамо аутономну садашњост која најпре бира, а затим присваја (а не толико асимилира) своју прошлост. Испитују се неке импликације овог става на историјску музикологију.

Категорије носталгије и апрапријације, истражене у оквиру историје, потом се испитују у њиховим односима према угрђености у одређени простор и измештености, центрима и периферијама, урбаним и руралним екологијама. Износи се тврђња да је модернизам произвео неочекивано савезништво између авангардне и руралне „народне“ музике, на рачун хибриднијих идиома урбане популарне музике. Обе врсте биле су „аутентичне“, у том смислу да је прва била недужна, а друга опрезна, у односу на меркантилна унижења. Предмет испитивања су и импликације свега тога на музикологију, дисциплину која је (у својим раним стадијумима) културну хибридност сматрала дубоко проблематичном.

Балкан нуди идеалну лабораторију за проучавање споменутих идеја. Ова територија је део Европе, али је отписана из њене културе, тако да је почела да се сагледава било као тамна (оријентална) страна европске свести, било као празнина у њеном срцу; другим речима, требало је да прихвати атрибуте инфериорности или заосталости да би афирмисала европску цивилизацију. Таква ситуација позива на проучавање европских пројеката модерности помоћу балканских алтеритета. Али ово може и да се преокрене. Не признаје се увек став да се модернизам може ревидирати само ако се то учини и са конзервативизмом.

# THINKING THE RETHINKING (OF THE NOTION OF) MODERNITY (IN MUSIC)

VLASTIMIR TRAJKOVIĆ

Θάλασσα! Θάλασσα!  
Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, 8

*L'acquisition des connaissances fait approcher  
de la vérité quand il s'agit de la connaissance  
de ce qu'on aime et en aucun autre cas.*

Simone Weil, *L'enracinement*, Gallimard, 1949

*Arti musices.*

*Prolem sine matre creatam.*  
Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, II, 553

*Rem tene, verba sequentur.*  
Cato

SCIENTIFIC theories are revocable, whereas stylistic categories are subject to sporadic reinterpretations. However, revocability and subjection to reinterpretations should not be considered mutually exclusive. Einstein's general theory of relativity (1915) did *call into question* the hypothetical existence of æther as a medium once believed to be necessary to support the propagation of electromagnetic radiation, yet it also offered a *reinterpretation* of the system of Newtonian mechanics, having limited the scope of its validity. When facing the notion of modernity, one is primarily called on to treat its meaning critically. Does the notion of modernity belong to stylistic categories and hence to æsthetics, or to history, or to both of them? Should æsthetics still be considered a domain of philosophy, or has it become a scientific discipline? The notion of modernity has never been defined in a satisfactory way **from an æsthetic standpoint**. It refers to a loose concept based on an arbitrary *consensus* about what would be modern and what would not. Generally, 'modern' would be any movement or climate of ideas, especially in the arts, literature or architecture, that supports change, the retirement of the old or traditional, and the forward march of the avant-garde. Yet, the questions (1) of what the nature of a would-be change is, (2) of what should be 'stigmatized' as 'old and traditional' and (3) in which direction the forward march of the avant-garde should go, remain unclear and answers are subject to individual predilections. It is more fitting to speak of *a concept* of modernity than of *a notion* of modernity, though even a

concept should not be considered a 'text', itself treatable as subject to Gadamer's 'reader response theory'. According to Gadamer, the meaning of a text is never a function purely of facts about the author and his original public (here, *mutatis mutandis*, one should think primarily about the concept of modernity, such as originated once in history), but is equally a function of the historical situation of the interpreter (here, *mutatis mutandis*, one should think primarily about the concept of modernity, such as conceived nowadays).

Observing modernity **from a historical standpoint** does not help either. Not that one should necessarily consent to Popper's opinion on historicism (Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, 1957). According to Popper, historicism is any belief in the necessity of historical processes, or belief that such processes are governed by laws, and are immune to human choice and agency. Still, an approval of historical 'delimitations' would not, itself, point out to a 'fallacy' of historicism. So, according to Arnold Toynbee (*A Study of History*, 1934–1954), Western Civilization entered its modern phase with the Renaissance and eventually the post-modern around the 1880s.<sup>1</sup> The term 'post-modern' itself was coined by Toynbee.

From the æsthetic standpoint, the notion of modernism is universally attributed to adherence to the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment, whereas modernistic art forms and the modernistic ideology reached their full momentum *only from around the 1880s*. The contrary movement of post-modernism began taking form *only around the 1970s*. However, it is legitimate to follow the mentioned delimitations of art history. First, this is because discrepancies between Toynbee's 'stylistic' distributions of western history in general and the consensually established analogous counterparts of art history and musicology present, largely, a 'terminological misunderstanding'. Second, because a layman and a professional, a common concertgoer like a learned musicologist, agree, even tacitly, that the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth embody such a demarcation line, such a 'watershed', that what preceded them belongs to '**traditional art**' (and the ideology of art), while what follows is a '**product of modernism**'. Traditional art might be judged as naïve or 'second hand', it might even, considering some of its specimens, be held as boring, sentimental, academic, kitsch or academic-kitsch, but there was never any doubt about its ability to produce, if only sporadically, an œuvre of High Art. Nevertheless, the products of the modernism of after the 1880s are still felt to be controversial.<sup>2</sup> Much of what will follow might take into account

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<sup>1</sup> Be that a coincidence or not, for many a Marxian-Leninist, the 1880s would also be historically important: in the 1880s global capitalism allegedly entered its terminal, imperialistic phase.

<sup>2</sup> It may be hard to believe that modernity still appears controversial. Today's post-modernistic ideological frenzy leaves the door open for the theoretical speculations of many academic dilettanti. They rationalize their *lack of sophistication and of straightforwardness*, which

the visual arts, architecture, literature and even contemporary trans-media and multi-media art, possibly also contemporary ideology—which does not necessarily imply only contemporary artistic ideology—but the author will limit his discourse only to musical strata and developments. He ventured to take part in the present conference because he feels that its topic reflects what is desperately needed today: a reinterpretation of beliefs (or dogmas), of ‘facts’ (and conventional interpretations of those facts)—a reinterpretation (and even a disturbing) of historical paradigms related to past necessities which were nothing but disguised contingencies. Such a reinterpretation does not try to disavow historical reality. The subject of a reinterpretation would rather be the research on the nature of a would-be change at the time of modernistic upheaval and the research on what should, from today’s perspective, be regarded as ‘old and traditional’.

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Studies on musical modernity often begin with the 1865 Introduction to the First Act of Wagner’s *Tristan and Isolda*.<sup>3</sup> For the first 23 bars the basic A Major tonic triad refuses to appear. The long absence supposedly implies a flagrant modernistic crisis of tonality. Why, *a sort* of tonality indeed underwent a crisis. Based on the subdominant and dominant harmonic functions’ flux of tensions pivoting towards the basic tonic triad focus, **classical tonality, a historical subset of the power set of Western Civilization’s tonal systems**, dominated the music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Wagner’s music, the scarcity of cadences closing with basic tonal triads is compensated by an inauguration of secondary tonal centres, with their respective secondary turns of

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are necessary for an understanding of and, in particular, for responding emotionally to the genuine spirit of modernity. As the result of the mass production of a ‘radically-chic-international-crowd’ of neophytes, a rationalization is only to be expected. The new dogmatism postulates the claim that modernity itself has *never been modern enough*. As if only Marcel Duchamp was matching the standards. Since even the ‘light’ but undoubtedly professional Satie was too much of an accomplished composer, a plausible level of musical modernity was supposedly attained only by John Cage. So, is it not a paradox that a conventional veneration of academic ‘icons’, such as Schoenberg, Webern and Adorno, remained undisturbed? On the other hand, much of genuine modernism is described as insufficiently, *i.e.* ‘only moderately’ modern. The phenomenon *is not* characteristic only of the neophyte, ‘recently liberated’ post-communist countries. In this sense, let us remember, among other possible paradigms, an absurd lament on the ‘sad state’ of French music between the two wars: Jean-Yves Bosseur, *La musique française dans l’entre-deux guerres*, [in French], ‘Musicology’, Belgrade, 2001, pp. 1190–128.

<sup>3</sup> Adequate or not, the paradigm makes sense. Wagner was a highly original and innovative composer. In his time, he was also a modern composer. Many outstanding academics, not only music scholars, focused their research on the beginnings of modernity in the mid-1800s. For instance, Nikolaus Pevsner does so in his *Sources of Modern Architecture and Design*. Musical scholars often epitomize the arrival of modernity by a single piece of music (Wagner’s said Introduction to the First Act of *Tristan and Isolda*). Pevsner inaugurates the modern times of architecture and design by pointing to the London Crystal Palace—built in 1851.

cadences, now introduced by *new chromatic relationships* between secondary leading notes and the chords of their temporary resolutions. An almost constant process of cadences did not necessarily have to call into question the inherent possibilities of a further, still tonal, development of the newly hyper-chromatic classical tonality. Nevertheless, De Falla was right (Manuel de Falla, *Introducción a la música nueva*, Revista Musical Hispanoamericana, Madrid, 1916) in writing that of all post-Wagnerian Austro-German composers, not one, *not even Richard Strauss or Schoenberg* could boast of a single modernistic innovation of any significant magnitude or relevance as regards the achievements of the late master.<sup>4</sup> As for post-Wagnerian innovations, the present writer believes that they should be sought in the late musical œuvre of Scriabin (a Russian), and also—although the proposition might be somewhat far fetched—in the musical settings of Messiaen (a Frenchman).

It is understandable that Schoenberg's a-tonality and, *a fortiori*, the Schoenberg-and-Webern dodecaphonic-serial technique, led so many scholars to see in the endeavours of the two composers the very embodiment of a truly modernistic revolution. Indeed, the arguments relevant to judgements about the would-be modernistic status of a reform should have been sought deep within the stratum of the structural *habitus* of music. Yet, the crucial dilemma of Schoenberg, the *Tonalisch oder Atonalisch* question, posed explicitly in his fugato (!?) *Drei Chorsatiren*, was a **false dilemma**. Not only because the technical means to achieve the proclaimed goal (to establish an organized atonal setting by a dodecaphonic, eventually a serial 'method of composing') failed to serve the proclaimed purpose. Does one *really* hold that the essence of tonality would be a preponderance of a particular tone pitch, so that banishing a given pitch to appear earlier than all the remaining ones, a ban on octave doublings or the prohibition of reiterative appearances of a single pitch would render the system a-tonal?! Indeed, '*ex falso quodlibet*.' bizarre and fruitless remedies were the consequence of the futility of posing *a question which had already been answered*. The historical crisis of tonality had been solved around 1900. Modern musical times began in Paris, the rotten classical tonality having been succeeded not by traditionalist and 'devoted' disciples of Germany's 'three-great-B's', but by Debussy's system of genuinely novel **hybrid modality**, a

<sup>4</sup> As if to confirm De Falla's observations, Strauss (in Furtwängler's words) explained, in 1945, what he owed to Wagner. The citation (in French, since, to the best of the author's knowledge, the book has not been translated into English) is from Ernest Ansermet's *Les Fondements de la musique dans la conscience humaine* (Éditions de la Baconnière, 1961, Neuchâtel, Switzerland, Vol. One, p. 442 n.): 'La guerre terminée . . . [Furtwängler] lui exprima sa surprise de le trouver dans un état de parfaite sérénité : « Je savais depuis longtemps, lui dit en substance Strauss, que ce régime et cette guerre détruirraient l'Allemagne : mais l'Allemagne avait pour mission sur la terre de révéler aux hommes la musique, et après Wagner, cette mission était accomplie. — Comment ! s'exclama Furtwängler... et vous ? — Oh ! moi, je ne suis qu'un épigone. » lui dit Strauss.'

system capable of organizing the totality of a new and systematic morphological dynamism. It is perhaps understandable that the full scope of Debussy's modernistic revolution was never perceived according to its true nature. Even today, it is 'felt' more than comprehended. The 'modal revival' of the end of the nineteenth century, in France and elsewhere, was nothing but a symptom of a general dissatisfaction with the then actual tonal system. It left its traces in the works of Fauré and even (early) Debussy (a phenomenon which produced the 'fable' of his supposedly 'diatonic' preferences), but the usage did not challenge theories concerning the nature of traditional plainsong 'Greek' modes. Those theories, however, *were* to be challenged. The modal setting of the sixteenth-century musical production, of the works of Josquin des Près, of Lasso or Palestrina, does not correspond to the theoreticians' paradigms. A modal unity with one *initialis* (which is logical), but also with one and only one *finalis*, such as implied by the nineteenth-century pedagogical exercises of writing counterpoint lines 'on a given *cantus firmus*', is taken to duly represent the abstract essence of the structural settings of the said production. Why, it does not. The devices of *musica ficta*, which is 'chromatically' altered *sub(semi)tonia modi* and the usage of 'Picardy thirds', do not bring a 'chromatic' flavour to an otherwise diatonic setting. A 'quasi-turn-of-a-cadence' focusing *on any* degree of the *dodecachordon* set of pitches happens every now and then, but the modal flavour of the thus reached one-and-the-same pitch foci also changes every now and then, due to the preceding, chromatically alterable position of the virtually thirteenth or fourteenth members of the set, that is, due to the preceding *b-rotundum* or *b-quadratum* binomial chromatic position of the 'double alteration'. A 'false relation' is about to happen every now and then, and when it does happen, as in Gesualdo's works, the *habitus* of the Ancient Greeks' chromatic genus becomes projected into a two-dimensional musical space. Let us expand the *b-rotundum-and-b-quadratum* binomial chromatic bifurcation to other relevant members of the *virtual preset* in which a *dodecachordon* set of pitches *will come* into existence, and we shall face a projection of the Ancient Greeks' chromatic genus into the fully three-dimensional chromatic musical space of Debussy's hybrid modality; a projection of the ancient enharmonic genus being expected to occur only with bi- and poly-modality, the systems to be found already in Debussy, but also in early Stravinsky, in Prokofiev, in late Ravel, late De Falla and in the music of *The Six*. Debussy's *Tonsatz* is tonal. There should be no confusion about that: *tonality is a power set of all sorts of modalities, but not only of them, classical functional tonality being, on the same footing, also a member of the set, not of some other 'antithetic' set.*<sup>5</sup> Yet, Debussy's tonality is

<sup>5</sup> At the very end of the nineteenth century, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries' major-minor functional tonality was 'pressed out on a higher dialectical level' (i.e. 'aufgehoben', to put it in Hegelian terms) by Debussy's novel hybrid modality—prepared to some extent already by Mussorgsky. The actualization of 'harmonic functions', which occurred implicitly in the six-

'non-functional' or—better to say—at the beginning of the twentieth century tonal harmony became non-functional *again*: the modal musical language of the sixteenth century had *also* been non-functional. In Debussy's music there is no differentiation between fundamental notes and those simply appearing in the bass line. Relationships between two subsequent chords depend again on how many (if any) common pitches they have, while *consonances* are 'emancipated' up to an acoustic maximum of the uppermost harmonics. There is clear voicing and a general aspect of the setting is *melodic rather than harmonic*. Thematic

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teenth and a good deal of the seventeenth century and came into existence altogether explicitly at the end of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth and nineteenth, did not become lost for good. Technically, there was nothing inherently incongruent between the incidence of 'harmonic functions' acting as a morphologically activating principle and the new modal system established around 1900 (albeit *perhaps yes* from a stylistic point of view). The twentieth-century hybrid modality was not just a simple repetition of the old sixteenth-century modality. The chain of actions and reactions points to a *unity within a system*. The system itself might legitimately be named simply *tonal*, notwithstanding the 'modal-to-tonal' *versus* "functionally tonal"-to-tonal nuances. So, tonality, as stressed above, is a power set of *all sorts* of modalities, *including also* classical functional tonality. It would not be possible to assert, from a logical or from a historical point of view, that the *genus proximum* of a system of modality would be the *system of classical functional tonality*—a system comprehended just like that: as a unique system 'positioned at the top'. Antithetic to the above defined power set would be only an atonality power set, but the systematic antithesis would be nevertheless logically invalid due to the lack of positive content which would serve as a point of departure. Yet, the system of modality (or modalities) and the system of classical functional tonality themselves cannot be placed in an antithetic position. *Tonal*—generally speaking *tonal*, *i.e.* tonal in the above postulated sense—would be *any system according to which all kinds of pitch relationships existing within the set system of pitches would be subject to unintentionally established rules, regardless of whether the rules are established consciously or subconsciously*. The status of 'non-intentionality' and that of 'acting consciously' should not be considered mutually exclusive. Relevant pitches, among which the mentioned relationships have been 'lawfully' established, are themselves necessarily more restricted in number than the set of all pitches belonging to the system. This restriction happens in one way, as regards music 'hors-temps' (to put it in the terms of Xenakis), which is almost 'an sich', regardless of a given piece of music or a given musical process, and it happens in another way, which is 'en temps', in a given time of a given section of a given piece of music (or of a given musical process). One can explain this perhaps more clearly by observing the classical tonal setting paradigm, notwithstanding whether one is dealing with functional tonality, or 'non-functional' (modal) tonality: the first, the 'hors-temps' case would refer to acoustical consonances judged as appropriate to figure as basic 'harmonic' material fit to build metrically stable chords with, whereas the second, the 'en temps' case would refer to 'harmoniefremde Töne'. If the relevant pitches, which are the sum of all kinds of pitches featuring within the set system of pitches, were not subject to the thus established rules, no *morphologically constituent* dynamism of the relationships among those pitches would be possible. Equally so, a tonal centre is not necessarily either a master or a companion of tonal music, although, admittedly, it is most often discernible. Music has been tonal, from the dawn of mankind, be that the music of people or that of a temple or of a princely palace. It has always and everywhere been so. Pitches narrower than those a semitone apart may belong to a tonal system. They do not necessarily imply a-tonality. Finally, mentioning 'the dawn of mankind' means exactly what it means: tonal music is primarily a bio-anthropological phenomenon, and only secondarily—a sociological one.

work is often present, yet, for an academic observer it is obscured by the fact that Debussy's **form is synthetic and not analytic**. That is, the development sections are often there (cf. *La Mer*, *Jeux*, *Images pour orchestre*), but the 'vaulted', 'definite', 'self-sufficient' phrases (not at all over-restricted in their length) come *as the result of a previous work with motives* (minute, as motives normally are!), so that musical form becomes a process of synthesis, progressing 'from something chaotic and unstable' to something 'stable and substantial'—a process diametrically opposite to that of the 'analytic form', a classicist achievement of the First Vienna School, an achievement about which a Schoenberg and a Webern, the supposedly modernist protagonists of the Second Vienna School, felt nothing was to be regarded as obsolete. Debussy was reticent in his explanations, yet, having named some of his last works as 'sonatas', he was explicit. Here is what those titles should mean: 'I, Claude Debussy, "musicien français",<sup>6</sup> have produced a complex, coherent and systematically elaborated instrumental form, a worthy pendant to the ancient and discarded form of the sonata. Hence I name it thus, "sonata". *Sapienti sat!*' **Out of place indeed is any talk about any neo-classical features in those entirely novel forms, such as the sonatas one of which contains a 'Pastorale', an 'Interlude' and a 'Final' for its movements, while another contents itself with a 'Prologue' and a 'Sérénade et Finale'.**

In 1963 Donald Mitchell published *The Language of Modern Music*, which to a large extent dealt with the 'musical modernism *versus* musical neo-classicism' controversy. The book presented a worthy reply to Adorno's outrageously racist invective against Stravinsky.<sup>7</sup> Mitchell did his best to

<sup>6</sup> Debussy himself signed as 'musicien français' the three sonatas which, out of six planned, he managed to produce by the end of his life.

<sup>7</sup> Were it not for branding Elgar, Britten and Sibelius, the first two of whom certainly belonged to the Germanic cultural background and the third almost ('*the trumped-up glory surrounding Elgar . . . and the fame of Sibelius*', '*the triumphant meagerness of Benjamin Britten*') (Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, English translation by Anne G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Blomster, The Seabury Press, New York, 1973, p. 7), it would be mostly against the composers of Slav or Latin origin that Adorno launched his venomous '*boutades*'. Thus Tchaikovsky is '*the ever popular Tchaikovsky*', who '*portrays despondency with hit tunes*' (*ibid.*, p. 12); Shostakovich is '*unjustly reprimanded as a cultural Bolshevik by the authorities of his home country*' (*ibid.*, p. 14); there is something '*savage . . .*', '*animal . . .*' or '*bestial . . .*' to be associated with Gauguin ('*the affinity is unmistakable between Sacre and the reproach of a Gauguin-like character*') and Ravel's Paris was ominously distorted and depraved: '*it further reveals its undisguised joy at the vulgar splendor of it all. Such joy, to be sure, was easily comprehended in the Paris of Ravel's Valses Nobles et Sentimentales*' (in the German original '*an der wüsten Pracht*', literally '*at the dissolute luxury*',—note by V. T.); (*ibid.*, p. 148). Possibly this refers only to some over-heated emotional predilections. Yet, *outrageously racist* indeed is Adorno's endless invective against supposedly psycho-pathological traits both of Stravinsky's music and of his personality—a personality that represented the most outstanding western-cosmopolitan composer, denying 'in a wrong way' his Russian roots. This invective emanates some '*socially prophylactic zeal on public hygiene*' which seems to belong rather to '*Deutsche*

show that Stravinsky (compared to Schoenberg) was also a 'modernist'. However, he expressed his disillusionment with the legacy of both compos-

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Bewegung' eugenics than to a discourse on the arts. It is amazing how respected, even today, Adorno's biased theories are: his *Philosophy* is one of the most frequently quoted books of modern musicology. Why?

Firstly, common opinion rarely affiliates leftist ideas with cultural racism. Yet, the followers of Marx have seldom been free of a racist contempt for this or that nation. Lenin despised his native Russian nation and people no less than Karl Marx had done regarding Russia. Any radical ideology, apt to act on an 'improvement' of human nature, is even involuntarily racist: equally so today's 'Lumpen'-liberalism and consumer multiculturalism, at this point still different from their alleged ancestor, Mill's classical liberalism.

Secondly, Adorno's *Philosophy* is a well-written book. It emanates an original and authoritative standpoint and its topic is of the greatest interest. The processes of deductions are accomplished in a logically impeccable way and simply inspire respect. (Those processes *always are* awe-inspiring and apparently all-convincing.) However, a process of constant deduction is not scientific. In the beginning there must be something arbitrary. From Boehm-Bawerk's criticism of the Hegelian Karl Marx (say, from his *History and Critique of Interest Theories* or his *Karl Marx and the Close of His System*) it is implied that readers who have no problem absorbing the first fifty pages of *The Capital* would not need any argumentation for the rest of it. So, one who remains unperturbed by Hegelian-Marxian Adorno in the first sentence of his *Philosophy*, borrowed from Walter Benjamin, a sentence full of logically impossible notional equalizations and implications, will probably be attracted to the subsequent content without resistance. Namely: '*The history of philosophy viewed as the science of origins [Die philosophische Geschichte als die Wissenschaft vom Ursprung] is the process [ist die Form] which, from opposing extremes, and from the apparent excesses of development, permits the emergence of the configuration of an idea as a totality characterized by the possibility of a meaningful juxtaposition of such antitheses inherent in these opposing extremes*' (*ibid.* p. 3).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a misalignment between possible ways of thinking musical modernity was nevertheless genuine and—for the time—understandable. It reflected the discrepancies regarding the fact that the same artistic phenomena were considered by some people as simply invalid—conceptually, 'artistically' and even ethically invalid and, simultaneously, by some other, as 'worthy and modern'. Let the opinions on one and the same phenomenon be confronted. Adorno comments on the songs of Mussorgsky: '*It was noted long ago that the lyricism of Mussorgsky is distinguished from the German Lied by the absence of any poetic subject: he views each poem as does the opera composer the aria, not from the perspective of the unity of direct compositional expression, but rather in a manner which distances and objectifies every possible factor of expression. The artist does not emerge with the lyric subject. In essentially pre-bourgeois Russia the category of the subject was not quite so firmly fitted together . . . not one of the brothers Karamazov is a "character"*' (Adorno, p. 144 n.). Debussy views the songs of Mussorgsky in a completely different light: '*Nobody has spoken to that which is best in us with such tenderness and depth; he [Mussorgsky] is quite unique, and will be renowned for an art that suffers from no stultifying rules or artificialities. Never before has such a refined sensibility expressed itself with such simple means . . .*' (*The Nursery, Poem and Music by M. Mussorgsky*, *La Revue blanche*, 15 April 1901, in *Debussy on Music*, Alfred A. Knoff, New York 1977, p. 20.). Now, here is how Adorno and Debussy felt about the same section from Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, which is, about the scene of the Magic Trick. Adorno writes: '*There is already a counterpart in Petrouchka . . . the Showman who commands the marionettes to life. He is a charlatan. . . . His principle of domination—the musical principle of authenticity—emerged out of play—from deception and suggestion. It is as though contrived authenticity recognized its own untruth in such an origin*' (Adorno, p. 160 n.). Unabashed by fictitious and pre-modern oppositions

ers.<sup>8</sup> Stravinsky did not renounce his inclination to recycle the past: his serial phase was just a new *volte-face*, the serial technique having also delivered itself to a historical style, ready for a neo-classicist treatment. The shortcomings of the Schoenberg-and-Webern parochial ideology, which blinded both authors and their dogmatic followers to so many novel endeavours, led Mitchell to

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between the so called absolute and the so called programmatic music, Debussy comments on the same scene: 'I do not know many things of greater worth than the section you call "Tour de passe-passe". . . . There is in it a kind of sonorous magic, a mysterious transformation of mechanical souls which become human by a spell of which, until now, you seem to be the unique inventor. Finally there is an orchestral infallibility that I have found only in Parsifal. You will understand what I mean, of course.' (Debussy's letter to Stravinsky of April 1912, quoted in Edward Lockspeiser's *Debussy, His Life and Mind*, Cambridge University Press, 1978, Vol. Two, p. 180.)

Apart from Debussy's highly indicative appraisal of Wagner's *Parsifal*, it should be noted that, if anything was to be regarded as modern at the beginning of the twentieth century, it would have been the abandonment of sentimental romantic *Einfühlung*, subjective empathy, and, on the other hand, the affirmation of a 'let the story speak for itself' attitude. It is obvious how *passé* the ideas of Adorno, the Schoenberg's *alter ego* were. It is legitimate to compare the ideas and opinions of Debussy the composer, and Adorno the philosopher. Their vocations are not necessarily to be put in an antagonistic position as regards how they felt about one and the same topic—their respective French and German nationalities either. Indeed opposite are the ways of Debussy's *épagogie*, the inductive method of developing even his synthetic musical form, and Adorno's 'als ob' method of constant deduction. *Anyhow*, as regards thinking modernity, *the Schoenberg / Debussy controversy was, and still is, the real one—and also, the most relevant one.*

<sup>8</sup> Mitchell mentioned in passing that a 'third way' of musical modernity might have been based on folk idioms. He briefly discussed the ways of Bartók and of Vaughan-Williams. Had he paid attention not to particular musical idioms of this or that nation, but to the general hybrid modal stratum common to many European national musical genii, he would have naturally come across the roots of the internationally relevant modernity of Debussy, the composer whose music managed to achieve being an incarnation of profoundly French properties perhaps never to such extent as when paying homage to the musical souls of Spain (*Iberia*), of Scotland (*Gigues*) and of Italy—the latter country being present in his *Rondes de printemps* at least as much as the volatile skyscape of his native Ile-de-France. Schoenberg dismissed as futile any influence of a national folk idiom on the would-be modernistic musical language of his days. Yet, he should have remembered that the magnificent music of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Italian Concerto*, his *French Suites* and the *English suites* did not lose its German character (or its 'International Baroque' character—the distinction is of little importance now) nor became stylistically obsolete due to its celebrating local vernaculars not only as regards technicalities but also with respect to inner spiritual substance. Despite theoreticians addicted to the pseudo-liberal ideology of today, a 'national' style in music is neither the exclusive property of the nineteenth-century Romanticism, nor itself an impediment to a possibly modernistic endeavour. Often it enables its protagonists to have an understanding and hence adequate appreciation within the diversity of other stylistic approaches, themselves also possibly 'local' in character. 'Dear Stravinsky, you are a great artist. Be with all your strength a great Russian artist', wrote the undeniably French Debussy to Stravinsky (Lockspeiser, Vol. Two, p. 185). The 'obvious' lack of folk music ingredients does not render an idiom necessarily less 'national': the great Austro-German music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is not 'international' rather than 'national'. Yet, the lineage to its folk music roots is not commensurably apparent. The great music of Scriabin or Prokofiev reveals probably best the inner being of the Russian soul, the former composer never and the latter hardly ever appealing to their native land's folk music resources.

consider Schoenberg also as a sort of neo-classicist. Neo-classicists take special interest in 'commenting the past in their own way'. Not so the new generation of great modern composers who came in the time of Mitchell's book and immediately after: Xenakis, Takemitsu, Lutosławski, Ligeti and Glass. Their way of 'rethinking musical modernism' implies that, if there were any place for a controversy regarding the matter, it would be a *Schoenberg / Debussy* rather than a *Schoenberg / Stravinsky* controversy. Also there is no doubt about which side they would take. The same is true of the great jazzmen, Bill Evans and Miles Davis, of great jazz-rock musicians to come, Herbie Hancock, Chick Corea and Keith Jarrett—or of Jobim.<sup>9</sup> Writing about *cante jondo* and of the

<sup>9</sup> Listing prominent jazzmen should not appear unexpected. It is not possible to over-estimate the revolutionary character of the appearance of jazz on the stage of the twentieth-century's *great music*. In its beginnings jazz was the folk music idiom of African Americans. Since the second half of the twentieth century it has become, through its pop and rock derivatives, a 'folk music' idiom *sui generis* of the global and westernized technological society of mass production. With its poor quality, due to its over-commercial character, today's 'pop and rock' could often be disputed both from the æsthetic and from the socio-political points of view. The standpoint from which Adorno observed the '*Schlager*'-pop music of his days is also perhaps comprehensible. Yet, he made no allowance for the jazz vernacular. At the time jazz was still a pure, vital and fascinating folk idiom of its own. It is no wonder that Debussy, the modernist, took jazz as he knew it seriously, paying homage to the idiom in his music. Doing so, he did not manifest any need for a conceptualistic 'deconstruction' or for treating the idiom as emblematic of any socio-logical or other extra-musical ideas. Just like any sound and natural musical language, jazz did not need an idealistic apology for its existence. Needless to say, the same applies to the presence of jazz in the musical œuvre of Ravel, of Gershwin, of Milhaud, of Hindemith and of Honegger. Yet, for the supposedly modernistic protagonists of the Second Vienna School, e.g. for Alban Berg in his opera *Lulu*, 'jazzy' stylistic traits (or rather—*sort of* 'jazzy' traits) were good enough only to portray the social 'alienation' of morally degraded humanity—say, to describe the lurid charm of a prostitute and generally a 'brothel atmosphere'. Ridiculing composers for taking jazz seriously, Adorno pointed to the 'primitive' essence of jazz (which he obviously placed on the same footing with the pop music as he knew it). He thought that jazzmen were fifty years late in discovering the harmonies of Debussy. Such an observation reveals a phenomenal misjudgement. First, Debussy's harmonies, like any other composer's harmonies, cannot be excluded from the general discourse appropriate to the musical language of their author. Secondly, they do not represent a certain 'historically attained' level of complexity, which, in principle, might be 'conquered', 'better ever than never', or should be 'historically' surpassed and hence abandoned. There are no harmonies to be forgotten in music. Historical 'progress'—Hegelian or any other—does not exist in this way. There is no 'historical fatigue' of this or that 'material', due to its 'historical' over-use (the 'fatigue' which is one of Adorno's pivotal themes)—at least not of a 'material' being reduced to its 'atomic particles', for example a chord, *any sort*. A *C-E-G* chord, say, is never one and the same when used subsequently by Palestrina, by Handel, by Mozart, by Debussy, by Poulenc, by Messiaen or by Glass. Once one is aware that the English and, say, the Chinese both comprehend the phoneme 'j', one does not hurry to expel it from the system of the English language (or from the Chinese, if that is the preference), imagining that it must have lost its function: possessing the same phoneme, or not, does not render the English and the Chinese the same language, nor would the mere fact of possessing a common phoneme, or not, help an English speaker understand Chinese and *vice versa*. The major-minor functional tonality is not the only kind of tonality, either in the light of possible historical or of logical precedence. So, when Berg places a *C-E-G* chord, in

modernistic achievements of Debussy, De Falla ((1) the article mentioned above, (2) the article on Stravinsky, published in *La Tribuna*, Madrid, also in 1916, and (3) the article *El 'Cante Jondo'*, Granada, June 1922)<sup>10</sup> hinted, first, that what Debussy's musical language brought as fresh and imposing, had been substantially, if perhaps subconsciously, based on a common poly-modal stratum of the folk music of many European nations, including that of Andalusia's Spain, and, secondly, that this very music of Andalusia, due to its Mediterranean, pre-Roman and Roman-Byzantine heritage, was, together with much of European music of the same origin, a living example of how natural and spontaneously organized original Ancient Greek modes and genera had been—not only the diatonic genus, but also the chromatic and the enharmonic. For the present writer, a modern composer from the Balkans, constantly nonplussed by *fantastic ideas about the nature of the folk music of his native part of the world*, it was something of a relief to read the words of the author of the famous 7/8 *Andante tranquillo* section of *El Amor Brujo*. Let the point be exemplified by a paradigm. Bearing in mind that folk music of the Balkans is, like *cante jondo*, a direct continuation of the Ancient Greeks' modes and genera through its Byzantine (and pre-Byzantine) heritage, one can hardly understand what led Wellesz, a most outstanding authority on Byzantine music but also—a fact which is perhaps of some interest—a Viennese pupil of Schoenberg, to dismiss as 'almost entirely nonsensical' the discussion, reported by Byzantine scholar Nicolas Mesarites, on the relationships between the intervals *diatessaron* (3:4) and *diapente* (2:3) and respectively the meters *epitritos* (3+4) and *hemiolos* (2+3),<sup>11</sup> the feet common in the Ancient Greeks' music and characteristic not only of the folk music of Andalusia or of the Basque region<sup>12</sup> but also of the

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an otherwise a-tonal context, as something turned cheap and trivial and hence fit to symbolize 'money', in the way he does in his operas *Wozzeck* and *Lulu*, he is wrong—there is little sense in his metaphor. Extra-musical metaphors are nearly always superfluous and ineffective. A musical reification of spiritual strata, even when audibly discernable and hence transparent, is something akin to mediæval scholastic realism. '*The world of ideas*' has nothing to do with music. Even Scriabin is more a sensuous 'physicist' than a metaphysician. When Ravel recreates *jeux d'eau* musically, he evokes neither an idea of 'freshness' nor a symbol or a metaphor of anything. He achieves an objective musical counterpart of somebody's (beneficent) physical experience when diving in a cool lake on a hot day. If an 'atmosphere' envelopes the scene, as it does, this is because the sensation's musical counterpart is objective, not 'subjective'—'subjective' in the way Adorno thinks the reason for a musical setting emanating a 'Stimmung' must be. The capability of recreating reality by purely musical means reveals the greatness, sublimity and profoundness of Ravel's art. *Pure music's ability to achieve such a goal is truly miraculous.*

<sup>10</sup> See Manuel de Falla, *Escritos sobre música y músicos*, *Introducción y notas*: Federico Sopeña, Espasa-Calpe, S. A., Madrid, 1988.

<sup>11</sup> Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> One should only remember the 3+2+3 8/8 meter of Ravel's *Trio* and its Basque origin. 'Ravel, comme Verlaine, a nourri une prédilection constante pour l'Impair « plus vague et plus soluble dans l'air »... *Influence de la mètrique grecque retrouvée*? [Sic!—V. T.] *Influence de*

Balkans.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, ideas about the tonal systems of the ancient Greek and Byzantine music that are similar to those of De Falla are to be found in a brilliant analysis by Iannis Xenakis *Vers une métamusique* (La Nef, No. 29, Paris, 1967).<sup>14</sup> Xenakis criticizes Wellesz regarding several items. So, for instance: '*Le déchiffrement des anciennes notations les a tellement absorbés, semble-t-il* [i.e. les spécialistes] *qu'ils en ont négligée la tradition actuelle de l'Église Byzantine et leur a fait exprimer des choses incorrectes. En page 70* [of his History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography] *Egon Wellesz reprend, lui aussi, le mythe des échelles antiques descendentes.*' (Xenakis, *Musique. Architecture.*, p. 55 n.)

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Out of many stylistic paradigms intrinsically referring to musical poetics of their own and characterizing the artistic attitudes in recent epochs, it is not necessarily the most promising syndrome that wins the evolutionary process *for the subsequent future*. Like Bachelard before him, Thomas Samuel Kuhn pointed out (in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 1962) that the history of science is not a smooth progressive accumulation of data and successful theory, but the outcome of ruptures, false starts, and imaginative constraints that themselves reflect many different variables. *Something similar happens with the evaluation process of past artistic strata and developments.* Yet, a Hegelian historical optimism is nothing but a lazy sophism.<sup>15</sup> Schoenberg declared that, with his twelve-note technique of composing, he would ensure the supremacy of (Austro)-German music for the next hundred years.<sup>16</sup> It might be that he

*certaines danses basques, comme le zortzico à 5/8 ?* (Vladimir Jankélévitch, *Ravel*, [in French], Éditions du Seuil, Paris 1975, p. 97.)

<sup>13</sup> The controversy was illuminated, among many others, in *The Time and the Arts* by Dragutin Gostuški (*Vreme umetnosti* [in Serbian], Prosveta, Belgrade, 1968, pp. 204–5). It is an unhappy incidence for universal science that this original and fascinating *Contribution to the Foundation of a General Morphology* [*Prilog zasnivanju jedne opšte nauke o oblicima*], in fact a philosophy of Western Civilization's arts which deals in particular with thinking modernity, has still not been translated into an international language of today—say into English.

<sup>14</sup> See in Iannis Xenakis, *Musique. Architecture.*, [in French], Casterman, S. A., Tournai, 1971, pp. 38–70.

<sup>15</sup> Hegelian self-satisfaction with the state of strata and developments leads to a sort of fatalism and the consequent paralysis of action. Failing to revoke the Hegelian ways of conceiving reality meant missing the true task of the twentieth-century modernism. This failure led to a post-modernist frame of mind which licenced the retreat to an aesthetic, ironic, detached, and playful attitude to one's own beliefs and to the march of events. This retreat is socially irresponsible and in its upshot highly conservative.

<sup>16</sup> 'I have made a discovery which will ensure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years.' (Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg. His Life, World and Work*, translated from the German by Humphrey Searle, Schirmer Books, New York, 1977, p. 277.)

guessed right. On the other hand, Debussy thought that his music would be understood only in the hundred years to come.<sup>17</sup> This hundredth year is coming soon. If such an actualization of the French master's ways occurs, it would certainly not imply that everybody would have to write 'French music'.

The point of this essay was not to manifest any approval or disapproval concerning the phenomena of cultural history of the last hundred years. Those phenomena have their roots in socio-cultural and socio-political circumstances. Due to the tragic experience of the two World Wars, the Cold War and the present, no less tragic experience of the post-Cold War's enforced optimism of a 'happy merry-go-round', those circumstances brought first a sense of malaise, then one of dismay and finally one of disorientation both to the 'winners' and to the 'losers'. If not looking for regeneration through a futile belief in general progress, at least we can take our chances through our capacity for choice.

*NOTE: THE AUTHOR DEEMED IT APPROPRIATE TO QUOTE IN THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION FROM SIMON BLACKBURN'S SECOND EDITION OF *THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY* (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2005) (1) THE DEFINITION OF WHAT IS 'MODERN', (2) THE DESCRIPTION OF GADAMER'S 'READER RESPONSE THEORY' AND (3) POPPER'S DEFINING OF 'HISTORICISM'. IN THE CONCLUDING SECTION HE QUOTED (1) A DESCRIPTION OF THE 'POST-MODERNIST FRAME OF MIND' AND (2) KUHN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. THE DEFINITION OF 'ÆTHER' IN THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION IS FROM *OXFORD DICTIONARY OF SCIENCE* (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2003).*

*Властимир Трајковић*

## О ПРОМИШЉАЊУ (ПОЈМА) МОДЕРНИТЕТА (У МУЗИЦИ)

Резиме

Научне теорије су оповргљиве док су стилске категорије подложне повременим новим тумачењима. Отуда расправа о околностима услед којих је данас појам музичког модернитета посебно подложен реинтерпретацији. Овај појам никада није био дефинисан на задовољавајући начин. Он упућује пре на лабаву замисао засновану на произвољном консензусу, него на појаву осмотриву са теоријског становишта. Постављена је хипотеза по којој, од многих стилских парадигми што и саме по себи указују на соп-

<sup>17</sup> 'J'écris des choses qui ne seront comprises que par les petits-enfants du vingtième siècle.' (Jean Barraqué, *Debussy* [in French], Éditions du Seuil, Collection « Solfèges », Paris, 1967, p. 123.)

ствене музичке поетнке, (а одражавају разноврсне уметничке склоности новијих времена) — у блијој будућности не побеђује нужно, у процесу еволуције, синдром који највише обећава. Музичка завештања Дебисија и Шенберга доводе се у жижу интересовања. Посебне естетике и увид у устројство музике својствени делима двојице композитора сматрају се карактеристичним за два основна супротстављена и, објективно, у стање ривалитета постављена приступа музичи — а оцењена, на известан начин, кроз делатност наступајућих генерација композитора, ако не свеобухватно, а оно импликовано. То јест, са чисто историјског становишта, предилекције ових генерација композитора могу бити индикативне за статус интристичне, могућно модернистичке релевантности двају поменутих приступа музичи. И одвише познати спор *Шенберг / Стравински* замењен је индикативнијим спором, оним *Шенберг / Дебиси*. Покушано је да се одговори (1) на то да ли би евалуација прошлости била уопште легитимна и (2) на то да ли би се читаво питање новог тумачења историјског тока музике могло ставити у контекст начелне легитимности реинтерпретације општеисторијског тока, и то, нарочито, не само у односу на природу саобразности обају упоредних токова историјских пресека и процеса, тока општеисторијског и тока музичко-историјског, већ, исто тако, у односу на процес евалуације, неизбежно импликован постављањем поменутог питања у контекст постулиране теоријске легитимности.

# FROM THE IDEAL TO THE REAL. A PARADIGM SHIFT.

HELMUT LOOS

ON official occasions German speakers relish to characterise their fellow citizens as, 'the nation of poets and thinkers', however, sometimes German critics pose the question, whether this is still the case.<sup>1</sup> An indication of continuous intellectual productivity can be seen in the contribution of the arts to modernism. This contribution gives proof of creativity and documents, positing progress, intellectual leadership and international production. The discussion concerning this issue is highly visible, the positive connotation of the expression 'poets and thinkers' is commanding. The call of a war speech made in 1917 was, 'from a nation of poets and thinkers to a nation of deeds'<sup>2</sup>. Today every potential doubt about the correctness of the ideal postulation is rejected and the accordance is intensified. But the origin of this dictum is far less pleasant. Johann Karl August Musäus wrote, in 1782 in the preamble to his 'folk tales': 'What would our enthusiastic nation of thinkers, poets, hovers and seers be without the lucky influence of fantasy?'<sup>3</sup> This addresses a more remote and meditative trait, that can be watched critically. For German idealism this proximity to the irrational (fairy tale) is not strange.

Associated with this context, the context of 'musical idealism', is the term 'Geisteswissenschaften' (today – humanities or arts) that originated in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and which is, characteristically, a translation of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Sind wir noch das Volk der Dichter und Denker? 14 Antworten*, hrsg. von G. Kalow, Reinbek, Hamburg, 1964. – H. Wollschläger, *In diesen geistfernen Zeiten. Konzertante Noten zur Lage der Dichter und Denker für deren Volk*, Zürich 1986. – *Sind wir noch das Volk der Dichter und Denker?* Mit Beiträgen von W. Frühwald u.a., Heidelberg, 2004 (Studium Generale, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität 2002/2003).

<sup>2</sup> T. Volbehr, *Vom Volk der Dichter und Denker zum Volk der Tat. Eine Kriegsrede, gehalten in Magdeburg am 10. April 1917*, Magdeburg, 1917.

<sup>3</sup> G. Büchmann, *Geflügelte Worte. Der Zitatenschatz des deutschen Volkes*, 35. Frankfurt a. M.-Berlin 1986, 85.

term 'moral sciences' (John Stuart Mill). As is generally known this expression was used by Wilhelm Dilthey, who created a self-contained group of separate social sciences besides natural sciences. During this time musicology evolved again into a profession at the university. The basis for that was provided both by the enhanced social prestige of music as the highest of the arts, since Schopenhauer at the latest, and the self-concept of the state as a nation of culture. At least in Germany literature and music were considered as coequal. Besides philosophy it was especially poetry that paved the way for the romantic view of music and allowed the valorisation of music. Music as an 'apparentness' is only one of the keywords that we should underline. With its religious main feature the romantic view of music became accepted in the nineteenth century. This view achieved an almost undisputed monopoly position and stayed in command in some partitions of cultural life, in spite of realism, the New Sobriety or the Bauhaus. Ultimately it was the basis for the new musicology in Germany, which turned to the 'land of faith' taking it for granted. With this expression of Heinrich Wackenroder entitled Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht the 'land of music' in his description of the model of romantic musical thinking, which is a model of two worlds<sup>4</sup>. Musicology as a scientific field based on the romantic view of music felt constrained to the masterminds, who supposedly created art works, that will endure eternally and who advised the scientific world to conserve and to interpret the legacy. With philological meticulousness, as in biblical scholarship, complete editions of the great composers were finished. Especially for the compositions of absolute music, a fervour was shown that could be compared with religious worship.

The art work in an emphatic meaning that complied with this concept up to the modernism created an emphatic science of art. This science of art commissioned all its force to the great idea and did not accept discerning views. The romantic view of music with its strict separation between art as an ideal second world and the real world let everything seem secondary or even irrelevant, that is outside the spirit of the great composers, and that is not part of the inner structure of huge art works and their associations with musical history. To define those art works in an emphatic meaning and furthermore the choice, that is to justify the standard canon rationally – this is a serious problem for science. The claim, that the enlightened bourgeois society wanted to settle was based on a world-view that differs from the early religions because of a scientifically proven, unquestionable and high-order legitimisation. It turned out that this thinking had narrow confines; particularly, the character of the aesthetic experience (beauty is sensed!) is quite near to the religious experience. As a result this dilemma caused, consciously or unconsciously, the creation of a religion of art

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<sup>4</sup> H. H. Eggebrecht, *Musik im Abendland. Prozesse und Stationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, München, 1991, 592f.

that shows astounding analogies to the traditional churches. To give an example: the canon of relevant art works in musicology is comparable to the structure of decisions in the Catholic Church, more precisely with the dogmatism given by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Without challenging the importance of this institution inside the denomination, the dubiety becomes apparent, to attribute such a function to science.

How difficult it is to fit a world-view with scientific correctness, was shown by the collapse of Marxism. That this is the same case for an obligatory scientific view of music, doesn't make sense to everybody and is continuously discussed. Anyway it can be held: Analogical to the public discussion of higher prestige, idealism compared to realism, in musicology the research with an aesthetic or historical philosophic direction, has a much higher prestige than meticulous analyses of music or complex research of music culture. The unbroken carrier of the musical thinking of Theodor W. Adorno, who depended on empiricism but at the same time was suspicious of this empiricism, allocates the above-mentioned issue.

In return, maybe it's the time to create equipoise: a 'realistic view of history'. Its function could be, to accentuate the world of living of the past way beyond the history of ideas. That means to focus everyday life with music. It goes without saying that this cannot be mentioned in its entirety with all kinds of music. Hence I will concentrate on studies, which are closely connected with the history of the 'Tonkunst' – musical art, the starting point of my thoughts. In the following research on the repertoire concerning symphonic concert performances is in the focus of the discussion. This research could make a contribution to a 'realistic view of history'. In doing so, aspects of history and modernism flow together.

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'Which pieces of music are being played by German orchestras this season?', 'Which pieces did they play in the past?' or 'What did they play decades or centuries ago?' – these questions cannot be answered exhaustively by the musicology. They are questions that should not be questioned, because they evoke abashment. Anyhow, broad works of reference are available, which outline musical territory in Germany, Austria or Switzerland, for example the 'Musik-Almanach'<sup>5</sup> for German music culture, edited since 1986. Effortlessly you can gain a survey of musical institutions: in Germany there are 150 orchestras for concert and theater performances and radio orchestras. But the beginning of embarrassment is the beginning of detailed research on the programs of

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<sup>5</sup> The *Musik-Almanach*, published by Deutscher Musikrat, has appeared every second year since 1986.

the time.<sup>6</sup> We do not know the parts of the 'musical daylife', that really lived at this time, because the statistics are missing. Consequently it is not easy to define the level of modernity in the present programs of music for the orchestra. At the best you bank on certain points of reference: for instance a paper by Günther Engelman from 1990 concerning concert statistics entitled 'Are German orchestras turning to stone?'.<sup>7</sup> This article appeared in the periodical 'Das Orchester', which is the common organizational structure of the German Orchestra association. In 1994, research by Frauke M. Hess followed, concerning the contemporary music in German symphonic concerts in the 1980s, but the result is similar as above – statistics are rare.<sup>8</sup>

Still—and this is where we touch again this delicate matter—those who view the subject from close up and from afar, agree in principle in their opinion on the current concert situation. It is a popular opinion, mirroring experiences, that what is played in the concert series of the orchestras can be likened to the contents of museums dedicated to the classical and the romantic epochs as the main subject, whilst early and modern music play a rather puny role on the fringes, which is just balanced by the existence of subculture scenes, which each have their own concert series, festivals and ensembles. There is no questioning the accuracy of the understatement. Still, it is not to be confused with a scientific evaluation, on which the 'realistic view of history', that was mentioned earlier, could be based. In order to avoid clinging to the absolute, there is a need to complement the concrete, i.e. a branch of intensive research, into the history of program and repertoire.<sup>9</sup> The research lacks a general idea of a whole – the insight into the historical process of change in the concert institution from the perspective of the performed works. This situation has a tradition. It is something to refer back to.

A noteworthy exception to this, at least in the German-speaking area (Germany, Austria, Switzerland) is the theatre (*Sprechtheater*, opera, ballet, operetta, musical, etc.) of which the repertoire has been documented almost com-

<sup>6</sup> It could be mentioned in passing that in the period 1981-2001 a *Konzert-Almanach* was published that had 22 editions and was intended mainly for music managers; see: *Konzert-Almanach* [...]. Terms, programs, seats, and prices of classical concerts in F.R.Germany and in neighbouring countries, Königswinter [Bonn] 1981 [published once a year: 1st edition 1981/82 (1981), 22nd edition 2002/03 (2002)].

<sup>7</sup> G. Engelmann, "'Versteinern' die deutschen Orchester? Eine Dokumentation zu dieser Frage', in: *Das Orchester*, 38, 1990, 1022-1031.

<sup>8</sup> F. M. Hess, *Zeitgenössische Musik im bundesdeutschen Sinfoniekonzert der achtziger Jahre. Eine kulturästhetische und musikanalytische Bestandsaufnahme* (Diss. 1993), Essen 1994. (= Musikwissenschaft/Musikpädagogik in der Blauen Eule 19).

<sup>9</sup> The term *repertoire* is understood in the modern sense, as it refers here to the statistically measured scope of performed works. So, it is not viewed as just a stock of written or published musical works, for instance in the context of *Hofkapellmusik*, about whose performances and their frequency in later times almost nothing is known. See: W. Braun, "'Repertoire': unspezifisches Schlüsselwort', in: *Musica* 37, 1983, 125-129.

pletely since 1896/97.<sup>10</sup> This is actually more an achievement of stage associations and dramatists than of musicology, which neglected the systematic appraisal of the repertoire as of 1896/97 as well as continuative analyses of the programs (with the appropriate historiographical conclusions), without ever denying the importance of this research in earnest.<sup>11</sup>

It would be unfair to turn the declaration of apparent shortcomings into an accusation, judging musicology harshly. Similar to the way the preconditions under which the romantic view on arts, the concepts of *Kunstreligion* or 'musical idealism' became popular can be made plausible, it should be possible to explore the reasons, why it is that a realistic image of history and presence is such a long time coming. The hypothesis suggests itself, that the unstoppable *Höhenflug* of *Kunstreligion* per se commanded that we put up with a quantum of loss of reality, to guarantee a better chance of survival.

Maybe this notion goes too far! One has to take into account, how important it was for the musical trade press, to include news with a minimum of ground level, particularly the city- reports from large medium and small cities at home and abroad. Until today these reports of correspondence have proven to be a very important and an indispensable pool in which to evaluate the continued existence of local concert institutions, to get to know their inner organisation and to get information about the repertoire of the performed works.

Admittedly, musical journalism of the nineteenth century showed little interest in exploring the musical topography of the country closely or systemati-

<sup>10</sup> Basic sources for this theme include: *Neuer Theater-Almanach, Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch* (1889ff), and above all *Deutscher Bühnen-Spielplan* [1896/97 (1. Jg.)-1943/44 (48. Jg.)] as well as the lists of performed works on the theatrical stages of GDR and FRG; here could be mentioned a selection of studies on the subject: S. Schott, *Die Opernaufführungen der deutschen Bühnen und des Gr. Hof- und Nationaltheaters in Mannheim im Jahrzehnt 1901-1911. Ein Beitrag zur Theaterstatistik*, Mannheim, 1913; E. Schott, *Zur Soziologie der Bühne. Die Oper im Jahrzehnte 1901/02-1910/11*, ms. Diss. Heidelberg 1921; Henrich, Bert[h]a, *Gestaltung und Besuch der Lustbarkeiten der Stadt Karlsruhe im Kriege. Ein Beitrag zur Theater- und Konzertstatistik*, ms. Diss. Heidelberg 1920; W. Poensgen, *Der deutsche Bühnen-Spielplan im Weltkriege*, Berlin, 1934; *Die vormals Königlichen, jetzt Preußischen Staatstheater zu Berlin. Statistischer Rückblick auf die künstlerische Tätigkeit und die Personalverhältnisse während der Zeit vom 1. Januar 1886 bis 31. Dezember 1935*. Nach den amtlichen Quellen zusammengestellt von Georg Droscher, Berlin, 1936; F.-P. Köhler, *Die Struktur der Spielpläne deutschsprachiger Opernbühnen von 1896 bis 1966*, Koblenz 1968; D. Hadamczik, J. Schmidt, W. Schulze-Reimpell, *Was spielten die Theater? Bilanz der Spielpläne in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945-1975*, Reimann-Rolandseck, 1978; *Vergleichende Theaterstatistik 1949/50-1984/85. Theater und Kulturochester in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Österreich und der Schweiz*, hrsg. vom Deutschen Bühnenverein u.a., Köln, 1987.

<sup>11</sup> So, for the last century and longer, it has been spoken widely of the museum-character (*Musealisierung*) or historicality (*Historisierung*) of opera and concert – though not always expressed strongly – which is seen as a result of the repertoire politics (M. Loeser, 'Mit dem Konzertrepertoire ist es wie mit der Bildergalerie ...'. Aspekte des Museumsgedankens in der Pariser Musikkultur des 19. Jahrhunderts', in: *Die Musikforschung* 58, 2005, 3-10).

cally. Posterity finds itself confronted with an overflowing ocean of local news coverage, which is appreciated and exploited even though it is easy to get lost. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century, that this lack of orientation came into greater awareness. It's no coincidence, that the music-scholar (Musikgelehrte) Friedrich Chrysander, who is regarded as the 'founder of modern methodical study of sources'<sup>12</sup> in musicology, was the first to publish a sociographical stock-taking, keen on accuracy, of the musical life of his time. In 1867 he published the results of a survey taken in 110 cities under the title 'Versuch einer Statistik der Gesangvereine und Concertinstitute Deutschlands und der Schweiz' ('An attempt at statistics for the choral societies and concert institutes in Germany and Switzerland'): a catalogue ('statistics') of correspondent activities, sorted by city, the results of which surprisingly remain to be commented upon.<sup>13</sup> Following this approach, widely expanded stock-takings were released in later times, in particular sundry 'musical calendars' (1879–1943).<sup>14</sup> Finally the 'Jahrbuch der deutschen Musikorganisation' (the 'Yearbook of the German musical organisation'),<sup>15</sup> which was edited 1931 under the aegis of Leo Kestenberg also belongs to this chain of publications.<sup>16</sup> This yearbook is a monumental work, researched at the greatest operating expense, which broached the issue of the economic side of musical organisation for the first time. All the stock-takings since Chrysander have in common that they strived to make the institutional and organisational level of musical life lucid, and leave aside transcendent questions, about programme or repertoire for example.

It has been noted, that the musical trade press, particularly the so-called 'allgemeinen Musikzeitschriften' (general musical journals) had the role of precursor in matters of publishing and reviewing of programs. Ever since the first third of the nineteenth century one comes, at times, across substantial programme-statistics, dedicated to greater time-frames and to a single concert institution, like the Hamburger Philharmonische Gesellschaft, the Kölner Gürzenichkonzerte, or the Leipziger Gewandhauskonzerte. Given their rarity, the printing of such statistics seems coincidental, as if it sprung up by a whim of nature. Always the restriction to local matters strikes the attention, a limitation which was overcome by Chrysander and his 'Versuch einer Statistik der Ge-

<sup>12</sup> MGG, 1st ed., Vol. 2, Art. Karl Franz Friedrich Chrysander, Kassel/Basel, 1952, 1415.

<sup>13</sup> F. Chrysander (ed.), 'Versuch einer Statistik der Gesangvereine und Concertinstitute Deutschlands und der Schweiz', in *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft*, 2. Vol., Leipzig, 1867, 337–374.

<sup>14</sup> *Allgemeiner deutscher Musiker-Kalender* [later: *Max Hesse's deutscher Musiker-Kalender* (1886–1922), *Ver einigter Musiker-Kalender Hesse-Stern* (1923–1927), *Hesses Musiker-Kalender* (1928–1941), *Deutscher Musiker-Kalender* (1942–1943)], 1. Jg. (1879) – 65. Jg. (1943).

<sup>15</sup> *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musikorganisation*, Berlin-Schöneberg, 1931.

<sup>16</sup> See: R. Thielecke, *Die soziale Lage der Berufsmusiker und die Entstehung, Entwicklung und Bedeutung ihrer Organisationen*, ms. Diss. Frankfurt a.M. 1921; J. Müller, *Deutsche Kulturstatistik (Einschl. der Verwaltungsstatistik). Ein Grundriss für Studium und Praxis*, Jena, 1928.

sangvereine und Concertinstitute Deutschlands und der Schweiz' with pleasant effect. Even as we have to do without extensive concert-statistics for the nineteenth century, it is still known how they were longed for by contemporaries. Excellent evidence is provided in an article by Wilhelm Kienzl, 'Mahnrede' (exhortations) of 1885, from which we may quote extensively:

'It would be a very thankworthy and interesting undertaking of music-theorists to extend the in so many scientific (particularly historic) fields important use of statistics to the subject of music-performance. Certainly this would have to happen on a large scale, so as to take actual scientific advantage from it. All concert programs of all years of all the reasonably important cities would have to be collected and statistically excerpted, to gain a general view over the high and low tides of the musical likings of different peoples and even the art-historical swaying of whole nations and humanity in general. Because this task is too great for one, first for its immense extensiveness and also for the soul-destroying uniformity of the collecting, there should be, in each of the cities, one collector, who compiles a yearly concert-revue. The same should, above all, contain an alphabetical register of composers with indications to the number of their works publicly performed in that season (no matter if symphony or song), to show to what extent certain composers are unduly cultivated or neglected in a city, and further to show, if the proverb 'nemo propheta in patria' proves true with native composers, etc.'

Furthermore the proportion of performed vocal and instrumental works should be stated and under these main categories again the care of possible combination within.

How great a perspective this gives for future musical research! This proposition should be earnestly considered.<sup>17</sup>

There is a twofold request in this exhortation. Kienzl pleads for self-ascertainment in the reality of musical life and expects to gain—partly as a side effect—a collection of information for future music-research. As one can guess, his exhortation had for the time being no success.

It was not until the early twentieth century that Kienzl's desiderata came partially or preliminarily true. For example Concert-programmes of Viennese music-institutions were elaborately disclosed in the 'Musikbuch aus Österreich' (Austrian music book),<sup>18</sup> a Handbook for music-organisation, which was published from 1904 to 1913. The 'Konzertprogramme der Gegenwart' (concert-programmes of the present), that were released as a periodical in 7 volumes from 1910 to 1919 took it one step further, and were rather intent on independence.<sup>19</sup> At this point there is not much to be gained from enumerating further tesserae which could be useful to

<sup>17</sup> W. Kienzl, 'Mahnrede. Musikalische Vorschläge', in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 42, 1885, Vol. 81, Tl. 2, 469–471, here: 470.

<sup>18</sup> *Musikbuch aus Österreich. Ein Jahrbuch der Musikpflege in Österreich und den bedeutendsten Städten des Auslandes* (1, 1904 – 10, 1913).

<sup>19</sup> *Konzertprogramme der Gegenwart* (1, 1910/11 – 7, 1917/19).

research. Valuable tesserae are at hand, but when it comes down to it, they amount to just a fragment, shining only in a few places.

Against this background it becomes clear that it was no minor venture when Rebecca Grotjahn chose 'The Symphony in the German Cultural Area from 1850 to 1875. A Contribution to the History of Genres and Institutions' (1998) as subject for her thesis.<sup>20</sup> It was due to the lack of fruitful preparatory work, particularly in the field of systematic research of repertoire, that the author had no other way than to draw primarily on the wealth of music-periodicals. Her reason was: 'While on the one hand the present description depends on primary sources, it was on the other hand necessary to do without a lengthy, time-consuming search for almost inaccessible (if not overall untraceable) programmes. Instead concert reviews and season-reports, that were regularly printed in the supra regional press, were used as a basis. Added to those were some local-historical studies, which contained extensive information about programme-design.'<sup>21</sup> Embarrassment sounds from the approach of this thesis, which, to be solidly based, necessitates the analysis of remote sources, which are unattainable in the desired abundance. These difficulties imply that the author refrains from consulting relevant sources (Programmes, repertoire-statistical allegations, etc.) from the outset, and enforcedly concentrates on the music-press – which makes the thesis appear as a contribution to concert-coverage rather than the history of the concert institution. Apparently research of repertoire exceeds the working capacities of a single person; it should be achieved by a researchers association (which is in the humanities as rare as it is essential), akin to the RISM-project.

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Let us dare to proceed to the present! To date well-founded research on repertoire in connection with urban historical studies is scarcely perceptible Europe-wide. Many studies concerning the early, recent and modern urban history are existent, as are single studies concerning the history of institutions, preferentially dignified concert halls, orchestras and ensembles or 'Sing- und Oratorienvereine'. It is remarkable that in many cases these studies are a 'Festschrift' to mark a jubilee and often do not comply with the standards of a scientific documentation. The existing papers can hardly be considered to amount to a reliable general overview. Even for local historiography these studies are a problem, if not an impertinence.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> R. Grotjahn, *Die Sinfonie im deutschen Kulturgebiet 1850 bis 1875. Ein Beitrag zur Gattungs- und Institutionengeschichte* (= Musik und Musikanschauung im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien und Quellen 7), (Diss. Hannover 1997), Sinzig, 1998.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 143f.

<sup>22</sup> On the state of contemporary discussions, see: J. Kremer, 'Regionalforschung heute? Last und Chance eines historiographischen 'Konzepts'' und R. Nägele, 'Zur Methodologie re-

Moreover they are restricted almost exclusively to so-called 'high culture' that is to say the bourgeois music and theatre life. Hard to ignore the grave deficit in research concerning overlapping studies about the institutions of religious music of different confessions or about contemporary popular music; dance music, military music or light music. The failures of bibliography are also characteristic: the bibliography of Richard Schaal concerning local historical research dates back more than fifty years and has not been continued till this date.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless local historical research holds some aces, not only in the case of Leipzig. But I will come back to this later. Former cities of residence like Dresden, Hanover, Kassel, Munich, Mannheim, Meiningen, Oldenburg, Stuttgart, Weimar or Vienna came to the fore of the science, aside from the civil cities Breslau, Essen, Hamburg, Cologne or Frankfurt a. M. and self-evident the metropolis Berlin with its philharmonic orchestra (founded in 1882) that was the centre of the excellent program documentation by Peter Muck.<sup>24</sup>

The situation of German research has an analogy in the western part of Europe: again single studies concerning musical institutions in outstanding cities dominate and an ascertainment of the general situation is the exception.<sup>25</sup> In the French research there are some outstanding inventories on the 'Concert spirituel' (1725–1790) in Paris<sup>26</sup> or about the Parisian Association of chamber music in the second third of the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> A few years ago a broad study was announced concerning three Parisian orchestra societies: 'Le Concert Symphonique à Paris de 1861 à 1914: Pasdeloup, Colonne, Lamoureux', arranged by Élisabeth Bernard. In Great Britain Simon McVeigh released a pulse in musicology by researching the musical life of London on a new basis<sup>28</sup>. Further studies concerning musical topography are in progress<sup>29</sup>. The works of William Weber have played a leading role in American advanced studies for several decades.<sup>30</sup> He has an

gionaler Musikforschung oder: Was ist baden-württembergische Musik?', in: *Die Musikforschung*, 57, 2004, 110–121 resp. 121–133; see also N. Jers (ed.), *Musikalische Regionalforschung heute – Perspektiven rheinischer Musikgeschichtsschreibung*, Kassel, 2002 (= Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichtsschreibung 159).

<sup>23</sup> R. Schaal, *Das Schrifttum zur musikalischen Lokalgeschichtsforschung. Ein Nachschlagewerk*, Kasse, 1947.

<sup>24</sup> P. Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester*, 3 Vols., Tutzing, 1982.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. C. Szabó-Knotik (ed.), *Wien – Triest um 1900. Zwei Städte – eine Kultur?*, Wien, 1993.

<sup>26</sup> C. Pierre, *Histoire du concert spirituel. 1725–1790*, Paris, 1975.

<sup>27</sup> J.-M. Fauquet, *Les sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870. Préface de François Lesure*, Paris, 1986.

<sup>28</sup> S. McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, Cambridge, 1993.

<sup>29</sup> See: S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds.), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). Review from J. Schaarwächter, in: *Die Musikforschung*, 58, 2005, 445.

<sup>30</sup> W. Weber, *Music and the Middle Class. The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna*, New York 1975; same author, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-*

excellent reputation because of his research on social history concerning European musical life in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, dedicated to the metropolises of London, Paris, Vienna and other cities. At present an all-embracing survey resulting from western international cooperation is offered by the anthology 'Le concert et son public. Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914' published in 2002.<sup>31</sup> At the same time his concentration on western countries it is ample proof that research on music culture in Western- and Eastern Europe have a tendency to go their own ways and not yet to find together what factual issues actually call for. Though it is conceded that the conditions for research in the Eastern European Countries under these political circumstances were not that good before 1989/90 and still they are not always positive.<sup>32</sup>

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Let us finally return to the local order of magnitude. In contrast to the situation mentioned in this place, remarkable for having a gap in the progress of research, the town Leipzig takes up an unmistakable special status in local and repertoire research. The concerts of the Gewandhaus and the Gewandhausorchester are excellently documented.<sup>33</sup> The newer and older research pays steadfast attention to the rest of the local music institutions though it is not always revealed.<sup>34</sup> It is grown into a habit that research always falls back on the complete compiled material of the Gewandhausorchester, if you wish to say something about historical research on repertoire, recognizable in 'Repertoirebildung und Kanonisierung. Zur Vorgeschichte des Klassikbegriffs (1800–1835)' by

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*Century England. A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*, Oxford 1992; same author, *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700 – 1914. Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, Bloomington, 2004.

<sup>31</sup> *Le concert et son public. Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914 (France, Allemagne, Angleterre)*. Sous la direction de Hans Erich Bödeker, Patrice Veit, Michael Werner avec la collaboration de Julia Kraus et Dominique Lassaigne, Paris 2002. International or interdisciplinary cooperation was established in a similar way when preparing the entries 'Akademie' and 'Konzert', as well as the Sammelband: *Akademie und Musik. Erscheinungsweisen und Wirkungen des Akademiedenkens in Kultur- und Musikgeschichte: Institutionen, Veranstaltungen, Schriften. Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag*. Zugleich W. Frobenius (ed.), *Bericht über das Symposium 'Der Akademiedanke in der Geschichte der Musik und angrenzender Fächer'* (Saarbrücken 1991), Saarbrücken, 1993.

<sup>32</sup> An absolute exception was provided by the work of R. Ritter, *Wem gehört Musik? Warschau und Wilna im Widerstreit nationaler und städtischer Musikkulturen vor 1939*, Stuttgart, 2004 (Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa, Bd. 19).

<sup>33</sup> A. Dörfel, *Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerfe zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis 25. November 1881*, Leipzig 1884; E. Creuzburg, *Die Gewandhaus-Konzerte zu Leipzig 1781–1931*, Leipzig 1931; J. Forner (ed.), *Die Gewandhauskonzerte zu Leipzig 1781–1981*, Leipzig, 1981.

<sup>34</sup> Very welcome was the series: *Musikstadt Leipzig. Studien und Dokumente*, 4 Vols, Hamburg, 1998ff.

Erich Reimer.<sup>35</sup> He explained the meaning of the common expressions 'Repertoire' and 'Kanon' at the beginning of the nineteenth century just by using the example of Leipzig. It is questionable to what extend the results of his studies can be generalized.

In spite of the relatively promising situation concerning the town of Leipzig, there are striking deficits too. The concerts which took place in the 'Alberthalle' or even the programs of the world-famous 'Thomanerchor' are still not documented. They are waiting for research on the slips of paper and record books written by the prefects of the 'Thomasschule'. The sources are available in the 'Stadtgeschichtliches Museum' (museum of history) Leipzig and in the 'Thomasschule'. It concerns over 3000 printed slips of paper since 1869 and handwritten books of motets since 1822 just in the case of the 'Thomanerchor'. In addition to the institutions above mentioned at the same time there were the 'Orchestervereinigung Euterpe' (1824–1885), the Liszt Society (1885–1902), the Academic Concerts conducted by Hermann Kretzschmar (1890–1895) and the 'Windersteinorchester' founded in 1896.<sup>36</sup>

The registered societies of choirs and their significance in the late nineteenth century have to be considered as well. Indeed Leipzig has seen a remarkable number of these societies. In the 'Taschenbuch für deutsche Sänger 1864' twenty four choirs are mentioned in the case of Leipzig, even more than Berlin (twenty two) or Vienna (seventeen)<sup>37</sup>. For the situation concerning male voice choirs there is a snapshot at the moment when the 'Deutsche Sängerbund' was founded in 1862. Therefore important choirs like the 'Thomanerchor' and the 'Leipziger Singakademie', which participated in great choir-involved symphonic concerts in the 'Gewandhaus' at the beginning of the nineteenth century, are missing. Beyond that, workers choral societies have been ignored completely at this point. At the time of the statistics other choir societies did not exist anymore like the choir society 'Orpheus' or the 'Musikalische Tunnel',<sup>38</sup> or they did not yet exist like the 'Leipziger Gausängerbund' (1864), the 'Bach-Verein' Leipzig (since 1875)<sup>39</sup> and the 'Schubertbund' or the 'Leipziger Lehrergesangverein' (since 1876).<sup>40</sup> Almost

<sup>35</sup> E. Reimer, *Repertoirebildung und Kanonisierung*, 241–260.

<sup>36</sup> For an overview of the earlier times, see: B. Senff, *Führer durch die musikalische Welt. Adressbuch, Chronik und Statistik aller Städte von Bedeutung: Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1868; see also the conclusion by I. and G. Hempel in *Musikstadt Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1979, 113f.

<sup>37</sup> F. Brusniak and D. Klenke (eds.), *Taschenbuch für deutsche Sänger 1864. Reprint mit Einführung*, Schillingsfürst 1996, 130–133. Let us mention: Universitäts-Gesangverein zu St. Pauli, Liedertafel, Germania, Akademischer Gesangverein Arion, Astraea, Guttenberg, Zöllnerbund, Riedel'scher Verein, Ossian, Glocke, Euterpe, Gewerblicher Bildungsverein, Cäcilia, Männergesangverein, Richard Müller'scher Verein, Teutonia, Sängerverein Hellas, Gesangverein Vorwärts, Anakreon, Phönix, Liederlust, Liederkranz, Gesangverein die Neunzehner and Luscinia.

<sup>38</sup> Schmidt, *Das Musikleben*, 145 and 153f.

<sup>39</sup> R. Beer, *Der Bach-Verein zu Leipzig 1875–1899*, Leipzig, 1900.

<sup>40</sup> *Bericht des Leipziger Lehrergesangvereins 1876–1886*, Leipzig, 1886.

nothing is known about the repertoire of these music societies. Their documentation is still due.

As a result the local research on repertoire shows that the concerts of the 'Gewandhaus' are revealed perfectly whereas concerts of all other institutions, which are important for the construction of a realistic view of history, still await documentation.

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In conclusion there is no need to emphasize that a broader basis for research concerning the history of repertoire is desirable. It stands to reason to talk about it as a demand for coming research. Especially in view of the fact that several researchers either have more tasks than they can handle or at best make progress at certain points with their time-consuming research. Recall at this point once again the methodical problems of the work of Rebecca Grotjahn. What she said about the inadequate state of the research of repertoire, with a view of the concerts, applies on the contrary not only to the discussed period from 1850 to 1875, but for the last two centuries as a whole. Yet it is impossible to overlook that the author concentrated on only one, albeit extensive question that relates to the position of the symphony in the history of genre and institution. It is easily to imagine what it would mean to extend the question to other genres and kinds of music or other cultural areas. Similarly you can anticipate the potential problems every researcher of repertoire would be confronted with.

Nowadays it is easier to succeed in overcoming the repeatedly addressed desideratum in research by using research methods supported by computing, as the German research on the broadcast programs of the Weimar Republic did. It is of urgent interest to music research to use the existent innovative technical potential of the present in the most profitable way. And we have to take it to the, of now, almost impenetrable area to improve awareness of the realities of past musical life. This includes the necessarily diverse concepts of the musical Modern age, beginning with the 'music of the future' to the point of 'Postmodernism'. They have to be discussed in their own contexts and not to be played off against each other.

To this reality belongs in the end also the environment of music reception, that at the beginning was adumbrated with the cues 'the people of poets and thinkers', 'cultural nation', 'romantic view of music' or 'religion of arts'. For a long time we were used to associate the 'musical main culture' with these cues. However, everybody knows that the so called main culture has never been predominant, nor is it today. And because we know this for sure, probably nothing would speak against assigning the small facts of the big reality to the ideal world, the repertoire research or multicultural urbanity. 'Rethinking of modernism' means in this context: 'Rethinking of musical idealism and back to the facts, or go on to research'.

*Хелмут Лос*

## ОД ИДЕАЛНОГ ДО РЕАЛНОГ. ПРОМЕНА ПАРАДИГМЕ

### Р е з и м е

Немци, који себе радо виде као „народ песника и мислилаца“, створили су музикологију као „духовну науку“ која показује приметну равнодушност према оним историјским чињеницама које се не односе на изузетна уметничка дела. Колики значај једно широко постављено проучавање репертоара припада и модерни, показано је на приказу стања у овој области пред почетак једног таквог истраживања.



# PARADISE LOST: NEOCLASSICISM AND THE MELANCHOLIA OF MODERNISM

JONATHAN CROSS

THE word ‘neoclassical’ is a problematic one, especially in relation to Stravinsky. It traps and constrains us; it distorts. We have become accustomed to its standing for an entire thirty-year period of Stravinsky’s output. While the problems of such periodisation are obvious, it is nonetheless virtually impossible to shift the entrenched view that all Stravinsky’s music written between c.1920 and c.1950 is essentially neoclassical, and that it is starkly differentiated from what went before (Russian primitivism) and what came after (serialism). The consequences of this categorisation are that Stravinsky’s neoclassical move came to represent a turning back on the high modernist achievements of *The Rite of Spring*, an abandonment of the modernist project, an anti-modernism.

In the case of Schoenberg, we are aware that the establishment of his three style-periods was, in large part, a result of Schoenberg’s own self-historicising. His much-discussed essay, ‘Composing with twelve tones’,<sup>1</sup> presents us with a developmental narrative that leads us from Beethoven via Brahms and Wagner and the progressive dissolution of tonality, to the culminating achievement of the twelve-note method. Schoenberg claims he had no choice; he was the product of historical necessity, the Chosen One through whom the true path to the new music was to be found. Those (progressive) values that made the music of Beethoven and Brahms great, so his story goes, are what make his music great too.

And for so long historians have been content to retell this story. Until recently it has coloured not only our understanding of Schoenberg’s music, but also our understanding of the whole of musical modernism. Modern music, we are told, began in 1908 with Schoenberg’s abandonment of the key-signature at the end of his Second String Quartet as the soprano sings, prophetically, ‘Ich

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<sup>1</sup> See A. Schoenberg, *Style and Idea* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975).

fühle Luft von anderen Planeten'. This break with the past was consolidated in the first of the *Three Piano Pieces*, Op. 11 (1909) – in Allen Forte's phrase, Schoenberg's 'first atonal masterwork'.<sup>2</sup> In Forte's view, there is no vestige of tonality here; it is absolutely atonal. His 1981 analysis is achieved by means of pitch-class set theory, whose principles are designed to demonstrate the presence and operation of atonality. But what makes this a 'masterwork'? Ironically, the same principle that, in Schenker's terms, makes for a masterwork in tonal music: unity. Forte's analysis demonstrates how the movement can be understood as a composing-out of a relatively small number of 'motives' that bind the whole together. But how is this any different from what Beethoven or Brahms did? How does this analysis tell us anything about the newness, the modernity of Schoenberg?

Forte here appears here to be doing Schoenberg's bidding – the analytical method highlights Schoenberg's connections with Brahms as well as certain proto-serial procedures (as in Schoenberg's own analyses of Brahms). Striking, then, is Forte's contradictory denial of any trace of tonal reference. But the opening of Op. 11/1 would seem to suggest otherwise (see Ex. 1). The melodic shapes, the phrase structure, the appoggiaturas, the cadences, all belong in the nineteenth century. Why try to deny them? The answer must lie in the fact that they do not function tonally. 'The music seems to invite, and then frustrate, a tonal analysis', writes Joseph Straus.<sup>3</sup>

But can we dismiss the tonal references so easily? Richard Taruskin has written recently in terms of the 'music that formed the immediate historical background to Schoenberg's expressionistic idiom [which] was particularly rich in expressive appoggiaturas (or Seufzer, 'sighs' [...]'), and it is clear that Schoenberg intended such associations to remain in force'.<sup>4</sup> It is surely impossible to imagine that an audience in Schoenberg's day would have listened to this music closed off from its late-nineteenth century context. Even today audiences will still listen to this music in the context of the wealth of tonal music that surrounds it.

If, like Forte, we follow Schoenberg's line, then there would seem to be little that is new about Op. 11. What we hear is not something moving forward to the future, but rather something that is collapsing inwards with the weight of the past. There is certainly an extreme intensification of Brahmsian thematicism and Wagnerian chromaticism here. Yet the functional principles of tonality are absent. This would seem, then, to suggest something that is not more than Brahms and

<sup>2</sup> A. Forte, 'The Magical Kaleidoscope: Schoenberg's First Atonal Masterwork, Opus 11, Number 1', *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute*, 5/2 (1981), 127–68.

<sup>3</sup> J. Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 25.

<sup>4</sup> R. Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Vol. 4, 'The Early Twentieth Century', 319–20.

Wagner, but less. One might argue that the decadent excess in one domain is meant to compensate for or even disguise the crucial lack in another. This plays into the hands of Schoenberg's harshest critics that this is just wrong-note music.



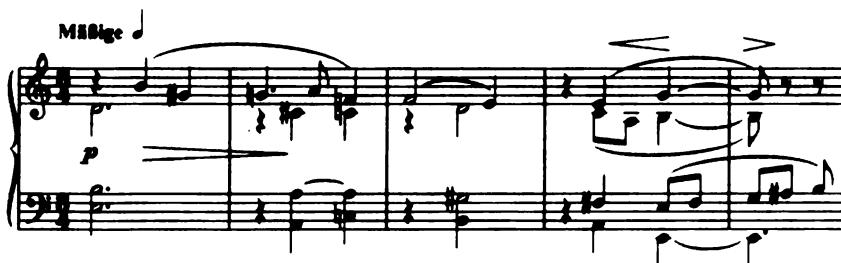
Example 1.

Let us return to the opening bars. There have been other readings. Leichtentritt, Brinkmann and Samson,<sup>5</sup> among others, have written about this music in a tonal context, an approach also taken by Will Ogden in the next article in the same issue of the journal in which Forte's analysis appeared. Contra-Forte, Ogden argues that this passage is in G major.<sup>6</sup> He makes a strong case based on Schoenberg's own notions of 'schwebende' and 'aufgehoben Tonalität' (fluctuating, suspended), but is there really much in this music as is to suggest G-centred-ness?

<sup>5</sup> H. Leichtentritt, *Musical Form* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), 1st Eng. ed. of 3rd Germ. ed. of *Musikalische Formenlehre* (1927); R. Brinkmann, *Arnold Schönberg: Drei Klavierstücke Op. 11: Studien zur frühen Atonalität bei Schönberg* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1969); J. Samson, *Music in Transition: a Study of Tonal Expansion and Atonality, 1900–1920* (London: Dent, 1977).

<sup>6</sup> W. Ogdon, 'How tonality functions in Schoenberg's opus 11, number 1', *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute*, 5/2 (1981), 169–81.

What are the tonal allusions? **Ex. 2** is just one attempt to show this by means of a relatively obvious re-harmonisation. The melody invites such a hearing. (Note that very few changes have had to be made to arrive at this harmonisation.) The harmonisation attempts to highlight the proximity of Schoenberg's opening, in general, to later nineteenth-century music and, in particular, to a ubiquitously familiar nineteenth-century work, namely *Tristan und Isolde*. Bars 1–3 are a kind of deformation of the opening of the Vorspiel to Act I, with its characteristic *Seufzer*. In a similar way bars 4–8 could be heard as a re-working of the Vorspiel to Act III, with its three utterances (bar form), plagal cadences, 'Tristan' chord and rising melodic figure.



**Example 2.**

What might this tell us? That this is 'Wagner gone wrong'? No. We know that Schoenberg could 'out-do' Wagner if he wanted to: just think of the *Gurrelieder*, saturated with *Tristan*-esque references. I am not suggesting that Op. 11 functions like tonal music, because clearly it does not. But I feel this is more than just 'a façade of antiquated stylistic mannerisms', to use Joseph Straus's phrase.<sup>7</sup> For Schoenberg they were current mannerisms, and their expressive rhetoric was still valid. In a sense, both harmonisations are present: Schoenberg's actual one, in the foreground; mine, in potential, in the background. What for me is so poignant about this music is the way in which it highlights the gap between the (only just) atonal present and the tonal past; atonality here can only be understood in the context of tonality. It is as if we glimpse the past through Schoenberg's musical glass, darkly. But it is also as if Schoenberg himself is here straining to reach back to that past, but cannot quite touch it.

The key question is this: what did the tonal past mean to Schoenberg in the years leading up to the First World War? One hint at an answer can be heard at the end of a work that might well be described, in part at least, as Schoenberg's own first neoclassical work: *Pierrot lunaire*. By 1912, on the verge of giving up writing any music for almost a decade, Schoenberg was breathing the ancient scent of far-off days, to use the customary English rendering of 'O alter

<sup>7</sup> J. Straus, *Remaking the Past*, 26.

'Duft aus Märchenzeit', a metaphor for a tonal past that could never be recaptured, or at the very least could never be the same again (a kind of lost innocence).

‘O alter Duft’ is an understated lamenting for the passing of ‘die liebe Welt’ and a recognition of its distance (see Ex. 3). The borrowed triads allude to that past without attempting to resurrect it. They are modernist fragments, not the whole; the whole has been lost. The fragmented, dislocated, modernist subject yearns for that wholeness, that completeness, even while recognising its impossibility. There is a strong sense of pathos here, one recognised by Adorno when he wrote:

In Schoenberg, everything rests on the solitary subjectivity, withdrawn into itself. The entire third part of *Pierrot* sketches a 'journey home' to a vitreous no-man's-land in whose crystalline and lifeless air the quasi-transcendental subject, liberated from the ensnaresments of the empirical, recovers himself on an imaginary plane. This is served no less by the text than by the complexion of the music that shapes the expression of a castaway finding rescue, the image of hope for the hopeless.<sup>8</sup>

Bewegt ( $\text{d} = \text{ca } 60$ )

Flöte

Klarinette in A.

Geige

Violoncelli

Bewegt ( $\text{d} = \text{ca } 60$ )

Ramsetzen

O al - ter Duft aus Mär - - - chen-zeit, be - nau - - - scheit wie-der mei - ne Sin - - - nel

Bewegt ( $\text{d} = \text{ca } 60$ )

Klavier

**Example 3.**

Adorno is here contrasting Pierrot with Stravinsky's Petrushka. Petrushka is not without subjectivist traits, he writes. However, through 'the liquidation of the victim [Petrushka, and later the young girl sacrificed in *The Rite of Spring*], it [Stravinsky's music] rids itself of intentions, those of its own proper subjec-

<sup>8</sup> T. W. Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 109.

tivity.<sup>9</sup> Adorno played a crucial role in sustaining negative attitudes to Stravinsky's neoclassicism amongst, for example, the Darmstadt generation.

But, of course, after the First World War, Schoenberg too became a neoclassicist. There is no doubting the new sense of stylisation in his Baroque Suite for piano, Op.25, an objectivity that comes as much from the renewed engagement with the past as it does from the newly discovered dodecaphonic method. In fact, in the post-war years many composers were declaring a new attitude to the musical materials of the past. There is much common ground between the music of Schoenberg and Stravinsky, a shared modernism in their attitudes to the past, that moves beyond a crude claim to neoclassicism.

My central concern here is an attempt to understand the nature of modernism, the nature of art in late-modern culture. It is an art characterised, I argue, by such features as alienation, nostalgia, loss and mourning. And this is where long-perpetuated arguments between the (progressive) Schoenberg and the (reactionary) Stravinsky camps are ultimately revealed to be pointless. Both composers—albeit in quite different ways—are articulating similar kinds of alienation. The final song of *Pierrot lunaire* represents acutely the alienated late-modern subject, freighted with a melancholic nostalgia for a past that is lost, for a completeness that can never be regained. The rupture between present and past, on the verge of the catastrophe of the Great War, could not be more prophetic. And the alienated subject is a theme that runs throughout Stravinsky's works, too: *Petrushka*, *The Nightingale*, *The Soldier's Tale*, *Oedipus Rex*, *Persephone*, *The Rake's Progress*, among others. Far from being merely 'l'art pour l'art', this music, in Stephen Walsh's words, 'that supposedly expresses nothing, and always seemed studiously, impenetrably deaf to the world around it, has turned out to be the most exact echo and the best response to those terrifying years that brought it into being'.<sup>10</sup> I argue that this theme of the alienated subject is a thread running through the work of many late-modern figures, from Mahler to Birtwistle.

Let us examine a clear example of Stravinsky's neoclassicism. The title of the *Symphony in C* boldly declares its neoclassical intentions, a 'reactionary' neoclassicism confirmed by many of the published accounts of the work's form, thematic organisation and key structure in keeping with its late eighteenth-century symphonic forebears. It is important to note, however, that the work dates from the early years of the Second World War, when Stravinsky was moving home from Europe to America. Though it is not ostensibly 'about' the war, it might yet be understood to represent both Stravinsky's personal circumstances and the world's dire situation during these years. It was written at an extraordinarily difficult time for Stravinsky. He was being exiled for a second time. He had ex-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>10</sup> S. Walsh, *Stravinsky: the Second Exile: France and America 1934–1971* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2006), 572.

perience the deaths within seven months of four close family members. Little wonder that he described the period during which he was composing the symphony as the 'most tragic' of his life. He claims that without this work he would not have survived these difficult days, though he is also quick to stress that the symphony should not be considered an 'exploitation' of his grief.<sup>11</sup> A certain surface humour hides a deeper melancholic strain.

Stravinsky's loss of homeland, daughter, wife and mother is enacted in the music, not of course in directly autobiographical terms, but allegorically in terms of a late-modern lament. Or put in a slightly different way, Stravinsky's personally tragic circumstances led him to take refuge in the music of the past but with which, ultimately, he was no longer able to identify directly (despite an ongoing yearning so to do). So, for example, in the introduction, we hear a Beethovenian three-note motto (B–C–G), ostensibly a  $\wedge 7-\wedge 8-\wedge 5$  figure, but in which the leading-note is unexpectedly elongated. That B-natural carries with it its own tonal history, i.e., as a leading-note it yearns for a resolution, for closure, for completeness, but it cannot be found. It is ultimately left hanging, unresolved. This is the 'narrative' of the symphony. Even if one were to read the leading-note in the introduction as part of a larger 'dominant prolongation' à la Beethoven First Symphony, an uncomplicated tonic arrival is not achieved at the start of the movement proper (see Ex. 4). While one way of hearing the neighbour notes, passing notes and arpeggiations of the main theme is in C (or at least, around C), the accompanying voices tell a different story. The reiterated Es and Gs (no Cs) resist C major. The yearning of the leading-note for resolution is heard against an entirely static harmony that denies such resolution. This is the longing for what cannot be. A kind of arrival is heard 11 bars before the end of the movement when the bassoon drops down to a low C, but any sense of closure is contradicted by the final alternating chords in which the leading-note remains simultaneously resolved and unresolved.

The *Symphony* as a whole, right through to its concluding chorale, represents a kind of lament; it is an expression of Stravinsky's late-modernity. The completeness of the (lost) past cannot be regained; it is present here in the shape and gestures of the classical symphony but, ultimately, only as a poignantly nostalgic memory.

My argument here leads to the possibility of a re-evaluation of neoclassicism as central to, rather than a reaction against, modernism. Stravinsky's neoclassical music—just as much as Schoenberg's dodecaphonic music—participated in the construction of a modernist *Weltanschauung*. Stravinsky, like Schoenberg, was engaged in 'timely reflections on war and death' – to appropriate Freud's phrase of 1915.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See I. Stravinsky and R. Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (London: Faber & Faber, 2002), 188.

<sup>12</sup> See S. Freud, *On Murder, Mourning and Melancholia*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (London: Penguin, 2005).

Example 4.

One key aspect of modernism, as understood by Adorno among others, was a profound nostalgia for what had been lost (i.e., the idea of a constitutive subject). The modernist dwells on this loss, on the impossibility of its retrieval; in so doing he keeps alive its image as a critique of the present. In his last book, *On Late Style*, Edward Said wrote compellingly of the 'return to the eighteenth century' in the work of such figures as Stravinsky, Britten and Strauss.<sup>13</sup> By adopting—two hundred years too late—the manner and techniques of pre-revolutionary, pre-romantic Europe, many of these composers were highlighting their alienation from the horrors that surrounded them. Elsewhere in the book, Said talks about lateness as 'a kind of self-imposed exile from what is generally acceptable, coming after it, and surviving beyond it'.<sup>14</sup> And following Adorno's discussion of the ageing of the new music, Said asserts that there is 'an inherent tension in late style that abjures mere bourgeois aging and that insists on the increasing sense of apartness and exile and anachronism'.<sup>15</sup> I should wish to argue that lateness becomes a trope for modernism itself. It is not just Strauss's late style, to take Said's example, that is imbued with a melancholic world-weariness; alienation, memory and mourning become the defining features of modernist music and of the late-modern condition.

Џонатан Крос

## ИЗГУБЉЕНИ РАЈ: НЕОКЛАСИЦИЗАМ И МЕЛАНХОЛИЈА МОДЕРНИЗМА

Р е з и м е

Позномодерни субјект карактерише се осећајем отуђености од прошлости (што га разликује од постмодерног субјекта). Он се манифестије дубоко меланхоличном носталгијом, сасвим неплодном чекињом ка повратку у (рајску) изгубљену прошлост. Нелагодан однос код Шенберга између прошлости и садашњости (између „традиције“ и „новог“) јасно се чује у многим делима из његовог атоналног периода, од *Три клавирска комада* оп. 11 до *Пјероа Месечара*. Али и код Стравинског у његовим неокласицистичким делима постоји непремостив јаз између прошлости и фрагментисане реалности садашњости, као дубок конфликт између очекивања

<sup>13</sup> E. W. Said, *On Late Style: Music and Literature Against the Grain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), Chap. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 17.

од старих музичких форми и приоритета нове авангарде. И поред њихове безбрежности на површини, ова дела нису само (постмодерна) игра или пастиш, већ и меланхолични израз позномодерног става. Користећи при-  
мере *Симфоније in C* (1938–40) и *Орфеја* (1947) Стравинског, аутор у овом  
раду предлаже нову верзију модернизма XX века, сагледаног из перспек-  
тиве отуђеног субјекта. То је тема која се може пратити кроз цео век, од  
Малера до Бертвисла.

# CENTRES AND MARGINS: SHIFTING GROUNDS IN THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MODERNISM

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IN this paper I consider theoretical and philosophical issues arising from the conceptualization, periodization and location of modernism and the avant-garde. Drawing on critical and post-colonial theory, dominant paradigms of what it is to be 'modern' are examined in relation both to centres and to peripheries of the 'modernist project' – areas which, for historical, cultural and economic reasons, came later to the process of modernization and whose manifestations of modernism and the avant-garde interact tellingly with 'the centre', even if the centre fails in return to acknowledge their existence. At the same time, such modernisms at the margins also interact with indigenous traditions, interactions that often lead to tension and conflict.

For good reason the debates over unequal relations between centres and margins have come to have particular relevance to regions like the Balkans<sup>1</sup> and other parts of Eastern Europe,<sup>2</sup> and also the Iberian Peninsula<sup>3</sup> – regions which have strong indigenous cultural traditions but which are to varying degrees marginalized in relation to the dominant European urban cultural centres of

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<sup>1</sup> The 2007 Belgrade conference from which this volume arises testifies to this. I am grateful to Melita Milin for the clarity of the conceptual framework she set up for the conference, and for the opportunity to think through issues that the invitation to take part offered.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Sanja Bahun-Radunović and Marinos Pourgouris (eds.), *The Avant-Garde and the Margin: New Territories of Modernism* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006). Essays in this volume discuss issues of the avant-garde in Serbia, Romania, Poland, and Greece, as well as French Canada, India and Japan.

<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese composer António Pinho Vargas is currently researching many of the issues discussed in this paper with specific reference to the musical situation in Portugal, and I have profited greatly from many discussions with him in the process of supervising his doctorate at Durham University. See also António Pinho Vargas, 'A usença da música portuguesa no contexto europeo: Uma investigação em curso', *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 78 (October 2007), 47–69.

Western and Central Europe. Seen, however, within the context of 'world culture(s)' and especially 'world music(s)', where, for example, Western art music becomes on the one hand simply one 'style' within a multiplicity of styles and on the other hand remains nevertheless an integral part of the dominant power structure of the West, then, as Björn Heile has commented, 'distinctions between core and margin, centre and periphery can no longer be drawn with confidence'.<sup>4</sup> I argue here that such uncertainties at the permeation of boundaries and the experience of 'in-betweenness' are the new conditions of the avant-garde, even though the sheer stylistic diversity of globalized culture may serve to obscure this.

## I

The extent of stylistic diversity across the arts in the twenty-first century, especially viewed within the broad context of 'world cultures', might suggest Leonard Meyer's image of Brownian movement, in perpetual motion but at the same time static.<sup>5</sup> Meyer had suggested as early as 1967 — something that Jean-Jacques Nattiez re-reads with astonishment as the point of departure for his own essay 'La musique de l'avenir'<sup>6</sup> of 2001 — that 'the coming epoch ... will be a period of stylistic stasis, a period characterized not by the linear, cumulative development of a single fundamental style, but by the coexistence of a multiplicity of quite different styles in a fluctuating and dynamic steady-state.'<sup>7</sup> Meyer's metaphor taken from the natural sciences of a dynamic equilibrium is on one level both persuasive and prophetic, particularly in the light of the kind of imagery subsequently employed by the theorists of postmodernism in the 1980s to conceptualize what they saw as our condition of an ahistorical present characterized by a state of non-contradictory but dynamic plurality. Nevertheless, there is at another level a degree of relativism underlying Meyer's view

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Björn Heile for recent discussions with him which I found very helpful in formulating a final version of this paper. I had already reached a late stage in drafting before I read his insightful work on 'world music' and specifically 'Weltmusik', and I must admit that I wish I had been able to read it much earlier. As a result there remains much here that I feel still needs developing further. See B. Heile, 'Weltmusik and the Globalization of New Music', in B. Heile (ed.), *The Modernist Legacy: Essays on New Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009, forthcoming), 152–182; also Heile, "'Transcending Quotation": Cross-Cultural Musical Representation in Mauricio Kagel's *Die Stücke der Windrose für Salonorchester*', *Music Analysis*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2004), 57–85.

<sup>5</sup> L. B. Meyer, 'History, Stasis, and Change', in *Music, the Arts, and Ideas: Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 102.

<sup>6</sup> J.-J. Nattiez, 'La musique de l'avenir', in *Musiques: Une encyclopédie pour le XXIe siècle 1: Musiques du XXe siècle*, sous la direction de Jean-Jacques Nattiez (Arles: Actes Sud/Cité de la Musique, 2003; orig. Italian, Turin, 2001), 1392–1424.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer, 'History, Stasis, and Change', 98.

that is problematical – a relativism that is also (more typically) a feature of postmodernist accounts of the situation which take everything within a field at face value and fail to recognize unequal power relations that underlie such surface pluralities. Stylistic diversity *per se* is probably evident enough to all, in that it is something which characterizes modernism and the avant-garde just as much as it does all other manifestations in the arts, to such an extent that it almost goes without saying. Significant questions are raised by the problem of relativism in relation to the apparently tensionless stylistic diversity of modernism and the avant-garde in such a context, however, in view of the historical aspirations associated both with aesthetic modernism and with what Habermas has called 'the modernist project'.

Jean-François Lyotard has argued that, as a result of the developments in technology (and in particular information technology) since the Second World War, and the shift from ends to means: 'The grand narrative has lost its credibility, regardless of what mode of unification it uses, regardless of whether it is a speculative narrative or a narrative of emancipation.'<sup>8</sup> If the goal of emancipation is simply another of the grand narratives perpetuated by the avant-garde in its search for legitimization, then how can modernism survive in the absence of any convincing belief in such stories of liberation – narratives that have certainly always seemed so fundamental to the spirit of the avant-garde? Or indeed, are there new language games now being played, new narratives of legitimization – those of hybridity or of transculturation, perhaps, with the claim that the world wide web has now rendered the whole notion of centres and peripheries redundant? Other pertinent questions concern distinctions between 'modernism', 'modernity', and 'modernization', the relation of the modern to the pre-modern, the non-modern, and, importantly, to the continuing power of tradition, in the context both of Enlightenment rationalization processes and of global capitalism. Then there are questions regarding the dependence of modernism on its context—social, historical, cultural and economic—and its marked historical tendency to be the exclusive product of certain cosmopolitan urban centres mainly in Western or Central Europe, or in America. This leads to more questions: what forms do aesthetic modernism and the avant-garde take in the context of globalization; how do they manifest in relation to nationalism in primarily agrarian cultures that have come relatively late to industrialization; or, as we have already suggested, does any of this matter anyway in view of the speed and almost total embrace of the internet? And finally, one might reasonably ask whether there are distinctly identifiable features that characterize all 'modernisms', as well as identifiable conditions, historical and cultural, within which aesthetic modernism arises? I cannot claim to be able to address all of these

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<sup>8</sup> J.-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. G. Bennington and B. Massumi, with a Foreword by F. Jameson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984; original French ed. 1979), 37.

questions in this paper, not least for reasons of space, so let me start with an attempt to respond to the last and most general question first, and in this way to touch on the other questions as well.

## II

I propose that all modernisms do in fact have one important thing in common: they are defined by the conflict between the process of societal modernization and the claims of tradition. By this, of course, I do not mean that it is simply the case that 'modern art' itself is in direct conflict with tradition (even though it usually is), but rather that what we regard as 'the modern world' itself emerges from a conflict between the dynamic and demythologizing social and economic process of modernization and the resistant mythologizing stasis of tradition. And yet, aesthetic modernism, for all its different stylistic and cultural manifestations, has now, I suggest, acquired a further distinctive feature: to borrow another term from Jean-François Lyotard, the simultaneous *unpresentability* of this tension between tradition and modernity in an age of globalization and commodification. That is to say, this conflict no longer appears directly to us for what it is, but is relativized and thus rendered invisible as part of the endless variety of consumer choice within an apparently tensionless steady-state of co-existing but separate stylistic developments characterized by hybridization and the instantaneity of communication worldwide. It is this state—one which, in my view, serves to mask the underlying relations of global economic power—which I attempt to address here. I start from the position that modernism is indeed not 'one thing', but rather a series of stylistically different and often conflicting responses to 'one thing': that is to say, the varieties of aesthetic modernism can be regarded as different responses to a single overriding dilemma which has become naturalized and is no longer directly viewable — the process of socio-economic modernization itself in relation to tradition. I emphasize these terms not because I wish to re-establish a simplistic binarism 'modernity/tradition' of a kind that is now generally regarded as having been transcended by globalization, but because I argue that it is the process of modernization itself that continues on a global scale, albeit without the idealistic ends associated with 'modernity' from the Enlightenment, and because tradition, far from having been neutralized and subsumed by the demythologizing process of modernization, has reasserted itself in often visceral reaction to the modern world.

It is within these basic terms of reference that the issue of centres and peripheries of modernism and the avant-garde takes on, I suggest, an added significance. To put it simply: on the one hand the geographical and cultural centres of modernism have a powerful influence on the peripheries and draw them towards them and absorb them; on the other hand, it is at the peripheries that the tension between innovation and tradition becomes evident to us, because of in-

complete absorption. At the centre—and all centres now become as one—the tendency is always towards hybridity, permeation, the disappearance of boundaries, and the homogenizing effects of globalization. At the peripheries the conflict between tradition and innovation remains strong, in spite of claims made for the process of globalization, and the contrasts stand out through the starkness of their juxtaposition. What this reveals, it seems to me, is that the assumptions on the part of certain contemporary theorists of the philosophy and sociology of culture who argue, like Wolfgang Welsch,<sup>9</sup> that the traditional concept of culture, defined by the separateness and distinctiveness of individual cultures, is now obsolete and has been superseded by the condition of permeation of cultural boundaries, of cultural blending, and of a process of *transculturation*, are problematical. I suggest that such assumptions present difficulties not because their claims regarding cultural permeability and transculturation are false as such—they clearly are not—but rather because they do not sufficiently recognize the simultaneous but ‘invisible’ presence of dominant power relations which underlie and indeed drive the process of globalization. The former British Prime Minister Tony Blair always talked euphemistically of the need for the ‘modernization’ of institutions, when what he really meant was that he wished to make them more controllable, centralized and efficient. The term ‘modernization’ in this sense is clearly a version of what Max Weber had identified as the process of rationalization (*Rationalisierung*), or more specifically (in view of Weber’s four types of rationality) means-ends, or instrumental rationality (*Zweckrationalität*).<sup>10</sup> According to Jürgen Habermas: “‘Modernization’ was introduced as a technical term only in the 1950s’ – a conceptual product of the empirical social sciences of that period, particularly in the English-speaking world, to the extent that it ‘dissociates “modernity” from its modern European origins and stylizes it into a spatio-temporally neutral model for processes of social development in general’.<sup>11</sup> What he has to say by way of elaboration of the connection with Max Weber’s concept of ‘rationalization’ is invaluable as part of my attempt to establish a context of ideas in which to place an understanding of globalization. Habermas writes:

The concept of modernization refers to a bundle of processes that are cumulative and mutually reinforcing: to the formation of capital and the mobilization of resources; to the development of the forces of production and the increase in the productivity of labor; to the establishment of centralized political power

<sup>9</sup> See W. Welsch, ‘Cities of the Future: Aspects from Architectural Theory and Cultural Philosophy’, in *Undoing Aesthetics*, trans. A. Inkpin (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 134–149.

<sup>10</sup> M. Weber, *Selections in Translation*, trans. E. Matthews, ed. W.G. Runciman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 28–29.

<sup>11</sup> J. Habermas, ‘Modernity’s Consciousness of Time’, in *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. F. G. Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987; orig. German ed. 1985), 2.

and the formation of national identities; to the proliferation of rights of political participation, of urban forms of life, and of formal schooling; to the secularization of values and norms; and so on.

I suggest that we understand globalization as a version of 'modernization' in this sense – the global extension of capitalism to rationalize world economies and bring them under one principle. That this also results in the permeation, 'blending' and homogenization of previously diverse cultures is simply an epiphenomenon. It is equally true to say that the same process can also encourage the appearance of diversity if required – for instance, for the purposes of world tourism and the package holiday industry, or the commodification of 'world music'.

### III

From the perspective of globalization as a further stage in a larger process of modernization as economic and cultural rationalization, we need to ask what it is to be 'modern'—in the sense of 'aesthetically modern'—in the context of the dominant paradigms of European modernism and modernity. It is clear that such a notion is dependent on two others which themselves form a polarity: the concepts of 'tradition' and of 'the new', or 'the avant-garde'. Jürgen Habermas makes a succinct attempt to identify the key feature of modernism and, in broader terms, of modernity when he writes: 'Modernity revolts against the normalizing functions of tradition; modernity lives on the experience of rebelling against all that is normative.'<sup>12</sup> In his speech given in Frankfurt in 1980 on being awarded the Theodor W. Adorno Prize he proposed that we are in a sense 'still the contemporaries of that kind of aesthetic modernity which first appeared in the midst of the nineteenth century'.<sup>13</sup> This was itself the result of the disenchantment of the myths of the classical and ancient worlds and was a direct outcome of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Habermas suggests that 'the idea of being "modern" by looking back to the ancients changed with the belief, inspired by modern science, in the infinite progress of knowledge and in the infinite advance towards social and moral betterment'.<sup>14</sup> Contained here, therefore, is the recognition that conceptions of the modern, modernism, and modernity have changed historically. Initially they defined themselves in relation to a sense of a classical past, but then, by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they did so in relation to modernism's own, ever-changing and self-enclosed notion of 'the classical'. As Habermas puts it:

Our sense of modernity creates its own self-enclosed canons of being classic. In this sense we speak, e.g., in view of the history of modern art, of a

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<sup>12</sup> J. Habermas, 'Modernism – An Incomplete Project', in H. Foster (ed.), *Postmodern Culture* (London: Pluto Press, 1983), 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

classical modernity. The relation between 'modern' and 'classical' has definitely lost a fixed historical reference.<sup>15</sup>

In view of Habermas's account of notions of modernism, modernity, and modernization, I suggest that the polar concept of 'tradition' (by which I mean modernism's opposite) can be understood in at least three distinct but related senses. First, tradition can refer to 'the classical', or more broadly to 'classicism'; second, it can refer to notions of the 'folk', of 'traditional culture', a sense of 'identity creation' drawing on shared notions of 'the epic' and 'community' and the relation to 'nature'; and third, it can refer to consensus, particularly that based on a shared sense of rational models, including even that of the natural sciences as described by Thomas S. Kuhn in his attempt to locate his concept of the 'paradigm'. Seen in this way, the concept of tradition is itself riven by contestatory impulses, including both the unreflective and the reflective: at the one extreme is a traditional form of 'rationality' that is simply 'the way we do things', according to Max Weber – a limiting concept within his four types of rationality, which is rational only in the narrowest possible sense, in that it is uncritical and unreflective and simply abides by handed-down rules of thinking and conduct; at the other extreme, on the contrary, 'tradition' can also be understood as a reflexion upon established paradigms in order to continue to test them, according to Thomas S. Kuhn.<sup>16</sup>

The 'New', on the other hand, has been associated since the rise of European aesthetic modernism in the nineteenth century (that is, immediately following the 1848 revolutions that took place across most of Western and middle Europe, but not in Britain or Russia, or for that matter in most of the Balkans) with the search for the *different*, the not yet known, with the implication that that which is already known, the humdrum and everyday, is no longer worth knowing, and must be left behind in the search for the new and the unforeseen. It is Baudelaire who probably best expresses modernism's precarious balancing act on the fulcrum between the unbearable and the unknowable. At the same time the endless quest for the ever new, inextricably associated with artistic innovation, is also inseparable from the exotic, the strange, the foreign, the utopian, and in its voyages to the peripheries, the boundaries of the already known, it is in the business of colonising and bringing home rich booty from the lands of the Other. But Jean-François Lyotard points to what is possibly the most important qualification of the *avant-garde* – that it promotes *reflexion* rather than *persuasion*; and it is *persuasion* that could be said to characterise the perpetuation of tradition.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See T. S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed) (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996; orig. ed. 1962)

<sup>17</sup> See J.-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Explained to Children* (London: Turnaround, 1992), 64.

## IV

Innovation in the modernist sense is also the recognition of change through reflexion, an awareness that the ground has moved beneath one's feet. Interestingly, the notion of the paradigm shift as catastrophic, sudden change beneath the surface of the old, the established consensus, can tell us important things about the emergence of the new. I should therefore like to spend a few moments considering Thomas S. Kuhn's concept of the paradigm shift. While I should say immediately that in no sense do I wish to perpetuate the idea that it is possible simply to transpose Kuhn's celebrated notion of paradigm shifts from the history of science to the history of art, there is nevertheless much that can be derived from it to provide models for how change comes about over periods of time also in music. But this is hardly surprising, as Wolfgang Welsch has also pointed out,<sup>18</sup> because Kuhn got his idea for the paradigm shift in the natural sciences from the history of the arts in the first place. In his 1969 postscript to *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) Kuhn writes:

To the extent that the book portrays scientific developments as a succession of tradition-bound periods punctuated by non-cumulative breaks, its theses are undoubtedly of wide applicability. But they should be, for they are borrowed from other fields. Historians of literature, of music, of the arts, of political development, and of many other human activities have long described their subjects in the same way.<sup>19</sup>

The recognition that the history of science is, like the history of the arts, characterized by periods of crisis and revolution as well as by periods of apparently rational and cumulative progress is taken by Welsch as support for his claim that 'the transition to an aesthetic interpretation of truth, reality and cognition represents the basic philosophical process of the last two hundred years.'<sup>20</sup> What is to be assumed, at one level at least, is that (i) a certain kind of 'conscious endeavour' is involved both in the natural sciences and in the arts which at the same time is dependent on intuition and 'hunch' for a radically innovative breakthrough, while (ii) innovation and change come about not through trying to work outside any traditional consensus, but rather through focusing closely on the problems and tensions which develop within the consensus itself and which, finally, according to Kuhn, lead to its collapse. In his article 'The Essential Tension: Tradition and Innovation in Scientific Research' (1959), and which pre-dates his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn draws on the debates from the 1950s about the distinctions between con-

<sup>18</sup> See W. Welsch, 'Basic Aesthetic Features in Contemporary Thinking', in *Undoing Aesthetics*, trans. A. Inkpin (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 44–45.

<sup>19</sup> T. S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), 208.

<sup>20</sup> W. Welsch, 'Basic Aesthetic Features in Contemporary Thinking', in *Undoing Aesthetics*, 44.

vergent and divergent thinkers, and emphasises the crucial role played by rigorous training, characteristic of convergent thinking, in contrast to the stress placed on creativity, characteristic of divergent thinking, and normally identified with the arts. In the natural sciences the movement appears to be, according to Kuhn's theory, from one firm consensus to another, the shift only occurring when the existing consensus collapses. For Kuhn's theory, each such period of firmly accepted consensus is what we could call the 'tradition'. Kuhn writes:

Yet – and this is the point – the ultimate effect of this tradition-bound work has invariably been to change the tradition. Again and again the continuing attempt to elucidate a currently received tradition has at last produced one of those shifts in fundamental theory, in problem field, and in scientific standards to which I previously referred as scientific revolutions. At least for the scientific community as a whole, work within a well-defined and deeply-ingrained tradition seems more productive of tradition-shattering novelties than work in which no similarly convergent standards are involved. How can this be so? I think it is because no other sort of work is nearly so well suited to isolate for continuing and concentrated attention those loci of trouble or causes of crisis upon whose recognition the most fundamental advances in basic science depend.<sup>21</sup>

He argues that discoveries and innovation emerge out of growing knowledge of the inadequacies of the older models: 'the prelude to much discovery and all novel theory is not ignorance, but the recognition that something has gone wrong with existing knowledge and beliefs.'<sup>22</sup> It is his view that 'the productive scientist must be a traditionalist who enjoys playing intricate games by pre-established rules in order to be a successful innovator who discovers new rules and new pieces with which to play them.'<sup>23</sup> In spite of the questionable nature of making such connections between science and the arts, it is difficult not to see the development, for example, of Schoenberg's innovations in the light of all that Kuhn has said. By this I mean that Schoenberg, as a musical traditionalist, discovered the inadequacies and limitations of tonality in seeking to extend the system from within to the point of collapse. It was through this that he became an innovator, not through any essentially radical impulse.

## V

The concept of modernism, through the polarization of 'tradition' and 'the new', gives rise to two different relations to time and history in the process of identity creation: as Homi Bhabha has termed it in *The Location of Culture*

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<sup>21</sup> T. S. Kuhn, 'The Essential Tension: Tradition and Innovation in Scientific Research' (1959), in *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 234.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 235.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

(1994),<sup>24</sup> the traditional relation to the past is characterized by nostalgia, and the innovative relation of the avant-garde to the future is utopian in character. And yet there is something extremely real and concrete about the historical conditions that have both given rise to and which have played a role in the changing face of modernism. This emerges the instant we attempt to locate the emergence of modernism historically and its utopian narratives.

While it can be said that the 'modern age' begins in the eighteenth century, as a result of the triple effect of Enlightenment, the French revolution and the industrial revolution, with perhaps its first optimistic manifestation in the American Revolution of 1776, I subscribe to the view that it was the shock of the failure of the 1848 revolutions in Europe that created the unique conditions for the appearance of an avant-garde.<sup>25</sup> By this I mean what is essentially an alienated and self-reflexive art, which is to say, an art increasingly alienated from its audience and from the terms of reference that previously had given it meaning. That there were undeniably other important historical turning points it would be pointless to deny – for example, 1870–71, with the unification of Germany, the Franco-Prussian War and the defeat of France. The argument for this is that French national pride was wounded by the defeat, and this resulted in attempts to re-establish a sense of national identity – for example, through attempts to create a musical tradition to rival that of Germany both through Saint-Saëns's encouragement of autonomous instrumental music and through the efforts of an emerging French musicology to recover the musical past and make it available through editing and publishing collected editions of the old masters. Indeed, this kind of frenetic nationalistic activity in France and Germany and to a lesser extent Italy—the cultural centres of the 'Great Tradition' of European art music—is mirrored in the European peripheries by the rise of Nationalisms as an effort to manufacture a sense of identity, community and origins which could shield consciousness from the anxieties of isolation at the margins, as well as from the effects of modernity.<sup>26</sup> This occurred as various avant-garde movements were beginning to emerge from the sense of futility and emptiness following the events of 1848–49. The years leading up to 1889 and the Paris Exposition Universelle of that year show the flight from 'the unbearable to the unknowable' that was Symbolism in the context of an extraordinary influx of the exotic, the strange and in effect 'the New' on an almost industrial scale in France, and which was a direct result of colonial exploitation by the European powers. And of course, there is the *fin de siècle* a few years either side of 1900

<sup>24</sup> H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994; repr. 2006), 324.

<sup>25</sup> See E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962, 3<sup>rd</sup> impr. 1996), 270.

<sup>26</sup> For an excellent overview and analysis of these positions, see J. Samson, 'Nations and nationalism', in J. Samson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 568–600.

with its yearning for the transcendental in harness with the exotic and the decadent. There's probably no need to continue with this rapid overview of familiar starting dates frequently cited as the beginnings of aesthetic modernism and the avant-garde. And yet, if there are overall trends that become apparent, they are, on the one hand, an inexorable move from the celebration of audience towards the retreat from audience, which is the retreat into formalism and subjectivity that stems ultimately, I would argue, from 1848; and on the other hand there is the deep, even atavistic urge to find identity and a sense of belonging in tradition and collectivity, even when this has to be fabricated, as was the case with the rise of various nationalist movements across Europe right into the twentieth century. This could be further identified as the attempt to re-establish the pre-modern in the context of the modern, as a retreat from the process of modernization and rationalization. In this one respect Nationalism in this sense could be said to have one thing in common with the retreat into formalism and the autonomy aesthetic: defence against rationalization.

This brings us back to the concept of autonomy as one defining characteristic of modernism and the avant-garde. It was, so Adorno had argued, its very autonomy that had ensured the survival of the avant-garde, of the modernist art work, as a moment of protest against its absorption into the means-ends rationality of the everyday, and of total commodification. But the retreat into autonomy no longer necessarily leads to the survival of the avant-garde art work, as in the age of heroic modernism. This had already by the 1950s shifted towards the modernism of the Absurd, where the Beckettian interior monologue of the post-war novels had caused even Adorno to reassess the kind of 'heroic modernism' for which he had up to then continued to act as protagonist, and to revisit the apparent futility and cynical emptiness of Stravinsky in the light of Beckett's position.<sup>27</sup> But by the late 1960s – let's say for the sake of convenience 1968 – the position of an avant-garde already appeared to be seriously undermined for quite other reasons. In part this was because of what Adorno had identified as 'the disintegration of musical material', by which he meant that the handed down material no longer carried the sense of 'historical necessity' that had provided the impetus for advanced composers either to develop to destruction or to reject outright. But also in part, I suggest, it was because of the 1960s cultural 'underground', characterized by eclecticism, ahistoricism, and boundless curiosity, and which simply accepted, for instance, a vast range of apparently very different musics as nevertheless having something in common. Stockhausen, Stravinsky, Webern, Pierre Henry and John Cage along with the Pink Floyd, Frank Zappa, John Coltrane, Cecil Parker and Bob Dylan, Mississippi Delta blues, Tibetan Buddhist temple chants, and Moroccan Sufi music

<sup>27</sup> See M. Paddison, 'Stravinsky as devil: Adorno's three critiques', in J. Cross (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Adorno* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 201–202.

from the Rif Mountains<sup>28</sup> would be regarded as unproblematical cases of the infinite diversity and creativity of the world in which they lived. In fact, everything could be material, and all experience could be the aesthetic experience, and knowledge of the world could be a sensual knowledge of relaxed creativity. There was a sense, at least for a few years at the end of the 1960s and the very beginning of the 1970s, that indeed the margins were the centre now, and that it was really possible to live at the boundaries where everyone was potentially an avant-garde artist. This was, of course, a dream, 1880s Symbolism with the technology of mass culture (it's no coincidence that J.-K. Huysmans *À Rebours* of 1884 had a minor cult revival during the late 1960s when republished in English translation as a Penguin Modern Classic, and Baudelaire's *Les paradis artificiels* was read at the sophisticated end of the drug culture). It was a dream, moreover, which failed to recognize the fundamental power of economic and political realities even while, at another level, protesting against them. In this case the 'reality' of 1960s counter culture did not address the realities of an increasingly global capitalism.

The idea of 'world music' dominated much of the avant-garde in the 1960s, in particular as *Weltmusik*, as Björn Heile has demonstrated in detail in recent work<sup>29</sup> – pieces by Stockhausen like *Telemusik*, *Stimmung* and *Mantra* and Kagel's *Exotica* immediately come to mind. At the same time, however, the avant-garde had also been strongly influenced by Dadaism and the readymade through Marcel Duchamp, the Fluxus collective, and in music through John Cage. It seems to me that this had two important consequences for avant-garde art: (i) an approach to the structuring of found elements that was constellatory and non-hierarchical, and (ii) a detached and apolitical relation to materials. But particularly interesting in this respect is the German artist Joseph Beuys because, although all these elements are in place, his work nevertheless confronts 'hidden meanings', albeit obliquely – in his case the War, Nazism, and Auschwitz. A radio operator in the Luftwaffe during World War 2, he was shot down over the Crimea; badly injured and unconscious, he was rescued, so he claimed, by Tartars, members of a shamanistic culture who treated his injuries with animal fat and wrapped him in layers of felt to keep him warm. As an artist in the 1960s and 1970s his installation work returned constantly to this experience, using found materials like fat, felt, fur, and animals, both dead and alive, to create a mythological and shamanistic context of his own, where mysterious rituals are enacted with 'poor' materials which become heavily symbolic, but where the overwhelming but never-stated meanings become eloquent in terms of his

<sup>28</sup> The famous case of what has been dubbed 'the first ever recording of World Music', the 1971 album *Brian Jones presents the Pipes of Pan at Joujouka*, comes to mind here (Rolling Stones Records COC49100).

<sup>29</sup> See B. Heile, 'Weltmusik and the Globalization of New Music', in B. Heile (ed.), *The Modernist Legacy: Essays on New Music*.

torical time and geographical space. The Italian art historian Sandro Bocola cites Thomas McEvilley on Beuys:

Even if his solution to the nightmare of war was first and foremost mythical, symbolic and escapist, at least he addressed it. He addressed the war by avoiding it, and he avoided it by addressing it. Even if he did not achieve a truly political standpoint as an artist, he nevertheless embodied the war and its pain and confusion in an art that reeks so much of Auschwitz that it will not readily pale.<sup>30</sup>

It could be said that Beuys's art crosses boundaries in many senses – cultural, historical, and geographical – and in ways that it is difficult, for example, for music to do. At the same time, however, there are many troubling aspects to Beuys's mythmaking, his assumption of the role of artist-shaman, and his relation to an archaic world of tradition that seems to be part archaeology and part healing. Not least, of course, was his perhaps inevitable relation to the culture business itself, and the need to make money. In the mid 1970s Beuys's work took the form of lectures around the world, where he talked to people sometimes in art galleries and often on street corners, standing in front of a blackboard on which he wrote in chalk, drawing on his discussions with the public. He argued that 'everyone is an artist', and that everything we do is a work of art. Each blackboard, when full, was taken down from the stand and another, empty one put in its place. After each session his assistants sprayed each of the boards with fixative, and they were then presumably sold. When questioned about this by a member of the public at a session at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in the early 1980s, Beuys simply responded: 'An artist must live!'.

## VI

I conclude not with conclusions but with some thoughts on questions of hybridity and existence on the margins, in the in-betweeness of shifting boundaries, both historically and currently, and how these can be understood in relation to modernism and the avant-garde. From the perspective of globalization as a further stage in a larger process of modernization as economic and cultural rationalization, I have discussed what it is to be 'modern' in the context of the dominant paradigms of European modernism and modernity. I have suggested that there is a clear distinction to be made between advanced modernization as a socio-economic process and advanced modernism as an aesthetic movement (or series of movements). I have also suggested that modernism is defined by the conflict between the process of societal modernization and the claims of tradi-

<sup>30</sup> T. McEvilley (catalogue of the 1988 Beuys exhibition, Berlin), cited in Sandro Bocola, 'Magic and Ritual: Modern Symbolism', in *The Art of Modernism* (Munich, London and New York: Prestel, 1999), 527.

tion. At the same time the question has been raised as to what forms aesthetic modernism and the avant-garde might take in the context of globalization, and in particular, how do 'modernisms' manifest in relation to nationalism in primarily agrarian cultures that have come relatively late to industrialization. As a coda to these discussions I want to consider some very relevant issues raised by Adorno in a famous footnote concerning Bartók and Janáček in *Philosophy of New Music*. Adorno writes:

Where the developmental tendency of occidental music was not fully carried through, as in many agrarian regions of southern Europe, it has been possible right up to the present to use tonal material without opprobrium. Mention may be made here of the extraterritorial, yet in its rigor the magisterial art of Leoš Janáček, as well as much of Bartók's, who in spite of his folkloristic penchant at the same time counted among the most progressive composers in European art music. The legitimation of such music from the periphery in every case depends on its having developed a coherent and selective technical canon. In contrast to the productions of Nazi blood-and-soil ideology, truly extraterritorial music – whose material, while common in itself, is organized in a totally different way from occidental music – has a power of alienation that associates it with the avant-garde and not with nationalistic reaction. Ideological blood-and-soil music, by contrast, is always affirmative and allied with 'the tradition', whereas it is precisely the tradition of all official music that is suspended by Janáček's diction, modelled on his language, even in the midst of all the triads.<sup>31</sup>

Bartók and Janáček did not, of course, fit into Adorno's scheme in *Philosophy of New Music*, which, as is well known, focuses exclusively on Schoenberg and Stravinsky.<sup>32</sup> And yet he recognized the progressive character of their music, precisely in fact because they came from the periphery, even though the implications of his scheme seemed to favour the centre. The essential point for Adorno, however, is the relationship to musical material, and the necessity for a technical consistency to be developed to enable this to come about 'authentically' in relation to the particular demands of the material – in this case the use of materials that had until this point, due to their pre-modern character within what were still largely pre-industrial, agrarian economies, re-

<sup>31</sup> T. W. Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, translated, edited, and with an introduction by R. Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), note 4, 176.

<sup>32</sup> It is interesting that in *Philosophy of New Music* Adorno regards Schoenberg as essentially provincial and traditional in his outlook, in spite of the radical contribution he made to the emergence of musical modernism, while Stravinsky he sees as cosmopolitan and 'modern', and, although as essentially conservative in his intentions, not primarily concerned with the traditional folk culture of his native Russia, in spite of the works of the 'Russian period'. Richard Taruskin's monumental study *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), on the contrary, has revealed the extent to which Stravinsky's modernism was achieved 'by deliberately playing the traditions of Russian folk music against those of the provincial, denationalized Russian art music in which he had been reared.' (R. Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, Vol. 1, 18).

tained an unfamiliarity that had a radical potential within the context of European art music. That is to say, through the encounter with the dominant forms and genres of European art music, such materials, hitherto associated with tradition and nationalism, created a tension which led to the transformation of both. Hence, so he argued, it had 'a power of alienation that associates it with the avant-garde' rather than with the reactionary and conservative ideologies of nationalism.

I end with proposals from Homi Bhabha which shift the frame of reference so that all is now periphery, with the resulting condition of anxiety that this recognizes – it is, in a sense, the extension of Adorno's notion of the position of the avant-garde into the age of globalization. Bhabha writes of the need 'to negotiate narratives where double-lives are led in the postcolonial world, with its journeys of migration and its dwellings of the diasporic.' He suggests that 'these subjects of study require the experience of anxiety to be incorporated into the analytic construction of the object of critical attention: narratives of the borderline conditions of cultures and disciplines.' And he concludes, citing Samuel Weber: 'For anxiety is the affective address of "a world [that] reveals itself as caught between frames, a doubled frame or one that is split."'<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 306 (incorporating also a quotation from Samuel Weber).

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## ЦЕНТРИ И МАРГИНЕ: НЕСИГУРНО ТЛЕ ЗА КОНЦЕПТУАЛИЗАЦИЈУ МОДЕРНИЗМА

### Резиме

Овај рад је расправа о проблемима периодизације и концептуализације модернизма, са нарочитим нагласком на периферијама, а ослонци су му у критичкој теорији и постколонијалној теорији. У њему се испитују појмови модернизма и авангарде, како у односу на центре европског модернизма и њихове доминантне парадигме онога што треба то буде „мо-

дерно“, тако и у односу на периферије „модернистичког пројекта“ – оне области које су, из историјских, културних или економских разлога, касниле у процесу модернизације. Испитују се, с једне стране, доминантни концепти модернизма и њихове међусобне везе, нарочито у односу на главне урбане центре као што су Париз, Берлин и Беч. Кључне идеје су ту однос према прошлости (одбацивање, али и наставак другим средствима) и појам будућег (као непредвидљивог, идеала „још непознатог“). С друге стране, концепти национализма, дефинисања и редефинисања националних идентитета, доводе се у однос са тим централним појмовима модернизма и истовремено се пореде са онима у европским „периферијама“ – обнављањем и поновним измишљањем традиција и конфликтним културним потребама за критичким праксама повезаним са модернизмом и авангардом. Врсте конфликта које из тога резултирају, у кретању између центара и периферија, чине концептуално средиште овог рада. Начињена је дистинција између концепата естетичког модернизма (који су многоструки, али уједињени по својим односима према заједничком проблему културне фрагментације) и процеса друштвеноекономске модернизације (која ствара заједнички контекст унутар којег естетички модернизам постоји, заједно са различитим авангардним покретима који су се појавили као реакција на њега).



# MUSICAL MODERNISM AT THE ‘PERIPHERY’? SERBIAN MUSIC IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

KATARINA TOMAŠEVIĆ

## The Missing Part

I WILL start this paper with some observations which, at first sight, but only supposedly at that, have no relation to the title. They are the result of the subsequent thinking on certain aspects and effect of the ‘encounters’ and dialogues between ‘musicology/ies of “centres”’ and those of the ‘periphery/ies’. Choosing to speak at the conference about Serbian music in the first half of the twentieth century which is in the focus of my long-term research, but which, from the perspective of Western ‘Others’—at least according to the old *cliché*—belongs to the history of so-called ‘small nations on the periphery of Europe’, I was aware in advance of numerous limitations and barriers standing for a long time in the way of the reception of musicological discourses on a subject which has not found its place in the anthologies of the ‘ever-lasting goods’ of European music practice, the poetics and aesthetics of modernism. Neither has it been recognized as one of the equal alterities of the musical identity of modern Europe.

I believe that in the eyes of a Western musicologist, oriented primarily towards Anglo-Saxon and German general literature, my initial intention in this article to ‘reconsider’ the complex position and characteristics of modernism in Serbian music in the first half of the twentieth century may seem confusing if not bizarre. Of course, I will not say anything new by pointing yet again to the complete absence of Serbian artistic music from general Western histories,<sup>1</sup> in-

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<sup>1</sup> See M. Milin, ‘General Histories of Music and the Place of European Periphery’, *Muzikologija (Musicology)*, 1 (2001), 141–148; the same author, ‘The Place of Small Musical Cultures in Reference Books’, report at the International Conference ‘Music’s Intellectual History: Founders, Followers&Fads’, The City University of New York Graduate Centre, New York, 16–19 March 2005, in print.

cluding the most recently published.<sup>2</sup> It would certainly be illusory even to attempt to list the reasons for the absence of not only Serbian art music but also art music from the countries of ex-Yugoslavia and the Balkans (with rare exceptions!); it is the fact that it has permanently been marginalized and so far completely ignored in Western historiography strategies of defining the musical identity of Europe. The reasons were numerous and various but one, not insignificant portion of responsibility, no doubt lies with national musicologies.<sup>3</sup> I will state, however, at the outset, that the place of the epoch of Serbian artistic modernism in contemporary Western historiography cannot be spoken of as ‘peripheral’; by simple and complete abstraction it has been placed on the other side of the line which ‘new’ Europe, personified in the form of the European Union has also, at least until now, chosen as the official border of its own civilization. Still, although very current and relevant not only for contemporary reconsideration of the complexity of the physiognomy of the European art music tradition and its reach, but also for the profound methodological revision of stereotypical views of the relation between ‘centres’ and ‘peripheries’, ‘cores’ and ‘margins’ – the problems of music historiography in the postmodern era are very complex and defy the possibility of dealing in detail here.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, it seemed that, due to the wars themselves in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia at the beginning of the nineties, when—according to yet another old cliché—the news about the horrors and strife in the Balkans once again turned the attention of the world to this region,<sup>5</sup> there would be a new opportunity of making the cultural heritage of the Balkan nations once again more significantly interesting to Western historians, sociologists, cultural anthropologists, musicologists and ethnomusicologists. After the revolution in academic circles caused by the publication of the capital work *Orientalism* by Edward Said,<sup>6</sup> after the wave of reactions following Maria Todorova’s important study *Imagining the Balkans*,<sup>7</sup> after the witty and provocative analysis pursued in a Lacanian spirit, in which the world-famous philosopher Slavoj Žižek reasoned

<sup>2</sup> N. Cook and A. Pople, *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); R. Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford University Press, 2005)

<sup>3</sup> M. Milin, ‘General Histories of Music and the Place of European Periphery’, 145–146.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. J. Tillman, ‘Writing Twentieth-Century Music History in Postmodern Times’, STM/Online, 3 (2000) ISSN 1403-5715; N. Cook’s ‘Introduction’ in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*; J. Samson, ‘Borders and Bridges: Preliminary Thoughts on Balkan Music’, *Muzikologija (Musicology)*, 5 (2005), 37–55; the same author, ‘Rewriting Nineteenth-Century Music History’, <http://www.mmc.edu.mk/IRAM/Conferences/ContemporaryTrendsIV/JSamson.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> M. Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan (Imagining the Balkans)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Beograd : Biblioteka XX vek–Krug, 2006), 348.

<sup>6</sup> E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York : Routledge, 1978)

<sup>7</sup> M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1997)

the causes of the breakup of the multinational Yugoslavia,<sup>8</sup> it was not unexpected for the culture of the Balkans to be recognized in the academic circles of the West as *uncharted territory* (as Maria Todorova herself 'admitted' when explaining the 'exclusiveness' of the notion of 'Balkanism'<sup>9</sup>).

Equipped with modern, efficient tools and the elastic methods of post-structural and postcolonial theories, scholars from the West, as well as their followers in the 'domestic field', quickly recognized the 'values' presented by the Balkans with all its infinite multi-ethnic and multi-religious resources. On the example of the countries of ex-Yugoslavia, particularly Serbia, it has become, moreover, possible to observe and analyze 'in vivo' the role and function of music in the 'experiments' of establishing and strengthening totalitarian regimes, reconstructing nationalist ideologies and collective identities, and restoring religious and mythical consciousness. Before this last series of Balkan wars in Europe, all of this could only be read about only in literature! In none of the countries of the Eastern block which, after the fall of the Berlin wall, gradually entered the transition process were there such convincing and obvious examples as in Serbia of efficacious alliance between music and power politics – both local and global. The situation of Serbia which, in the eyes of the West during the nineties was represented as the 'last remaining stronghold' of communism in Europe, became radical to an extreme point during the NATO bombing campaign (1999), when 'neo-barbarism' was righteously discussed on both sides. If nothing else, the news from Serbia in those months (March–June 1999) became the 'breaking news' in the repertoires of all world's electronic and printed media; not for the first time in the history of modern Europe, Serbia was once again at the very centre of world attention! Therefore the focus of world musicological attention shifted to the 'musical instruments and weapons' used by the official Serbian politics at that time.

In the eyes of Serbian intellectuals who carried the heaviest burden of democratic change during the nineties, advocating primarily the political integration of the country into the European circle, the data on publishing quite a large range of studies dedicated to the phenomena of 'newly composed folk music' and 'turbo-folk'<sup>10</sup> were taken, at the least, as yet another sign of the increase in the density of the *clusters of negative images* of Serbia and its *non-European* cultural identity. However, I don't see anything problematic in the fact that the 'stars' of Serbian commercial 'folk' music—those obscure products and at the same time one of the most powerful weapons of the totalitarian regime—have

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. S. Žižek, *Tarrying with the Negative* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 200–237.

<sup>9</sup> M. Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan (Imagining the Balkans)*, 9.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. M. Slobin (ed.), *Retuning Culture. Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*, (Durham and London : Duke University Press, 1996); Lj Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia* (New York and London : Routledge, 2002)

come within the interpretative reach of modern scholarship.<sup>11</sup> What is worrying and what I want to draw attention to is the continuity of relatively scarce interest from contemporary world musicology in the so-called classical repertoire of the musical heritage of the Balkans and former Yugoslavia.<sup>12</sup>

Emerging in close relation to the processes of establishing the cultural identity of modern Europe, doubtlessly belonging to the heritage which the West recognizes as its own tradition, the art music of the Balkan nations has in the past few decades also been exposed to the challenges of contemporary contextual narratives which rightfully pay equal attention to 'elite' and 'popular', classic, avant-garde and commercial music. Unlike Serbian literature which—we believe not only thanks to the Nobel prize awarded to Ivo Andrić for his brilliant novel *The Bridge over the Drina*—long ago found a safe place in the curricula of many Slavic studies departments in the West, Serbian music of the modern era is still on an uncertain path towards, in a hypothetically ideal situation, final international acceptance and recognition as a specific element of European culture, that is, one of its alterities.

### Rethinking 'Centres' and 'Peripheries': toward a New 'Geo-history' of Modernism

One of the important initial motives for holding the conference *Rethinking Musical Modernism* in Belgrade arose exactly from the wish of some of the associates of the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts to present, within an expert circle and, from as wide a range of viewpoints as possible – various aspects of the modernistic achievements of Serbian music in its dialogue context. It seems that the initiative was timely, because, as far as we know, signals have been arriving from many quarters that the time to study modernism(s) [and avant-garde(s)!] on the 'peripheries' and 'margins' is yet to come, at the same time as tendencies to revise, reconstruct and to rewrite the 'new' cultural history of Europe and the West.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting, moreover,

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<sup>11</sup> See also in my paper: 'Serbian Music in Times of Transitions', report at the Symposium *Into Modernism and Out of It. The Balkan Rites of Passages*, organiser: Katy Romanou (University of Athens), 'Transitions. 18<sup>th</sup> Congress of the International Musicological Society', Zürich, Universität Zürich, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, 10–15 July 2007, in print.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. J. Samson, 'Borders and Bridges', 48–49.

<sup>13</sup> For instance, in 2003, the main theme of the Annual Conference of the Society for the Study of French History in Nottingham (April, 10–11) was: *France: Centres and Peripheries*. In 2006 (November, 23–24), in Norway (Tromsø), Det humanistiske fakultet (The Faculty of Humanities) and The Nordic Network for Avant-Garde Studies organized the seminar *Centre–Periphery. The Avant-garde and the Other*. In Austria, in 2003, as a final result of three year research project, there was a conference *Zentren, Peripherien und Kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*. The book that followed three years later, titled the same, is edited by E. Hars, W. Müller-Funk, U. Reber&C. Ruthner (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag 2006); see also S. Vervat (S. Vervat), the review of the latest book at [http://www.ikum.org.yu/\\_pdf\\_kistorija/2006/130/6-06](http://www.ikum.org.yu/_pdf_kistorija/2006/130/6-06)

to perceive that the model *centre-periphery* has not disappeared from theoretical practice, despite the fact that post-structural thinkers have already deconstructed this contrastive pair as one of the leading hierarchy dichotomies of Western civilization.<sup>14</sup> On the contrary, in the flexible environment of the post-modern labyrinth of ideas numerous 'opposite' stances are created, so that rightfully—although without really giving up 'old' dichotomies, but in the attempt to make them methodologically contemporary—numerous provoking questions arise as well: ' "What, if anything, constitutes a cultural margin?", "Does the cultural centre exist?", "Are margins and centres transferable?", "From what scholarly, ideological and methodological stance can we talk about modernist 'margins'?"...'<sup>15</sup> The impression, however, is that contemporary musicology has just opened up the agenda on many new questions which, at least for the moment, cannot be agreed upon.<sup>16</sup> The already mentioned complex question of the 'proper' concept of general music history is just one of many. We are witnessing processes in which 'small stories' deconstruct the 'big ones', or, at least – try to do so.<sup>17</sup> If in the older theoretical practice (not only in musicology!) it was quite customary and legitimate to discuss the 'influences' of the 'centres' on the 'periphery', whereas the 'periphery' was given the subordinate role of passive receiver, that is why, today, it is absolutely illegitimate to overlook that both members of that binary model are equally active participants in dynamic processes of mutual interference. Moreover, it is obvious that—as Nicholas Cook emphasizes—'the distinction between centre and periphery became increasingly fuzzy'.<sup>18</sup> As the network of artistic communication is densely entangled, we are encouraged to rethink the relation of 'centre' and 'periphery' within the more complex—risomatic model—or, as Edgar Morin successfully does writing about European cultural identity in his important book *How to Think Europe* – within the model of a whirlpool.<sup>19</sup> Under the wing of imagology, postcolonial studies and contemporary cultural studies, as well as semiotics, many old stereotypes have disappeared from the path of new rethinking on the mutual histories of 'centres' and 'peripheries'. This has created, in fact, not

p.pdf.. In Chicago, U.S., in November 2005, a roundtable discussions *The Avant-garde and the Margin* was held during the Modernist Studies Association conference; the result was: S. Bahun-Radunović and M. Pourgouris (eds.), *The Avant-garde and the Margin: New Territories of Modernism*, (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006).

<sup>14</sup> S. Vervat, 767.

<sup>15</sup> S. Bahun-Radunović and M. Pourgouris (eds.), *The Avant-garde and the Margin*, xiii.

<sup>16</sup> See P. Bäckström, 'Sanja Bahun-Radunović&M. Pourgouris (eds.), *The Avant-garde and the Margin, New Territories of Modernism*, (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006), pp. 198, <http://uit.no/getfile.php?PageId=977&FileId=998>.

<sup>17</sup> J. Samson, 'Rewriting Nineteenth-Century Music History', 2.

<sup>18</sup> N. Cook, 'Introduction' in N. Cook and A. Pople, *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, 7.

<sup>19</sup> E. Morin, *Penser l'Europe* (Paris : Gallimard, 1987)

only a chance for new 'discoveries' of 'forgotten' territories of modernism(s) [and avant-garde(s)] on 'peripheries' ('margins'), but also—as Susan Stanford Friedman has suggested—for establishing a new, far more complete, and at the same time more complex – 'geo-history of modernism'.<sup>20</sup>

There is no doubt that one particular 'small' geo-history of musical modernism(s), like the Serbian (as a part of the former Yugoslav), had a lot that was different and specific to contribute to the future new, 'great', if not possible 'total' geo-history of modernism. The painstaking efforts of dedicated researchers of the history of Serbian music in the twentieth century have provided excellent starting predispositions for future integration. In a number of monographs and numerous retrospective studies and articles on individual case studies, a large and significant database has been assembled on the perception of the faces of musical modernism(s) which belong equally to the history of Serbian music in all its territories and have a certain importance for the completion of the portrait of the plural identities of musical modernism(s) as a global phenomenon.

This is not just about pure facts which would no doubt be very useful for a complete reconstruction of the map of the phenomenon of modernism. By applying a very simple geo-historiographic strategy which would for a starting point take the biographies of composers and musicians comprising the history of Serbian music in modern times, we could, for example, mark all 'points' on the map of Europe (and the world!) where they were educated, where they stayed for specialization and where their achievements were presented. But, that reconstructed map of mutual contacts would certainly form only a preliminary starting point for examining complex political, ideological, cultural and artistic relations of 'centres' and 'peripheries' in the networks of modernism(s). No less important for the completion of the picture of the epoch is the corpus of data from the history of repertoires and performances on national music stages. The results of researching the history of musical life in Belgrade in the period between the two World Wars clearly speak of the fact that, unlike the pre-war period, the capital of the newly-formed Kingdom became a very attractive point in the international tours of many visiting foreign solo musicians and chamber, symphony and opera ensembles, some of which were extraordinary! I believe that the data about the presence of contemporary music in their programs as well as its reception in Serbian musical critical reviews is significant for completing our insight into specific features of the expansion of musical modernism towards the territories of the 'periphery', but it also contributes, on the other hand, to better understanding of position of particular 'centres' according to

<sup>20</sup> S. S. Friedman, 'One Hand Clapping: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and the Spatio/Temporal Boundaries of Modernism', presented at the Modernist Studies Association Conference, Chicago, U.S.A., November 3–6, 2005. Quoted according to: S. Bahun-Radunović and M. Pourgouris (eds.), *The Avant-garde and the Margin*, xvi.

their impact on the zones of 'peripheries'. As a new medium, the radio was also a powerful communication channel and an important catalyst of modernization processes. Data on the broadcast of foreign concerts on the Yugoslav radio network is also of great interest for the history of musical modernism. This is also the case for the broadcast of concerts of Yugoslav music authors from Belgrade, which were taken over by the all-important capitals in Europe. New music of modern twentieth-century Europe had its own independent life in Serbian music critical reviews and journals, which still represents a totally 'new', still undiscovered territory of modernism for the contemporary historiography of the West.

A completely individual but undoubtedly most important field of the new 'geo-history' of music modernism is the corpus of art music itself. Referring to the complexity of the nature of artistic communication between individual, group and collective music identities in the epoch of modernism, the positioning and monitoring of complex style trends in Serbian music within the dynamic network of Balkan and European—Western, Central and Eastern music identities, as well as their 'mixtures'—would deepen not only the knowledge about the direct effects of contacts between individual 'centres' and individual 'peripheries', about the close, specific interactions of neighbouring zones of 'peripheries', but also about the dialogue context of groups of 'peripheries' with groups of 'centres'.

It is clear, therefore, that the front of historiography strategies opening with the question: 'How do Serbian music alterities illuminate European projects of musical modernism in the first half of the twentieth century?'<sup>21</sup> is extremely broad, especially because the very notion of musical modernism, as was shown in numerous papers at the Belgrade conference as well, comprises very different phenomena.<sup>22</sup> Many of the questions and suggestions I have presented here originated not only from the research of the Serbian national history of music and its broader—Yugoslav, Balkan and European frames—but also as the result of constant re-examination of the methodological positions of national musicology so far. Accepting partly the very destiny of its own territory, Serbian national historiography (not only music historiography!) was characterized by its frequently 'receptionist' character.<sup>23</sup> As has been shown in many other disci-

<sup>21</sup> This question is a paraphrase of the question Jim Samson has put in 'Borders and Bridges', 37.

<sup>22</sup> See L. Botstein, 'Modernism', *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 24 July 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. A wide range of definitions and classifications of the notion *modernism in music*, sometimes a deep difference in its use in Anglo-Saxon, German and Slavic literature, as well as tendencies to use it as a style category (causing the problems with periodization!), motivated the editorial board of the international journal *Musicology*, published by the Institute of Musicology of SASA, to devote the Main Theme of the 6<sup>th</sup> issue (Belgrade, 2006) to the notions of Tradition—Modernism—Avant-garde—Postmodernism. The issue can also be seen on its web site: <http://www.komunikacija.org.yu/komunikacija/casopisi/muzikologija>.

<sup>23</sup> See also M. Milin, 'General Histories of Music', 145.

plines, the theories and methods of 'centres' could hardly be valid in fulfilling the tasks of the relevant description, real understanding and evaluation of the complex phenomena of modernism in the territories of the 'periphery'.<sup>24</sup> National musicology was, for example, long faced with the problems of the style periodization of Serbian music and that problem is apparently still open and very provocative. But, with the processes of ever-faster integration of contemporary Serbian musicology into the frames of postmodern scholarship, the time has come to revise old clichés according to which the tendencies in Serbian music were *a priori* put into a subordinate position in comparison to the 'mainstream, progressive' tendencies in Western 'centres'. Just as in the rest of world, here there also arose a re-examination and re-evaluation of the position that Serbian music history has had in the common life of the family of modern European music nations.

Territories of music modernism(s) have emerged on the horizon as a previously fruitful ground for re-examining of the place, role and contribution Serbian music as one of the alterities of European music has had in the common fund of music ideas of mankind. On the paths of rethinking about the specific features of modernism(s) in Serbian music there also arose a very important question of effects which the processes of social modernization—in the interaction with the indigenous traditions—produced in the territories which were slightly delayed in accepting modernization impulses. As Max Paddison points out in his theoretically conceived work in this Collection, 'interactions of modernisms with indigenous traditions (...) often lead to *tension and conflict*'.<sup>25</sup> Led by this idea, on the following pages I will try to consider concisely this very phenomenon, taking as examples only particular aspects of the specific case of Serbian music in the first half of the twentieth century.

### Origins of Tension: Development Discontinuity and Aspects of Social Modernization

After the end of the First World War, Belgrade became the capital of a newly established South-Slav state in the Balkans – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.<sup>26</sup> On the greatly changed geo-political map of Europe,

<sup>24</sup> The problems of implementation of general theories of 'modernization' (by Hans-Ulrich Wehler and Talcott Parsons) on the specific case of the modernization of Belgrade and of Serbian society between the two World Wars were, e.g., clearly demonstrated in P. Marković's book 'Beograd i Evropa. 1918–1941. Evropski uticaj na proces modernizacije' ['Belgrade and Europe. 1918–1941. European Influence on the Process of Modernization'] (Beograd : Savremena administracija d.d., 1992).

<sup>25</sup> M. Paddison, 'Centres and Margins: Shifting Grounds in the Conceptualization of Modernism' in this book, 71.

<sup>26</sup> From 1929 – Kingdom Yugoslavia, after WW II – Socialistic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Belgrade received the status of one of the most important political and administrative centres in the Balkans. Still, within the new state, the position of Belgrade as the cultural centre was specific: unlike other important Yugoslav centres in the West – Zagreb and Ljubljana, as well as in the North – Novi Sad, which thanks to their (peripheral) position within Austro-Hungarian empire had enjoyed an even, continuous cultural development, Belgrade was a town with a complex history of discontinuity whose cultural physiognomy at the beginning of the twentieth century had achieved significant, positive results in the first stages of 'Europeanization'<sup>27</sup>, but was also at the same time colourfully marked by the layers of its own Oriental past and simultaneously firmly anchored in the still existent system of its own patriarchal values.

After the First World War, when, as a consequence of a successful policy of opening up to the West, but with the assistance of direct Western financial investment as well, the intensive process of the capital's rapid modernization began, Belgrade was simultaneously exposed to large demographic inflow of population from the periphery, which in the field of culture produced confrontation and conflict between various 'horizons of expectations' of the audience. In the reception system, that conflict of 'horizons' was particularly sharply manifested as a deep gap between the taste of the small intellectual elite, and, on the other side – the taste of a much larger audience which brought to the city the feeling of nostalgia for the country homeland left behind and its indigenous folk tradition. The *openness towards novelty*, as a significant symptom of social modernization, was also a recognizable feature of overall artistic processes in Belgrade as a local cultural epicentre; however, it was equally opposed by quite active and efficient *resistance towards the New!* The coexistence of the dynamic principle of 'progress' (a tendency towards change) and the static principle of 'inertness' (a tendency to keep the existent patriarchal system of values) formed the *field of extreme tension* in which opposing political, ideological, poetic, artistic and aesthetic projects, programs and actions clashed and competed openly and at times very fiercely.

To what extent, however, that pregnant counterpointal dialogue of modernity and tradition was a specific, exclusive feature of Belgrade as—according to another old cliché—'cultural "periphery" of the West', but not of its leading 'centres' – Paris, Vienna, Berlin? Isn't the project of modernism, emerging from the urban cores of Western Europe, exactly generally characterized by ever

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<sup>27</sup> The term 'Europeanization' is broadly used in Serbian theory and historiography, in spite of the fact that Serbian history belongs (with ruptures in continuity!) to the history of Europe (in its modern understanding). However, the term is often used as a synonym for 'modernization', or – 'Westernization'. As in the first-half of the twentieth century Belgrade also started to accept indirectly, with the mediation of its Western 'centres' in Europe, influences from the USA, it is clear that the term 'Europeanization' has become insufficient to cover all phenomena of cultural interactions.

more dynamic processes of gradual modification, abandoning, reconsidering and finally open disputation of tradition(s), so that the history of the modern era in Europe is today rightfully observed as the 'history of decline of traditions'? Doesn't this coexistence of progressive and regressive forces in the cultural field of the Eastern-European, or—more 'precisely'—the Western European 'periphery' on the Balkans, represent simply the delayed, variant repetition of the same phenomenon, where it is also essential to bear in mind the fact that—due to a faster flow and more intensive communication of 'ideas' in the whirlpool of European modernity—the 'periphery/ies' was progressively less late (and, subsequently – closer!) to the 'centre/s'?

Nevertheless, what I would like to emphasize as the important difference between the dialogicity<sup>28</sup> of modernity and tradition in the 'advanced', 'progressive' Western 'centres' in comparison with Belgrade—as the observed, 'tardy' zone of 'periphery'—is the *intensity of tension* which the oppositely oriented forces of 'progress' and 'conservatism' reached at their peaks. The one of the most important causes of the same phenomenon in Serbian music of the first half of the twentieth century lies certainly in the abrupt, rapid leap of Serbian society from a patriarchal into a modern social and cultural model; under ever more frequent and forceful gusts of more radical novelties, the initially vital and rigid, but with time weakened patriarchal system of values started to burst at the seams, giving way to newly established models of modern bourgeois but also anti-bourgeois culture; the emergence of the last was in the thirties connected with the breakthrough and expansion of the communist left wing, both from the East (Soviet Russia) and from left-oriented circles in the West.<sup>29</sup> From the viewpoint of diachrony, it is clear that the 'onslaught' of the wave of novelties coming from the West produced the strongest effect of chain explosions in the first years right after the First World War, while, considering the strengthening of the new system of modern attributes – the effect of the later 'onslaughts' was more successfully cushioned.

### The Power of Tradition and the Dynamics of Change

The other important difference between the dialogicity of the modernization processes in the leading 'centres' and those on the 'periphery' (which were included into modernization processes with a certain delay for historical and economic rea-

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<sup>28</sup> I use this notion in the spirit of Edgar Morin's and Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas.

<sup>29</sup> About the typology of cultural models in Serbia see more in Milan Radulović's book *Modernizam i srpska idealistička filozofija [Modernism and Serbian Idealistic Philosophy]* (Beograd : Institut za književnost i umetnost, 1989). See also Biljana Milanović's article 'Proučavanje srpske muzike između dva svetska rata: od teorijsko-metodološkog pluralizma do integralne muzičke istorije' ['Styding Serbian Music between two World Wars: from Theoretical Methodological Pluralism to Integral Music History'], *Muzikologija (Musicology)*, 1 (2001), 49–91. See also in my forthcoming book *Serbian Music at the Cross-roads between East and West*.

sons), is seen with a comparative insight into the sense and physiognomy of *tradition* in observed periphery zones. Considering the fact that the notions of *tradition* and, particularly – *artistic tradition*, are extremely complex, layered and dynamic, here I will mention only several conclusions I have reached researching the field of Serbian art music but which could, in certain circumstances, refer to most phenomena taken up by 'modernization' on the 'periphery'.

If tradition or one of its segments is long and fruitful, the degree of achieved practice is higher, whereas the technical conditions of its preservation are better, so the need for novelty arises (similarly as in the 'centres') as a result of *saturation* leading to transformation. In Serbian music it is the case, for example, with the tradition of choir *a cappella* music. In the same way, if in a relatively poor artistic tradition one genre which *does not depend on a large number of participants* has the *longest continuity*, novelty will, once again because of the factor of saturation, also find its path and gradually or – in sharper leaps, more rapidly and efficiently destruct the existing practice. Speaking of Serbian art music, the previous observations refer to 'intimate' genres – to solo song, piano miniature, chamber music forms. Novelties are slow in conquering those genres whose realization requires a large number of participants, which are economically dependent on the audiences' taste and which demand a change in the reception system. The best examples for the above-mentioned thesis are stage, theatre music genres: the mass and long-standing popularity of staunch followers of romantic national ideology on Serbian music stages—Singspiel-like plays with music—significantly slowed down the development of modern music drama and almost completely disputed its retention in the repertoire (the best examples are the modern music dramas of Petar Konjović: *Prince of Zeta*/1927 and *Koštana*/1931). On the other hand and only at first sight paradoxically, it has also been perceived that *less developed artistic traditions more easily accept the inflow of novelties*: by taking the initiative, new norms are the ones dictating the intensity and speed of the flow of artistic changes; it is not unusual that—in the absence of strong resistance from 'the Old'—changes come about abruptly and rapidly, so that in a relatively short period of time we witness the establishment of *parallelism* as well as the *pluralism of style programs*, whose internal *tension* functions as a *real catalyst* of future changes.

### A Short History of the Tension: the Case of Serbian Music

In an attempt to outline thoroughly the specific position of Serbian music in the first half of the twentieth century, I will now turn to its style physiognomy, which is the result of both a) the delayed development and the features of inherited tradition which performed as the starting base-model at the beginning of the century and of b) the effects of the parallel activities of different genera-

tions of composers.<sup>30</sup> Briefly, within a relatively short period—during the first half of the twentieth century, but particularly after World War One—a very rapid process of professional establishment, maturity and style branching and layering occurred in Serbian music: ranging from its somewhat delayed and not equally mature Romanticism results, to the first expressionist, atonal, athemetic and dodecafonic works. The fruitful life of the founder of Serbian music Romanticism and the most important figure in the eyes of his followers—Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac—ended in 1914. It was the time when the first generation of composers who considered themselves to be *modern* appeared in Serbian music; searching for ‘the New’, contemporary ‘national style’, they expanded the starting Romanticism frame towards Postromanticism, enrichening it with elements of Impressionism and Expressionism.

In the focus of attention of the debates led for decades by composers of this generation from divergent strategically—politically, ideologically and aesthetically motivated positions—there were problems of the ‘modern national style’, where the main ‘technical’ problem was articulated in their various attempts at the synthesis of classical forms of Western music tradition with the specific features of folklore material which most authors evaluated as the basic ‘markers’ of national identity.<sup>31</sup> The review of style characteristics of the most important representatives of the first generation of modernists—among whom the oeuvres of Miloje Milojević, Petar Konjović and Stevan Hristić stood out—represents at the same time the sets of *dominant style attributes* of Moderna in Serbian music, which largely coincides with the definition of that movement—*die Moderne*—given by Carl Dahlhaus.<sup>32</sup> Similar to national literature and fine arts, Moderna in Serbian music was not a monolithic, coherent style formation! It was primarily the outcome of a restless ‘search for style’, opening up towards new means of expression, but also the result of tearing down the national romantic tradition in the spirit not only of recent tendencies of the Western, and Central European music, but at the same time recent directions in Russian music which, especially thanks to the post-revolutionary emigration of Russian artists

<sup>30</sup> About thirty composers were active in the period. The representatives of the oldest generation were Josif Marinković (1851–1931) and Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914). The main representatives of the next generation were born between 1883 and 1901: Petar Konjović (1883–1970), Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), Stevan Hristić (1885–1958), Milenko Paunović (1889–1924), Kosta Manojlović (1890–1949), Josip Slavenski (1896–1955), Jovan Bandur (1899–1956), Marko Tajčević (1900–1984), Mihailo Vukdragović (1900–1986), Milenko Živković (1901–1964). The youngest generation was born during the first decade of the twentieth century: Mihovil Logar (1902–1998), Predrag Milošević (1904–1987), Dragutin Čolić (1907–1990), Milan Ristić (1908–1982), Ljubica Marić (1909–2003), Stanojlo Rajić (1910–2000), Vojislav Vučković (1910–1942).

<sup>31</sup> Compare M. Milin’s article ‘Musical Modernism in the ‘Agrarian Countries of South-Eastern Europe’: The Changing Function of Folk Music in the Twentieth Century’ in this book.

<sup>32</sup> C. Dahlhaus, *Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Laaber, 1980)

to Belgrade, equally gave significant impulses to the profiling of a modern 'national style' in the first generation of the Serbian modernists. But this generation also, thanks to folklore, conquered new territories of music modernity: important contributions to the broadening of the style spectrum of modernism in Europe were made by the compositions inspired by the Balkan South, whose specific and unique folklore had been created for centuries as a fruitful synthesis of the dialogue of Slavic and Oriental musical codes.<sup>33</sup>

A special place in the search for a new identity of modern music is held by the oeuvre of Josip Slavenski, the composer who—apart from achieving the greatest international success among all Yugoslav music authors—even further moved the limits of understanding the European identity of music modernism(s) towards the uncharted music territories of the Balkans, Near and Far East.<sup>34</sup> Being a typical modernist, Slavenski found the musical planet Earth with its own music history, however, too small for his expressionistic adventures into the 'cosmic spheres' of music where, in his Pythagorean pondering over the universal 'laws' and principles of the 'universal beauty', here tried to discern principles on which he would build a new, 'natural tonal system' as the base for the 'new, natural music identity' of his times. It is indicative that modern Europe, much better than young modern Yugoslavia could recognize the freshness and 'authenticity' of Slavenski's music. Due to the disapproval of Serbian critics, Slavenski's music had a very important role in the intensification of style tension in the coordinate field of Serbian and Yugoslav music in the thirties.<sup>35</sup>

In the fourth decade, Serbian music survived the sharp clash with the early works of the group of young composers who studied in Prague: the avant-gardism of the left-oriented followers of Alois Hába (e.g. Vojislav Vučković, Ljubica Marić) had been the maximum tension point reached between the *novelties* and the *tradition* that served as a starting model for the first generation of modernists. However, on the eve of the WW II, Vojislav Vučković, until then the greatest fighter for novelties of all kinds, made a radical return to the 'old' tradition, composing his first choral piece (the *First Rukovet-Garland*, 1941) in the best spirit of Stevan Mokranjac. This 'event' marked the beginning of the so-called 'Newrealistic' movement, taken directly from the then most recent Soviet theory and practice.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See e.g. N. Mosusova, 'Das Balkanische Element in der Südslawischen Kunstmusik', *Balcanica*, VIII (1977), 781–790; see also in my forthcoming book *Serbian Music at the Crossroads between East and West*. Biljana Milanović also writes about the identity of Serbian Moderna in her article 'Orientalism, Balkanism, Modernism in Serbian Music of the First Half of the Twentieth Century' in this volume.

<sup>34</sup> See Biljana Milanović's article, *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> K. Tomašević, 'Conflict and Dialogue between the Old and the New in Serbian Music between Two World Wars' in Geoffrey Chew (ed.), *New Music in the "New" Europe 1918–1938: Ideology, Theory, Practice*. Colloquium Musicologicum Brunense 38, 2003 (Praha : KLP, 2007), 168–169.

<sup>36</sup> After the Second World War, the "Newrealism" was 'transformed' and renamed to the only officially accepted 'style' – Socialist realism. See more about Socialist realism in M. Milin's

In order to understand better the specific feature of this rapid program of 'development' and changing, it is essential to discern the problems of 'incomplete' national musical tradition which served as the starting basis—*model* for creating of the first generation of modernists. What is in question here? There is no doubt that in the very epicentre of this generation's attention was the work by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac who was the *stylogenic* figure of Serbian musical Romanticism, and (...) the *inventor of the new music art tradition* on the cross-roads of the centuries.<sup>37</sup> The problem of 'incompleteness' of the starting basis—*model* lies in the fact that Mokranjac is credited exclusively with the establishment of vocal and primarily choral tradition, while his contemporary Josif Marinković—whose impact on the following generation was incomparably weaker!—set the foundations of the development of the solo song genre. It is obvious that the development of symphonic music could not be encouraged in a country without a professional orchestra, just as there was no point in composing an opera without suitable performers and the very institution of the opera.<sup>38</sup> The first generation of Serbian modernists at the beginning of the twentieth century were confronted with the task of 'conquering the territory' of instrumental music: only Petar Konjović entered history as the author of the first Serbian symphony (*Symphony C minor*, 1907), first symphonic variations (*In the Country*, 1915) and first violin concert (*Adriatic Capriccio*, 1936). Another aspect of the 'incompleteness' of the starting *model* was its style 'anachronism' in the context of contemporary Western style tendencies at the turn of the centuries. However—and this is something that we must always have in mind—the most important aim of the first Serbian modernists was 'to catch up with' their own musical era! They were supposed to, as Dragutin Gostuški vividly put it, start a 'neck-breaking race'.<sup>39</sup>

If there are somewhere specific features which made the trends of the epoch of Serbian musical modernism(s) differ basically from the modernism(s) of the 'centres', then they lie in the very problem of 'incompleteness' of music tradition as the *starting model*. It seems that there are good reasons for the

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book *Tradicioalno i novo u srpskoj muzici posle drugog svetskog rata (1945–1965)* [The Traditional and the New in Serbian Music After the Second World War (1945–1965)] (Beograd : Muzikološki institut SANU, 1998), 14–47.

<sup>37</sup> See in my article 'Mokranjac and Inventing the Tradition: A Case Study of the Song *Cvekje cafnalo*', report at the International conference *Composer and his Environment*, Belgrade, Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, November 2006, in print.

<sup>38</sup> Belgrade Opera was founded in 1920, Belgrade Philharmonic – in 1923! About the history of institutions and repertoire see more in my article 'Musical life in Serbia in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – Institutions and Repertoire' in Katy Romanou (ed.), *Aspect of Greek and Serbian Music* (Athens : Edition Orpheus, 2007), 53–77.

<sup>39</sup> D. Gostuški, 'Istorijski škripac srpske muzike' ['Historical Scrape of Serbian Music'] in D. Gostuški, *Umetnost u nedostatku dokaza* [The Arts in the Lack of Evidences], (Beograd : Srpska književna zadruga, 1978), 115.

opinion according to which the first generation of Serbian modernists simultaneously fulfilled a *double task*: on the one hand, it was necessary to reconstruct a *posteriori* and virtually (in compliance with the existing traditions of the Western, Central-European and Slavic 'Others'), the picture of an imagined *complete* 'classical' music tradition; on the other hand and at the same time—with their own creative action, realized through fruitful dynamic dialogues with the contemporary context of the epoch—they were supposed to shape that very imagined tradition further, to 'modernize' and to update towards bringing it closer to chosen models of the leading 'centres' of musical modernism.

Regarding the idea that one of the most important 'centres' of the gravitational field in the focus of the Serbian composers in the first half of the twentieth century was Mokranjac's oeuvre, it is interesting to observe that the radiation of that very *model* attracted most strongly Mokranjac's direct followers—the composers closest to the core of the emission. By selection of its own *ideals* and sets of aesthetic values, the following generation was, in fact, the one which gave full legitimacy to Mokranjac's music as *tradition*. Still, just as in global style processes, the emitting force of the starting *model* progressively declined with time, so that it is clearly seen in the diachrony that the creative work of the younger generation of 'nationally oriented' modernists (M. Tajčević, M. Živković, M. Vukdragović, J. Bandur)—due to the introduction of novelties into the composing practice—ever more rapidly moved away from the set of characteristics of Mokranjac's style.

A more significant increase in tension within the field of Serbian music began, however, in the thirties, with the appearance of the youngest generation of composers, who defined their youthful music identity primarily in the *counter-attitude* towards everything characterizing the more recent national tradition of art music. Although to a larger extent different than similar in their creative predispositions and affinities, the representatives of this generation were unique in their turning away from Belgrade immediately upon their arrival to study in Prague.<sup>40</sup> The scale of composing tools and style elements through which they expressed an open negation of the existing values of the national music tradition was broad and various, but it possessed at least two common denominators: 1) none of the young composers showed interest in folklore or church music and 2) all of them in Prague mostly composed instrumental music. Completely oriented towards the contemporary 'international' context of the West, being fully conscious of the fact that the vivid cultural environment of Prague was one of the leading 'centres' of modernism in Central Europe, the representatives of the 'Prague group' agreed also in their intention of contributing through their own action and programs to the creation of a new, openly

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<sup>40</sup> The representatives of the 'Prague group' were Dragutin Čolić, Mihovil Logar, Ljubica Marić, Predrag Milošević, Stanojlo Rajićić, Milan Ristić and Vojislav Vučković.

*anti-romantic and anti-folklore, cosmopolitan identity* for Serbian music. They believed that in the near future this ‘new’, contemporary identity of Serbian music should completely suppress and replace the ‘old one’, reflected in the works of the previous generation whose music the Prague students themselves undoubtedly considered ‘anachronous’ and ‘peripheral’.<sup>41</sup>

Not equally motivated for experiments, the representatives of the ‘Prague group’ as students made interesting youthful attempts at style synthesis of elements of Post-romanticism, Neoclassicism and Expressionism<sup>42</sup> – that is, of those styles which in the music context of Central Europe legitimately advocated the aesthetics of the modernism of the thirties. It is curious, however, that at the same time, unlike the predecessors (the first generation of Serbian modernists), the youngest composers showed no interest at all in the heritage of French Impressionism and the movements of the post-Debussy epoch or in the extraordinary folklore synthesis of Béla Bartók, early Stravinsky or Prokofiev.

On the scale of shift from national tradition the most forward position was taken by the several Prague works by Dragutin Čolić, Vojislav Vučković, Ljubica Marić and Milan Ristić. In the set of their most radical choices are the style of the Vienna school, the principles of Schoenberg’s dodecaphony, microtonal (quarter-tone and sixth-tone) system of Alois Hába, the Hindemithian concept of structure and autonomy of linear thinking as the assumption of atonality. These choices also represent the maximum point of the *progressive advance* from the set of style elements that were characteristic for the beginning of the twentieth century in Serbian music. At the same time, those ‘radical’ elements very profoundly prepared the ground for the strong tension between the two active layers of modernisms that would happen soon, when the Prague students music was presented in Belgrade. It is quite important to point out the following: as long as the representatives of the youngest generation were out of their homeland and their works remained unknown, without reception ‘at home’, the expressionistic current sparked in their works made a completely *independent, parallel* style flow without touching points with the ‘older’ modernist flows that dominated the domestic music stage.

Particularly significant indicators for research of the specific characteristics of music modernism(s) on the ‘periphery’ turned out to be the *reception aspects* at the *moments of a stronger inflow of waves of novelties* arriving di-

<sup>41</sup> This is picturesquely confirmed by the words of Stanojlo Rajićić, who remembered that his generation in Prague ‘was running away from choir singing and folk melodies just as a small village boy who, after arriving in town, hurries to take off his village shoes and put on elegant patent leather ones.’ Quoted from K. Tomašević, ‘Razgovor sa Stanojlo Rajićićem’ [‘Interview with Stanojlo Rajićić’], *Novi zvuk [New Sound]*, 1 (1993), 19.

<sup>42</sup> About the style tendencies of the ‘Prague group’ see more in Marija Bergamo’s book *Elementi ekspressionističke orijentacije u srpskoj muzici do 1945. godine* [Elements of Expressionistic Orientation in Serbian Music until 1945], (Beograd : SANU, Posebna izdanja, knj. DXXVI, Odeljenje likovne i muzičke umetnosti, knj. 3, 1980).

rectly from the 'centres'. Followed by a gale of strong opposition—both from the official critics and from the audience and musicians themselves—the extremely unfavourable reception of the youthful works of the 'Prague group' in Belgrade sharpened the conflict between two divergent concepts and strategies of the development of 'national modern music' and substantially increased tension between them. Judging by the shock of the audience in the encounter with the unknown, as well as by the strength of resistance which the forces of artistic tradition showed to the novelties, the anti-romantic and anti-folklore style line in the works of the young, now former 'Prague students' played the role of an avant-garde in the local context of Serbian music.<sup>43</sup>

It is indicative that, despite the sharpest protest of the audience, two young composers—Vojislav Vučković and Stanojlo Rajićić—after their return to Belgrade not only remained loyal to the style paths conquered in Prague, but made several steps forward with the aim of sharpening their expressionistic style. While Vučković drew support to his own avant-garde, as before in Prague, from still valid art programs of the left-wing communist ideology from the USSR, Rajićić was personally provoked by the resistance and resentment the conservative environment showed for the new, cosmopolitan course advocated by the youngest generation.<sup>44</sup> Loudly opposing invitations to return to the 'right path' and to 'wash his face in the clear springs of folk song',<sup>45</sup> Rajićić struck his most ruthless blow to the local tradition in late thirties, composing the athematic and atonal, fully expressionistic cycles of songs [*Čuvari sveta, (Guardians of the World), Jazz, Jesen (Autumn) and Jedanaest motoričnih pesama (Eleven Motoric Songs)* –1938/1940].<sup>46</sup> Bringing also a completely new treatment of the vocal style, these songs dramatically differed from everything typical of modern Serbian Lied in the perspective of the older generation (Konjović, Milojević, Hristić). Still, the music gestures of Rajićić's 'rebelliousness' were not merely a 'translation' of 'progressive' achievements of music in the Western 'centres'. They were directly encouraged by events on the local literary stage where, since the beginning of the twenties and almost simultaneously with the revolutionary

<sup>43</sup> M. Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas* [Creative Presence of the European Avant-garde in Serbian Music], (Beograd : Univerzitet umetnosti, 1983).

<sup>44</sup> On Rajićić's conflict with Svetomir Nastasijević, see their polemics in Stanojlo Rajićić, 'G. Nastasijević ili "laž i tama moderne muzike"' ['G. Nastasijević or "Lies and Darkness of Modern Music"'], *Slovenska muzika [Slavic Music]*, (February 1940); Svetomir Nastasijević, 'Lepota i vrednost našeg narodnog pevanja zanemaruju se u našem muzičkom stvaranju' ['Beauty and Value of our Folk Singing and our Folk Songs are Neglected in our Art Music'], *Radio-Beograd [Radio-Belgrade]*, 26 (1941), 5; 'Lepota i vrednost našeg narodnog pevanja..., mišljenje g. Stanojla Rajićića' ['Beauty and Value of our Folk Singing..., the Opinion of Mr Stanojlo Rajićić'], *Radio-Beograd [Radio-Belgrade]*, 12, (January 1941), 5.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> The majority of songs were composed on lyrics by Expressionists poets Stanislav Vinauer and Ante Boglić.

actions of avant-garde in the 'centres' (particularly close were the ties of Serbian poets with Paris!), in a swift cascade, almost over night, new movements alternated and clashed: these were Sumatraism, Dadaism, Hypnism, Zenithism, Expressionism, and Surrealism. The result of those avant-garde blows in the field of Serbian literature was the definite abandonment of the lyrical paths of Parnassian and symbolistic orientation in poetry, as well as the tearing down of Realism in prose procedure. There is no doubt that Rajićić's radical music gestures were highly motivated by the boldness and innovativeness of Stanislav Vinaver's poetry; as an artist who entered the history of the European avant-garde as the author of the Belgrade 'Manifesto of Expressionistic School', Vinaver was also one of the musically best educated writers of the epoch who was among the first to represent the achievements of Arnold Schoenberg and Alban Berg to the readers of leading periodicals in Belgrade and Yugoslavia and the one who expertly managed to defend them from the assaults of incompetent and conservative critics.<sup>47</sup>

What were, in fact, the real effects of the breakthrough of novelties on the reception system in Belgrade as the capital city and one of the 'centres' of modernism in the Balkans? One thing is certain: the 'horizon of expectation' of the audience was moved several long steps forward! Not accepting the absence of folklore, nor the absence of classical forms, nor harmonic language impregnated with emancipated dissonances, after meeting the works of 'the young', the audience was encouraged to accept with relief the music created by the representatives of the older modern 'national school'. At the end of the thirties, Konjović's and Milojević's modernism—to name but a few—were already considered 'classics' of Serbian music in the twentieth century.

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Arriving at the end of this short history of the tension in Serbian music, I will present conclusions on the specific features of the development of Serbian music in the first half of the twentieth century. The roots of the substantial and rapid transformation of Serbian music that took place in a short period of time lay 1) in the evolutionary potential of the earlier music tradition and its aesthetic values; 2) they are knotted in complex, not simply individual communication relationships with the models of the 'advanced' musical traditions. The origin of the openness to novelty, the speed and the quality of the transformation were also 3) the product of interference from close artistic fields (particularly poetry).

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<sup>47</sup> S. Vinaver's articles in *Srpski književni glasnik* [Serbian Literary Magazine], 45/7 (1935), 515–24 and in *Zvuk* [Sound], 10 (1935), 384–388. Quoted from R. Pejović, *Muzička kritika i esejištika u Beogradu (1919–1941)* [Music Criticism and Essays on Music in Belgrade (1919–1941)], (Beograd: Fakultet Muzičke umetnosti, 1999), 286. See also in my article 'Vinaver i muzika' ['Vinaver and Music'], *Danica* (2008), in print.

Moreover, for some composers, 4) the quest for novelty was strongly supported by their adherence to revolutionary, communist ideology. One of the most important driving forces of the changes was 5) the dynamic and fruitful interaction that occurred between *the musical Old* and *the musical New*, between traditional and modern values. Finally, in the complex of facts with a special value for the transformation of the music stylistic physiognomy one stable constant stands out: *the intensity of dynamics of changes depended on the tension established between novelties and an already existing traditional layer*.

At first sight, the first half of the twentieth century in Serbian music represents an extremely heterogeneous epoch. The view from the angle of diachrony speaks of a certain stability and continuity in individual authors' choices and their creative strategies, as well as of a certain coherence of phenomena within the same generation of composers. The view of the chronological vertical line of synchronous phenomena, however, shows—interestingly enough I believe that it could also be considered a typical feature of the 'peripheries' ('margins') of modernism—*an increase in the density of cluster of style determinants from the beginning towards the end of the period*. The process of the emergence of this specific style 'polyphony' was caused by the parallel activities of several generations of authors and the effects of rapid 'progress' in the range of the composing techniques that was achieved by several of the youngest authors. Generations were essentially different not only according to the starting style positions, but also according to frequently completely divergently oriented ideological programs which reflected the basic political and artistic dilemmas of the epoch: *Pro or Contra Europe? Western or Eastern Europe? Westernisation of Serbia or Balkanisation of Europe?*<sup>48</sup> By broadening the range of observation from the micro-plan of synchrony towards the macro-plan of diachrony, however, it is possible to realize that the *crossing and interaction of style elements* can be considered the *style constants* of Serbian music in the first half of the twentieth century—and at all individual levels of its development. This one, typically modernistic feature, may also become the only of the many promising starting points for the new, future adventures of exploring musical modernism(s) on its all 'peripheral', little known or—at least, in the 'musicology/ies of the "centre(s)"'—still almost 'undiscovered and uncharted territories'.

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<sup>48</sup> See more about in my article 'Istok – Zapad u polemičkom kontekstu srpske muzike između dva svetska rata' ['The East and the West in the Polemical Context of the Serbian Music between the Two World Wars'], *Muzikologija [Musicology]*, 5 (2005), 119–129.

Катарина Томашевић

## МУЗИЧКИ МОДЕРНИЗАМ НА „ПЕРИФЕРИЈИ“? СРПСКА МУЗИКА У ПРВОЈ ПОЛОВИНИ ХХ ВЕКА

Полазна разматрања у овој студији посвећена су корелативном пару *центар–периферија*, као једној од базичних дихотомија западноевропског мишљења. Најпре се указује на проблеме музичке историографије Запада, која у својим досадашњим стратегијама дефинисања музичког идентитета Европе упорно превиђа значај и улогу идентитета „периферије“ као сопствених алтеритета. Имајући у виду ревизију многобројних стереотипних гледишта која су наступила у новијим постструктуралистичким, постколо-нијалним, семиотичким и студијама културе, указује се на актуелност де-конструисања теоријског модела *центар–периферија*, као и на значај проучавања модерниз(а)ма „периферије“ (или „маргине“) као „новооткривених“ територија модерности. Посебна пажња поклоњена је иницијативи за оснивање „нове гео-историје модернизма“ (Сузана Стенфорд Фридман), као што је учињен и преглед аспеката историје српске музике прве половине XX века који, несумњиво, доприносе прецизнијем и дубљем сагледавању резултата узајманих интеркултурних и интермузичких дијалога „цен-тара“ и „периферије“ у епохи модернизма.

У другом делу студије, на одабраном узорку српске музике у првој половини XX века, разматрају се аспекти феномена *тензије* која настаје као продукт сусрета и сукоба традиције и модернизационих друштвених процеса. Уочавају се узроци („некомплетност“ полазног *модела*, паралелизам деловања различитих генерација композитора) и последице „убрзаног“ програма „развоја“, као што се указује и на тенденције преображаја идентитета српске музике у њеним југословенским, балканским и европским модернистичким оквирима.

# ORIENTALISM, BALKANISM AND MODERNISM IN SERBIAN MUSIC OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BILJANA MILANOVIĆ

MY aim is to consider those aspects which can be problematized from the critical positions of Orientalism and Balkanism in current comprehension, interpretation or rethinking of Serbian music from the first half of twentieth century. Theoretical stands on the mutual relationship between these two categories are not completely synchronized. I will define myself in relation to them and indicate several fundamental points before I start to consider some of their effects on the landscape of the Serbian musical Modernism.<sup>1</sup>

Interpretative strategies about the Balkans could be subsumed under the term of Balkanism, as defined by Marija Todorova.<sup>2</sup> It has to do with images asserted in the context of European selfhood which were constructed owing to the Western politics of power and control, and to the cultural ideology based on the idea of progress. Criticism of this essential system of knowledge and stereotyped rhetoric gathered around opposing sets of categories such as rational – irrational, civilized – barbaric, progressive – backward has been the subject of different concepts initially inspired by Said's Orientalism.<sup>3</sup> As the discourse on the ideology of domination, marginalization and stigmatization it forms part of the interdisciplinary academic genre which, in some ways, overlaps with postcolonial studies of culture.

According to Todorova, the Balkans represents a unique entity, and with its historical and geographical peculiarities is different from the impalpable Ori-

<sup>1</sup> I first dealt with this theme in B. Milanović, 'The Balkans as the Cultural Sign in the Serbian Music of the First Half of Twentieth Century', unpublished, presented at the Eighteenth International Congress of the International Musicological Society, *Transitions*, Zuerich, 10 to 15 July 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Todorova proposed this concept in one of her texts on the Balkans and then developed it in her book about Balkanism. M. Todorova, 'The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention', *Slavic Review*, 53 (1994), 453–82; M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978).

ent. In contrast to Orientalism as a discourse on imputed opposition, Balkanism is a discourse on imputed ambiguity: from the Western point of view, the region has not been characterized as 'other' but as an incomplete, dark side of the 'self'. This negative invention of the Balkans Todorova attributes to the Ottoman heritage and draws attention to the special rhetorical arsenal of Balkanism positioning images of region in a bastard, transitional world made up of people who are no longer Orientals but have not yet become Europeans.

Such a perception blurs the categories of East and West and Milica Bakić-Hayden demands a more comprehensive approach, adequate to the liminal position of the region. She recognizes the specific nature of Balkanism but shows that 'it would be difficult to understand it outside the overall orientalist context' which can, indeed, be detected 'within Europe itself, between Europe "proper" and those parts of the continent that were under Ottoman (hence Oriental) rule'.<sup>4</sup> Balkanism could therefore be observed as a kind of 'variation on the orientalist theme'.<sup>5</sup> In the same terms, focus on the Ottoman heritage cannot be separable from other historical perceptions of the region, because of the striking continuity in the logic and nature of representations that show the various but always present divisions between East and West. Either as religious, cultural, ideological or political otherness to Europe 'proper', which have been replaced and reinforced by each other in the different historical contexts, Balkan eastern inferiority asserted in the hegemonic nature of the general orientalist framework, however, remains.<sup>6</sup> The whole problem is considered by the author in the context of European symbolic geography and its axes where the entire hierarchy of representations, which she maps by nesting Orientalisms, may be seen 'as declining in relative value from north-west (highest value) to the south-east (lowest value)'.<sup>7</sup> The intersections of all coordinates belonging to this mental mapping she perceives in the Balkans, to be precise in the former Yugoslavia which, being the vertex of Europe, presents a unique possibility 'to explore some of the ways in which these differences have been and are being used to define "Europe" in terms of symbolic geography' with its changeable 'processes of inclusions and particularly of exclusion'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> M. Bakić-Hayden, 'Nesting Orientalisms: The case of Former Yugoslavia', *Slavic Review*, 54 (1995), 920–21.

<sup>5</sup> She had started to observe this problem before Todorova introduced the distinctive term. Later, she points up the convergence of the project which Larry Wolff called 'Inventing Eastern Europe' with both Orientalism and Balkanism and reminds us that Wolff itself spoke about that as the intellectual concept of demi-Orientalization. (M. Bakić-Hayden and R. M. Hayden, 'Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics', *Slavic Review*, 51 (1992), 1–15; Bakić-Hayden, 'Nesting Orientalisms', 920–21)

<sup>6</sup> Bakić-Hayden and Hayden, 'Orientalist Variations', 3–4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Demonstrating Nesting Orientalisms in the Yugoslav political rhetoric of the eighties, the author shows that the elements of different historical divisions form the complexity of perceptions of the territory that was the meeting place of empires (Eastern and Western Roman, Ottoman and Habsburg), scripts (Cyrillic and Latin, and into the nineteenth century, Ottoman Turk-

This liminal status of the Balkans—not only on the edge of solely one of them but at the turn of worlds, histories and continents—is also pointed out by Kathryn E. Fleming who believes that such a position does not mean marginality but rather a kind of centrality.<sup>9</sup> Unlike Todorova who criticizes the radical imagological orientation towards postcolonial discourses—for, as she indicates, the Balkans did not have administrative colonization—Fleming advocates ‘metaphorical colonialism’ which can find its place in a careful setting of historical perspective. In the work of Eli Skopetee (*I Dysi tis Anatolis*) translated as ‘West of East’ or ‘East’s West’, she finds one of the best examples of the Balkan historiography where Said’s model has been problematized in the context of changeable historical determinations regarding the position of the Balkans in relation to Western Europe. During this process, the Balkans was considered extremely ‘oriental’ in the seventeenth century, then reshaped into ‘European Turkey’ and after that remanifested into a vague and insufficiently defined part of Europe. Whereas the intimacy of alienation of Said’s Orient from the West comes from Western knowledge of the ‘foreign other’ and from the way it is being governed, familiarity of the Balkans derives from perceiving similarities and alienation derives from unwillingness to accept that similarity. This actually fits the distinction between Orientalism as a discourse on imputed opposition and Balkanism as a discourse on imputed ambiguity, later defined by Todorova.

Although Balkanism is not the equal of Orientalism, similarities and differences between these two discourses are not to be generalized without aspects of their historization. The negative determination towards the Balkans as a vague, bastard world between East and West is crystallized at the beginning of twentieth century during the Balkan wars, the First World War and the fall of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires, at the end of formation of national states in the Balkans and at the same time during the actualization of their status in Europe. It was the time when geopolitical, economic and cultural frustrations incorporated in the positive image of ‘civilized Europe’ constructed the Balkans to the fullest as its ‘otherness within’. Therefore, the mentioned imputed ambiguity of the Balkans between closeness and alienation is simultaneously one of the manifestations of the crisis in Western liberal bourgeois society and its modernity.

Internalization of Western stereotypes in the Balkans was an integral part of the rapid processes of modernization in Serbia of the first half of twentieth century. Thus the overall orientalist logic with strategies of ‘inclusion’ and ‘exclusion’ in European value rankings, as well as its nesting variants, had a

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ish), religions (Roman Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, Protestantism, Islam, Judaism) and cold-war politics and ideologies (between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, communists-run but unorthodox, and non-aligned). *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> K. E. Fleming, ‘Orientalism, the Balkans and Balkan Historiography’, *American Historical Review*, 105 (2000), 1218–1233.

strong impact in the problem area of sociocultural positioning, that is, in inventing, constructing, negotiating and representing identities through art and music itself. The issue is one of collective identification in a changeable geopolitical and symbolic context in the old framework of the Kingdom of Serbia, the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires and in the newly formed multi-ethnic, (super)national Yugoslav state (1918). Concerning its complexity I will indicate only one but a very considerable and significant agent inherited from the nineteenth century, related directly to modern reactions to the Balkan stereotypes.

This was a type of local discourse which could be marked in the context of postcolonial musicology as a kind of Orientalism or, maybe better, as reversible Orientalism. Initially it appeared in popular plays with music through the nineteenth century and it also marked the first Serbian operas with a theme usually set in the atmosphere of the conflict between the Christian and Muslim worlds that is 'good' and 'evil', stereotyped by the musical codes of Serbian folk melodies and oriental origin, sevdalinka-type music. Such works were actually very popular, which is easy to understand, bearing in mind that the imperial reality of Southern territories ruled by the Turks and Northern ones ruled by Austro-Hungarians lasted until the First World War. On the other hand, romantic songs constructed on elements of the same kind of urban svedalinka-type folklore were welcomed as a particular national variant of Lied, like Serbian Romantic poetry which flourished while making free use of vocabulary borrowed from Turkish. These antagonisms are not, however, unusual because the adoption of Western ideas of nation and progress was simultaneously marked by a double ambiguity. On the one hand there were oriental layers which were appropriated in art music but, at the same time, deep-seated Turko-phobia fuelled the need to reject this. On the other hand, there were various and strong Serbian perceptions of European selfness but almost all of them were usually burdened by the fear of loosing national identity under the domination of Western (and Central) European culture. In the wider terms of post-colonialism, Serbian nationalistic discourses were in some ways derivative when reproducing an uncritical and essentialized epistemology of East-West distinctions that had its powerful terrain in the context of both the historical experience of the imperialized and the sense of the 'metaphorically colonized' collective self. The stereotypes were an important commonplace of different comprehensions of segmented social identities, from ethnic and national through larger, regional ones (Balkan, South-Slav, Slav, South-East European) to European identifications, which was the problem especially intricate in the processes of modernization.

The Serbian modernists looked for ways to get rid the negative images of the Balkans. The rich repertoire of artistic answers to cultural stigmatization, ranging from the adoption of dominant stereotypes and hierarchies to their reversal, were integral processes in overcoming the marginal position of Serbian

art. Concrete examples of these processes can be found in both the musical opuses and the textual discourses of composers.<sup>10</sup>

The starting point of first Serbian modernists was nationalism and its recent musical legacy, primarily imposed by the opus of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1854–1914) but their projects, regardless of how they differed from each other, showed larger aesthetic and stylistic endeavours and openness for broader integrations into the processes of European musical culture. Their main creative works may be situated in the landscape of 'East-West synthesis' or 'transitions' of that time, which would also be a challenging issue for a wider study on musical mediation and negotiation in the symbolic geographies of East and West.<sup>11</sup>

To mention, for example, two of the most important modernistic quests among the first generation of modern Serbian composers, those of Petar Konjović (1883–1970) and Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), means simultaneously to demarc the main directions of inventing Serbian and regional music in the mental mapping of European culture. At the same time, both Konjović's artistic claims for Serbian music 'in the East of Europe' and Milojević's 'in the West' were two variants of the Balkan metaphor, each of them as a part of individual creative positioning marked by the desire to revitalize the national and regional image, actually to change it into a 'positive' one in the broader environment of European modern music.<sup>12</sup>

The two projects, however, only partially overcame the old antagonisms and stereotypes and even produced the new ones. In these terms we can account both for Konjović's refuse of oriental urban folklore—that is 'good' and 'bad hybridity' or contamination of the rural idiom by Gypsy musicians—and his changeable attitudes towards Ottoman 'exotics' as well as for his inventions of race 'purity' related to the pre-modern, unratinalized folk music of Balkan Slav peasants. Of course, these ideas were ingredients of European Modernism and Konjović's refusal of the 'Orient' as the presence of 'Non-European' heritage was also a European one.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, not only his placing Balkan

<sup>10</sup> I wrote about such examples in B. Milanović, *Balkans as the Cultural Sign*.

<sup>11</sup> I think on 'transitions' in the terms used recently in Jim Samson, 'Placing Genius: the Case of George Enescu', *Trondheim Studies on East European Cultures and Societies*, 17 (2006), 31 pp; Jim Samson, 'Music and Nationalism: Five Historical Moments' in A. S. Leoussi and S. Grosby (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism. History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 55–67.

<sup>12</sup> Both syntagms of Konjović's artistic claims for Serbian music 'in the East of Europe' and Milojević's 'in the West' are borrowed from Katarina Tomašević, 'Istok – Zapad u polemičkom kontekstu srpske umetnosti između dva svetska rata' [The East – West Relations in the Polemical Context of Serbian Art between Two World Wars], *Muzikologija [Musicology]*, 5 (2005), 119–129.

<sup>13</sup> The important feature of Konjović's modernistic project was the difference that he constructed between 'West', 'East' and 'Orient'. Both of the first two terms he connected only to Europe, where peoples speaking the Slav vernacular he marked as the 'East'. This part of Europe, including also the Balkans, has been musically defined in Konjović's observations by 'Western'

music 'other' together with the East European one nearer to the 'centre' but especially his voice for 'Eastern Slav orientation' in art music showed his critical stands toward the West and Central European cultural hegemony and its value rankings.

Milojević's ideas were directly and strongly connected to West and Central European music, actually to its French-German traces as 'universal' culture which in its various cultivated forms could be effective in the modernization of Serbian, Yugoslav or other Balkan nations. Believing in the idea of progress he did not imagine alternative aesthetics for Western Modernism but modern national and regional music which the musical 'centre' could certainly respect. Milojević's reactions to the balkanistic and orientalistic stereotypes were positioned in the same conditions. Common rhetorical metaphors gathered around 'friendly' and 'dangerous' Balkan savages, created especially by Western travellers, journalists and writers, had become a usual, almost everyday part of the mental mapping of both the outside perception and inner self-presentation of the time, and influenced Milojević's modernistic quests. His adoption of only one part of the cultural stereotypes—the one which could be seen by Western civilized eyes as positive and unproblematic—became the musical reproduction of the 'friendly' and 'sensitive' Balkans presented in his critiques as well as in his compositions.<sup>14</sup>

Some of Milojević's artistic results may be defined as very special Balkan modernistic 'transitions into the West', especially those of the late piano opuses where the stylistic base of Romanticism, mixtured with Impressionistic and Expressionistic elements, was synthesized by a kind of Neo-classical simplicity recognized in old folk dances and songs.<sup>15</sup> Also, Konjović's musical ideas about the unspoilt' folklore of the 'natural community' and its superiority over the 'decadent' one, led to another variant of the modernistic transition more rooted

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and 'Eastern Slavic orientation'. He gave the advance to the second direction that was not as the 'Western' one based 'on the historical line of general musical development' but 'on the knowledge' of their own 'indigenousness and vitality' as 'the source for modern and free musical creation'. This orientation, to whom Konjović also committed himself in his most representative works, was nourished by 'rhythm and the sound of simple peasant speech and melody' sources. At first 'felt and consciously comprehended' by Modest Musorgsky and presented in 'its purest expression' by Leoš Janáček, the 'Eastern Slav orientation' gave 'a new, original content to the musical forms' and the powerful ability for 'contemporary music to be enriched'. P. Konjović, 'Dve orientacije u slavenskoj muzici' ['Two Orientations in Slav music'], *Muzički glasnik* [Musical Herald], 8–9 (1938), 160–64. More detailed on this issue in B. Milanović, *Balkans as the Cultural Sign*.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> This is connected with several late compositions for the piano: *Melodies and Rhythms from Šara, Drim and Vardar* [Melodije i ritmovi sa domaka Šare, Drima i Vardara] op. 66, 1942; *Kosovo Suite* [Kosovska svita] op. 68, 1942; *Melodies and Rhythms from the Balkans* [Melodije i ritmovi sa Balkana] op. 69, 1942; *Povardarje Suite* [Povardarska svita] op. 71, 1942; *Motives from the Village* [Motivi sa sela] op. 73, 1942; *Sonata ritmica in modo balcanico*, op. 82, 1944.

in creative analysis of indigenous sources, both of musical and speaking intonations and rhythms. His musical drama *Prince of Zeta [Knez od Zete]* from 1927 is the most complete result of this project.

Whereas his essentialist concept reduced to Slav 'purity' was gradually surpassed in Konjović's opuses and texts, it seems that Milojević always stood by his repudiation of everything which would associate the Balkans with something wild, uncultivated and dangerous. But the problem is not so simple and one-sided when he tried to overcome the negative Balkan images and even hide them. This is connected to his stands on other questions related to the musical 'self', 'own', 'other' and 'foreign' that were changeable and antagonistic. An intricate comparison can be made, for example, between some of his core views on national music and his creative openness to the Far and Middle Eastern aesthetic, moved by French contemporaries. Thus in one of his numerous critiques, Milojević called for the 'shape of own' national 'spirit' that was not in need of the 'pentatonic' or 'exotic'.<sup>16</sup> Also, starting from 1909 he composed several works based on the verses of Japanese and Persian poets as well as the French poetry inspired by Japanese lyrics.<sup>17</sup> These differences may be explained by the complexities of sometimes conflicting individual and social positioning, by tension related to subjective factors and dominant cultural norms and expectations. It seems that there was a kind of psychological split, rooted in disjunction between the sense of collective inferiority and desired subjective musical identification. Did Milojević's consumption of 'foreign' and distant 'exotic' stem from his need to find a substitute for his 'own', close 'exotic' which would be free of association with the undesired side of the 'self'? Or was it nothing more than the imaginary extension of his creative subject, projected into individual fantasy—his reaction to the European dream world of mass consumerism? Certainly, this was one of his westward artistic claims and a special voice for Serbian and regional placing in European competition for musical space. It is evident that Milojević did not avoid the kind of appropriation associated with Orientalism and exoticism, as conventionally comprehended and analyzed in postcolonial musicology, and these works could be investigated in more detail in comparison to other European, especially French composers inspired by the Far and Middle East.

<sup>16</sup> Miloje Milojević, 'Vaskrsenje. Biblijska poema u dva dela za sola, mešoviti hor i veliki orkestar' ['Resurrection. The Biblical poem in two parts for soloists, mixed choir and symphonic orchestra'], *Srpski književni glasnik* [Serbian Literary Magazine], 11 (1912), 862–8.

<sup>17</sup> The song *Japan* [Japan] (1909) was written from the verses of Japanese poet Ohotomo No Sukune Jakamohi from the eighth century. Milojević was later inspired by the poetry of the Persian poet Al Ghazali as well as by the Japanese-influenced poems of French poet Franz Tous-saint and his last completed opus was the *Cycle of songs for high voice and piano* [Ciklus pesama za visoki glas i klavir] op. 87 (1944) based on the haiku verses of Japanese poet Isikava.

Focus on the agencies of internalized Western perception of the Balkans in the creative output of the first modern composers in Serbia shows that their artistic invention of a 'positive' regional image as standing for 'East' or 'West' have regularly led to some inner 'inclusions' and 'exclusions' and resulted in the reproduction and nesting of internal variants of orientalist and Balkan discourses. It was obviously a burden for their projects of modernistic 'transition' when they wanted to search not only for the intersecting points of East-West cultural spheres but also to locate a 'third system'.<sup>18</sup> The context of Balkan images placed in a bastard, transitional world between East and West resulted in attitudes to life at the crossroads or on border, where Balkan people themselves established a sense of identity and, actually, it was very hard to shift the perception to some other, more different cognitive dimension.

In this respect it is very important to mention the creative project of Josip Slavenski (1896–1955), a Croatian-born composer who worked in Serbia from 1924. His 'third system' could be defined as a critique of Western European bourgeois aesthetics and its recent Modernist alienation from human and nature. Its technical and stylistic functioning is based on the inseparable connection of folklore and investigation of sound which operates on all compositional levels from the melodic and rhythmic surface to the procedural dimension of harmonic and fature processes and formal structure. By using recent aspirations that are not adopted from other composers but found in analysis of folk sound material—such as examination of mode-scale grounds, the intonation and rhythm of tunes, structure of natural harmonic row in vertical and horizontal sonority, clusters, microtones, un-tempered system, use of pedals and ostinatos—it acts as a European Modernism alternative to the 'central' one. Besides the approach to the independent acoustic values of folk phenomenon, the project includes deeper pensive, emotional, spiritual and extra-musical aspects of Balkan traditions and heritages therefore presenting a unique aesthetic, very different from that of other modernists.

The 'third system' of Slavenski is also a critique related to the 'inner' sense of cultural inferiority, actually to all those who are not ready to accept the wholeness of the Balkans. It is developed on the complex image of the region as co-existence, mixture and amalgamation of various cultures. Thus Slavenski counted on the folkloric heritage of the entire Balkans, from Croatia in the West to Turkey in the East. In his quest for spiritual roots he imagined the pagan archaic and tunes of old religions, constructed sound visions of Plautus' antiquity, gave his own interpretation of Catholic sacred music and had presentiments of the musical images of medieval Byzantium. His sonorous imagining of the Balkans was both a fully experienced and a consciously alternative European Mo-

<sup>18</sup> I borrow Jim Samson's thoughts inspired by Todorova's point about transition in his consideration of Enescu's 'transitional' case. More detailed in J. Samson, *Placing Genius: the Case of George Enescu*.

dernism that indicated the utmost relativization of boundaries, identities and spaces, and made it possible for Slavenski to find not only signs of 'Eastern' and 'Western' sounds but traces leading to the ancient and cosmic.

The integral image of the Balkans was perceived by Slavenski as an advantage which gave the existing liminal position of the region the potential to be a new centre. In these terms I used metaphor to designate the 'inverted transition' of Slavenski's project that was presented by his imagining of 'Europe in the Balkans'.<sup>19</sup> But it is important to point out that Slavenski's multi-cultural, trans-space, trans-historical and cosmic visions led him to a widening of the Balkan concept. At the end of his life he taught that 'contemporary music was developed to its highest technical possibilities where it exhausted itself' and strongly believed that 'it could only gain new content from the Balkans and the Orient'.<sup>20</sup>

Slavenski expressed these ideas much earlier in his *Religiophony* [*Religiosonija*] performed for the first time in Belgrade in 1934.<sup>21</sup> This composition for symphonic orchestra with a huge number of percussions, choir and soloists could open many intricate themes on Slavenski's Modernism and its relations to cosmic, religious and political identification, positioned through this project of his artistic endeavour, expanded further to the East. Apart from this, the work represents the most complete shaping of composer's creative concept, implying investigation of folklore as a pure acoustic phenomenon together with its reflective-archetype, spiritual-emotional and outer-musical context. In regard to it, but also in the spirit of this study, I will define only the most important aspects connected to Orientalism and Balkanism.

*Religiophony* has seven movements – *Pagans* [*Pagani*], *Jews* [*Jevreji*], *Buddhists* [*Budisti*], *Christians* [*Hriščani*], *Muslims* [*Muslimani*], *Music* [*Muzika*] and *Ode to Work* [*Pesma radu*]. The subtitles of each of them ('*Musica rytmica*', '*Musica coloristica*', '*Musica arhitektonica*', '*Musica melodica*', '*Musica articulatia*', '*Musica dinamica*', '*Musica vitalica*') suggest the importance of the peculiar musical parameter in the form, constructed by shifting the organization of material such as linearity, polyphony, mode-scale grounds, rhythms, pedals, ostinatos and so on.

According to Slavenski, his goal in *Religiophony* was to achieve 'not only musical evocations of great world religions but to show, through them and without them, the emotional and spiritual world of man, his feelings, restless-

<sup>19</sup> B. Milanović, *Balkans as the Cultural Sign*.

<sup>20</sup> Slavenski's worlds from the letter to Gerald Sevren on the occasion of *Symphony of Orient* recorded by DECCA in 1955 are quoted in Ana Kara-Pešić, 'Prepiska Josipa Slavenskog: Odjeci kompozitorovih dela u inostranstvu' ['Correspondence of Josip Slavenski'], *Novi Zvuk* [New Sound], 15 (2000), 117–126.

<sup>21</sup> The alternative title invented as 'politically correct' for the performance in 1954 was *Symphony of Orient* [*Simfonija Orijenta*].

ness, contemplation, ecstasy and triumph'.<sup>22</sup> However, the last two movements, especially *Ode to Work*, show that Slavenski demonstrates his particular ideological-leftist faith which puts this mentioned optimistic expression in the open context of ideological criticism of a liberal bourgeois society, which was a daring and provocative thing to do in 1934. The author makes an utmost utopian formulation: '*Religiophony* is actually religiosophy because music and communism will replace all world religions'.<sup>23</sup>

Slavenski's work demonstrates the coupling of two important points. The first one can be termed a paradigm critique of Balkanism and Orientalism. The second one shows the ideological avangardism that in conditions of modern urban life during the 1930s announces the musical decoding of socio-cultural identities in the process of ideological transfer from the peasantry towards the working class. In this respect, Slavenski is, in a certain way, the predecessor of the new Balkans which after the Second World War, in different, ideological divisions of the continent, would be recreated as South-East 'other' in the construction of Europe.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, apart of his struggle against 'metaphorical colonization' as well as his voice for life in the 'centre' instead on at a 'crossroads' or 'bridge', Slavenski's *Religiophony* stands as his imaginary figuration of the common Yugoslav socio-cultural identity, forced later through the common communist state. To point out again the recent theoretical aspirations of Milica Bakić-Hayden and her stand that Balkanism is not enough to detect all the dividing lines existing in the discourses of this period of modern regional history, means this time not only to prove them by Slavenski's encompassing of all image ingredients being in his desired and announced—now former—Yugoslavia but to stress the endemic nature of antagonisms and stereotypes. Surpassing the old and evoking the new can, ironically, if not tragically, be neutralized and then over and over revitalized and revalorized.

Inscribing a very little part of modern Serbian musical history in the context of hegemonic discourses and its articulation, variation, resemantization and deconstruction through music could help to understand the intricate synergy between the 'real' and 'imagined' attributes in identity positionings that was the main aspect of musical modernization. This short view shows also that music, as socially constructed, could contribute to defining a critique of Balkanism and Orientalism and its nesting and overlapping internal variants. And,

<sup>22</sup> J. Slavenski, 'Kako je nastala *Religiofonija*' ['How was *Religiophony* created'], *Štampa*, Belgrade, 14 (1934).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> It is interesting that in stylistic context *Religiophony* is also defined as predecessor, this time as an avant-garde predecessor of after-war *Poems of Space* [*Pesme prostora*] by Ljubica Marić. M. Veselinović-Hofman, *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas* [Creative Presence of European Avant-Garde with Us] (Belgrade: Umetnička akademija 1983), 348–353.

as the voice came 'from the margin' it may serve to indicate the problems of the both 'centre' and 'periphery' of a Europe which needs to perceive itself in the entirety of its multi-faced identities.

*Биљана Милановић*

## ОРИЈЕНТАЛИЗАМ, БАЛКАНИЗАМ И МОДЕРНИЗАМ У СРПСКОЈ МУЗИЦИ ПРВЕ ПОЛОВИНЕ ХХ ВЕКА

### Резиме

Интернализација западних слика о Балкану обележавала је процесе модернизације српске музике прве половине XX века. Стереотипне представе о овом региону, које савремена теорија дефинише у оквирима критичке оријентализма и балканализма, нису мимоилазиле опусе и текстове српских композитора тога времена.

У тексту је наглашено становиште да је музика активно градила, мењала и деконстурисала границе „символичке географије“ у којој је Балкан имао статус изразито проблематичне европске периферије. С обзиром на континуирану инфернорност региона чије се слике религијске, културне, идеолошке и политичке „другости“ нису само смењивале већ и међусобно снажиле и преклапале, дата је предност оним теоријским гледиштима која балканизам посматрају у вези са широм оријенталистичком перспективом. Примећено је да и сама музика указује на неодвојивост ова два дискурса. Први српски модернисти трудали су се да превазиђу старе поделе и колективну инфериорност и да пронађу слику модерне Србије која би могла да има бољи статус у такмичењу за музичке просторе Европе. Међутим, уобичајени доживљај ове европске „периферије“ као раскршћа или границе између цивилизација и светова неретко је водио и подгревању старих, наслеђених антагонизама, усложњавању вишезначних граница на релацији Исток – Запад и интерном варирању балканских и оријенталистичких дискурса. То је један од аспекта који могу да помогну у разумевању унутрашњих антагонизама који су повремено обележавали различито оријентисана модернистичка стремљења Милоја Милојевића и Петра Коњовића. Са друге стране, модернистички пројекат Јосипа Славенског показује колико су сама промена перцепције и измештање из постојећих стереотипа о лиминалном статусу региона били значајан стваралачки фактор. Посебно је у том контексту издвојена *Религиофонија* као парадигма критике балка-

*низма и оријентализма*. То исто дело, међутим, с обзиром на идеолошки авангардизам његове програмске димензије, представљало је и својеврсну претходницу новог Балкана, оног који ће у потоњим поделама диктираним од стране „центра“ бити преименован у идеолошку „другост“ континента – Југоисточну Европу.

# MODERNISM IN SERBIAN / YUGOSLAV MUSIC BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS

NADEŽDA MOSUSOVA

SPEAKING of the history of Serbian science (as a relatively new branch of investigation not only in Serbia) some investigators maintain that after the liberation from the Turks in 1868, Serbian society was suffering from a modernity complex.<sup>1</sup> No wonder. The Serbs were not alone in such aspirations, their state already regarded as a modern one.<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious that the Serbian 'modernity complex' be it social or cultural, taking place at the end of the nineteenth century, coincides with the appearance of a general current of modernism in the 'main' European countries. In a way, the historian and philosopher Aleksandar Petrović, quoted above, observes modernism as either hidden or open war against traditional values reminding his readers of the well-known discussion in the field of art from seventeenth century France: *la querelle des anciens et des modernes*,<sup>3</sup> which was perhaps the first occasion when the word 'modern' started to be frequently used.

What (today) do the words modern, modernism or modernity mean in general? What was the meaning of the word 'modern' in the past? What is or what was modern thought, modern science including modern medicine or modern history? Did modern medicine start at the moment when doctors realized the importance of washing their hands? Can anybody say what modern history is?

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<sup>1</sup> A. Petrović, 'O skrivenom horizontu' ['About the Hidden Horizon'] in: *Skriveni Horizont. Razmedja istorije srpske nauke* [Hidden Horizon. Borders of the History of Serbian Science], Liceum, 10 (2006), 7. (NB The liberation in the Balkans, especially in Serbia, progressed gradually during the nineteenth century and was not definitely accomplished until the Balkan wars 1912 and 1913).

<sup>2</sup> It could be interesting to mention an Englishwoman among the early Serbian historians: Elodie Lawton Mijatovics, *The History of Modern Serbia*, Wiliam Tweedie, London, 1872. Quoted after S. G. Marković, *Graf Čedomilj Mijatović, viktorijanac među Srbima* [Count Čedomilj Mijatović, The Victorian among the Serbs], Belgrade, 2006, 68.

<sup>3</sup> Petrović, 'O skrivenom horizontu', 16.

What about culture? Have we the right to use this word today, in the age of postmodernism and other post...isms, spiritual children of our post-apocalyptic, globalizing era? It makes no sense, anyhow, to quote in the present paper all the possibilities, or implications of the idea, the term or meaning of being 'modern'.

Leaving aside discussion of the ideology of postmodernism let us remind ourselves of the imprecise definition of the term modernity in music, art or literature, past and present.<sup>4</sup> The term 'tradition' is also a very diffuse one. It is clear that the words 'modern' and 'traditional' had different meanings in different areas, especially in those countries undergoing accelerated social and cultural development in the nineteenth century. One of these was the Kingdom of Serbia, where the importance of being modern from the beginning of the twentieth century was expressed in many segments of life.

On the other side there are (European) countries or one country where the word 'modern' did not and does not exist: in Russia. Not the idea, but simply the term concerning literature, art or music. Could it be true that before the revolution nobody was troubled about being modern? Igor Stravinsky, reminiscing on Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* and Anna Pavlova, says that at that time (he means in 1909) the expressions 'decadent' and 'modern' were interchangeable.<sup>5</sup> The term modern is also not used in Russian/Soviet musicology.

Studying Russian art we find that the word 'modern' was usually replaced with word 'contemporary', concerning developments of the Belle époque, and the only use of the term 'modern' was (and still is) reserved for the Russian *Art Nouveau* called 'style moderne'. Very soon this Russian *fin-de-siècle* art would reach the whole world via cultured émigrés. Not only Paris, but also the newly formed Slavonic states of Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, and last but not least the South Slavs.

The author of *The Horizon* asserts that among other (major or minor) appearances, the new state of Yugoslavia, termed the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, was one of the results of political or social modernism (or modernization).<sup>6</sup> In it, a new time was coming for Serbs for the further development of literature, art and music. Everything was conducive to a great wave of changes. Notably, after the Russian emigration flooding the Balkan area brought to Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana distinguished opera singers, directors, choreographers and ballet dancers.

The three main Serbian composers of the interwar Yugoslav period, Petar Konjović, Miloje Milojević and Stevan Hristić, in full maturity, took advantage of the new situation. There were a lot of good performers now, to interpret their

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. H.-K. Metzger, 'Der Begriff des Modernen: Fortschritt und Regression' in R. Riehm (ed.), *Musik wozu, Literatur zu Noten* (Frankfurt am Main: Edition Suhrkamp, 1980).

<sup>5</sup> Pavlova refused to dance in the *Firebird* because of its 'decadence'. See *Igor Stravinsky in Conversations with Robert Craft* (London: Penguin Books, 1962), 166.

<sup>6</sup> Petrović, 'O skrivenom horizontu', 17.

stage work! That is what was needed!<sup>7</sup> The members of the composing triad were 'nationalists', sometimes 'cosmopolitan', and very interested in developing their own and Serbian music in general. They had also shared similar modern ideas before and during the war, as very young people, already regarding their predecessors in Serbia (Stevan Mokranjac, Josif Marinković, and Stanislav Binički) as heralds of modern music and themselves as very modern and advanced composers.<sup>8</sup>

The three post-war leaders, Milojević already the main music critic in Belgrade, devoted their writings (in local newspapers and journals), starting at the beginning of the twentieth century, to a plead for modern musical expression in their native land. At the same time they did not take much trouble to explain the term modern in connection with music, even though Milojević composed a modern (Dadaist) ballet in 1923, *The Butler's Broom*, which can be regarded as almost avant-garde, Hristić a modern opera in 1925, *The Twilight*, (with *Equinox* left unfinished), and a modern ballet in 1933, *The Legend of Ochrid*, and Konjović two modern operas in 1929 and 1931, *The Prince of Zeta* and *Koštana*.<sup>9</sup> The ideas of modernity, as was said, were born long before the twenties, at the time of their studies in major musical and cultural centres like Prague, Munich or Leipzig.

Coming from Sombor (Vojvodina) to Prague in 1904 to study at the Conservatory with Karel Stecker and Karel Knittl, Petar Konjović was eager to use every opportunity to learn and experience events in the musical and theatrical life of the Czech capital. He sent his reports to the journals of Belgrade and Novi Sad, full of fascination for the way of life, culture in general, and the music of Prague. He discovered Richard Wagner, Czech and Russian composers: 'trifolium' Smetana, Dvořák (who had just died in 1904), Fibich, and Chaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov (still living, just accomplishing his opera *The Legend of the Invisible City Kitež and Maiden Fevronia*) and last but not least Vladimir Rebikov. The latter was in some way very popular in Prague, presenting his compositions there in the period 1904–1907, and his work made a significant impact on this very intelligent and sensible Serbian student.

Describing exciting events Konjović's texts from Prague were often adorned with the word 'modern': modern theatre, modern literature, modern society, and the modern audience. For instance he wrote: 'Gustave Charpen-

<sup>7</sup> Especially Stevan Hristić, the Belgrade opera director 1923–1934. Petar Konjović, leading the opera in Zagreb 1921–1926 owed much to the family of dancers Froman for the renewal of the ballet ensemble of the Zagreb National Theatre.

<sup>8</sup> P. Konjović, 'Muzika u Srba' ['Music in Serbia'] in: *Ličnosti [Personalities]*, (Zagreb: Ed. Ćelap, 1920), 132, 133, 136, 138.

<sup>9</sup> The dates of Yugoslav first performances are given here. Abroad was Hristić's opera premiered in Bratislava (1929) and Rome (1938), Konjović's *Koštana* in Brno (1932), Prague (1935) and Bratislava (1948).

tier's *Louise* is the most beautiful among modern operas.<sup>10</sup> *Louise* was very much *en vogue* in Prague from 1903 onwards, also delighting Leoš Janáček in those days. Generally speaking, for the three Serbian composers, in the pre-war years, in the first place for Petar Konjović, modern was everything new or unusual: *neu und ungewöhnlich*<sup>11</sup> – which could well be applied to a young man from the provinces in the big city, such as Konjović.

However, new and unusual occurrences for this Serbian student had to come with a touch of talent if not genius, and worldliness, for which he possessed an unmistakable instinct, be it in music, art or literature. So, among all the beauties of Czech cultural life, nothing could compare with the experience of the Moscow Art Theatre making guest performances abroad. One can be sure that the acting of 'hudožestvenniki' in 1906 in Prague and the discovery of *Boris Godunov* in 1918 in Zagreb, definitely made an outstanding Serbian and Yugoslav opera composer of Petar Konjović. Much later, in connection with *Koštana*'s premiere, he did not forget in his Brno interview of the year 1932, to mention the melomimics or melodeclamations of the 'revolutionary modernist' Vladimir Rebikov.<sup>12</sup> Already Konjović's plain *Evening Song* for voice and piano of the Prague days was a direct inspiration from Rebikov's refined simplicity, which was for the Serbian musician a kind of "primitivism" not quite understandable from the first hearing, but impressive and influential: the *Sprechgesang* applied in Konjović's later vocal and stage works evidently came from the style of Rebikov and also from the concert melodramas of Zdeněk Fibich with the paradigmatical model of Modest Musorgsky's operas and songs.

As a matter of fact, the Serbian 'trifolium' which remained the leading triad in Belgrade for two decades after the First World War, achieved its modernity without taking into account the radical trends in music such as *Wiener-schule* i.e. the work of Arnold Schoenberg, or even the later works of Leoš Janáček (with whom Konjović's composing process was often brought into connection) or Béla Bartók, and the output of Igor Stravinsky. Milojević was infatuated by Richard Strauss all his life, Hristić with French and Italian music (although he studied in Germany and Russia) and Konjović with the Czechs and Russians of the nineteenth century (also the *Snow Maiden* of Rimsky-Korsakov seen in Prague).

Deeply involved in the live musical tradition of their land—folk melodies and church music (this was the only genuine Serbian tradition of the time)—the

<sup>10</sup> P. Konjović, 'Češko Narodno pozorište' ['Czech National Theatre'], *Nova iskra* [New Spark], 7 (1905), 222.

<sup>11</sup> The idea taken from Karel Riesinger, 'Einfachheit und Modernität im "Maifest der Brünlein"', *Bohuslav Martinů Anno 1981*, Praha 1990, 131.

<sup>12</sup> The interview given for this occasion to Czech newspapers (*Lydove noviny*) quoted in P. Konjović, 'Razgovori o Koštani' ('Conversation about "Koštana"'), in *Knjiga o muzici* [The Book about Music], (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1947), 107.

Belgrade composers tried and succeeded in bringing together, with a modern technique—the rich folk heritage of Serbia and the Balkans and their own aesthetics of composition. The modern musical language meant for them a temporary abandonment of tonality and widening of the romantic harmony with increasing use of various (sometimes very complex) contrapuntal proceedings.

Like many (Slavonic) composers of his time, Konjović chose an ‘anachronic’ musical form – the opera, to exhibit his modern ideas in using the folk tunes as *leitmotivs*. Hristić did the same in his ballet. The modernism of Serbian musicians did not threaten tradition, i.e. the general European tradition of classical music, because the Serbian tradition in art music before and after the First World War was new, and tradition in the performing arts slight and negligible.

The real break with the general tradition, and the ‘nationalist’ Serbian tradition, was very open and occurred with the generation of Serbian composers born in the twentieth century. They came from Prague music studies in the 1930s saying farewell to folklore, writing only instrumental (so called absolute) music after Alois Hába: Milan Ristić, Dragutin Čolić, Ljubica Marić, Vojislav Vučković and Stanojlo Rajićić. Now the ‘trifolium’ reacted, speaking as protectors of tradition, accusing the ‘youngsters’ of belated and false modernism and second-hand avantgardism. The Serbian ‘nihilists’ had their own good reasons, claiming that the folk tradition in art music was already exhausted and almost dead. But it was not.

The actual response, not verbal but musical, came from Miloje Milojević. Unintentionally his new output was an interesting opposition to the radical wave of Prague students. Milojević finally had time for intense composition during the Second World War, during the German occupation, when he was not writing daily music critiques any more nor holding public lectures in addition to teaching. He wrote cycles of piano music using folk songs from the collections he himself had made in Kosovo and Macedonia. A very distinguished instrumental music was born during the last four years of his creative life – folk tradition linked and amalgamated with modern musical language and modern treatment of piano technique.

Milojević’s colourful piano suites could be regarded as a *pendant* to the stage works of Konjović and Hristić. How modern was their work at the end of the Second World War? For the foreign ear new and unusual, the same for the Serbian/Yugoslav audience. In any case for Serbian composers genuineness and national identity were much more important than any degree of modernity.

*Надежда Мосусова*

## МОДЕРНИЗАМ У СРПСКОЈ И ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКОЈ МУЗИЦИ ИЗМЕЂУ ДВА СВЕТСКА РАТА

### Р е з и м е

Преиспитивање појма модерног у музичи уопште, посебно у српској или југословенској, подухват је велики и широк, можда и не толико сврсисходан колико би се очекивало. У прошлости, а и из данашње перспективе, модернизам у музичи је појам растегљив и релативан. Модерно није исто на различитим просторима, нити у различитим ситуацијама. У развоју српске или југословенске музике на размеђи векова и током прошлог столећа модерно је било углавном све што долази са стране. Домаћих узора је било мало и зато се гледало на туђа достигнућа, с тим што се није заборављало сопствено наслеђе народне и црквене музике. На примеру водећих српских композитора између два светска рата Петра Коњовића, Милоја Милојевића и Стевана Христића види се да није било толико пресудно бити модеран колико је важно било постићи оригиналност, остварити уметничку физиономију и сачувати национални идентитет.

# MUSICAL MODERNISM IN THE ‘AGRARIAN COUNTRIES OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE’: THE CHANGED FUNCTION OF FOLK MUSIC IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

MELITA MILIN

WHEN Leoš Janáček came to the fifth festival of the ISCM, held in Frankfurt in 1927, it was not only to assist in a performance of his *Concertino* for piano and six instruments, which had had its premiere a year before in Brno, but also to present a group of peasant musicians, who sang Moravian and Slovak traditional music in the context of an exhibition. Janáček’s intention was most certainly to demonstrate how highly he valued the living tradition of his people, which had been an invaluable source for inspiration for him as a composer. However, taking into account that the ISCM festival was a venue for the presentation of mostly radically modernist works, he obviously also wished to stress the importance of bringing together those two worlds of music.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting, incidentally, that Béla Bartók, who was also present at this festival, seems not to have reacted to the presence of that folk group, even though they came from a region he himself had researched.

The works composed by Janáček in the last decade of his life enjoyed remarkable success, providing new arguments in the ongoing debate on whether folk music and modernist art music could be fused. The problem of bringing together these two different traditions had been the main preoccupation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century composers from the ‘peripheral’ countries of Europe. As we know, attempts to do so had an ambivalent response in the West, mainly on the grounds that they were seen as endangering the universal character of music. The survival of musical nationalism after the end of the nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup> See W. Salmen, ‘Volksmusik als Sediment in der Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts’, in W. Salmen and G. Schubert (eds.), *Verflechtungen im 20. Jahrhundert. Komponisten im Spannungsfeld elitär – populär* (Mainz: Schott, 2005), 11.

century came as a surprise to many Westerners, since they regarded this idea as rather obsolete. While in the first decades of the twentieth century the value of folksong-inspired Romantic music was widely accepted, as an expression of Herderian ideals of the 'national spirit', there was little understanding of the penetration of folk materials into modernist musical structures. Today, however, the output of this *neo-nationalist*<sup>2</sup> inclination is mostly viewed as an essential part of European or universal Modernism,<sup>3</sup> although rapprochement (or tension?) between folk and art music can still nowadays provoke discussion.

It is well known that Schoenberg mocked the attitude of peoples that lived alongside each other for overemphasising the differences between their folk musics, which they had regarded as tokens of their culture, importance, and identity. He specifically mentioned the Balkans, which he imagined as some 'West-Parinoxia' or 'Franimonti'.<sup>4</sup> In the same text one can also find Schoenberg's often-quoted observation that folk and art music 'mix as poorly as oil and water'.<sup>5</sup> Characteristically, Schoenberg did not mention there any great composers of his own time who were inclined to such 'mixing': there is no reference to Bartók, or Stravinsky. However, he indirectly admitted that great art music based on folk melodies was possible. He wrote that although Russian folk music had certainly outstanding qualities, 'Russian music now exists due to the advent of some great composers'.<sup>6</sup> However, he did not give concrete names. Whether he was thinking of Musorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and/or Stravinsky, we shall never know. Neither did he mention Janáček or Bartók, when speaking of those 'smaller nations whose folk music is not as extraordinary [but who] have found a place in the history of music and in the minds of music lovers through representatives such as Smetana, Grieg, Chopin, Dvořák and Sibelius'.<sup>7</sup> It was strange indeed to discuss the problem of combining folk and art musics without mentioning the most outstanding contemporary representatives of such an aesthetic! There is one important, though ironically expressed, point which Schoenberg left for the end of his article: 'It seems that nations which have not yet acquired a place in the sun will have to wait until it pleases the Almighty to plant a musical genius in their midst'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> R. Taruskin, 'Nationalism' in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. xvii, 689–706.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, J. Samson, 'Music and Nationalism: Five Historical Moments' in A. S. Leoussi and S. Grosby (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 60.

<sup>4</sup> A. Schoenberg, 'Folkloristic Symphonies' in *Style and Idea* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), 196.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 197.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 197.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 197–8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 203.

Among music aestheticians, Theodor W. Adorno was the most severe critic of the introduction of folk music idioms into the world of art music. In the well-known footnote to his *Philosophy of New Music* he stated:

In cases where the developmental tendency of Occidental music has not been purely developed—as in many agrarian regions in south-east Europe—the use of tonal material has been permitted down to the most recent past. This was not a matter of disgrace. Janáček and Bartók come to mind. Janáček's art is extra-territorial, but nonetheless magnificent in its consequences. Many of Bartók's compositions, in spite of his folkloristic inclinations, are nonetheless among the most progressive in European musical art. The legitimation of such music on the periphery lies foremost in its ability to formulate a technical canon which is in itself both correct and selective. In contrast to the blood-and-soil ideology—a party-line tenet of National Socialism—truly extra-territorial music (the material of which, even though it is familiar, is organized in a totally different way from that in the Occident) has a power of alienation which places it in the company of the avant-garde and not that of nationalistic reaction. The external exertion of this force comes to the aid of inner-musical cultural criticism as is expressed in radical modern music itself. Ideological blood-and-soil music, on the other hand, is always affirmative and holds to 'tradition'. It is precisely the tradition of every official music, however, which is suspended by Janaček's diction-patterned after his language – in the midst of all triads.<sup>9</sup>

Janáček and Bartók died before the publication of Adorno's *Philosophy of New Music* (1949), so that we are left to wonder what their reactions to his ideas would have been. For people unacquainted with Adorno's ideas, some of the observations from the footnote may sound not only absurd but also irritating: According to him, 'extra-territorial' music needs 'legitimation', but is 'permitted' under specific circumstances, for example if it belongs to 'agrarian countries of south-eastern Europe'. Could Bartók's Hungary and Janáček's Moravia, both so close to Vienna, really be characterised as extra-territorial and peripheral? Does one then say that Serbia and Bulgaria are even more 'extra-territorial', examples of Schoenbergian West Parinoxia or Franimonti? What a strange notion of 'extra-territorialism'! Could that mean that as soon as one left the strictly Austrian territories, eastwards, as well as—it goes without saying—southwards, one would find oneself in lands exempt from universal law, in which folk and art (modernist) music are allowed to fuse?

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<sup>9</sup> T. W. Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music* (London: Shed & Ward Ltd., 1994), trans. A. G. Mitchell and V. V. Blomster. Footnote No. 5, on pp. 35–6. Let it be mentioned in passing that the author of this article has compared different translations (into English, French and Serbo-Croat) of this footnote and has noticed interesting divergencies in the 'interpretations' of some details from the original. For instance, 'extra-territorial' is translated as 'de caractère ethnique' in Th. W. Adorno, *Philosophie de la nouvelle musique*, traduit de l'allemand par H. Hildenbrand et A. Lindenberg (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1962), 47.

For Adorno, the notion of 'extra-territorial' obviously referred to neighbouring countries to the East in which the folk music tradition was still alive. Material from those traditions did not undergo the process of rationalisation, by which Adorno meant that it was not adapted to Western art music practice, in which motivic-thematic development and the disintegration of large-scale forms were a result of long historical processes. According to Adorno, when a composer introduces a folk melody into his work, he draws material from the pre-modern, mythical past instead of using material that contains history. This material can then be transformed further in the course of the dynamic process of composition. As has been pointed out by Max Paddison, Adorno was opposed to the 'unreflective use of folk music to symbolize a state of nature or the resolution of the tension between the self and others in terms of the ideal "natural community"'.<sup>10</sup> He believed that by objecting to a false reconciliation between the self and the others, the self and the handed-down forms, composers would be on the way to Baudelaire's 'promesse de bonheur' and thus keep alive the liberating power of music. The rupture between the self and forms, the sense of alienation from a priori formal archetypes, the exhaustion of the expressive powers of music, the danger that art music could become a commodity – all these had to be expressed in ways that would be openly critical of the dehumanized relations characteristic of modern society.

It cannot be denied that there exists a tension between the demands of modernist musical thinking and a composer's wish to use folk material, the former aiming at discontinuity with the past and looking to the future in search of novelty, sophistication and authenticity, the latter symbolizing enduring (oral) tradition and continuity. The crucial figure of that bold project of fusing folk-derived material and modernist procedures and expressivity, was no doubt Igor Stravinsky, who was able to achieve a splendid alternative both to Schoenberg's Central-European Modernism and to Debussy's Impressionism. Stravinsky found his own solution to the crisis of the tonal system, which was the true testing-ground of early Modernism. He also knew how to handle the consequences of the dissolution of musical genres. He was well-prepared for a novel approach to folk music. Apart from musical-technical innovations, its main characteristic was a kind of emotional distancing. He managed to achieve empathy with suffering individuals through a shocking and ironically tainted simulation of indifference. Later, in his neoclassical phase, Stravinsky developed further objectification of expression by superimposing old forms onto his heterogeneous material, creating a deliberate dislocation of formal design and musical materials which Adorno interpreted—and criticized—as a kind of masking and alienation.

The other great figure concerned with dialogues between folk music and modernist art music was Béla Bartók, for whom Adorno showed much more

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<sup>10</sup> M. Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 37.

understanding than for his Russian contemporary. To Adorno, Bartók's music exhibited modernist alienation through irony, but in contrast to Stravinsky the result was not just an empty game, since Bartók allowed folk music to reveal its latent critical potency. Such a harsh judgment of Stravinsky should, of course, be linked with Adorno's criticism of the Russian composer's famous denial of music's expressive powers.<sup>11</sup> Stravinsky's statement was undoubtedly designed to shock: but in any case such a denial was interpreted as a dramatic sign of the weakening of modern subjectivity. As has been pointed out by Max Paddison, Adorno labelled the music of *The Rite*, *The Soldier's Story* as well the entire body of Stravinsky's so-called 'neo-classical' music 'objectivism', in that the music seeks 'to evoke the image of a non-existing "objective" society or of a [...] *Gemeinschaft*. [...] Adorno also] maintains that in capitalist, industrialised societies, neoclassicism was the usual form of "objectivism", while in underdeveloped agrarian societies it is folk music that provides much of the material.'<sup>12</sup>

When Richard Taruskin used the term *neo-nationalism* he stressed 'the adoption from folklore not of thematic material but of style characteristics, abstractly conceived'.<sup>13</sup> This is certainly truer of Stravinsky than of Bartók, but it could also be applied to some 'nationalist' composers of the nineteenth century. At any rate, the change in the function of folklore in modernist music in relation to that of the Romantic period should be related to more general changes that occurred in art music from around 1890. Although many nationalist composers continued to exploit folk music for its colouristic potential and to characterise particular situations, others used folk materials as a means to create an alternative solution to the crisis of tonal music, a very different solution to that found in central-European musical centres such as Vienna and Munich. The number of those neo-nationalist composers was of course very small in comparison with the number of composers who were closer to traditional thinking. The list of the former always contains the names of Stravinsky, Bartók, and Janáček, and much more rarely those of some others. De Falla, Enescu and Szymanowski are among those whom some consider modernist<sup>14</sup> while some others view them as essentially separate from that movement.<sup>15</sup> There is often a thin line dividing the

<sup>11</sup> I. Strawinsky, *Chroniques de ma vie* (Paris: Denoël et Steele, 1935), 116–117.

<sup>12</sup> M. Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music*, 104.

<sup>13</sup> R. Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Vol. 4, 378.

<sup>14</sup> J. Samson, 'Music and Nationalism: Five Historical Moments'. See also the same author's 'Placing Genius: The Case of George Enescu', *Trondheim Studies on East European Cultures and Societies*, 17 (2006), 1–31. However, in 'Placing genius', Samson suggests that 'while the modernist credentials of Bartók's music are never in doubt, Enescu, on the other hand, was engaged in a more traditionally Humanist enterprise, in which there was little trace of modernist alienation'.

<sup>15</sup> H. Danuser, 'Funktionswandel des Folklorismus' in *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1984), 58, 59.

composers of the two groups. One possible way to distinguish them would be to invoke Adorno's category of alienation. Composers such as Szymanowski, Enescu, and Kalomiris are usually praised for their imaginative and mature use of folk elements, but in Adorno's terms they might well be considered insufficiently modernist, and their work defined as a kind of *incomplete Modernism*. Of course, we may equally well reject Adorno's approach, and consider all these composers within a wider framework. Common to them all was the belief that Modernism and nationalism need not be considered mutually exclusive. Although their approaches were very different, they all sought—or so it might be argued—to stake a claim to both aesthetics.

It would be difficult to state with certainty if it was the personal discovery of the authentic folk music of their respective peoples that decisively led some composers to change the function of folk music in art music forms.<sup>16</sup> Bartók certainly came into this category, whereas Stravinsky basically used the same folk music as his predecessors in Russia.<sup>17</sup> However, his treatment of it was radically novel, so much so that he seemed to liberate some hidden explosive force in the old songs. The fascination with ancient layers of folk music was not in any case restricted to Stravinsky and Bartók, although it was they who reaped the most imaginative and forward-looking harvest.

It is also possible to explain the change in the function of folk music in the early twentieth century as a consequence of the different and wider aesthetic projects of the modernists (neo-nationalists) as compared with nationalists, as has been suggested by Jim Samson.<sup>18</sup> In other words, Janáček is seen as pursuing a project of realism, Szymanowski that of a 'conquest of the exotic', Bartók and Enescu one of synthesis between East and West.

The Serbian contemporaries of Bartók and Janáček were 'extra-territorial' *par excellence* and they were as a result totally out of Adorno's sight. This was hardly surprising, since they were virtually unknown abroad. The international musical scene of the first decades of the twentieth century was focused on the most progressive and daring achievements and did not seem especially appreciative of Serbian music, which made relatively rare appearances in European concert halls and opera houses. There were in fact some successful performances, such as that of the opera *Koštana* (1931) by Petar Konjović (1883–1971) in Brno and Prague, and also of the *Seven Balkan Dances* for piano (1926) by Marko Tajčević (1900–1986), a work that was in the repertoire of some of the most outstanding pianists of the time. The works of Josip Slavenski, a Croatian composer living in Belgrade, should also not be overlooked, as his First String Quartet was very much praised at the Donaueschingen festival in 1924, and his orchestral *Balkanophony* (1927) had numerous performances un-

<sup>16</sup> See, H. Danuser, 'Funktionswandel des Folklorismus', 49.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Samson, 'Placing Genius: The Case of George Enescu', 8.

der Erich Kleiber across Europe and even in Buenos Aires. In spite of these successes, Serbian (and Yugoslav) music of the times failed to impress critics and audiences strongly enough to secure a distinguishable place on the map of European music. Maybe it was too early for the appearance of a great Serbian composer, since not all the necessary conditions existed for that.<sup>19</sup>

It should be stressed that Konjović, Milojević, Tajčević and Slavenski basically shared the same aesthetic ideals as Bartók and Janáček, i.e.: to achieve a modern national expression that would be rooted in authentic and pure folk music and/or a realist approach to speech intonations. The first aim—achieving a recognisable national style—was the most discussed topic among our composers, who invariably linked it to finding appropriate ways to draw out the latent harmonies of chosen folk melodies.<sup>20</sup> By 'folklorism' composers understood stereotypical arrangements of folk melodies, which demonstrated no real feeling for or understanding of the latent harmonic structures of melodies.<sup>21</sup> Folkloristic works were also criticised for being too descriptive and colourful, rather than psychologically nuanced and individualistic.<sup>22</sup> The issue of the purity and authenticity of folk music sources was also often dealt with, probably under Bartók's influence. In the writings of Serbian composers it was stressed that it was important to establish a national musical style based on typically Serbian folk music; in other words, free from foreign influence. The several centuries of occupation by the Ottomans had resulted in the penetration of some oriental—Turkish and also Rom (Gypsy)—elements into Serbian folk music, leaving only rural communities uninfluenced. Therefore pure folklore was sought from rural areas that had conserved archaic and authentic features.<sup>23</sup> Petar Konjović believed that folk music was by no means all of equal purity and value, and that composers had to be able to identify what was a 'supplement' (Serbian,

<sup>19</sup> In 'Placing genius: the case of George Enescu', 30, J. Samson proposes a 'reading of creative genius as a convergence between talent of a rare and truly exceptional kind and the sort of significant project (uniquely defining of its time and place) enabled by an institution of art. All three components—the talent, the project, the institution—are necessary constituents'.

<sup>20</sup> See M. Milin, 'The National Idea in Serbian Music of the 20th Century' in H. Loos and S. Keym (eds.) *Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert. Kompositorische und soziokulturelle Aspekte der Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa*, Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2002 (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 204), 39–41.

<sup>21</sup> See P. Konjović, 'Medjusobni uticaj narodne i crkvene muzike' ['Mutual Influences between Folk and Church Music'], in *Knjiga o muzici* [The Book about Music] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1947), 36.

<sup>22</sup> Stevan Hristić made a distinction between descriptive and psychological nationalism in 'O nacionalnoj muzici' ['On National Music'], in *Zvezda*, 5 (1912), 316–317; Miloje Milojević wrote about subjectivistic and folkloristic trends in national music in 'Umetnička ideologija Stevana St. Mokranjca' ['The Artistic Ideology of Stevan St. Mokranjac'], in *Srpski književni glasnik* 3 (1938), 192–201.

<sup>23</sup> Božidar Joksimović wrote about this 'fatal foreign influence'; see R. Pejović, *Muzička kritika i eseistika u Beogradu /1919–1941/* [Music Critiques and Essays in Belgrade /1919–1941] (Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1999), 65.

nanos) that distorted and falsified music whose kernel was healthy and original.<sup>24</sup> It should be added that although the purity of folk music was highly appreciated, not only for its capacities to express specific national features but also for its purely musical qualities, composers were also attracted by orientalised folklore when they wished to express a specific poetic atmosphere or characterise a certain ambience. Petar Konjović was a master of solo songs in the manner of the 'sevdalinka' (which he called a 'Balkan chanson in which short and precise Slavic motives are combined with oriental motives that are decorative and nostalgic'<sup>25</sup>). Konjović also demonstrated great talent in his interpretation of orientalised folk music in his opera *Koštana* ('Koštana', female name) whose main character is a young Gypsy girl and which is set in a southern Serbian small town in which folk music drew heavily from Turkish elements.

When compared with contemporary European composers, the great majority of Serbian composers who strived towards modern musical nationalism would certainly appear to be much closer to Enescu, de Falla and Kalomiris, than to Bartók and Janáček. The reason for that is that, while using bold and ambitious harmonies (including polytonality), and rhythms (including polymetric and polyrhythmic writing), they remained rooted in romantic, subjectivist, and sometimes 'untamed'<sup>26</sup> musical thinking. Among the few exceptions to this we could count two works in which an objectivisation of expression was achieved: the *Seven Balkan Dances* by Marko Tajčević and the slow movement from the neoclassical Sonatina by Predrag Milošević, both works for piano and both composed in 1926. The *Seven Balkan Dances* were obviously inspired by the works of Bartók, greatly admired by Tajčević.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, Josip Slavenski, who used radical harmonic techniques and was known for his love of percussive effects, did not feel the need for an objective aesthetic.<sup>28</sup> Only after World War II, in the 1950s, did some

<sup>24</sup> P. Konjović, 'Medjusobni uticaj narodne i crkvene muzike', 30.

<sup>25</sup> P. Konjović, 'Razgovori o Koštani' ['Conversations about Koštana'], in *Knjiga o muzici*, 103.

<sup>26</sup> Ludwig Strecker, editor of Schott in Mainz, reproached Slavenski for his 'untamed' musical language, the mark of which was the neglect of technical aspects of his work, especially form. See M. Milin, 'The Correspondence between Josip Slavenski and Ludwig Strecker', *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Mitteilungen der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Universität Leipzig*, 10 (2005), 182–89. Letter of 10 December 1931. See also the internet site:

<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~musik/web/institut/agOst/docs/mittelost/briefe/MilinEd.pdf>

<sup>27</sup> See more about the relation Tajčević – Bartók in K. Tomašević, 'Duh vremena u delima i delatostima Mihaila Vukdragovića i Marka Tajčevića' ['Spirit of the Times in the Works and Activities of Mihailo Vukdragović and Marko Tajčević'] in D. Despić (ed.), *Delo i delatnost Mihaila Vukdragovića i Marka Tajčevića [Work and Activity of Mihailo Vukdragović and Marko Tajčević]* (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2004), 7. and A. Sabo, 'Béla Bartók – Marko Tajčević', 113–131.

<sup>28</sup> That aspect of Slavenski's music was criticised first time in the article by B. Bujić 'Daleki svijet muzikom dokučen' ['Far-Away World Grasped by Music'], *Izraz*, 11 (1963), 324–336.

composers who used folk motives in some of their works (Milan Ristić, Ljubica Marić) achieve that distancing effect. They had been radical modernists in their youth before the war, at that time refusing to compose in the national spirit. I refer here to several Serbian composers who studied in Prague during the 1930s, and who, influenced by the open and stimulating musical climate there, displayed in their early works a strong inclination for the aesthetics of the Vienna school.<sup>29</sup> They were of course very much opposed to using folk music in their works, but later in the 1930s one of them (Vojislav Vučković), who was a communist, began to change his views in the direction of socialist realism which meant that he turned towards the use of folk music material. His political views were shared by the critic Stana Djurić-Klajn who in 1938 wrote: 'In their race for originality, and for new technical inventions our constructivists [composers belonging to the so-called 'Prague group'] turn their back on folk melodies as if they were something reactionary, maybe romantic.[...] In fact, young revolutionary composers should take that path, if they want their music to reach social classes other than their own'.<sup>30</sup> However, in that same article the author stated that 'nationalism could be dangerous today', obviously having in mind the rise of the Nazi regime in Germany. Such a view was quite in line with Adorno's warnings against the *Blut und Boden* ideology, as mentioned in a footnote to his *Philosophy of New Music*. Later, in the 1950s, some of the members of the 'Prague group', as well as a few younger composers, produced several outstanding works based on folk material, which were a specific variant of what Stravinsky and Bartók had done earlier in the century.

Seen in its European context, Serbian musical neo-nationalism shares all the main features of other similar movements in peripheral or—let us use Adorno's expression—extra-territorial countries. The change in the function of folk materials in their music came later than in Russia, Hungary and the Czech Republic, which can be easily explained by the later instigation of musical nationalism in the nineteenth century and more generally by the relatively recent advent of art music in Serbia. Around 1910, when Stravinsky and Bartók were beginning to develop highly distinctive musical idioms based on indigenous traditions of folk music, Serbia worshipped its greatest living composer, Stevan Mokranjac, who had decisively contributed to the founding of its national music and musical nationalism. Yet although the following generations of composers did not have enough time fully to assimilate modernist thinking or to produce an original contribution to European Modernism, there are quite a number of outstanding works of the national repertoire that, if they were better known abroad, would enable Serbian music to 'acquire its place in the sun'.

<sup>29</sup> Apart from some members of the 'Prague group', there were also younger composers, such as Dušan Radić (b. 1929), who displayed an objectivistic attitude towards folk music material.

<sup>30</sup> S. Djurić-Klajn, 'Putevi naše moderne' ['Paths of our Modernism'], *Muzički glasnik* 1 (1938), 7–10, 9.

Мелита Милин

# МУЗИЧКИ МОДЕРНИЗАМ У „АГРАРНИМ ЗЕМЉАМА ЈУГОИСТОЧНЕ ЕВРОПЕ“: ПРОМЕНА ФУНКЦИЈЕ ФОЛКЛОРА У XX ВЕКУ

## Резиме

Проблем с народним мелодијама у уметничкој музици XX века наслеђен је из претходног века. Изгледа да су западни композитори и музиколози били изненађени настављањем интересовања за фузију двеју музичких култура чак и после романтизма. Сматрали су фолклорне елементе углавном средствима за доирања специфичне атмосфере и уношење сликовитих ефеката у музику, чиме су – уз ретке изузетке – таквим делима одрицали виши значај.

Убрзо по појави *Посвећења пролећа* Стравинског, Бартокових гудачких квартета и Јаначекових касних дела показало се, ипак, да је „нови фолклоризам“ који је у њима испољен постао виталан и подстицајан део модернистичких тенденција. Међутим, још је опстајао јак отпор музичи са фолклорном основом јер се она углавном сматрала изразом партикуларизације универзалног света музике – што јој је пребацитивано и у XIX веку.

У раду је посвећена пажња једној фусноти из *Филозофије нове музике* Теодора Адорна, познатој по неким интересантним и провокативним опсервацијама о „екстратериторијалним“ композиторима који користе народне песме „без стида“. Питање фолклорног потенцијала отуђења и његовог „критичког“ коришћења били су, међутим, потпuno ван интересовања већине композитора XX века који су користили фолклор у својим делима. Ово се свакако односи и на српске композиторе прве половине века, чије се деловање представља у сајетом прегледу рада најистакнутијих представника: Петра Коњовића, Милоја Милојевића, Стевана Христића и Јосипа Славенског, уз разматрање могућности њиховог пласирања на мапи европског модернизма.

# A NOVARUM RERUM CUPIDUS IN SEARCH OF TRADITION: BÉLA BARTÓK'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS MODERNISM

LÁSZLÓ VIKÁRIUS

## I. A Musical Explorer

PERSONAL experience and experimentation with musical phenomena were often the basis of Béla Bartók's ethno-musicological insights. One of his most intriguing interpretations of relationship in folk music was in connection with his late research into Milman Parry's collection of Serbo-Croatian or South Slavic Women's songs. With obvious enthusiasm, he referred to his recent 'scientific' discovery while discussing the use of what he called the extension and compression of themes in his own music in the third Harvard Lecture of early 1943. To introduce the problem, Bartók spoke about his use of chromatic melodies which, he claimed, were inspired by some melodies in his Algerian collection of 1913. At the lecture, he let his audience listen to a recording from his Arab collection, probably no. 59a whose transcription had been included as Example 13 in his study, 'Die Volksmusik der Araber von Biskra und Umgebung' published in the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* in 1920 (Ex. 1).<sup>1</sup> Later in the lecture he referred to the chromatic melody at the beginning of the *Dance Suite* (Ex. 2) as having 'some resemblance to the Arab melody' he had just shown his audience. Then he continued:

This kind of melodic invention was only an incidental digression on my part and had no special consequences. My second attempt was made in 1926; on that occasion I did not try to imitate anything known from folk music.

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<sup>1</sup> See in English, 'Arab Folk Music from the Biskra District', in Béla Bartók, *Studies in Ethnomusicology*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 50. See also *Bartók and Arab Folk Music*, CD-ROM, ed. János Kárpáti, István Pávai and László Vikárius (Budapest: European Folklore Institute, etc., 2005). The example is F 59a according to Bartók's serial numbering of the original phonograph recordings.

In his manuscript of the lecture, Bartók enumerated a whole series of works, specific movements from compositions of the later 1920s and 1930s beginning with the 'Night's Music' from the *Out of Doors* suite. He then added: 'I cannot remember having met this kind of melodic chromaticism deliberately developed to such a degree in any other contemporary music.' That the use of device was a conscious choice is clearly shown by the readily available examples in his own works. The device being one of his important compositional strategies is perhaps best represented by his use of it not just independently but often rather as a means of variation. This is exactly what he then went on to discuss in the lecture: 'The working with these chromatic degrees gave me another idea which led to the use of a new device. This consists of the change of the chromatic degrees into diatonic degrees.' For this, again, he enumerated examples from his compositions. While the best known example is his change of the chromatic fugue subject of *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta* into a melody that uses a 'diatonically' spaced scale in the Finale, an example he also includes in the list, it is also enlightening to look at the theme and its chromatic version in 'Variations on a Folk Tune', no. 112 in *Mikrokosmos*, included in the list as an example of compression in contrast to the opposite procedure in *Music for Strings* (Ex. 3).

13. Knéja-dârz "Ählilizäm"

♩ = 70

Scale

2. Singer

1. Singer

Bândir

1)

3)

sempre simile

2. Singer

1. Singer

2. Str.

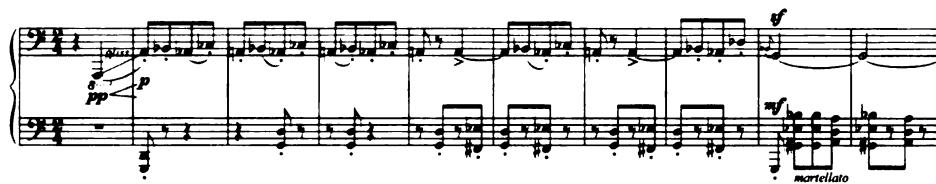
1)

1.

2.

1)

Example 1 F 59a from the Arab collection



**Example 2** *Dance Suite* (1923), beginning of the first movement in the piano transcription



**Example 3** Comparison of the theme and its 'compressed' chromatic version in 'Variations on a Folk tune', *Mikrokosmos*, no. 112

It was after mentioning the compression and extension of themes that he came to his most recent and intriguing scientific insight related to his research into Milman Parry's collection.

A rather surprising circumstance has been discovered in connection with the compression of diatonic into chromatic melodies. I discovered it only six months ago when studying the Dalmatian chromatic style. It appears that this style is not an independent style, consisting of independent chromatic melodies which have no variants elsewhere. The chromatic melodies of this style are, as a matter of fact, nothing else than diatonic melodies of the neighbouring areas, compressed into a chromatic level. . . . This theory offers a very easy explanation of the queer major second distance between the two parts [in the characteristic Dalmatian two-part singing]. The compression simply works in two directions: in horizontal direction for the melody, and in vertical direction for the intervals or distance between the two parts. Evidently, the major or minor third distance usually met with in two-part singing is compressed into the unusual major second distance.

When I first used the device of extending chromatic melodies into a diatonic form or vice versa, I thought I invented something absolutely new, which never yet existed. And now I see that an absolutely identical principle exists in Dalmatia since Heaven knows how long a time, maybe for many centuries.

Although, sadly, Bartók never 'enumerated' what he called 'the irrefutable proofs for this theory' at a later occasion because of his sudden illness that prevented him from completing the planned series of eight lectures, one might piece together some of his arguments from his posthumously published study,

*Serbo-Croatian Folk Song* and the manuscript material, the ‘Source Melodies’ (identifiable by way of his ‘Tabulation of Material’) published by Benjamin Suchoff in *Yugoslav Folk Music*.<sup>2</sup> As it appears, his proof was ultimately based on the identification of a single group of clearly related melodies with identical or very similar text and musical structure that could be found in both diatonic and chromatic forms.<sup>3</sup> Since Bartók’s line of thought has, to my knowledge, never been followed, I am trying here to make the most important elements of the idea explicit.

Bartók’s prime example (Facs. 1) of the chromatic style that he identified as variant of diatonic melodies was known to him from Ludvík Kuba’s (1863–1956) series of publications presenting his collection of songs from Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>4</sup> This ‘two-part’ chromatic song has a structure that can either be described as ABA or ABBA with 5, 8, 8, 5 syllables per stanza. (According to Bartók’s analysis the song has three phrases, the middle one being doubled, hence his description of the structure as 5, 8+8, 5.) The text shows a slightly different structure from the music, the double middle phrase actually having different words, thus ABCA with, again, an ABBA (or rather RAAR) rhyme scheme. A translation of the text would be the following:<sup>5</sup>

Travo košena!	Cut grass!
Ko će tebe, travo, kosit,	Who is going to cut you, grass,
kad ja budem sablju nosit,	When I carry a sabre?
Travo košena!	Cut grass!

<sup>2</sup> See Béla Bartók and Albert B. Lord, *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs: Texts and Transcriptions of Seventy-Five Folk Songs from the Milman Parry Collection and a Morphology of Serbo-Croatian Folk melodies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951) and Béla Bartók, *Yugoslav Folk Music*, 4 vols., ed. Benjamin Suchoff (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1978). *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs* is reprinted in *Yugoslav Folk Music*, vol. i.

<sup>3</sup> Compare ‘Travo košena’ quoted from an article by Kuba in Bartók *Serbo-Croatian Folk-Songs*, 62 and melodies belonging to type 835 in the Source Melodies published by Suchoff, *Yugoslav Folk Music*, vol. iv, 122–25, especially those beginning ‘Travo zelena’.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Pjesme i napjevi iz Bosne i Hercegovine’ [Songs and Melodies from Bosnia and Herzegovina] published in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* between 1906–1910, see *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs*, 22–23.

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Aleksandar Vasić for helping me understand the text of some of the related South Slavic texts during my stay at the Belgrade conference.

L. Kuba, N. g. u. D. No. 62.

5, 8+8, 5

Tra - vo      ko - če - na!

Ko če te-be, tra-vo, ko-sit, kad ja bu-dem sab-lu no-sit,

Tra - vo      ko - če - na!

U. Zagvozdu; devojke.

9, 8+8, 9, (1) (2).

<sup>2</sup> Star. Kuhač. Tot. stb. | Duba ~~čitam~~ 40. Makarska.

A B A (A: baba, baba, A: baba) 835a.

Tra - vo, tra - vo, tra - vo re - le - na!

Ko če te-be, tra - vo, ko - sit, kad ja bu - dem sab - lu no - sit.

Tra - vo, tra - vo, tra - vo re - le - na!

Duba baba baba, de ne, baba baba

**Facsimiles 1 and 2** Examples from Kuhač and Kuba, resp.,  
from *Yugoslav Folk Music*

The words of the young lad about to go on service in the army was well known to Bartók from comparable Hungarian folk songs as shown by his reference to a group of songs starting with the text 'Búza, búza, búza' [Wheat, wheat, wheat].<sup>6</sup> Both melodically and structurally, a number of diatonic melodies are related to the chromatic one in Kuba's collection. Probably the clearest relative is the one from Franjo Kuhač's collection (Facs. 2). Its structure is again ABA, B being a rhymed pair of lines with 9, 8+8, 9 syllables per stanza. Its text is the closest possible to that of the chromatic melody.

<sup>6</sup> *Yugoslav Folk Music*, vol. 4, 122 (below melody 835a reproduced here as Facs. 2).

Travo, travo, travo zelena!  
 Ko če tebe, travo, kosit,  
 kad ja moram pušku nosit,  
 Travo, travo, travo zelena!

Grass, grass, green grass!  
 Who is going to cut you, grass,  
 When I have to carry a rifle?  
 Grass, grass, green grass!

While the two melodies might at first appear completely different, one having the range of a major third filled with all chromatic degrees, while the other having that of a full diatonic Mixolydian octave, the analysis of the structure, as Bartók proposes, reveals the obvious kinship between the two (Ex. 4). The fact that not only one diatonic version can be found but a number of them (Bartók collects four more Yugoslav examples but refers to Slovak variants as well), makes the case even more convincing.

Example 4 Comparison of the two melodies

Thus, clearly, Bartók's idea to use extension and compression of melodies was not based on the influence of folk music but rather the other way round, his scholarly insight was based on his previous experience in composition. Nevertheless, he felt himself reassured by the discovery that the idea was instinctively used in peasant musical culture, which was strong enough evidence for him to declare it a 'natural' phenomenon.

### Tone Clusters

The use of chromatic versus diatonic forms of melodies was just one important stylistic novelty Bartók happily introduced in his music. The use of narrowly spaced notes as chords was another. It is Halsey Stevens's classic biography that relates how Bartók met the young American composer to whom we owe the term 'tone cluster'.<sup>7</sup>

Henry Cowell tells of meeting [Bartók] in London in December 1923; both were house guests in the same home, and Cowell, then investigating the possibilities of tone clusters, was playing some of his own music one Sunday morning when Bartók, attracted by the strange sounds, appeared and asked if he might listen. Bartók himself had occasionally piled up adjacent notes in approaching clusters, but Cowell's development of a tone-cluster 'technique' was quite new to him. 'He immediately arranged for me to play in Paris to his friends, including Roussel, Falla, Ravel, Prunières, and I don't know how many others of some importance . . .' Cowell wrote. 'It was the best thing that ever happened to me.'

Early the next year Bartók wrote to Cowell asking whether the latter would object to his using tone-clusters in his own music; the letter with this modest request has disappeared, but the piano music which Bartók wrote in the next few years shows the effect of his accidental encounter with the young American.

The Hungarian composer's attraction towards Cowell's experimental approach to piano technique was, as Stevens rightly points out, instigated by his own previous use of something that could be termed as 'pre-cluster technique' like, for instance, in his Five Songs op. 15 (Ex. 5) where he indeed used cluster-like chromatic chords. While at the beginning the same small cluster is used in both hands (D<sub>b</sub>–D<sub>#</sub>–E<sub>b</sub>), from bar 5 on we even have two chromatic clusters clashing (first F<sub>b</sub>–F<sub>#</sub>–G, then A<sub>b</sub>–A<sub>#</sub>–B<sub>b</sub> against D<sub>b</sub>–D<sub>#</sub>–E<sub>b</sub>) and evolving further in the following bars where Bartók uses them as mixture chords—the most likely origin of the compositional idea.

Example 5 'Itt lenn a völgyben' [In the Valley], Five Songs Op. 15, no. 5, bb. 6–8

<sup>7</sup> Stevens, *Béla Bartók*, 67.

Beginning with his new compositions for piano in 1926, which followed a period a 'creative pause', Bartók started to employ tone clusters more systematically. His 'Night's Music' is probably the best early example (Ex. 6), while the fully developed form of his technique is found in the central *Presto* section in the second movement of the Second Piano Concerto.



Example 6 'The Night's Music', *Out of Doors* (1926), no. 4, bb. 39–40

### Microtones

Yet another novelty in compositional technique that intrigued Bartók for decades was the occasional use of microtones. An interesting, though fairly natural aspect to his employment of microtones is the fact that his familiarity with it in folk music did not automatically result in his employment of the device in composition. He originally met non-tempered tones and microtones during his folkloristic work in Hungary, most often in Romanian songs. His first scholarly monograph, the Bihor collection of 1913 already contained examples of notated deviations from the chromatic scale. He then used the accidental #/ to indicate a quartertone. His collection of Arab music from the Biskra district of Algeria of June 1913 featured a whole series of unusual scales. To notate these melodies, he adopted a system of a full 'key signature' showing all the notes belonging to the scale of the melody where he, probably mainly following Hornbostel's example, also marked deviations smaller than a quartertone adopting new special signs.

Inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of the melodies has a scale whose tones differ from our dodecaphonic system, key signatures could not be used in the customary way. Instead, at the beginning of each melody, I give the tonal series: the small-head notes that are performed with less intensity, and the larger ones which have to be taken into consideration when establishing the

range. The plus (+) sign above or below a scalar note indicates that the tone is raised in pitch by less than a quarter tone, yet discernible by the ear; the zero (o) sign likewise indicates a lowered tone. The  $\flat$  and  $\sharp$  signs indicate, respectively, chromatic alteration of the pitch down or up a quarter tone. These scalar deviations are valid throughout the entire melody.<sup>8</sup>

Later in his notation of folk music, he replaced these signs with a simple arrow whose direction shows whether the tone below it is raised or lowered.

In his compositions, Bartók first used quartertones in the early 1920s when orchestrating his *Miraculous Mandarin*. In his full score he used a horizontally flipped flat sign which is so reminiscent of Szymanowski's and Alois Hába's modified accidentals that it was obviously contemporary music that gave the final impetus for the incorporation of the new device.<sup>9</sup> Bartók's exploitation of these microtones was, in any case, more akin to Szymanowski's use than to Hába's. While Hába used quartertones as independent degrees of a hyper-chromatic tonal space, both Szymanowski and Bartók employed quartertones only occasionally and locally as a special expressive means. In *The Miraculous Mandarin* quartertones appear twice in a single *Adagio* scene that follows the first attempted murder of the mandarin. 'Suddenly the mandarin's head appears among the pillows; he looks longingly at the girl.' Thus says Bartók's abridged text of the *pantomime grotesque*. At that moment, four solo celli play a sigh motif, a micro-chromatically filled falling augmented second, which is in fact the mandarin's own characteristic motif (Ex. 7). The instruction that immediately follows describes the reaction of the onlookers, the three tramps and the girl: 'The four shudder and stand aghast.' For some time no further instruction is given, the next one appearing at the ensuing *Allegro molto*. Just a few bars after the mandarin's augmented second sighs, the very strange *ondeggiando* effect, using quartertones again, characterize the reviving mandarin's frightening motions (Ex. 8).

There is no doubt that here Bartók used quartertones as some exceptional means of expression, a technical novelty along with perhaps less unconventional but still relatively unusual effects like glissandi, con sordino, harmonics or tremolo. It remained a single occasion of the composer's experimenting with quartertones for

<sup>8</sup> 'Arab Folk Music from the Biskra District', in Bartók, *Studies in Ethnomusicology*, 39.

<sup>9</sup> The relationship between Szymanowski's quartertone accidental and that in Bartók's *Miraculous Mandarin* was first pointed out by Malcolm Gillies, see 'Stylistic Integrity and Influence in Bartók's Works: the Case of Szymanowski', *International Journal of Musicology* 1 (1992), 154. Bartók's decision to use a similar, albeit not perfectly identical sign was, by the way, natural as the works of all three composers were published by the same publishing house, Universal-Edition.

84 Adagio  $\downarrow = 40$

VI. I      non div. pizz.  $\frac{3}{4}$   
con sord.  $\flat$

VI. II      non div. con sord. pizz.  $\frac{3}{4}$   
Solo con sord.  $\frac{3}{4}$   
2 Solo div. con sord.  $\frac{3}{4}$   
Solo  $\frac{pp}{p}$

Via.      Solo  $\frac{7}{4}$   $\frac{3}{4}$   
Solo arco  $\frac{p}{p}$

Vic.      Solo sul III  $\frac{f}{f}$   
Solo arco  $\frac{f}{f}$

Cl.       $\frac{pp}{pp}$  gli altri  $\frac{3}{4}$  (pizz.)

**Example 7** *The Miraculous Mandarin*, fig. 84, strings only

Pt. - *p*

Vl. I *Tutti*  
non div. *pizz.* *arco* *sul ponticello dim.* *pp*

Vl. II *pizz.* *arco sul ponticello*

Vcl. *pizz.* *arco sul ponticello*

Vla. *4 sole pizz.* *non div.* *sul ponticello* *arco* *pp*

Vcl. *4 soli pizz.* *arco sul ponticello*

Cb. *mf* *pp*

<sup>a)</sup> *senkt um einen Viertelton* / *quarter tone lower*

**Example 8** *The Miraculous Mandarin*, after fig. 84, piano and string parts only

more than a decade. As far as string instruments are concerned, he was more interested in other technical features that can be abundantly found in his Third and Fourth String Quartets and he was furthermore preoccupied with trying out unusual percussion effects especially starting with his First Piano Concerto. Thus it was only from the late 1930s that Bartók once again resorted to the use of microtones first in his Violin Concerto (1937/38) and then in the Sixth String Quartet (1939).<sup>10</sup> His last and most extensive use of microtones (third-tones as well as quartertones) was in his 1944 Sonata for Solo Violin (Ex. 9). The piece, composed for a commission by Yehudi Menuhin, who himself posthumously edited the piece with leaving out the microtones to present only the simpler chromatic 'ossia' versions of the microtonal passages he himself preferred to play, was rarely performed with microtones for a long time. In the original autograph, as can be seen in the recent new Urtext edition, the composer used arrows to indicate quartertones just like in the earlier compositions of the nineteen-thirties as well as in his later notation of folk music, while devising a new sign for the third-tones appearing in the Sonata. Whatever the sign he used, however, microtones were still only adopted for producing special effect even though this time it was the main subject of the movement that exploited the quartertones. Furthermore, Bartók organically elaborated on its use when he brought back the original theme in double stops on two adjacent strings in open fifths.<sup>11</sup>

**Example 9** Two excerpts from the fourth movement of the Sonata for Solo Violin, bb. 1–7 and 205–212

<sup>10</sup> Quarter-tones are used before the cadenza in the first movement of the Violin Concerto (see between bars 303 and 308) and in the third 'Burletta' movement of the Sixth String Quartet (see bars 26–30).

<sup>11</sup> I have discussed Bartók's use of quarter-tones in more detail in my study, *Modell és inspiráció Bartók zenei gondolkodásában* [Model and inspiration in Bartók's musical thinking] (Pécs, Hungary: Jelenkor, 1999), 123–30.

The three examples, the special use of chromatic melodies, experiments with tone clusters and the occasional employment of microtones show Bartók's commitment to compositional novelty throughout his career. He must have been consciously one of the 'modernists' of his generation.

## II. A Modernist?

Nor was it by chance that the notoriety of Bartók's name during the early 1920s, especially in French musical journalism, was also due to a stylistic novelty, his alleged early experiments with bitonality.<sup>12</sup> This was part of the reason why Zoltán Kodály, a sharp critic and an equally strict ideologue in artistic questions, scolded those interested in new techniques in Bartók's compositions as early as 1921: 'His innovations in style and technique', Kodály stated, 'are mentioned more often than necessary. Of these, Bartók has as many as anyone else.'<sup>13</sup> Pace Kodály, Bartók was indeed interested in technical novelty—and not just in composition.

But then, why do we read in one oft-quoted letter of late 1924 that Bartók, when advising Weimar's conductor Ernst Latzko about a lecture on him, declares his music 'not being "modern" at all'? To see Bartók's crucial statement in context, I first quote Latzko's letter of 8 December 1924.

German National Theatre

Weimar, 8, Dec., [19]24

Dear Professor Bartók,

You have probably learnt from Universal-Edition that the German National Theater in Weimar wishes to perform your *Bluebeard* and *Wooden Prince*. I heard both works at the Frankfurt première and have since tried to organize a performance here. I have to call your attention in advance to the fact that the very conservative [stark reactionäre] Weimar is no favourable place for your works and no great public success can be expected. At the same time, however, within the intelligentsia, or more precisely among the avant-garde [radikale] artists (Bauhaus), there are many who are truly interested in your work and look eagerly forward to the planned performance. I intend to give a short speech about you at a morning celebration and I would be grateful if you could give me some hints as to what you think especially important. . . .<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> On the reception history of the First Bagatelle see my article, 'Backgrounds of Bartók's "Bitonal" Bagatelle', in *Essays in Honor of László Somfai on His 70th Birthday: Studies in the Sources and the Interpretation of Music*, ed. László Vikárius and Vera Lampert (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 410–14.

<sup>13</sup> Zoltán Kodály, 'Béla Bartók' (1921), in *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, trans. Lili Halápy and Fred Macnicol (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1974), 94.

<sup>14</sup> Denijs Dille, 'Bartóks Briefe an Dr. E. Latzko', *Documenta Bartókiana* vol. 2, ed. Denijs Dille (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965), 128–31 (p. 130). My translation.

In the remaining part of the letter, Latzko seeks the composer's advice on performance issues in general and, in particular, regarding the possible replacement of the rare saxophone parts in the *Wooden Prince*. Bartók's reply came relatively quickly. On 16 December, he wrote a letter that includes not only essential information on the performance style of *Duke Bluebeard's Castle* and the definitive answer to the question of how to replace the two saxophones, but also one of his most important statements concerning his position towards 'modernist' tendencies.

. . . As far as the speech is concerned I would ask you  
 (1) not to overemphasize the folkloristic features of my music;  
 (2) to stress that in these stage works, as in my other original compositions, I never employ folk tunes;  
 (3) that my music is tonal throughout and  
 (4) also has nothing in common with the 'objective' and 'impersonal' manner (therefore it is not properly 'modern' at all!)<sup>15</sup>

When he dissociates his music from almost all important categories of new music, atonality (meaning Schoenberg) and objectivity (meaning Stravinsky) as well as, most surprisingly, folklorism—in this case, as Carl Leafstedt rightly points out, to avoid earning reputation for his opera 'along the lines of *Jenůfa*'—<sup>16</sup> Bartók apparently tries to escape from categorization *per se*. While his wish to avoid labelling was probably doomed to failure, from then on he repeatedly expressed his distance from contemporary tendencies.

Another important statement is in a letter of 11 April 1927 to his publisher Universal-Edition. Here he even comments on the character of the music of his *The Miraculous Mandarin* then recently premiered and immediately banned from further performances in Cologne. The letter reflects upon a proposal by his publisher to change the objected libretto of the ballet to a new text to save the music.

I have received the revised text for *The Miraculous Mandarin*. Unfortunately, the changes . . . do not fit the music at all. For this music, in contrast to today's objective, motor, etc., tendencies, is intended to express psychological processes. No text can be underlain which in many places, expresses the exact opposite mood than that in the music.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Dille, *ibid.*, 128. With slight modifications, the translation was taken over from Carl S. Leafstedt, *Inside Bluebeard's Castle: Music and Drama in Béla Bartók's Opera* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 78–79. See also Leafstedt's sensible comments on this disavowal of the 'objective' and the 'folkloristic' labels.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, 79.

<sup>17</sup> The German original text of this letter is included in the selected internet edition of Bartók's letters to Universal-Edition see:

<http://www.unileipzig.de/~musik/web/institut/agOst/docs/mittelost/hefte/Vikarius.pdf>  
 (accessed 20 February 2008).

It was, however, not only Bartók who disavowed modernism in the 1920s. Schoenberg and Stravinsky, in their different ways also chose to dissociate themselves from the younger generation of composers who appeared on the scene after the First World War. This did not mean, however, that any of them gave up their wish to remain leading modernists.<sup>18</sup>

Bartók, who had signed one of his letters to his future wife in 1908 as an 'ultra-hyper-neo-impressio-secessionist, the musician of Tomorrow, who is an opponent of today's public but whose music should be listened to not only according to Roman Law but also because the Law of Art demands it', naturally stylized himself as an avant-garde composer in his earlier years.<sup>19</sup> His modernism, as the quote clearly suggests, rooted in the art nouveau aesthetics.<sup>20</sup> Even in late 1916, when working on the composition of his op. 16 songs settings of five poems by the Hungarian modernist poet Endre Ady—a song cycle whose musical style he himself called 'strange and good'—he stated: 'My Ady songs are so wild that for the time being I wouldn't dare include them in a concert in Vienna.'<sup>21</sup>

During the First World War Bartók was especially isolated from musical developments. He had not even taken part in what was Budapest's concert life since 1912. It is small wonder that around 1920, when he could finally get in touch with European musical events, Bartók was keen to search for novelties. One of his first surprises was that his own music turned out to be known to at least some influential figures outside the German speaking musical orbit, in England, France and Italy. By then, of course, he had had a contract with an internationally acknowledged publisher, Universal-Edition of Vienna. That some of his early works, especially his First Orchestral Suite was praised by Cecil Gray, the British music critic completely unknown to him although of apparent authority, could also have contributed to his feeling of not being regarded as a newcomer any more despite his long isolation. On the other hand, he looked for new compositions by his contemporaries through a number of ways such as studying new scores (by Stravinsky, Malipiero, Casella, Goossens or Lord Berners), attending and reviewing concerts (with compositions by Schoenberg or Milhaud, for instance), as well as performing pieces by Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Szymanowski or Ernst Bloch.<sup>22</sup> He looked upon some of the

<sup>18</sup> See my article, 'Bartók and the Ideal of a "Sentimentalitäts-Mangel"' *International Journal of Musicology* Vol. 9 (2006), 197–242, especially the first chapter, 'Modernism Disavowed'.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Bartók's letter of 24 December 1908 in *Bartók Béla családi levelei*, 185.

<sup>20</sup> See János Kárpáti, 'A Typical *Jugendstil* Composition: Bartók's String Quartet No. 1', *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 137 (1995), 130–143.

<sup>21</sup> Dille, 'Bartók et Ady', *Regard sur le passé*, 299.

<sup>22</sup> Regarding Bartók's interest and familiarity with contemporary music, substantial source material has been collected and edited in *Documenta Bartókiana*, vol. 5, ed. László Somfai (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), including Bartók's regular concert reviews of 1920/21 (ed-

music with interest and appreciation (like string quartets by Casella and Milhaud), some exerted an influence on his own compositions, like Szymanowski's writing for the violin or probably some elements of Schoenberg's harmony, while others, Stravinsky's more recent compositions in particular, disappointed him. A concert series in Berlin in the spring of 1920, a first concert tour to London, Paris and Frankfurt in 1922, and events linked to the foundation of the International Society for Contemporary Music helped Bartók keep in touch with new compositional tendencies. By late 1924, when he most clearly stated the detachment of his style from 'modernism', he must have become weary of all the stylistic diversity of the early 1920s, partly also because perhaps he himself suffered from a low-ebb of compositional creativity. When he could finally produce a series of new compositions that led to the eventual composition of his long-awaited First Piano Concerto in 1926, he blamed the disconcerting musical life, especially the most varied catchwords of musical journalism for laming his creative instincts.<sup>23</sup>

However, it was not only his interest in new music that underwent a decisive change in the inter-war period. Whereas in 1920 he could still write a rather general article on the problems of new music, discussing atonality, new harmonies, and questions of musical notation, by the later 1920s he rather chose to confine his theorization to the sole field of his avowed musical style, the possibilities of the employment of peasant music in composition. Whereas in 1920 he could still envisage melodic material derived from folk music being reconciled with what he then called 'atonal' treatment, by 1931 he felt it necessary to squarely state that atonality and folksong are irreconcilable, since folksongs are inevitably tonal.

### III. A Folklorist?

Folklorism in European music of the twentieth-century is often regarded as a remnant of a nineteenth-century approach. There is no doubt that Bartók also turned to the folklore of his country in order to find a source for his modernistic endeavours of national musical definition. That the population of pre-First-World-War Hungary—the country of his childhood and youth—was mixed and multiethnic with different minorities was decisive for this 'national' musical definition which within a few years' time took on a significantly broader character that could rather be termed as East-European than actually and exclusively 'national'. Bartók furthermore became captivated by the experience of spontaneous musicality and, gradually, he also became entangled with

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ited by Somfai), catalogues of contemporary music in his library (compiled by Vera Lampert) and in his concerts (compiled by János Demény).

<sup>23</sup> See Bartók's letter of 21 June 1926 quoted in Tibor Tallián, *Béla Bartók: The Man and His Work* (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), 140.

the scholarly implications of his research. His experience of primitive village life in far-away rural areas (especially cultural peripheries) and the village people's music (songs and instrumental pieces) whose use was often governed by the customs of communal life became decisive for his composition. What this music actually meant for his individual style might be approached from a variety of angles. However, an examination of a single specific area of folkloristic inspiration, the use of and references to peasant pipe tunes, might help us understand something basic of what kind of a tradition Bartók actually relied on and how he did so.

Bartók's first employment of what he regarded 'authentic' musical folklore in composition was a single setting for voice and piano of the folksong 'Piros alma' [Red apple], a setting that originates in the tradition of the German lied.<sup>24</sup> He soon engaged in composing further arrangements without, however, a clear view of what he later strictly defined as folksong or the peasant song of villages in contrast to the stock of widespread popular songs of towns and cities. Thus it happened that two of the next surviving settings which were marked by Bartók as 'folksongs from Gömör county', later turned out to be nineteenth-century composed, i.e. 'art', songs by amateur composers. It was due to his collaboration with Zoltán Kodály that the first collection of peasant songs, twice ten simple arrangements for voice and piano were published in 1906. It is characteristic, however, that despite the more experienced Kodály's reservations, Bartók did include a popular art song in his selection; he replaced the piece by the arrangement of a genuine folksong in the later editions of the book. A trip to Transylvania in the next summer, 1907, brought a fundamental change in Bartók's approach to folksong. It was then that he realized the existence of the pentatonic scale, which he then called a 'defective scale' for lack of a better word. The very first composition resulting from this almost two-month-long trip was a composition based on instrumental pieces rather than songs and has remained little known in its original form. *Three Hungarian Folksongs from Csík* for piano was originally composed as *Gyergyóból* (From Gyergyó), referring to the region where Bartók collected the melodies played on the *fúrulya*, a commonly used short six-holed peasant pipe.<sup>25</sup> *From Gyergyó* itself was first arranged for the same instrument—the peasant pipe—accompanied by the piano.<sup>26</sup> As all three

<sup>24</sup> The song was published in *Documenta Bartókiana*, vol. 4, ed. Denijs Dille (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), 25–26. See further Ferenc László, 'Bartók's First Encounter with Folk Music', *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 72 (Winter 1978), 67–75.

<sup>25</sup> Published in facsimile in Denijs Dille, *Het werk van Béla Bartók* (Antwerp: Metropolis, 1979), among the photos at the end of the book. It was also published as *Gyergyóból* and *Aus Gyergyó*, for recorder (!) and piano, by Editio Musica and Schott, respectively. A recording, also with recorder, is available on the *Rarities* CD, part of the Bartók Complete Edition (Hungaroton Records Ltd., 2000, HCD 31909).

<sup>26</sup> On the single surviving autograph of the piece Bartók refers to the folk instrument fancifully as 'tilinkó'—a name later generally used to designate long pipes—although the

pieces of the series, no. 2 is thus based on a peasant pipe variant of a song. In this case, the sung version was first recorded by Bartók on the spot before the pipe variant was performed. This is indeed a well defined type of Hungarian folksongs, which was considered so important by Bartók that he started the over 300 musical examples of his monograph, *The Hungarian Folksong*, with exactly this melody, even though, according to a note added, he hesitated whether to put the tune into the group of what he called the old style melodies at all within his collection arranged along the lines of a rough evolutionary theory of the material. According to his later systematization of the entire collection of Hungarian folksongs he still included it in Class A, the old style melodies. For his arrangement of 1907, he did not choose the song but the instrumental variant.<sup>27</sup> A comparison of the vocal and instrumental form (Ex. 10) puts specific stylistic elements of peasant piping in relief. Whereas the tune in its vocal variant as notated by Bartók is already full of ornaments, there is a visible tendency in the instrumental form of adding different embellishments as well as lengthening the already longer note values and shortening the remaining notes of individual motifs—a rubato approach as Bartók's tempo indication also shows. Diminution, akin to the renaissance sense of the term, of simple passages, is also characteristic, such as can be found in the second half of the third and fourth phrases where a somewhat rhapsodic combination of quavers and semiquaver pairs (— and —) prevail.

In this case, it was obviously this up to then unknown instrumental art that captivated the composer's imagination. The version for pipe and piano might justifiably be regarded a *pièce d'occasion* but it can also be considered an experimental composition that attempts to combine original sound quality with higher art accompaniment. The version for pipe and piano was never published in Bartók's lifetime but, instead, he quickly transcribed it for piano alone. This version proved to be significant since this was his first attempt at using a special folkloristic instrumental way of writing for the piano: the highly ornamental improvisatory style of peasant pipers. That the imitation of this instrumental style became established as a special type in his writing for the piano is further reinforced by the composition of 'Evening in Transylvania', no. 5 of the *Ten Easy Piano Pieces* (1908), whose double trio form is based on the alternation of

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instrument is identified by the player himself as a *furulya* in the announcement of the still available phonograph recording. See Vera Lampert, *Népzene Bartók műveiben* [Folk music in Bartók's compositions] (Budapest: Helikon, 2005), nos. 22–24 in the catalogue and on the accompanying CD.

<sup>27</sup> The first stanza of the song reads in Bartók, *Hungarian Folk Music* [later also published as *The Hungarian Folk Song*], trans. M.D. Calvocoressi, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), 111, as follows:

When my little dove weeps, I also weep.  
We both shed bitter tears.  
Mother, dear mother, why torment me,  
Why not let me marry this little maiden?

two themes, a *parlando* melody reminiscent of pentatonic Transylvanian folk-songs with a descending melody line and a second one 'more in a dance like rhythm' being 'more or less the imitation of a peasant flute playing', as Bartók explained in a late radio interview.<sup>28</sup>

**Parlando,  $\text{J} = 68$**

Sir a kis ga - lam - born, sí - rok én ma - gam is.

[Rubato,  $\text{J} = \text{cca } 134$ ]

Si - runk mind a ket - ten i - gën ke - ser - ve-sën.

A - nyám, é - dës a-nyám, mért ül - dö - zesz en - göm,

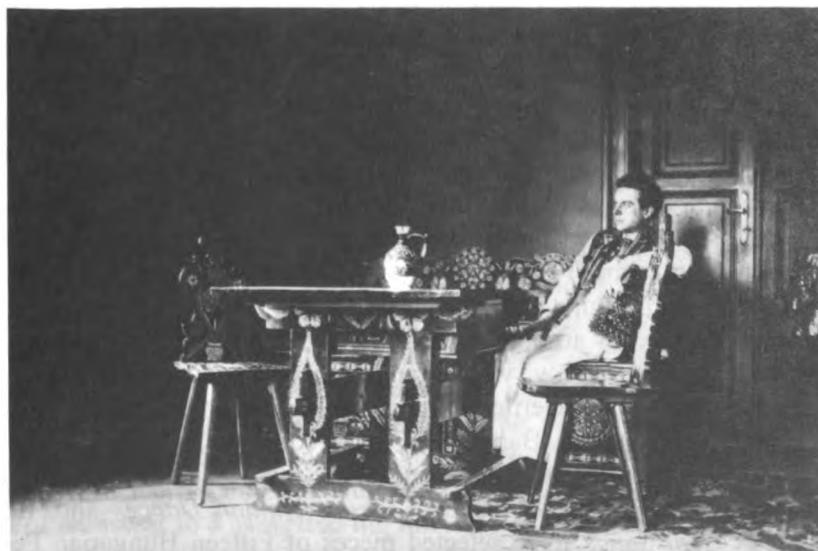
Mért nem hagy - tad ext a kis lë - ányt el - vennëm?

**Example 10** The tune used in *From Gyergyó*, no. 2, in its vocal and instrumental (peasant pipe) variant: the song appears here as published in *The Hungarian Folksong*

It happened also in the summer of 1907, during his very first Transylvanian trip that Bartók met a village carpenter György Gyugyi Péntek in Körösfő (now Izvoru Crișului in Romania) from whom he ordered peasant style furni-

<sup>28</sup> 'Ask the Composer' (1944), *Bartók Béla Írásai* 1, ed. Tibor Tallián (Budapest: Zene-műkiadó, 1989), 262. The 'peasant flute' here refers to the six-holed shepherd's pipe.

ture. A series of photos taken in his Budapest home in 1908 shows Bartók surrounded by these pieces of furniture (Figure 1). In one photo (Figure 2), however, it is not only his flat that is provided with memorabilia from peasant life: Bartók himself is dressed in a peasant costume. This rare view of the composer and professor of the Royal Music Academy is probably the closest parallel to his occasional inclusion of an original peasant instrument in the composition of *From Gyergyó*.



**Figures 1 and 2** Bartók surrounded by his peasant style furniture in his Budapest home, 1908

The role peasant music could play in Bartók's compositions changed considerably after the early years of his involvement with this new compositional 'raw material'. The only works—sets of compositions—that include self-assuredly modernist pieces side by side with actual or seeming folksong arrangements are the Fourteen Bagatelles and the Ten Easy Piano Pieces, both of 1908, the exact same period the series of photos was taken of him in his Budapest apartment, as well as the *Seven Sketches* of the following year. By then, however, Bartók started to prefer collections of arrangements like the pedagogical *For Children* series for piano or the *Four Old Hungarian Folksongs* for male chorus, and a few years later, in 1915, several sets of arrangements of Romanian folk music such as the *Rumanian Folk Dances* and the *Rumanian Christmas Carols*. In the wake of the First World War, Bartók again started to undertake essentially new experiments with the employment of folk music—genuine and imaginary alike. In the *Improvisations* op. 20 of 1920, the *Village Scenes* of 1924 and the Twenty Hungarian Folk songs for voice and piano of 1929, all 'pure' folksong arrangements, he combined the borrowed and carefully handled melodic material with radically modernistic stylistic elements as well as a highly organicist approach. In his *Dance Suite*, the most 'folkloristic' of all his 'original' compositions he used folk-like melodies and styles of his own invention imitating a large variety of musical types of motifs and rhythms in Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian and even Arab music he intimately knew. In a different manner, his two Rhapsodies for violin and piano of 1928 use several instrumental pieces from his own collection within a modernistic harmonic framework to build up a larger-scale structure which itself represents a genre of folkloristic origin. Four Hungarian Folksongs for mixed chorus (1930) and Székely Folksongs (1932) are the last downright arrangements of folksongs. Otherwise he used folk texts to compose his last choral works (*Cantata profana* in 1930 and Twenty-Seven Choruses and *From Olden Times* in 1935).

His only extensive series of small-scale pieces, almost a farewell to folksong arrangement, is the Forty-Four Duos for two violins of 1931, composed in exactly the period when, on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday he was again photographed in his home (Fig. 3). Looking at him 23 years later, his tender and loving but aloof relationship to the objects of peasant craft is conspicuous.

Finally, inspired by arrangements of his own compositions by young violinists such as Zoltán Székely, who arranged the *Romanian Folk Dances* for violin and piano and André Gertler who did the same with one of the 1915 Romanian cycles, the Sonatina, Bartók also made some orchestrated versions of his earlier piano compositions in 1931 and 1933, most of them originally folksong arrangements (*Hungarian Sketches*, *Transylvanian Dances* and, finally, *Hungarian Peasant Songs* from selected pieces of Fifteen Hungarian Peasant Songs of 1914–18).



**Figure 3** Bartók in his home at the occasion  
of his fiftieth birthday, 25 March 1931

In many ways, the year of 1926 was as decisive for Bartók's stylistic development as was 1908. Interestingly, his series of smaller and larger scale piano compositions written in the summer of 1926 decidedly avoided folksong arrangement. This was probably no accident. Exactly as he wished to dissociate his music from folkloristic compositions in general, he now used elements of peasant music in an ever more sophisticated way. Thus, even in these pieces, references to musical folklore can be detected and not just in motifs and rhythms in general. The 'Night's Music' composed in 1926 and published within the series *Out of Doors* shows how Bartók resorted to the distinct stylistic elements of peasant music within what is generally regarded as a wholly original work. It is in this complex and rather individualistic piece that we meet again, in a highly stylized manner, Bartók's peasant pipe pianism. The melody itself (shown in Ex. 11) is in four phrases quite in the fashion of the tune in the second piece of *Gyergyóból*. Its Dorian scale cast in the black-key C-sharp tonality recalls Hungarian folksongs, as do its general melodic curve and the pattern of the cadences of the four phrases. The stereotyped cadential flourish in the end of phrases 1 to 3 as well as the final note (C-sharp) approached from the *subtonium* (B natural) avoiding the leading tone also show close affinity with piped versions of folk tunes. Furthermore, one easily discovers the rhapsodic combination of semiquavers and demisemiquaver pairs— $\text{J}\text{J}$  and  $\text{J}\text{J}$ —according

to the diminished note values of the notation in the 'Night's Music' familiar from *Gyergyóból*. The melody starts on the fifth degree of the scale and the cadences are on the fourth (phrases 1 and 2) and on the second degree (phrase 3). While the melody is surrounded by strange chords and motifs, it is easy to recognize it as an imitation of the style of peasant pipers. Its evocation within what some scholars call the narrative of the piece could be representative of an ideal community.



Example 11 Peasant pipe style tune in the 'Night's Music'

The peasant pipe style in Bartók's piano writing is just one single element in a very complex web of stylistic features many of which can be traced back to the direct inspiration of folk music. It appears in Bartók's compositions not even as frequently as, for example, the imitation of the bagpipe, an instrument that particularly fascinated him. Still, the examples of real and 'imaginary' shepherd's pipe tunes in his compositions might show just how greatly such stylistic elements contributed to Bartók's individual way of relying on a tradition. This is how Bartók, whom Kodály once called, probably taking the phrase from his secondary school reading of *De bello Gallico*, a true *novarum rerum cupidus*, succeeded in finding and, to some extent, constituting this tradition.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> 'The attacks made on him from both sides [i.e. both Hungarian and Romanian sides] on account of the Romanian folksong are well known. It is true that his collections in Romanian and other foreign languages are numerically superior to his Hungarian collection but for his comparative studies he required material and did not find enough in the collections then available. Apart from this, his interest was attracted by the novelty and unfamiliarity of the material. As in everything else, he was *novarum rerum cupidus* in this, too.' See Zoltán Kodály, 'Bartók the Folklorist' (1950), in *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, 104–105.

Ласло Викаријуш

## NOVARUM RERUM CUPIDUS У ПОТРАЗИ ЗА ТРАДИЦИЈОМ: ОДНОС БЕЛЕ БАРТОКА ПРЕМА МОДЕРНИЗМУ

### Резиме

„Моја музика уопште није модерна“. Тако се у свом познатом писму из 1924. године изразио Барток, који је једну и по деценију раније био дољно самоуверен да једно писмо потпише као „ултра-хипер-нео-импресио-сецесиониста, музичар Сутрашњице, који је противник данашње публике, али чија музика треба да се слуша не само према Римском праву, већ и зато што то захтева Закон Уметности“. У ствари, скоро целог живота Барток је трагао за новинама. То је толико карактеристично за њега да су неки аналитичари његово стално интересовање за нову музику видели као слабост.

У раду се разматрају Бартокови променљиви ставови према „модернизму“, као и дубљи корени његових идеја о традицији и трагања за иновацијама – при чему су први корени више у складу са схватањима његовог пријатеља Золтана Кодалја, док су други у противставу у односу на њих. Кодалј је открио неке непознате стране Бартока, а описао га је и као *novarum rerum cupidus*. Како се ове године слави Кодалјева 125. годишњица, покушај да се упореде њихови различити приступи могао би бити прикладан.



# VÍTEZSLAV NOVÁK'S *BOUŘE* [THE STORM] OP. 42: A CENTRAL WORK IN CZECH MUSICAL MODERNISM

JARMILA GABRIELOVÁ

REFLECTING various meanings of the term 'modernism' that appear in this collection of papers, I would like to start my contribution with a brief comment on terminology. Speaking about 'modernism' in the history of Czech music, I understand and use the word in the historically limited meaning that was established in the Central European (German-Austrian) cultural milieu around the turn of the nineteenth century, and which at almost the same time appeared in Czech cultural discussion and art criticism, too. As a matter of fact, the era of 'die Moderne' (or 'moderna' in Czech, ca 1890–1914)<sup>1</sup> was one of the greatest and most fascinating periods—if not a 'Golden Age'—of Czech literature, theatre, visual arts, architecture, and (last but not least) of music.<sup>2</sup> The composer Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949), one of the most celebrated musicians and one of the most influential composition teachers of his time, was once considered the protagonist of this artistic movement in the Czech Lands.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See C. Dahlhaus, 'Die Moderne als musikhistorische Epoche', in: *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts. Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft* 6, (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1980, reprint 1989), 279–85. English translation by J. Bradford Robinson, 'Modernism as a Period in Music History', in: *Nineteenth-Century Music. California Studies in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* (University of California Press, 1989), 332–39.

<sup>2</sup> See T. Vlček, *Praha 1900. Studie k dějinám kultury a umění Prahy v letech 1890–1914* [Prague 1900. A Study on Cultural and Art History of Prague in 1890–1914], (Praha: Panorama, 1986), 91ff. and 162ff. a.o.

<sup>3</sup> See B. Štědroň, article 'Novák Vítězslav', in: *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí* [Czechoslovak Music Lexicon of Persons and Institutions], 2 vols. (Praha: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1963 and 1965), vol. II, pp. 194–202; V. Lébl, *Vítězslav Novák. Život a dílo* [Vítězslav Novák. Life and Work], (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1964, 296–302); M. Schnierer and J. Tyrrell, article 'Novák, Vítězslav', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), vol. XVIII, 210–14, a.o.

In my paper, I mainly concentrate on Vítězslav Novák's largest vocal-symphonic work, i.e. on his symphonic cantata *Bouře* [The Storm] op. 42, and offer some thoughts and comments on its origin, compositional structure, stylistic features, and contemporary reception. The commentary on the work in question is preceded by short biographical information on its composer based on standard Novák literature.<sup>4</sup>

Vítězslav (Viktor) Novák was born on 5 December 1870 in Kamenice nad Lipou, a small country town in the underpeopled area of South-East Bohemia and spent the first years of his life in Počátky, another small town in the same region. After the early death of his father in 1882, the family moved to the nearest larger town of Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus), where Novák attended secondary school and made his first attempts at composition (songs to Czech and German texts, piano pieces, a.o.). Having passed school leaving examination in 1889, he went to Prague to study law and philosophy at Charles University as well as piano, music theory, and composition at Prague Conservatory; in 1891, he became one of the first composition pupils of Antonín Dvořák.<sup>5</sup> Among the works of these 'years of apprenticeship', *Korsár* [Corsair], an overture for large orchestra after G. G. Byron, Ballade E minor for the piano (after G. G. Byron's *Manfred*), Variations on a Theme by Robert Schumann for the piano, Serenade F major for small orchestra, Piano Concerto E minor, as well as small pieces for the piano ('Reminiscences', 'Serenades', 'Barcarolles', a.o.) and various songs and choruses are worth mentioning.

Having graduated from the Prague Conservatory in 1896, Novák earned his living as a private music teacher in Prague and enjoyed his growing reputation as a composer. In 1897, he visited the region of Moravian Slovakia ('Moravské Slovácko', South-East Moravia) for the first time and discovered specific traditions and values of its folk music; around the turn of the century, he extended his investigative activities to other Moravian districts and, above all, to various regions in today's Slovakia as well.<sup>6</sup> To his creative achievements in

<sup>4</sup> See note 3.

<sup>5</sup> As is well known, Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904) was the first professor of composition ever appointed at Prague Conservatory. He has been teaching there since January 1, 1891. However, from October 1892 to May 1895, he sojourned in the USA, where he served as a composition professor and director of the National Conservatory of Music in New York. In these years, Novák continued his studies at Prague Conservatory with Josef Jiránek (1855–1940) and Karel Bendl (1838–1897).

<sup>6</sup> Novák's 'discovery' of Moravian and Slovakian folklore and folk life, should be understood here in its true sense, i.e. not so much as a source for genuine 'national music' but more likely as a kind of 'exoticism' or 'orientalism' in music, or—seen from the perspective of a Prague middle class intellectual—as an experience of a remote world and alien music language; cf. C. Dahlhaus, 'Exotismus, Folklorismus, Archaismus', in: *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 252–61; English translation 'Exoticism, Folklorism, Archaism', in: *Nineteenth-Century Music*, pp. 302–11; a.o. The local historical background was outlined by the *Jubilejní výstava* [Jubilee Exhibition] of 1891 and the *Národopisná výstava českoslovanská* [Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition] in Prague in 1895; see Vlček, *Praha 1900*, 62–8, a.o.

spired by Moravian and Slovakian folklore belong both solo songs and choral ballads on texts from Moravian folk poetry and distinguished instrumental works; among the latter ones, let us mention *Maryša*, a dramatic overture for large orchestra op. 18 written for Alois and Vilém Mrštík's rural tragedy of the same name (1898); String Quartet G major op. 22 (1899); *Sonata eroica* for piano op. 24 (1900); *V Tatrách* [In Tatra Mountains], a symphonic poem op. 24 (1902), or *Slovácká suita* [Slovakian Suite] for small orchestra op. 32 (1903).

Between the years of 1900 and 1910/1914, Vítězslav Novák reached the peak of his creative development. His major compositions from that period are Piano Trio D minor (*Quasi una balata*) op. 27 (1902); *Údolí Nového Království* [A Valley of a New Kingdom] op. 31, four songs to symbolist poetry of Antonín Sova (1903);<sup>7</sup> *O věčné touze* [On Eternal Longing] op. 33, a symphonic poem based on a text by H. C. Andersen (1903–5); String Quartet D major op. 35 (1905); *Pan* op. 43, a tone poem in five movements for piano inspired by Knut Hamsun's novel of the same name (1910; orchestrated 1912);<sup>8</sup> and, above all, *Bouře* [The Storm] op. 42 to a text of Svatopluk Čech (1908–10, see below). In 1909, Novák was appointed professor of composition at Prague Conservatory; later on, in 1920s and 1930s, he was repeatedly elected director (rector) of this institution. In April 1910, he signed an exclusive contract with the Universal Edition in Vienna for the publishing of his works that was valid until 1918; prior to 1910 and after 1918, his works were published in Prague, Berlin (N. Simrock), and Leipzig.

In the period of 1919–39, Novák's compositional achievements gradually fell into the shade. On the other hand, his reputation as a teacher aroused considerably. Among his pupils were not only leading Czech musicians and composers of the on-coming generation but also students from other Slavonic lands and/or regions: notably from Slovakia, former Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.<sup>9</sup> In

<sup>7</sup> See P. Kordík, *Vítězslav Novák a symbolismus. Údolí Nového Království op. 31, 1903* [Vítězslav Novák and Symbolism. 'The Valley of a New Kingdom' op. 31, 1903], (Praha: Ethnologický ústav AV ČR, 2007), 144pp.

<sup>8</sup> What was also typical for the period of 'modernism' in Czech culture and society was a deep interest in world literature that was manifested in translating a great amount of relevant works into Czech. Among them, Nordic literature and drama were strongly 'in vogue' at that time. Arnošt Kraus, a German philologist and translator (1859–1943), and Jaroslav Kvapil, a playwright, opera librettist and stage manager (1868–1950), belonged to the pioneers in this field.

<sup>9</sup> Among renowned Czech (and Moravian) pupils of Vítězslav Novák, we can mention Alois Hába (1893–1973), Karel Hába (1898–1972), Ilya Hurník (\*1922), Osvald Chlubna (1893–1971), Otakar Jeremiáš (1892–1962), Jan Kapr (1914–1988), Vítězslava Kaprálová (1915–1940), Iša Krejčí (1904–1968), Jaroslav Krombholz (1918–1983), Vilém Petřelka (1889–1967), Klement Slavický (1910–1999), Václav Štěpán (1889–1944), Václav Trojan (1907–1983), Boleslav Vomáčka (1887–1978), Jaroslav Vogel (1894–1970), Ladislav Vycpálek (1882–1969), a.o. Moreover, almost all leading Slovak composers of the twentieth century studied in Prague, including Ján Cikker (1911–1989), Dezider Kardoš (1914–1991), Jozef Kresánek (1913–1986), Alexander Moyzes (1906–1984), Andrej Očenáš (1911–1995), and Eugen Suchoň (1908–1993). Other outstanding pupils of Novák were e.g. Sabin Dragoi (1894 Seliste/Arad – 1968 Bucharest), Mykola Kolessa (1903 Sambir near Lemberg/

1940, Vítězslav Novák left his position at Prague Conservatory and retired; his compositional activities were now limited by his health condition. In November 1945, a few months after the end of World War II and Nazi-occupation of the Czech Lands, Novák was awarded an honorary degree *Národní umělec* ('National Artist', or 'Artist of the Nation') on the ground of his lifetime œuvre. He died on 18 July 1949 in his wife's family seat in Skuteč (East Bohemia).

As indicated above, Vítězslav Novák's *Bouře* ranks among the composer's most advanced creative outputs and, at the same time, among the most crucial and most paradigmatic achievements of Czech musical modernism. Nevertheless, if we raise the question, how the work came into being, the first answer is rather simple and quite common: there was a commission at the beginning. In 1908, the Brno conductor Rudolf Reissig (1874–1939), Novák's former fellow-student at Prague Conservatory and longstanding friend, asked him to write a cantata to mark the anniversary of *Beseda brněnská* (Brno Philharmonic Society). As a conductor of this society, Reissig propagated Novák's music and frequently performed his works in Brno since the late 1890s. Novák undoubtedly felt indebted to Reissig and to *Beseda brněnská*; for that reason, he responded positively to Reissig's request. Immediately thereafter, he decided to set in music the poem (or 'sea fantasy') *Bouře* by Svatopluk Čech (1846–1908) and began his work. Other impulses mentioned by the composer himself in his memoirs were the fact that another Brno conductor and composer, František Neumann (1874–1929), wrote a cantata on the same text in 1903 – and Novák's ambition was to enter into competition with him and to create a better work on Čech's words – as well as Novák's own (private) intention or motivation to write a piece of music representing his admiration of and passion for the wild sea element.<sup>10</sup> Still another reason to compose a cantata on Svatopluk Čech's text might have been a tribute to the once esteemed and merited Czech poet who died at the beginning of the same year of 1908.

However, instead of making a 'normal' (brief) festival cantata with dominating vocal (choral) component that would correspond to the expectations and skills (or limits) of Brno musicians, Novák worked hard for two years – so that he missed the scheduled jubilee celebration. At the end, he created one of his most extensive and most demanding symphonic scores (with a rather limited use of choruses and vocal soloists) and, at the same time, one of the most demanding and most fascinating orchestral works in Czech music so far. This is even more prominent if we take in consideration both the character and the quality of Svatopluk Čech's text. The poem in question was a work of a 22 year's beginner and was published as early as in 1869. At that time, it aroused

Lwów/ Lviv – 2006 Lviv), or Josip Štolcer-Slavenski (1896 Čakovec/Austria-Hungaria, today Croatia – 1955 Belgrade); see Lébl, *Vítězslav Novák*, 345–6, a.o.

<sup>10</sup> See V. Novák, *O sobě a o jiných* [On Myself and on the Others], (Praha: Jos. R. Vilímek, 1946; second edition Praha: Editio Supraphon 1970), 156–8; see also below note 10.

some interest in literary circles. However, later in the nineteenth century it was considered hopelessly out of date and was (by right) harshly criticized for its poor verses and clumsy vocabulary.

But what is 'modern' or 'modernistic' in Vítězslav Novák's *Bouře*? In my opinion, one can mention and point out three major aspects of this work here: 1) extra-musical (extra-artistic) inspirations and contexts and the basic atmosphere of the whole piece; 2) ideas and ideological contents and contexts of the work in question; 3) Novák's music in itself, its form, technique, features of style.<sup>11</sup>

Ad 1) What is depicted and represented here almost exclusively by the medium of music (tone-painting) is a wild, formidable, and dangerous nature, or, more exactly, a rough, terrible, killing northern ocean. Apparently, this feature was not involved so much in Svatopluk Čech's poem but based to a great extent on Novák's own personal experience. He was in his late thirties when he composed his *Bouře*, but still in perfect condition. During the period of composition, he undertook a journey to Scandinavia to experience the ocean at his own risk. Actually, he almost drowned during a swim he took by himself in a stormy weather.<sup>12</sup>

Ad 2) Novák took up and emphasized strongly the (originally romantic) parallel between the destructiveness of the natural elements and that of human passion. This was the (possible) intention of Čech's poem. In Novák's musical approach, this 'message' became extremely strong; at the same time, it was transformed in terms of 'fin de siècle' or 'decadence' ideology: If one is facing death, all social conventions and moral inhibitions fall; both individuals and the crowd follow their base instincts only. 'Modernistic' and/or 'decadent' is the association (configuration) of death and sexual desire or wildness – pointed out by the provocative contrast of a powerful black man and a helpless white woman.<sup>13</sup>

Ad 3) As far as the form of Novák's *Bouře* is concerned, we can identify here a combination of a cantata (divided into individual vocal 'numbers' and designed both for solo voices and for the chorus) and an extensive symphonic poem (based on the scheme of a 'double function form'). The most of the vocal 'numbers' base on rather simple and transparent strophic forms; however, the form as a whole is integrated by sophisticated symphonic thematic procedures.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> For the basic characteristics and analysis of the composition technique and style in Novák' *Bouře*, see V. Štěpán, 'Symfonická tvorba Novákova', in: *Novák a Suk* (Praha: Hudební matice Umělecké besedy, 1945), 39–133; here pp. 104–25.

<sup>12</sup> Novák, *O sobě a o jiných*, pp. 161–3. Through his life, Novák was a passionate traveler and managed to travel through almost all European countries. As a typical inhabitant of an inland region, he was fascinated by the element of the ocean as well as high mountains and mountain-climbing. See also Lébl, *Vítězslav Novák*, 97–8 and p. 130.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lébl, *Vítězslav Novák*, pp. 130–35; see also the text of Svatopluk Čech's poem in appendix.

<sup>14</sup> See the tabular presentation of the form and the respective music examples in appendix (Figures 1.– 3.).

What also is worth saying are the apparent or actual 'folklore' features of this work that played an important role in contemporary reception: As a matter of fact, one of the instrumental (orchestral) themes or thematic variants that appear later in the course of this extensive composition is very similar to the beginning of a Slovakian folksong *Láska, bože láska* [Love, oh God, Love].<sup>15</sup> Its symbolic meaning seems to be unambiguous, especially for Czech (and Slovakian) audiences. In Novák's concept, the song tune represents both 'pure' love and 'impure' desire. The important thing is that the folksong-theme is not introduced and/or used as a citation of 'foreign' ('heterogeneous') material yet appears as a result of variation process ('developing variation') i.e. as a transformation of both the first and the fourth themes.<sup>16</sup>

The 'episode' of a young woman and her negro servant is characterized by the use of 'exotic colour', which, however, is a rather conventional or 'native' one: empty chords (without thirds) and pedal points in bass instruments, augmented seconds and quarts in melody, syncopated rhythms, etc.<sup>17</sup>

In terms of its overall form design and orchestra technique, the work by Novák is comparable to the most extensive and most demanding scores of its time, especially to those of Richard Strauss (*Ein Heldenleben* op. 40, 1899 and, above all, *Eine Alpensymphonie* op. 64, 1915) but also to those of Alexander Scriabin, or to Arnold Schoenberg's *Gurre-Lieder* 1900–1911), a.o.

After the Brno premiere on April 17, 1910, performances in two smaller towns in Eastern Bohemia, Pardubice and Chrudim, followed early in 1911. However, it only was the Prague premiere on February 25, 1911 that brought a resounding success to the composer and confirmed his reputation as a leading personality of Czech musical modernism; the Vienna premiere followed on April 27, 1913.<sup>18</sup> Numerous reviews, analyses, and comments that followed the Prague performance were written not only by musicians and music writers or reviewers, but also by poets and people of letters. The fact was stressed that Novák's work represented a peak output not only in Czech music, but also in modern Czech art and culture as a whole.<sup>19</sup> However, two years later the war broke out and the political and cultural situation in Bohemia changed completely. After the war, the work lost much of its attractiveness and paradigmatic validity and made way for different aesthetic ideals, stylistic streams, and artistic experiments.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Lébl, *Vítězslav Novák*, p. 133, and Fig. 3. in appendix.

<sup>16</sup> See Figure 3. in appendix.

<sup>17</sup> See Figure 2. (Theme 6.) in appendix; cf.also Štěpán, 'Symfonická tvorba Novákova', 120–1; Lébl, *Vítězslav Novák*, pp. 133–4; Dahlhaus, 'Exotismus', here pp. 255–7; English translation pp. 304–6.

<sup>18</sup> See Lébl, *Vítězslav Novák*, 135–9.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 137–9 and 338–41.

**Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949)**

***Bouře (se slovy mořské fantasie Svatopluka Čecha). Symfonická báseň pro orkestr, sóla a sbor op. 42***

**[The Storm (with Words of a Sea Fantasy by Svatopluk Čech). Symphonic Poem for orchestra, soloists, and chorus op. 42]**

Text: Svatopluk Čech (1846–1908)

First published in: *Almanach českého studentstva* [An Almanac of Czech Students], 1869

Composed: 1908–1910

Premiered: April 17, 1910 in Brno

Czech Philharmonic Orchestra (Prague) and Choir of the *Beseda brněnská* (Brno Philharmonic Society)

Soloists:

Marie Musilová (Soprano), Jaroslav Hendrych (Tenor), Ladislav Němeček (Baritone)

Conductor: Rudolf Reissig

Published: 1912 by Universal Edition in Vienna (full score and piano-vocal score)

Recorded: 1978 by Supraphon Records in Prague

Czech Philharmonic Orchestra and Czech Philharmonic Chorus (Prague)

Soloists:

Jarmila Žilková (Soprano), Jarmila Smyčková (Soprano), František Livora (Tenor), Naděžda Kniplová (Soprano), Richard Novák (Baritone), Karel Petr (Bass), Jaromír Vavruška (Bass)

Chorus Master: Josef Veselka

Conductor: Zdeněk Košler

Durata: ca 80:00

Orchestra:

Flauto I-II, Flauto piccolo, Oboe I-II, Corno inglese, Clarinetto I-II in B, Clarinetto di basso in B, Fagotto I-II, Contrafagotto

Corno I–VI in F, Tromba I–III in C, Trombone I–II, Trombone basso e Tuba Timpani, Carillon, Triangolo, Tamburo piccolo, Gran Cassa e Piatti, Tam-tam

Arpa, Piano, Pedale d'organo (8', 16')

Violini I, Violini II, Viole, Violoncelli, Contrabassi

## Fig. 1

Vítězslav Novák, *Bouře* op. 42: Form

## a) Cantata

## [Part 1]

Overture (piano-vocal score p. 3)

[No. 1]

Soprano Solo (piano-vocal score p. 9; orientation No. 7)

*Modlitba dívky před kaplí na břehu: Ó, hvězdo mořská*

[Prayer of a Maid in front of a Chapel on Seashore: Oh, Star of the Ocean]

[No. 2]

Male Chorus (piano-vocal score p. 22; No. 19)

*Piseň plavců o lodním skřítku* [Sailors' Song about a Ship Dwarf]

[No. 3]

Soprano Solo (piano-vocal score p. 32; No. 27)

*Piseň plavčíka na stožáru* [Song of a Ship Boy at the Mast]

[No. 4]

Tenor Solo, Mixed Chorus (piano-vocal score p. 53; No. 41)

*Piseň jinocha pod stožárem* [Song of a Young Man under the Mast]

Symphonic Interlude (piano-vocal score p. 64; No. 50)

## [Part 2]

Symphonic Interlude (cont.; piano-vocal score p. 69; No. 56)

[No. 5]

Soprano and Baritone Soli (piano-vocal score p. 82; No. 73)

*Dívka a otrok* [A Maid and a Slave]

[No. 6]

Chorus and Soli (piano-vocal score p. 108; No. 98)

*Opili námořníci* [Drunken Sailors]

Symphonic Interlude (piano-vocal score p. 120; No. 106)

[No. 7]

Two Bass Soli (piano vocal score p. 129; No. 113)

*Dva pobřežní lupiči* [Two Coastal Robbers]

[No. 8]

Mixed Chorus (piano-vocal score p. 136; No. 121)

*Rybáři před kaplí na břehu: Ó hvězdo mořská*

[Fishermen in front of a Chapel on Seashore: Oh, Star of the Ocean]

b) Symphonic poem (“Double function form”):

Part [No.] <sup>20</sup> ; orientation number	Key	Section	Movement
Orchestra Introduction Soprano Solo [No. 1]; No. 7	D minor A minor – B minor	“Exposition” “First subject group” Theme 1 (“Storm” and “Death”) Theme, 4/4): <i>Tempestoso</i> (exposition) <i>Andante rubato</i> (devel.)	“First Movement”
“Interlude” (1.); four bars after No. 12		“Transition”	
Male Chorus [No. 2]; No. 19	F major	“First subject group” Theme 2: <i>Con moto</i> 2/4	
Soprano Solo [No. 3]; No. 27	B minor	“Scherzo” (“Barcarole”) Theme 3: <i>Animato</i> 6/8	“Second Movement” (“Scherzo”)
“Interlude” (2.); eight bars after No. 32		“Development” (1.)	
Tenor Solo and Chorus [No. 4]; No. 41	B flat major	“Second subject group” Theme 4: <i>Andante</i> 3/4	“Third (Slow) Movement”
“Interlude” (3.); No. 50 (Transition to Part 2)		“Development” (2.) <i>Andante rubato</i> (etc.) 4/4 Theme 5 (“Love”)	“Symphonic cycle” on a small scale: First and slow mvt,

<sup>20</sup> See the “cantata scheme” above.

		Theme), i.e. transformation of Themes 1 and 4	“Scherzo”, and “Finale”
Soprano and Baritone Soli [No.5; cf. No. 4]; No. 73	A minor – C minor – C sharp minor	“Episode” Theme 4 ; Theme 6	
“Interlude” (4.); No. 93		“Development” (cont.) Themes 5 and 1	“Fourth Movement” (“Finale”)
Chorus and Soli [No.6; cf. Nos. 2, 3, 4]; No. 98		“Development” (climax) Themes 1 – 4	
“Interlude” (5.); No. 106		“Devel” (retransition) Theme 1	
Two Bass Soli [No. 7]; No. 113	B flat major	“Recapitulation” Theme 4 (“Second subject group”)	
“Interlude” (6.); No. 116	B flat – C major	“Recapitulation” Themes 4 and 1	
Mixed Chorus [No. 8; cf. No. 1]; No. 121	C major	“Recap” and Coda Theme 1 (“First subject group” transformed): <i>Moderato 6/4</i>	
“Postlude”	B major – C major	Coda Themes 5 and 1: <i>Andante amoroso.</i> <i>Tranquillo</i>	

**Fig. 2**  
**Vítězslav Novák, *Bouře* op. 42: Themes**

Theme 1 ("Storm"; "Death"), bars 1–9, piano-vocal score p. 3

Temppestoso, ma non troppo allegro

(a)

(b)

(c)

Soprano solo (Theme 1), eight bars after No. 7, piano-vocal score p. 9

Andante rubato, con molta passione

Soprano solo

O. hvězda mořská, malo mlo-sti, ve svá - ru zí - vlo mir — sváj rozhos-ti [...]

Andante rubato, con molta passione

Corni con solo

p

## Theme 2 (Male Chorus), No. 19, piano-vocal score p. 22

Con moto, energico



## Theme 3 ("Scherzo", "Barcarole"), three bars before No. 27, piano-vocal score p. 32

(Animato)

(Animato) Fl (p)

Soprano Solo

V ko - ší - ku vy - so - ko v hní --- zdě jak pták —  
vy - sí - lém ší - ro - ko be - dli - vý zrak

Theme 4. ("Slow Movement"), No. 41, piano-vocal score p. 53

**Andante**

Tenore Solo

Jak ten o - braz božské Pa - nny v šedý stěžně kmen, o - brá - zek mi pře - lí - be - zný v srdce zasazen.

ob  
espress.

p dolce

Cor ingl

molto express.

Cor

Theme 5 ("Love" Theme), No. 50, piano-vocal score p. 64 (see also Fig. 3)

**Andante rubato**

sempre f

8

## Theme 6 ("Episode"), No. 84, piano-vocal score p. 92

L'istesso tempo, quasi allegretto

Baritono Solo

L'istesso tempo, quasi allegretto

Baritono Solo

*p*

Cor ingl.

před ča - sy Su - dan se pě - sti mé báli -

Fl. Arpa

*più express.*

Fig. 3. Vítězslav Novák, *Bouře* op. 42: “Love Theme” and Its Transformations

“Láska, bože láska”: Slovakian folksong, published in *Slovenské spevy*, vol. I, 1880, a.o.



Láska, bože láska! Kde sa ťudia berú? Na hore nerastieš, v poli sa nesejú. Na hore nerastieš, v poli sa nesejú.

Orchestra introduction (*Tempestoso, ma non troppo allegro*): three bars before orientation No. 1



A Maid in front of a Chapel on Seashore (*Andante rubato, con molta passione*): No. 7



A Youth under the Mast (*Andante*): No. 41



Dtto: No. 45



Orchestra interlude (*Andante rubato*): No. 50



Orchestra interlude (*Animato*): No. 66



**Fig. 4**  
**Vítězslav Novák, *Bouře* op. 42: Text(s)**

<b><i>Bouře</i> (Svatopluk Čech, 1869)</b>	<b>The Storm [The Tempest]<sup>21</sup></b>
<i>(Tempestoso, ma non troppo allegro)</i>	<i>(Tempestoso, ma non troppo allegro)</i>
MODLITBA DÍVKY PŘED KAPLÍ NA BŘEHU: SOPRÁN SÓLO	PRAYER OF A MAID IN FORNT OF THE CHAPEL ON SEASHORE: SOPRANO SOLO
Ó, hvězdo mořská, matko milosti, ve sváru živlů mír svůj rozhosti a zažeň vichrů divý sněm nebeských očí pokynem, ó, hvězdo mořská!	Oh, star of the ocean, Mother of grace, in the clash of the elements may your peace reign, and may the gales' fury be chased away by the command of your divine eyes, Oh, star of the ocean!
Ó, hvězdo mořská, slzy stavící, měj nad korábem svatou pravici, zahal jej v plášť své záštity a stěžen zacel rozbity, ó, hvězdo mořská!	Oh, star if the ocean who stops the tears' flow, guard the ship well with your holy arm, enshroud it in your protective cloak, and mend the mast which is broken, Oh, star of the ocean!
Ó, hvězdo mořská, duší touha mi zavírá jako vítr plachtami, ó, kněžko čisté lásky ty, již stěžen zacel rozbity, ó, hvězdo mořská!	Oh, star of the ocean, in my soul longing blows hard as the wind in the sails, Oh, priestess of pure love, do mend the mast that is broken, Oh, star of the ocean!
<i>(Più mosso)</i>	<i>(Più mosso)</i>
PÍSEŇ PLAVCŮ O LODNÍM SKŘÍTKU MUŽSKÝ SBOR	SEAMEN'S SONG ABOUT A SHIP DWARF MALE CHORUS
Lodní mužík – ten si vodí vám co šlakovitý šlak, jako klíšť se drží lodi povídá to starý Žak.	The boat's own little chap – he prances about, I say, isn't he truly wild, clings to it like a leech, so says the old Jack.
V kazajce a pruhovaných spodkách jako mariňák	In his vest and striped breeches, he has the ways of mariners,

<sup>21</sup> Translation by Supraphon records.

v plachtách sedá nadouvaných, viděl ho tam starý Žak.	sits about 'midst the hoisted sails, the old Jack saw him there.
Rád má lidi, plavců děcka uhýčkává, sklénku však nad stvoření kochá všecka, právě jako starý Žak.	He's fond of men, and sailors' children will gladly lull to their night's sleep, yet most of all he likes his drink, just like the old Jack.
A kde skoupý na výčepky soudek proň, tu cpe si vak a prach lodní stírá s trepky, na to důkazy má Žak.	And where the cask is empty , holds nothing to offer him, there he packs up, and wipes the ship's dust off his feet, as old Jack knows all too well.
Hledá lepší sobě bydlo, ale s lodí amen pak: Zkáza sedá na kormidlo. Utone...kříž dělá Žak.	He's off, looking for a better place, too bad for the boat: for doom sets 'pon its rudder, down it goes...and Jack says Amen.
PÍSEŇ PLAVČÍKA V KOŠI NA STOŽÁRU SOPRÁN SÓLO	SONG OF A SHIP BOY AT THE MASTHEAD SOPRANO SOLO
V košíku vysoko v hnízdě co pták vysílám široko bedlivý zrak. Otec můj koráb, voda má matka, plachty mé sestry, stěžeň má chatka, veselé jsem hoše, prozpěvuju z koše: la la la la la, la la la la!	Set at the masthead like a bird in its nest, into the wide open I cast a watchful eye. The ship and the ocean are my mother and father, the sails my sisters, the mast is my home, I'm cheerful and merry, and here's my song: la la la la, la la la la!
V jiný se vykrádá lodní duch stan, bouře lod' ovládá ve hvizdu lan. Pode mnou lod' se kolísá divě po vodních orů bělavé hřívě, stěžeň praská holý, já však ve vrcholi: la la la la la, la la la la!	The ship's guardian spirit is stealing away, storm reigns supreme, gale whistles in the rigging. Deep down the board is wildly rocking, riding the crest of the white frothy waves, until the bare mast snaps and collapses, yet up at the masthead, here's how I go: la la la la, la la la la!
Pod nohou stožár mi chví se jak děd,	Under my feet the mast like an old man does tremble,

a blesků požár mi zalívá hled. Nech stěžeň praská! V mokrému tom hrobě voda men, matka, přitulí k sobě krystalními lokty, a vln šeptnou kloky: la la la la, la la la la!	and lightnings like so many fires dazzle my eyes. Let the mast snap, though! For down in the wet grave, water, my mother, will hold me so tender in her crystalline arms, and the waves will just whisper: la la la la, la la la la!
<b>PÍSEŇ JINOCHA POD STOŽÁREM TENOR SÓLO</b>	<b>SONG OF A YOUNG MAN UNDER THE MAST TENOR SOLO</b>
Jak ten obraz božské Panny v šedý stěžně kmen, obrázek mi přelíbezny v srdce zasazen.	As the Holy Virgin's picture in the grey body of the mast, so the sweetest charming portrait is set within my heart.
A jak tuto pod obrazem lámpa mžiká tmou, lásky hvězdička se míhá tmavou duší mou.	And as here under the picture the lamp flickers in the dark, so does my love's little star twinkle in my pained soul.
Za hory jsem strmě zašel, hlubé za moře, však mé srdce zůstalo tam v chatce nahoře.	I travelled far beyond high mountains, across the deep wide sea, yet my heart I did leave behind in the cottage amongst the trees
Uviděl jsem dálých lesů divukrásný květ, ale krásnější je přece dívčinky mé ret.	In faraway exotic forests I saw many a wondrous bloom, yet lovelier than any of them are the lips of my love true.
Nespatřil jsem hvězdy také v nebi celičkém, jaká rybářce mé zlaté svítí pod víčkem.	Nor did I ever come to see amongst all the stars in the sky a pair as bright as those which shine under my sweetheart's brow.
Za poklady obešel jsem cizích zemí lem, však ten poklad ve tvém, dívko, srdeči rozmilém.	Hunting for treasures I travelled far, and many lands I saw, yet the sole treasure that's here to stay, my love, I found in your heart.
Kněžko nebes, ochraň zmaru šedou stěžně hrud' a dvou srdečí věrné láscé milostiva bud'!	Heavenly Princess, do save from doom the grey body of the mast, send your mercy and your grace upon a pair of loving hearts!
<b>SMÍŠENÝ SBOR</b>	<b>MIXED CHORUS</b>
Kněžko nebes...	Heavenly Princess...

Hvězdo mořská!	Star of the ocean!
( <i>Andante rubato</i> )	( <i>Andante rubato</i> )
( <i>Con fuoco, ben accentuato</i> )	( <i>Con fuoco, ben accentuato</i> )
DÍVKA A ČERNOCH V KAJUTĚ SOPRÁN SÓLO	A MAID AND A NEGRO IN THE CABIN SOPRANO SOLO
Bojim se tě, můj otroku! Šílenství ti hárá v oku!	You frighten me, my slave! There's madness in your eyes!
BARYTON SÓLO	BARITONE SOLO
Spi, má mladá, spi, má paní, ve velkého ducha dlani, spi, má paní, spi! Já jsem černý, ty jsi bílá, mušelín tě obestýlá, jako peruť mhy, spi, má paní, spi!	Sleep, my young one, sleep, my mistress, in the palm of the great spirit's hand, sleep, mistress of mine, sleep now! I am black and you are white, in muslin you are enwrapped, as in the wings of mist, sleep, mistress of mine, sleep now!
Spi, má paní, v bouře ruchu, perly blýskají ti v uchu jako hvězdičky. Ty jsi světlá, já jsem tmavý, v luzném vlase plápolavý diadém ti tkví, spi, má paní, spi!	Sleep, my mistress, in the storm's rage, pearls glitter in your ears like a pair of tiny stars. You are fair and I am dark, in your soft hair a glowing diadem is set, sleep, mistress of mine, sleep now!
Spi, má mladá, spi, má paní, ve velkého ducha dlani, spi, má paní, spi! Brzy budem bílí oba, jasnými nás vodní koba spojí prsteny, spi, má paní, spi!	Sleep, my young one, sleep my mistress, in the palm of the great spirit's hand, sleep, mistress of mine, sleep now! Soon you and I will both be white, covered by the cupola of waters bright, bound by rings which unite, sleep, mistress of mine, sleep now!
SOPRÁN SÓLO	SOPRANO SOLO
Slyšíš, slyšíš můj otroku, jak to praská v lodi boku?	Do you hear now, my slave, the cracking sound in the ship's side?
BARYTON SÓLO	BARITONE SOLO
Já nejsem otrok, však slavný jsem králi! Před časem Sudan se pěsti mé bál, zlatý kruh okolo lýtku mi plál, ve vlase perly, ba, slavný jsem král!	I am no slave, a noble king am I! There was a time when Sudan feared my fist, a shining ring of gold circled my thigh, my hair studded with pearls, a noble king am I!

Spi, má paní, koráb letí cizím břehům do objetí, na něm okov zní, spi, má paní, spi!	Sleep, my mistress, the ship is flying into the alien shores' embrace, on board the chains are ringing, sleep, mistress of mine, sleep now!
Ba, nejsem otrok, jsem veliký král, jemuž plášt' tygrí kol ramenou vlál!	No slave am I, a noble king whose shoulders wore a tiger's skin!
Spi, má paní, dolar zvoní, pod bičem se ze zad roní krve potoky, spi, má paní, spi!	Sleep, my mistress, gold coins are ringing, blows of the whip would rain upon my back, blood spurted out in streams, sleep, mistress of mine, sleep now!
Ale teď znova jsem veliký král. Slyš rachot bitevní, zvoní cimbál...	Here stand I now, again as king. Hear the roar of battle, the cymbals' din...
<b>BARYTON A SOPRÁN SÓLO</b>	<b>BARITONE AND SOPRANO SOLO</b>
Nespi, drahá moje milko, ... Nech mne, Satan ve tvém oku, ... ... zulíbám ti bílé čílko, ... ... udusíš mne, ... ... korálové rty, ... ... z lodi boku voda vplývá, ... ... milko, ... ... zhynem v toku, ... ... milko, neusni! ... ... pro Ježíše, můj otroku!	Sleep not now, my tender lover, ... Leave me alone, for I spy Satan in your gaze, ... ... your fair brow I'll kiss all over, ... ... you are stifling me, ... ... your lips ruby red, ... ... the ship's side is open, the sea storms in, ... ... my tender lover, ... ... we shall perish in this stream, ... ... my tender lover, fall not asleep! ... ... for the love of Jesus, slave, this is no dream!
<i>(Animato)</i>	<i>(Animato)</i>
KUCHTÍK, KAPITÁN A LODNÍCI NA PALUBĚ V BOUŘI SOPRÁN A BAS SÓLO, MUŽSKÝ SBOR KUCHTÍK	THE SHIP'S SCULLION, SKIPPER AND CREW ON BOARD IN THE STORM SOPRANO AND BASS SOLO, MALE CHORUS SCULLION
Pod palubou vody jako v žumpě!	It's wet like in a cesspool down below!
LODNÍCI	MEMBERS OF THE CREW
Vyvalíme soudky, bratři!	Let's roll out the barrels, mates!
KAPITÁN	SKIPPER
K pumpě!	All hands to pump!

LODNÍCI	MEMBERS OF THE CREW
Ha, ha, ha!	Ha, ha, ha!
KAPITÁN	SKIPPER
Vám k smíchu? Však si ticho zjednám bičem!	You laugh at me? The cat-o'-nine-tails will shut you up!
LODNÍCI	MEMBERS OF THE CREW
Rozpařme mu břicho! Přivažme ho k stěžni, nechat' patří na řádění naše! Dobře, bratři!	Let's rip his belly open! Let's tie him to the mast, and let him watch our rioting! There, mates!
JINOCH POD STOŽÁREM TENOR SÓLO	THE YOUNG MAN UNDER THE MAST TENOR SOLO
Kněžko nebes, ochraň zmaru šedou stěžně hruď, a dvou srdcí věrné lásce milostiva bud'!	Heavenly Princess, do save from doom the grey body of the mast, send your mercy and your grace upon a pair of loving hearts!
LODNÍCI (vyvalujíce soudek na palubu) MUŽSKÝ SBOR	MEMBERS OF THE CREW (rolling out a barrel) MALE CHORUS
Plnýť celý, ani šplechu, však ti dopomůžem k dechu, jen co vyjdeš na palubu, kapitán ti zacpal hubu, lakomý, ha ha ha, lakomý!	Full to the brim, won't make a sound, just wait for us, we'll help you out, soon as you're up there on the deck, the skipper meant to have you gagged, old miser, ha ha ha, old miser!
Z KAJUTY KŘIK SOPRÁN SÓLO	SHOUTS FROM THE CABIN SOPRANO SOLO
Pro Ježíše, můj otroku!	For the love of Jesus, slave!
ŽENSKÝ SBOR	FEMALE CHORUS
Ó, Marie, shlédni na nás shûry, a rozptyl hvězdným pláštěm chmury. Ty, ježto nebešťanu kúru roníš pablesk hvězdný skrzes chmuru c bezdny, ó, slituj se, hle, pod nohamu nám otvírá se moře tlama a kolem rozsápaná lúza. Ó, hrůza!	Oh, Mary, do look upon us from above, dispel our fears with your star-bright robe. You who stand out in the heavenly choir, ending a shiny beam of hope through the great void, oh, have mercy upon us, for lo, under our feet the ocean's cruel mouth is opening, and mauled wretched corpses whirl all

	around. Oh, horror of horrors!
SBOR OPILÝCH LODNÍKŮ MUŽSKÝ SBOR	DRUNKEN MEMBERS OF THE CREW MALE CHORUS
Hezky, hezky, do kolečka toč se, brachu, beze strachu, kdo se bojí, ten je bečka, ple- ple- ple- plesnivá bečka.	Hop along, turn around, join the dance, mate, lay fear aside, for who's afraid is good-for-nothing, I say, no-no-no-no-nothing.
Kdo se modlí, ten je bečka, ple- ple- ple- plesnivá bečka. Celý svět je be- be- bečka, ple- ple- ple- plesnivá bečka!	He who prays is good-for-nothing, I say, no-no-no-no-nothing. The whole wide world's good-for-nothing, I say, no-no-no-no-nothing!
(Stožár se řítí s děsným praskotem.)	(The mast collapses with a terrible crash.)
HLAS ZE STOŽÁRU SOPRÁN SÓLO	VOICE FROM THE MAST SOPRANO SOLO
La la la, la la la la!	La la la, la la la la!
( <i>Tempestoso, ma non troppo presto</i> )	( <i>Tempestoso, ma non troppo presto</i> )
DVA POBŘEŽNÍ LOUPEŽNÍCI BASY SÓLO	TWO COASTAL ROBBERS BASSES SOLO
(1.) Nu, co's ulovil? (2.) Hoch v písku bledý, známých tahů. (1.) U svatého Bedy! Aj, toť našeho je břehu dítě. Míval děvče, na sklaním kde štíte tamo chaloupka se míhá v šeru. Odplul kdysi, v dálku obemženou, její prsten sebou nes', (2.) a věru s jinou také nevrátil se cenou. (1.) Prstýnek mu nech a v moře zpátky ponor' jej ... (2.) Hled', se skály ten vratký dívky skok! Již bílé vznáší dlaně z vln ... (1.) Toť ona! Pomodlem' se za ně!	(1) Well then, what have you got? (2) There's a youth lying in the sand, all pale, seems familiar to me. (1) By Bede! Why, he's a child of our own shore. Used to go out with a girl, from up the cliff, as you can see that cottage through the dark. He sailed off one day, into the misty distance, carrying along a ring from her. (2) I say, he has brought back no other trophy. (1) Let him keep the ring and send him back into the waves ... (2) Look there, a girl's frail body,

	<p>hurlong herself off the cliff! Her white hands are now carried by the waves ... (1) That's her! Let's pray for them!</p>
ZÁSTUP RYBÁŘŮ PŘED KAPLÍ SMÍŠENÝ SBOR	FISHERMEN CROWDING IN FRONT OF THE CHAPEL. MIXED CHORUS
Ó, hvězdo mořská, kotvo naděje, posvátnou dalní uhlad' pečeje, sviť libě vodním závojem těm, co tam spějí s pokojem, ó, hvězdo mořská!	Oh, star of the ocean, anchor of hope, smooth down the rapids with your holy hand, send out the tender light of your aquatic veil towards those who are bound there in peace, Oh, star of the ocean!
Ó, hvězdo mořská, zdroji života, nech bouře zlá i koráb ztroskotá, ty na dně pustém novou chýš z těch trosek lásce vystavíš, ó, hvězdo mořská!	Oh, star of the ocean, source of life, wherever a ship sinks due to evil storm, on the bare ocean-bed a new house you will build, from what has remained of the wreck, for love to dwell in, Oh, star of the ocean!
Ó, hvězdo mořská, dejž, by úpadem král bouře sklonil mračný diadém a z trosek lásce, hlas náš slyš, tam na dně věčnou vystav chýš, ó, hvězdo mořská!	Oh, star of the ocean, pray make the king of storm, lay down his merciless dark diadem, and hear our pleas to you to build down there for love, from what has remained of the wreck, an eternal house, Oh, star of the ocean!

Láska, bože, láska (slovenská lidová)	Love, oh God, Love (Slovak folk poetry) <sup>22</sup>
Láska, bože, láska! Kde t'a ľudia berú? Na hore nerastieš, v poli t'a nesejú.	Love, oh God, love! Where do people find you? You don't grow up in woods; One doesn't plant you in fields.

<sup>22</sup> Translation jg.

*Јармила Габријелова*

**БУРА ВИЋЕСЛАВА НОВАКА  
– ЦЕНТРАЛНО ДЕЛО ЧЕШКОГ МУЗИЧКОГ  
МОДЕРНИЗМА**

**Р е з и м е**

Вићеслав Новак (5. 12. 1870, Каменице над Липоу – 18. 7. 1949, Скутеч) био је један од најутицајнијих и најпоштованијих чешких композитора и педагога свог времена. Његово дело – сада прилично занемарено и скоро заборављено – некада се сматрало парадигмом чешког музичког модернизма. Мој рад је расправа о Новаковим најзначајнијим инструменталним композицијама из година 1900–1912, међу којима су његове симфонијске поеме *V Tatrách* [У Татрама], *O věčné louze* [О вечној чежњи], *Toman a lesní panna* [Томан и шумска вила] и *Pan* [Пан]. Потом се усредсређујем на његово врхунско дело из тог периода, монументалну симфонију-кантату *Buře* [Бура] из 1910.

# TOTAL CAPITALISM AGAINST TOTAL SERIALISM

KATY ROMANOU

TEACHING the history of Greek art music, I face complex situations concerning the perception of progress and advancement in musical styles by young generations. Recently, in a test, a girl comparing a twelve-tone composition by Nikos Skalkottas (1904–1949) and a tonal piano piece by Manos Chatzidakis (1925–1994), pointed out the latter as more ‘advanced’ because, she said, ‘it is closer to us’.

At that moment, I said something like ‘Usually, the closer to us a piece sounds, the less advanced we consider it to be’. The discussion took the usual turn: me defending originality and my young debater failing to understand its value. Things became even more problematic when I had to disclose that in fact the second piece was written three decades after the first and, finally, an impasse was reached when I went on to explain that the second piece does not represent meta-modernism (a return to tonality) because it is the work of a composer of light music, which did not go through modernism and did not have to regress...

I avowed to the girl the volatility of my credo and went home to write for this conference on modernism.

I tried, looking through history, to disentangle my own perplexing questions concerning past and present modernisms, past and present divisions of music and past and present music historiography. The following is an outline of the outcome.

During the Cold War, the Western front, already dominated by Americans, led to forced experimentalism in music,<sup>1</sup> and to the adoption of experi-

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<sup>1</sup> The link between avant-garde music and the Cold War politics of the United States has been demonstrated in a number of well documented studies, such as: R. Willet, *The Americanization of Germany, 1945–1949* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989); F. Stonor Saunders, *Who paid the piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999); A. C. Beal, ‘Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt 1946–1956’, *Journal of the American*

ment in the Academy. In that phase, the ideas originating from the 19th century sanctifying the work of art and its integrity, reached their peak. A work of art became so important that it was considered fit for the university only and was deliberately disconnected from society.

With the end of the Cold War, tonality, which was fully applied throughout the twentieth century in Western light and cinema music, as well as in westernized traditional music all over the world,<sup>2</sup> was restored in serious Western music circles, because the antithesis to the restrictions imposed on Soviet music no longer needed to be projected. And the long support of avant-garde music ceased.

With the beginning of the twenty first century, the so called serious music which was certainly linked to Western European culture followed the decline of Western Europe. Art music is underrated, ephemeral music overrated and their distinction blunted.

The events linked to the inclusion and seclusion of composition (rather, of totally serial composition) in the University, occurred in the United States at the end of the 1950's.

In the summer of 1959 on the initiative of Paul Fromm of the Fromm Music Foundation, an American seminar 'allà Darmstadt' was organized in Princeton University. Paul Fromm decided on the seminar when, after a talk with American musicians on Darmstadt and Donaueschingen, he became convinced 'that Americans need no longer depend upon Europe for their resources'.<sup>3</sup>

Roger Sessions, Milton Babbitt, Edward T. Cone, Robert Craft and Ernst Křenek led the seminar, with guest speakers Elliot Carter, Aaron Copland, Allen Forte, Felix Greissle, John Tukey, Vladimir Ussachevsky and Edgar Varèse. Igor Stravinsky also paid an informal visit.

Six of the papers presented at the seminar were published in the conservative *Musical Quarterly* in the following year. They were introduced by Paul Henry Lang with a very critical and irate text scattered with middle age Latin quotations about the qualities of the music which the other writers disparaged.<sup>4</sup>

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*Musicalogical Society*, 53/1 (Spring 2000), 105-139; I. Wellens, *Music on the Frontline. Nicolas Nabokov's struggle against Communism and Middlebrow Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). See also, R. Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 5 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 6-22.

<sup>2</sup> On the phenomenon of world music westernization in the twentieth century, see B. Nettl, 'World Music in the Twentieth Century: A Survey of Research on Western Influence', *Acta Musicologica*, 58 (1986), 360-373.

<sup>3</sup> P. Fromm, 'Preface', in P. H. Lang (ed.), *The Princeton Seminar in Advanced Musical Studies. Problems of Modern Music* (New York: The Norton Library, 1962), 17-20.

<sup>4</sup> All the texts, including the introduction, are also published in: P. H. Lang (ed.), *The Princeton Seminar in Advanced Musical Studies*.

Some of the speakers, such as Roger Sessions for instance, were not fully convinced that tradition should be completely effaced, and used old fashioned words such as 'creative imagination', 'expression' and so on.

The sessions posed a basic question. He says:

The principle of the so-called 'total organization' raises many questions and answers none, even in theory. First of all, what is being organized, and according to what criterion? Is it not rather a matter of organizing, not music itself, but various facets of music, each independently and on its own terms or at best according to a set of arbitrarily conceived and ultimately quite irrelevant rules of association?<sup>5</sup>

Allen Forte, well known for having established the 'pitch-class sets' method of analysis, contributed to the division of Béla Bartók's work with his speech 'Bartók's "serial" composition'.<sup>6</sup> He showed serial treatment in the third movement of Bartók's String Quartet No. 4, as well as the evaluative dependence of twentieth-century music aesthetics from the new trends projected on the Western side of the iron curtain.

In his paper, 'Extents and limits of serial techniques'<sup>7</sup>, Ernst Křenek appeared totally liberated from romanticism and expressionism. To some he even sounded cynical.

His remark on the problem of chance, the unpredictable result of serialism, which transforms the act of composition into an automaton is significant. After a description of his oratorio *Spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus*, he goes on to say:

while the preparation and the layout of the material, as well as the operations performed therein, are the consequence of serial premeditation, the audible results of these procedures were not visualized as the purpose of the procedures. Seen from this angle, the results are incidental; they are also practically unpredictable...

Then, comparing past concepts of composition to new, he values the work higher than the composer, saying that inspiration is conditioned by recollection, tradition, training and experience and that the contemporary composer, wishing to be liberated from all that, 'prefers to set up an impersonal mechanism which will furnish, according to premeditated patterns, unpredictable situations. [...]'<sup>8</sup>

Finally, he arrogantly states that modern composers are totally indifferent to communicating: 'If a serial composer', he says, 'were concerned with this

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, 95–107. Nikos Skalkottas' music has also been affected by Cold War aesthetics, his tonal compositions having been long undervalued. Indeed, the catalogue of his works separates atonal and twelve-tone compositions from tonal.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, 72–94.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, 90.

problem, he would have to set up a series of "moods" or "ideas", or something of this sort, to begin with, and then let the other parameters fall in line. It so happens', he concludes, 'that serial composers do not think in such terms.'<sup>9</sup>

The most effective acts for the inclusion and seclusion of totally serial composition in Princeton University were initiated two years earlier by Milton Babbitt. Babbitt, who considered himself wronged because his early contribution to total serialism was not recognized by European avant-garde musicians,<sup>10</sup> proposed to Princeton University the foundation of a doctoral degree in composition, since, he argued, composing requires as much research as musicology (where doctoral degrees were granted).

The mutual antipathy which existed between Babbitt and the cream of European avant-garde composers was linked to the image of the contemporary composer. He considered their innovations non scientific and arbitrary. They considered him too academic, especially when they became acquainted with John Cage, who, in fact, described Babbitt to Boulez with the contemptuous 'He looks like a musicologist'.<sup>11</sup>

Babbitt presented his arguments on the necessity of founding a doctoral degree in composition, in a speech made in Tanglewood in 1957. It was published in *High Fidelity*,<sup>12</sup> not with Babbitt's title ('The Composer as Specialist'), but with the editor's: 'Who cares if you listen?', a title which gave Babbitt the fame he had so far been deprived of and which faithfully depicted the article's contents.

In his speech at the Princeton Seminar, entitled 'Twelve-tone invariants as compositional determinants',<sup>13</sup> Babbitt relates composition to science. He comments snobbishly on the average listener and says that since it is natural to expect the average person not to understand anything from a speech on a new mathematical theory, thus, it should also be natural for the average music lover not to understand anything from new music which develops in a similar way to scientific research.

Every work of new music, he says, follows its own laws, which is the cause of every work's great originality. In order to understand its originality the listener should be instructed in contemporary analytical theory. He then complains that although not understanding science augments the scientist's prestige, in the composer's case, it has the opposite result. He proposes a solution to this

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, 93.

<sup>10</sup> Babbitt serially calculated the duration of notes in his *3 Compositions for Piano*, written in 1947, i.e. two years before Messiaen wrote his *Mode de valeurs et d'intensités*, considered by the European avant-garde as the earliest serial composition not limited to pitch series.

<sup>11</sup> R. Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 154.

<sup>12</sup> The editor of which, Roland Gelatt, happened to be in the audience when his speech was made.

<sup>13</sup> P. H. Lang (ed.), *The Princeton Seminar in Advanced Musical Studies*, 108–121.

injustice to scientifically creating composers with the prophetic wish that 'all public and social aspects of musical composition' cease to exist, and that the composer withdraws totally from the public world, protected under the roof of the university.

The doctoral degree in musical composition (more accurately: in serial music composition) was established in Princeton in 1961 and in most American universities within the same decade. Among the seven first Doctoral graduates of Princeton, only one (Mark de Voto) appears as a composer in the Dictionary of 20th Century Music.<sup>14</sup>

Secluded in the university the composer and the work of art reached the peak of their prestige (as Babbitt wished). Thereafter began their decline as a natural consequence of the fact itself, aided by the end of the Cold War, the domination of the United States and the prevalence of total capitalism as the unique model for growth throughout the globe.

The final cadence is postponed because of existing institutions (professional, educational, commercial) which during the two previous centuries have been promulgated to world communities. They are gradually adapted to the current conditions through the constant creation of new branches, among which light music prevails. It is in fact this protective mechanism of embracement which also contributes to the final dissolution.

What is disappearing today was shaped in Europe under the economic and political situations which favored humanism, particularity (communal and individual), faith (religious and secular), and creativity.

Notions such as 'work of art' were shaped together with those situations. Before, music praxis was not connected with such meanings.<sup>15</sup>

The fact that these notions are again today disconnected from musical praxis is naturally linked to the present political and economic situation. This situation is referred to by the French economist, Jean Peyrelevade, as total capitalism.<sup>16</sup> According to him this is the unique model for the organization of the world economy today.

Total capitalism today is like a gigantic anonymous company of some thousand anonymous shareholders, who control the world Stock Exchange capital. More than half of them are located in the United States.

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<sup>14</sup> John Vinton, editor (Thames and Hudson, 1974).

<sup>15</sup> Nicolaus Listenius is credited with the introduction of the notion of the 'work of art'. In his *Musica*, of 1537, he writes, based on Aristotle's *Poetics*: '...when some music or musical song is written by someone, the goal of this action is the consummated and completed work. For it consists of making or fabricating something, that is, in a kind of labor that leaves behind itself, even after the artist dies, a perfect and completed work'. Quoted by Claude Palisca in 'Foreword by the Series Editor', in: J. Burnmeister, *Musical Poetics*, translated and annotated by B. Rivera (Music Theory Translation Series), (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), vii.

<sup>16</sup> J. Peyrelevade, *Le capitalisme total* (Paris: Seuil, 2005).

The United States differ from previous world leaders in that they are its (the world's) first proprietor.

The laws of total capitalism are autonomous, i.e. absolutely independent of the society's needs. The European model which seeks to harmonize economic dynamism with social progress is disappearing, and the social compromises made in the period of reconstruction and growth after the Second World War have lost all meaning.

Social classes have been succeeded by the juxtaposition between the perpetrators of globalization and those remaining faithful to an obsolete, local approach, who are nevertheless trapped in the mechanisms of total capitalism because they are the only guarantor of growth. The world is thus guided by an anonymous authoritarianism.<sup>17</sup>

The capital circulates with the laws and motivations of the game. The game is also a new consumer product applied in innumerable daily activities; it is propagated to tomorrow's citizens of the globe through those electronic games which uniformly shape millions of tender thumbs and minds. Countless persons with the same movements and obviously the same thoughts have the illusion of an individual fight, while participating in a massive act. A huge consuming mass of isolated individuals.

The ethos of the game contributes to the homogenisation of individuals and communities and the depreciation of human life and all the values which make up the value of human life.

Politics and syndicalism, faith and ideologies, humanism and democracy, history and nations, are all ridiculed. And the best mockery is that the mechanisms of total capitalism are indispensable to all.

Western Europe's decline is evident in (and greatly accelerated by) the new historiography methods and all the circulating ideas which have replaced the older thesis about the end of history with that proclaiming the end of national mythologies and the beginning of one global true history. The acceptance of this thesis means that at last, today, the world has reached the peak of human wisdom; for the first time in history (or in mythology) humanity has attained the maturity to face the truth!

As a rule, old mythologies were contrived by indigenous writers in languages read by indigenous readers. New history is written by writers from the international community (i.e. ruler), in English, which is read universally.

New history sees the world with its owner's vision. But what is interesting to note, is that with the potency of propaganda and the automatic circulation of ideas around the world, this vision is also adopted within the properties. Under such conditions, citizens loose their ability (or at least, their inclination) both to create and to perceive what is different.

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, 7–10.

If you try to record Beethoven's Symphony No. 5, first movement, in one of the new sound storage systems, I-pods, it will take up the space of close to 20 songs. Those I-pods which circulated in 2001, advertised as enabling everyone to put '1.000 songs in their pocket' are universally sold in great numbers (over 110,000,000 up to September 2007, a record in world consumption). They are the sound machines which authentically represent the twenty-first century, gradually replacing the CDs, which were planned on the basis of western classical music.

It should be remembered, that the criterion for the size of the CD, was the slowest interpretation of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 on a LP record.<sup>18</sup>

I suspect that to most of us here, the music of all 1,000 songs in our pockets sounds similar, homogenized.

It was not my intention to dramatize events; as a matter of fact, music history teaches that many of the changes perceived in the course of time as positive, were considered as qualitative decline when they first appeared because changes are felt initially by the values they abrogate. Hopefully, we have not yet perceived the new values. Or, perhaps, total capitalism will, like total serialism, reach its peak and then begin its decline.

*Keti Romanu*

## ТОТАЛНИ КАПИТАЛИЗАМ ПРОТИВ ТОТАЛНОГ СЕРИЈАЛИЗМА

Р е з и м е

Овај рад представља покушај разумевања односа између дешавања у музичи XX и XXI века и развојних тенденција тог доба у сферама политичке и економије. Ауторка сагледава увођење тоталног серијализма на докторске студије у Сједињеним Америчким Државама педесетих година прошлог века, када су америчка хегемонија и Хладни рат били на врхунцу, као намерно одвајање музичког стварања од друштва. Са завршетком Хладног рата тоналност, која је током целог XX века била присутна у западној популарној музичи, као и у уметничкој музичи Источног блока, обновљена је у значајним западним музичким круговима јер више није било

<sup>18</sup> The 12 cm. diameter and 74 minute duration of the CD was decided towards the end of the 1970s by the technicians of Philips and of Sony, in order to enclose the slowest interpretation of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on an LP. (A Wilhelm Furtwängler interpretation recorded in 1951). CDs circulated in Europe and Japan in 1982, and in the United States, in 1983.

потребно да се гради антитеза према музичи с наметнутим ограничењима у социјалистичким земљама. Престала је и подршка авангардној музичи.

Истовремено, уметничка музика, која је производ политичког и друштвеног напретка западноевропске цивилизације, почела је да дели судбину те исте цивилизације, тако да се запажа постепено опадање њеног значаја. Данас, у време доминације Сједињених Америчких Држава и преовладавања тоталног капитализма као јединог модела развоја на целој планети, уметничка музика је потцењена, док ефемерна популарна музика добија на значају, при чemu се њихове међусобне разлике постепено нивелирају.

Aj-подови (I-pods), који постепено замењују компакт дискове, били су првобитно намењени уметничкој музичи. Они нам омогућавају да држимо „хиљаду песама у свом цепу“ и представљају један од означитеља нове хомогенизоване музичке културе.

# ASPECTS OF (MODERATE) MODERNISM IN THE SERBIAN MUSIC OF THE 1950s

VESNA MIKIĆ

THE brackets which separate the notion of 'moderate' in the title of this paper could serve as a starting point for the discussion of modernism in the Serbian music of the '50s. They are there as much as to point out the fact that the modernism we are dealing with here, while not a radical brand, is still modernism, as to indicate the possibility of applying a kind of 'umbrella' term in the interpretation of the Serbian music of the fifties. This kind of approach could possibly, in our opinion: a) overcome often tacit but none the less sharp Dalhau-sian divides between 'history's winners and history's losers'<sup>1</sup>; b) connect more firmly pre- and post Second World War compositional practices, thus ensuring the further re-contextualization of these periods<sup>2</sup>; c) facilitate understanding of very complicated neo/isms terminology and d) once again accentuate the importance of the fifties in the context of modernism-postmodernism relations in the later development of Serbian music.

All this can be feasible only if we constantly keep in mind the specific cultural (political, historical, social) context in which Serbian composers have worked and in which the divide into pre- and postwar periods must be respected primarily due to the fact that between these two the radical change of the political system from monarchy to socialism happened in Serbia, then Yugoslavia. This change established the country's strong connections with the USSR, i.e. socialist realism aesthetics. If we accept the notion that 'modernism (also) challenges the boundaries between art and (...) culture'<sup>3</sup> after the political rupture with the USSR in 1948, followed by the gradual abandonment of socialist realism aesthetics, the only possible modernistic challenge that Serbian artists

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<sup>1</sup> D. Albright (ed.), *Modernism and Music. An Anthology of Sources* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 11.

<sup>2</sup> P. Wood (ed.), *Varieties of Modernism* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), 1–11.

<sup>3</sup> D. Albright (ed.), *Modernism and Music*, 12.

could make in relation to the culture and its 'prescribed' aesthetic norms was a moderate modernism. Different circumstances in the development of the European postwar high modernism and moderate modernism in socialist societies as Serbia then was, (also called socialist modernism by some prominent art theoreticians, for instance Šuvaković and Denegri) should not be forgotten. 'After the Second World War in the USSR, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, in the countries of real socialism, with the decay of socialist realism ideology and the development of the middle class bureaucratic, technocratic and humanistic intelligence, the moderate modernism developed as a ideologically neutral and aesthetized art that enabled compromise between the ideological demands of revolutionary government (or ideology) and the aesthetic interests of the post-revolutionary technobureaucratic classes.'<sup>4</sup>

The term, like its definition is borrowed here from art history and theory in which, as early as the fifties (as in the field of literary criticism and theory) feverish polemics were made along the lines of the modernism-realism debate. Since less turmoil (with a few major exceptions concerning the historical concert of 1954, which we shall set aside for some future occasion) was caused in the field of music/musicology of the period, thanks to the nature of music itself, the praxis of denoting different phenomena with style/movements signifiers was devised and nourished, deriving almost exclusively from the music analysis of the technical and expressive means used. This, on the one hand could lead to the unavoidable although somewhat disguised valorization that favored either the 'progressive' pieces, or 'conventional' ones, while on the other, it gave way to the attrition of the production to the numerous neo-movements that coexisted in the music of the fifties.<sup>5</sup> Since this kind of coexistence is not unusual for musical modernism in a European context, as well as in the contexts of individual author's (like Stravinsky or Schoenberg) outputs, in our effort to shift the focus from the valorization of the music production based on attributing certain style characteristics, to the cultural context from which it originates, we introduce the notion of 'moderate modernism'. Besides the fact that the adjective at first reflects the 'pacific' position of the composer in respect to socio-historical context, it could however, in a more general sense, serve as a guide to the detection of some distinct choices in the realm of musical expression. If we accept the statement that 'Modernism is a testing of the limits of aesthetic construction'<sup>6</sup> that could, in the case of the Serbian composers of the fifties, mean distinct modes of subverting socialist realism ideology/aesthetic construction (that often

<sup>4</sup> M. Šuvaković, 'Umjereni modernizam' in *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti [Terms of the Contemporary Art]* (Zagreb: Horetzky, Ghent: Vlees & Beton, 2005), 644.

<sup>5</sup> We should mention here, however, that one of the prominent Serbian musicologist, Roksanda Pejović, in her enormous output, often insists on term 'moderately contemporary', trying to overcome the neo/isms confusion.

<sup>6</sup> D. Albright, *Modernism and Music*, 11.

coincide with local and international canonical ones), as well as of personal poetic/aesthetic constructions. The results of these testings were different answers to typical modernistic questions of making a balance between tradition and innovation, national and international, autonomy and engagement, elitism and communication... In the case of Serbian arts and music, moderate modernism combines in various ways the traditions of prewar modernisms, both high (expressionism), moderate (neoclassicism) and folklore.

Now we will try to identify some aspects of the moderate modernism in the Serbian music of the decade in three pieces by the famous Prague group composers. We also regard those radical modernists of the interwar period as crucial figures for establishing the moderate modernism of the postwar times. By then mature and institutionally established authors – Milan Ristić (1908–1982), Ljubica Marić (1909–2003) and Stanojlo Rajićić (1910–2000) with their pieces in the fifties created individual modernistic breakthroughs in the cultural climate that still echoed the sounds of socialist realism. Since the pieces we have chosen are commonly regarded as examples of neo-romanticism, neoclassicism and neo-expressionism we will try to transpose and interpret them in the explained contextualization of moderate modernism. The pieces, composed in 1951 and 1956, differ in genre, they differ thematically and, as already mentioned in the choice of musical means. Yet, besides the fact that they stand close in time and that they were made by authors of a seemingly similar musical ‘background’<sup>7</sup> they share the common feature of testing the limits of imposed (from 1948 maybe tacitly) aesthetic constructions. Thus, the song cycle for baritone and orchestra *Na Liparu* (1951) by Stanojlo Rajićić, Second Symphony (1951) by Milan Ristić and *Pesme prostora* (*Songs of Spaces* 1956) by Ljubica Marić can now be discussed together as symptoms/aspects of moderate modernism in the Serbian music of the fifties.

The year 1951 was ‘the year’ for the establishment of Serbian postwar (moderate) modernism in the arts. Although Mića Popović held his famous exhibition in late 1950, it could be understood as a symptom of the great breakthrough of the year 1951 in which Petar Lubarda had his own, Dobrica Čosić wrote *Daleko je sunce*, Milan Ristić composed his Second symphony and Rajićić his song cycle. Although this all may seem like a positivistic gathering of the facts aimed at designing some kind of canonic formation, the real issue here is not only why this all happened in 1951, but rather the ‘way’ it happened. By comparison with the solutions that literature and art histories offer, it should be said that if Lubarda’s and Čosić’s works were observed as modern ones (due to the fact that in these arts it was easier to observe the realism – modernism collision) the effort could be made to regard Ristić’s and Rajićić’s pieces in the same

<sup>7</sup> For the detailed discussion of differences emerging from evidently very similar backgrounds, see: M. Veselinović-Hofman, *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avantgarde u nas* [*The Creative Presence of European Avant-Garde in Serbia*] (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1983).

way, considering their possible apprehension as various kinds of drift from the (socialist) realism demands upon music.

The moderate nature of the postwar modernism could perhaps be immediately perceived in Rajićić's choice of the poetry for his song cycles of the 50s. While in the interwar period his musical radicalism was confirmed also in the choice of contemporary poetry dealing with subjects from contemporary life, in the 50s the composer turned to the classics of Serbian romantic poetry – Branko Radičević and Djura Jakšić, this time showing respect for the tradition of the Serbian national lied of the Marinković-Milojević-Konjović kind. Certainly, even if only partly, what we are dealing with here is a very 'safe' kind of choice, turning to the values that no one would question, so the composer would not find himself in the position to explain and elaborate on his choice of subject.<sup>8</sup> However, *Na Liparu* as a song cycle set to Serbian romantic poetry could be contextualized as a proof of Rajićić's reconciliation with the demands of the epoch as well as a proof of the typically romantic gateway from reality through the subversion of conventional subject matter. Maybe Rajićić's choice of poetry could be interpreted as a kind of 'historicism modernism'<sup>9</sup> in Frisch's sense, where the use of Jakšić's verses would proclaim a 'call to order' and provoke a 'healing' effect on, in the sense of thematic subjects, 'squalid' Serbian music production.

Maybe it is possible to interpret in the same way Rajićić's choice of genre, only with the additional touch of an elitist approach. Rajićić's cycle is the first song cycle in the history of Serbian music with an orchestral accompaniment. Generally speaking, Rajićić's thirst for 'filling the gaps' in Serbian music literature with first examples of until then nonexistent genres (e.g. concertos for various instruments) actually reinforces the hypothesis of the elitist and 'enlightening' effect and meaning of his modernism. Naturally, in the period between the two wars, the institutional conditions for the development of this kind of lied hardly existed, and quite frankly speaking, the genre itself rarely provoked the attention of Serbian composers. In some way it turned out to be quite elitist and *lied* was usually composed by the most prominent and academically oriented Serbian authors.

Anyhow, if we focus our attention now on the choice of genre in the era of socialist realism, we must understand Rajićić's decision to turn to symphonic lied as partly (moderately?) subversive, something like: it is vocal-instrumental music, it uses a generally known and understandable text, but it is far from be-

<sup>8</sup> However, even the classics like Radičević could come into question, as in the case of earlier Rajićić's song on Branko's verses. This even more confirms the inconsistency of socialist realism's critique. See: V. Peričić, *Stvaralački put Stanojla Rajićića* [The Creative Path of Stanojlo Rajićić], (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1978).

<sup>9</sup> See, W. Frisch, *German Modernism. Music and the Arts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 138–186.

ing music meant for everybody/anyone. Rajićić ensured the possibility of acting from such an elitist position by leaning on the tradition of Serbian lied, especially Konjović's which, to put it shortly in musical terms and in Rajićić's case meant: using a combination of tonal/modal harmonies, structuring the melody according to the spoken word flexions, form shaping in accordance to the poetics, rudimentary leitmotif technique in the last and most elaborate fifth song, and finally, reflecting symphonic cyclical form in the five-movement layout of his song cycle. If it is possible to conceive Jakšić as a 'healer' then it is possible to think of Konjović in the same terms in the realm of Serbian music. So, this 'return to Konjović' that implies a return to the basics of (Slavic) romantic national lied, as well as Rajićić's preparations for the composition of (national) opera, paradoxically at the beginning of the 50's performed a kind of drift from leading aesthetics and provided Rajićić with a stable answer to its demands.

Ristić's moderately modernistic choice is different and maybe more firmly positioned in the sphere of moderate modernism as neoclassicism. He conceived his *Symphony* as a simple and pure, almost exemplary piece of neoclassicism, much in the same fashion as Prokofiev did in 1918 with his *Classical* one. Simulation, as the predominant neoclassical procedure, reveals itself in several aspects in what would be otherwise perceived as a typical classical symphonic creation. Although it could perhaps be questioned in the case of the formal solution for the final movement (Fugue), simulation is totally confirmed in certain harmony, metrical, thematic and orchestration procedures that, however gently, testify to the 'real time' of the piece's production. Thus, the tonal relation of the principal and secondary subjects in the first movement (the latter oscillating between F and C major), the mixed meters of the third (5/8 and 7/8 as a simulation of traditional music), the chromatic melodic movement of the theme of the second movement, as well as its orchestration (for clarinet with a trumpet/bassoons accompaniment) all drift away from 'classical' solutions/procedures thus, in effect confirming the simulation procedure.

Furthermore, the final fugue, if not a typical classical choice for a final movement, could be examined from the, let us call it the 'Hindemith's perspective' which is again very close to the 'Back to Bach' movement –one which, again, could be thought of from the angle of 'historicism modernism' and the supposed 'healing powers' of Bach's music. On the other hand, the simulated folklore solution of the third movement could also be ambivalently interpreted: as a kind of connivance with the not yet forgotten demands of socialist realism, and also as a call to the 'great masters' of Serbian music, such as Konjović and/or Hristić (thanks to its predominantly brassy sound) of much the same ilk as the abovementioned call to Bach.

Yet, the real modernist power of the *Symphony* can be revealed even more strongly if we reverse the perspective and look on the piece from the point of view of the then still present socialist realism. By turning to the classical symphonic

cycle Ristić actually rejects two crucial prerogatives of socialist realism's aesthetic – the vocal-instrumental genre, and subject matter from the war and/or the country's reconstruction. The only obvious way to handle this is in almost exactly the way that Ristić did. By choosing the purest possible form of symphonic expression his priorities were to keep it simple and relatively short, with a touch of folklore (with which the audience at home and abroad could identify) on the one hand, and a touch of unquestionable (musical) values on the other. Hence, in one ingenious move, he turned aside all possible objections from the governing (musical) elite while at the same time subverting the obligatory ingredients of 'correct' music making. These are the reasons why the Symphony should be understood as a piece of moderate modernism. On the surface it retains a neutral ideological position, while actually subverting some of its corner-stones.

And finally, from the angle of testing the aesthetic norms and limits Ljubica Marić's *Pesme prostora* at once clashes with these, and yet, we think still in a moderately modernistic way because we are dealing here with cantata – one of the favorite genres of socialist realism. However, the subject is a strong rejection of the preferred themes of socialist realism in favor of human and 'transnational' subject matter – death. The choice of the epitaph texts by anonymous Mediaeval authors of whom we know only the way their lives ended enables the composer to achieve a kind of omnitemporal /omnihistorical/ omnispacial positioning of the piece. The same goes for music in which the simulation of the 'transnational', primeval features of traditional music (in horizontal lines shaped using small intervals, simulating traditional heterophony, based almost exclusively on metro-rhythmic variations) is in accordance with the archaicity of the lyrics that primarily in a vertical aspect and through orchestration, achieves unexpected sound results.

Although we understood the rejection of the vocal-instrumental genre in the case of Ristić as a symptom of modernistic subversion, we could say that Marić's decision to stay 'in it' and the way she stays in, result in more radical offence to the aesthetic norms. However, this radicalism should be thought of primarily in a local context. If the piece seriously subverts the norms and is radical in local terms,<sup>10</sup> one may wonder is it can still be termed moderate modernism, since we have linked it exclusively with the local context? We must here make a kind of inversion in search of the elements in which *Pesme prostora* corresponds with the norms. We can then think again in terms of genre choice but now as Marić 'playing safe'. Also, we can interpret the choice of subject as quite 'neutral' i.e. acceptable for the aesthetics of decaying socialist realism. Finally, in one more general sense *Pesme prostora* are by their musical means the product of the multilayered relation with tradition, starting with

<sup>10</sup> This kind of insight of the peculiarities of Serbian music Serbian musicology owes to Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman. See: M. Veselinović-Hofman, *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas*.

folklore (although a simulated), the baroque (in the choice of genre), and the canonic modern (Igor Stravinsky) which is, as we pointed out earlier, typical for the Eastern kind of moderate modernisms.

Bearing in mind the suggested recontextualization of the Prague group composers' pieces of the fifties we actually introduce (moderate) modernism into the rethinking of the terms neoromanticism, neoclassicism and neoexpressionism. This rethinking should on some future occasion turn to the activities of other Prague group members, as well as to the authors that began their careers in the fifties, realizing yet another important aspect of modernism that deals with the relations between high and low art. Also, the history of reception should be considered and maybe all of this would open up further possibilities for different new contextualization and interpretation of the modernism-postmodernism relation, and hence maybe the whole of postwar, or twentieth-century Serbian music, too.

*Весна Микић*

## ВИДОВИ (УМЕРЕНОГ) МОДЕРНИЗМА У СРПСКОЈ МУЗИЦИ ПЕДЕСЕТИХ ГОДИНА ХХ ВЕКА

Р е з и м е

Рад полази од претпоставке да су се педесете године ХХ века у производњи уметничке музике у Србији одликовале сличним идеолошко-креативним претпоставкама као и продукција у другим уметничким дисциплинама (ликовној уметности и књижевности), којој се већ дugo приписује умерено модернистички карактер. Отуда се замисао о особеном социјалистичком естетизму, односно умереном модернизму, можда и социјалистичком модернизму, разматра на примеру значајних остварења српских композитора из овог периода. Поред тога што се дискутује о предностима и недостацима тих појмова, у раду се посвећује посебна пажња композицијама троје представника *прашке групе*. Наравно, неокласични проседе неких од њих у потпуности се „уклапа“ у модел умереног модернизма, али се поставља питање на који начин и да ли нека дела која су раније тумачена као „неоромантичарска“ или „неоекспресионистичка“, тачније са предзначима назадног или прогресивног, конституишу умерено модернистички језик који ће несумњиво и до данас остати једно од омиљених композиторских „склоништа“. Поставља се и питање да ли би увођењем „умереног модернизма“ било могуће решити и забуну о значају и дometима дела која припадају различитим нео-правцима у српској музичи педесетих година?



# MODERATED MODERNISM IN RUSSIAN MUSIC AFTER 1953

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MODERATED modernism<sup>1</sup> has been a largely underestimated and misunderstood phenomenon. To call someone a moderated modernist thirty years ago would have been an insult, since the premises of musical criticism were built on the basis of modernist notions of progress and evolution. Although moderated modernism can be identified in various periods before and after the Second World War, throughout Europe, I will focus on Soviet (and more specifically, Russian) music after 1953,<sup>2</sup> and try to identify the political and artistic ideologies which surrounded it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was Theodor W. Adorno who introduced this oxymoron (*gemässigte Moderne* in German). His attitude towards the 'style' was clearly negative, as he called it 'ominous', 'detestable', etc. Adorno argues that all the works created on the basis of 'old' means are false, conformist, regressive. He emphasises the truth-telling power of dissonance and argues that tonal music can no longer reflect social relations because it is worn out, empty and banal, hence it contributes to preserving the social order. Compare: T. W. Adorno, 'The Ageing of New Music', in R. Leppert (ed.), *Essays on Music* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2002), 197–198.

<sup>2</sup> None of the authors who produced seminal histories of Soviet post-war music defined the term moderate(d) modernism, although they did mention it *en passant*. Levon Hakobian devotes a chapter to 'several "moderates" and "middle-roads"' (Aleksandr Lokshin, Andrey Eshpay, Nikolay Sidel'nikov, Sergey Slonimsky, Rodion Shchedrin, Yuriy Falik and Yuriy Butzko) [emphasis mine]. L. Hakobian, *Music of the Soviet Age 1917-1987* (Stockholm: Melos, 1998), 314.

<sup>3</sup> The creation of avant-garde mythology and underestimation of moderated modernism had a strong political dimension in the context of the Cold War divide. Several American scholars, such as Richard Taruskin, Peter J. Schmelz, Danielle Fosler-Lussier et al., have investigated this matter in the recent years. For example, Danielle Fosler-Lussier stresses that the polarisation of judgments about what was valuable in the arts was an immediate product of this divide, as 'the dominant discourse in the West since mid-1940s equated difficult music with the idea of political freedom, and consonance with subservience and collaboration'. Compare: D. Fosler-Lussier, "Multiplication by Minus One": Musical Values in East-West Engagement', *Slavonica* Vol. 10 No. 2 (2004), 125–138.

The oxymoron 'moderated modernism'<sup>4</sup> denotes a socially acceptable, non-avant-garde, non-challenging form of modernism, whose main feature is the artists' desire to make peace between modernist and traditional ideas and ideals, as well as between regional and international ones. Composers who adopt moderated modernism are interested in approaching the dominant streams of international modernism; however, its most radical variants are alien to them.<sup>5</sup> Levon Hakobian describes the composers he dubs 'moderates' and 'middle-roads' in these terms: 'In regard to their stylistic preferences, none of them could be considered "conservative" i.e. indifferent to the innovative tendencies coming from the West; on the other hand, none is really "advanced" in the same sense as those who are habitually referred to as the "avant-garde". Consequently, after the early 1950s not one among them was subjected to ideologically coloured critique.'<sup>6</sup>

Russia had a powerful modernist movement in the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, one product of the Soviet 'cultural policy' in the mid-1930s was a ban placed upon the works of Russia's own most prominent modernists, and at the same time, a deliberate and complete isolation from modernist movements throughout Europe.<sup>7</sup> After Stalin's death in 1953, the beginning of 'the Thaw' in the domain of arts and in Soviet society as a whole made the technical and ideological conditions for artistic creation slightly less repressive, which in turn initiated the processes of de-Zhdanovisation and re-appraisal to the West. The 1958 decree acknowledging errors in the notorious resolution of 1948 confirmed the loosening of socialist realist dogma, although it did not imply rehabilitation of formalism. Nevertheless, once started, the process of modernisation and catching up with the rest of Europe could not be stopped, and by the early 1960s the soil was already prepared for the introduction of the Western avant-garde techniques.

<sup>4</sup> Although 'moderated modernism' with various grammatical sub-variants is the term most commonly used to describe this type of artistic discourse, many other more-or-less synonyms have been in use. These range from descriptive to pejorative, depending on the scholars' theoretical and ideological positions. Some of them are: *moderate mainstream*, *moderately contemporary language*, *ostensibly moderate idiom*, *socialist aestheticism*, *academic modernism*, *tempered modernism*, *middle-of-the-road*, *humanistic tradition*, *tonal music with false notes*, *conservative-modern music*, *officially approved modernism*, *normal state of art*, *well-adjusted art*, etc. Compare: I. Medić, 'The Ideology of Moderated Modernism in Serbian Music and Musicology', *Muzikologija* No. 7 (2008), 279–294.

<sup>5</sup> Compare: M. Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik moderne i postmoderne likovne umetnosti i teorije posle 1950.* [Dictionary of Notions of Modern and Postmodern Visual Arts and Theory After 1950] (Belgrade/Novi Sad: SANU/Prometej, 1999), 194.

<sup>6</sup> L. Hakobian, 314.

<sup>7</sup> In the course of 1930s and 1940s this isolationist policy did not do much harm to the place of Soviet music in the broader context, since that was the period of consolidation and 'moderation' of modernist means throughout Europe. However, the first post-war decade witnessed a radical turnover in the West-European artistic policy and ideology, and the occurrence of a gap between Western and Eastern artistic ideals.

However, what triggered moderated modernism most decisively was the fact that the entire country's policy in the periods of Khrushchev's and Brezhnev's rule shifted from Stalinist offensive integrationism and isolationism to defensive integrationism.<sup>8</sup> The state bureaucracy and artists 'agreed' on a corresponding goal: to end isolation, leave behind backwardness and import and 'domesticate' Western economic and cultural knowledge.

So, the Thaw had begun, but most composers were unsure how to proceed from there, since the canon of Socialist Realism was still officially enthroned, and remained so for the next two decades. Although the officials found art music generally unharmed because of its ambiguous and abstract nature (and therefore could tolerate excesses much easier than in more obviously mimetic arts such as film or literature), any attempt to establish continuity with the pre-war avant-garde, or even 'worse', to explore the European avant-garde of the time, was strongly discouraged. The general opinion among senior music professionals was that composers should seek novelty, but without discarding the traditional artistic means; also, that the gradual and continuous introduction of new techniques<sup>9</sup> was more desirable than an abrupt break with the past.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The terms introduced by G Peteri: 'A state socialist regime is characterized by *isolationism* when its dominant discourses, policies, and institutions are geared to minimize interaction with the outside world, especially with their systemic Other. [...] the period of Zhdanovschina until the early 1950s is certainly characterized by *offensive isolationism*, discourses of Soviet systemic and Russian national superiority asserted themselves [...]. Conversely, a state socialist regime is rightly described as *integrationist* when its dominant discourses, policies and institutions are geared to engaging in interaction with the outside world with a view to systemic expansion or/and to learning and catching up. *Offensive integrationism* is probably the right characterisation of Soviet expansion into East Central Europe from 1947 to 1952, and it went hand in hand with an offensive isolationism manifest to their relation to the US and towards 'Marshallized' Western Europe. [...] Finally, *defensive integrationism* was the dominant pattern, for example, in Hungary's (but also Poland's and the USSR's) cultural and academic relations with the West during most of the 1960s.' [emphasis mine] G Peteri, 'Transnational and Transsystemic Tendencies in the Cultural Life of State-Socialist Russia and East-Central Europe, *Slavonica* Vol. 10 No. 2 (2004), 119–121.

<sup>9</sup> The term 'new' here has relative meaning, since in the USSR even neo-classicism could be new, because that style had been labeled 'formalist' and bitterly suppressed beforehand. As Yuri Kholopov noted, 'The word "neoclassicism" is paramount nowadays to "conservatism". Back in the 1950s it was an ideological scarecrow, a sort of "formalism". For at that time such neo-classical Western composers as Hindemith and Stravinsky were forbidden and considered to be dangerous.' Y. Kholopov, 'Andrei Volkonsky – the initiator: a profile of his life and work' in V. Tsanova (ed.), *Underground Music from the Former USSR* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), 4.

<sup>10</sup> For example, David Fanning notes that Shostakovich '... tried to face both ways, even in his public statements, welcoming and encouraging the new freedoms in general terms, but warning against any rush to adopt new styles. [...] Shostakovich himself could no longer be considered to be at the cutting edge of musical progressivism, even in his stylistically retarded homeland. Rather, he was in the *middle of the road*, the one side of which had unexpectedly shifted.' D. Fanning, *Shostakovich's Eighth Quartet* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 30 [emphasis

Gradually, socialist realism evolved into moderated modernism – modernist enough to promote the country's relative openness towards world, but not radical enough to criticise and disturb the established order. As for the young generation of 'unofficial' composers, as P. Schmelz notes, it '... became a matter of catching up – trying to absorb and master "new" techniques that already had established pedigrees in Europe and America. This generation was plagued by the doubts of newcomers, an inferiority complex that affected both the composition and the reception of its music'.<sup>11</sup> This attitude is very characteristic of defensive integrationism.<sup>12</sup>

The existing literature rarely offers descriptions of the stylistic features of moderated modernism, not just in Russia. Arnold Whittall identifies three typical features of the works belonging to the 'moderate mainstream': 1) the distinction between consonance and dissonance (even though this is not an absolute), 2) the identifiable presence of motivic or thematic statement and development, and 3) the consistent use of rhythmic, metric regularity.<sup>13</sup> However relevant, this description is too simplified: not only did moderated modernism comprise several, relatively independent, sub-styles, but it also evolved in the course of two decades (especially since, after the demise of Khrushchev in 1964 and the beginning of Brezhnev's détente, the conditions for music creation became more liberal). Since these various types of moderated modernism in Russia overlapped, the categorisation is only provisional:

- neo-classicism;
- neo-romanticism;
- neo-expressionism;
- 'polystylistics';
- official serialism, 'socialist realist serialism';
- neo-folkloristic wave;
- neo-primitivism;
- neo-religious/mystical wave.

Due to the limited scope of this paper, I will offer only a brief account on some of these tendencies.

The first style to be rehabilitated after the Thaw was neoclassicism. Although the anti-romanticism, detachment, irony and general anti-expressiveness of neoclassicism were 'ideologically' opposed to the bombastic rhetorics of so-

mine]. See also: B. Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, Enlarged Edition 1917–1981* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 340.

<sup>11</sup> P. J. Schmelz, 'Andrey Volkonsky and the Beginnings'.

<sup>12</sup> About the Western reception of East-European moderated modernism, and various streams of criticism directed towards it, see: I. Medić, 'The Ideology of Moderated Modernism'.

<sup>13</sup> Whittall also claims that the works belonging to 'moderate mainstream' should refer not only to tonality but also to the established genres of tonal composition. A. Whittall: 'Individualism and Accessibility: The Moderate Mainstream, 1945–1975' in N. Cook and A. Pople (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 375.

cialist realism, in comparison to other, more radical (dissonant, atonal) 'formalist' trends, neoclassicism was perceived as relatively accessible. That is why both Prokofiev and Shostakovich in the years preceding the Thaw, often ventured into neoclassicism, despite the ban. As soon as Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Bartók and Hindemith were 'rehabilitated' in the USSR, they emerged as convenient models for 'modernising' the realist idiom, and yet remaining accessible and upbeat. In general, this line of moderated modernism, whose most notable representative is Rodion Shchedrin (b. 1932) can be discerned in others (especially the, formally quite similar, polystylistic) by its generally cheerful and optimistic character (although not as bombastic as socialist realism), unpretentious, 'unserious' and somewhat anarchic approach to music making, eclectic assimilation of heterogeneous music(s) and the generally listener-friendly character of the music.

Within the neo-romantic stream, two relatively separate influences may be distinguished: one of them originating from the German-Austrian late romantic symphonic tradition, most notably from Mahler, the other from the Russian symphonic music of the Belyaev circle. As early as the 1930s, Mahler became one of the models for Soviet symphonism. As the dogma of socialist realism spread all over the music community, Shostakovich discovered in Mahler a prototype for a new symphonic model, which enabled him to keep things tonal, accessible, rhetorical, and yet remain credible.<sup>14</sup> Small wonder, then, that in 1953 Shostakovich reverted to a Mahlerian model and produced his first symphony in eight years. The resulting piece, *Tenth Symphony*, is the first (the only) considerable symphonic work written in the early Thaw years. Since the process of modernisation had only just begun at that moment, the *Tenth* is quite 'moderate'. Francis Maes believes the work to offer 'the re-affirmation of official aesthetics', a 'return to the model of heroic classicism'.<sup>15</sup> However, although the eclectic musical language of the symphony is by no means daring, the complexity of symphonic process, the dense web of allusions and references, and the avoidance of straightforward affirmation, made the work soundly modern/ist enough to provoke fierce debate and challenge the cultural criteria.

The neo-expressionist stream developed as the composers who adhered to neo-romanticism began to 'sharpen' the emotional tone of their works towards expressionist tensions. Later on some of them introduced elements of twelve-

<sup>14</sup> The following aspects of Mahler's oeuvre served as models for Soviet/Russian symphonism: 1) great philosophical-ethical Pathos, 2) grounding the symphony on song, 3) linking expression at all costs to a distinctive emotional character in the music, 4) an exceptional command of the apparatus of the orchestra and the human voice. See L. Botstein: 'Listening to Shostakovich' in L. E. Fay (ed.), *Shostakovich and His World* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 372.

<sup>15</sup> Francis Maes, *A History of Russian Music (From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar)*, transl. by A. J. Pomerans and E. Pomerans (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2002), 357–358.

note and serial techniques, but never according to the rules of serial composition. Shostakovich's turn to note-rows in the mid-1960s was a somewhat logical extension of his already chromatic language, and in these works he delineated the semantic/programmatic field of twelve-note themes, mostly used to symbolise the fearful, obscure, shadowy aspects of human existence.<sup>16</sup>

As one of the heirs of the 'humanist' symphonic tradition (and Shostakovich's pupil), Boris Tishchenko (b. 1939) tried to communicate an ethical message, usually by confronting contrasting types of musical utterance having different 'ethical indices'. Valentina Kholopova branded his expressive urge 'the universal outcry', even claiming that 'this outburst is stronger and more desperate than the one produced, for instance, by the (twentieth) century Viennese expressionists.'<sup>17</sup> However, Tishchenko's prime influences were Prokofiev and Stravinsky, and his relation to expressionism was to a great degree mediated by Shostakovich. Although he went on to embrace a whole range of avant-garde procedures, and even invented some of his own, he always applied them in a typically 'Russian' manner, not as abstract 'meaningless' techniques, but as *symbols*, suitable for all sorts of illustrative and expressive effects; and in doing so he never departed from Shostakovichian symphonic tradition.

The years of 'defrosting' ideological pressures led to the emergence of the so-called 'Second avant-garde'. Members of this generation<sup>18</sup> felt the urge to discover 'new' sound worlds, whether those of pre-war modernism, post-war Western avant-garde or their country's own modernist past – in short, all kinds of 'formalist' music that had been banned for decades. They tried out and adopted various 'new' compositional methods, in a highly idiosyncratic manner.<sup>19</sup> Both foreign and domestic critics attacked the 'young composers': the Westerners finding this music too 'Russian', as they only noticed its 'historical lateness' and 'stylistic impurity'. On the other hand, Soviet art officials mocked

<sup>16</sup> Schmelz argues that Shostakovich employed twelve-note themes in his works from the 1960s as: 1) catalysts of harmonic instability and atonality, 2) condensed "signifiers" of harmonic instability or atonality that needed to be quickly "resolved", 3) a means of creating an effect of long-term shifting instability, only occasionally landing on semi-stable ground, 4) a clear, condensed opposition to tonal writing, or 5) a wash of sound, akin to the noise experiments of the Polish avant-garde. Compare: P. J. Schmelz, 'Shostakovich's "Twelve-Tone" Compositions and the Politics and Practice of Soviet Serialism', in L. E. Fay (ed.), *Shostakovich and His World*, 308–309.

<sup>17</sup> V. Kholopova: 'Boris Tishchenko: striking spontaneity against a rationalistic background', in Tsenova (ed.), *Underground Music from the Former USSR*, 51.

<sup>18</sup> Notable members of this generation were: Edison Denisov (1929–96), Alfred Schnittke (1934–98), Sofia Gubaidulina (b. 1931), Arvo Pärt (b. 1935), Valentin Silvestrov (b. 1937) and many others.

<sup>19</sup> Schmelz notes that: 'They desperately wanted to emulate the West [...]. It was only when they gained fuller access to twelve-tone scores from the West in the 1960s and 1970s that they realized they had been doing it "incorrectly."' Schmelz, 'Andrey Volkonsky and the beginnings'.

the 'young composers' for unsuccessfully imitating what the Western avant-garde had already done.<sup>20</sup> One might argue that this 'local avant-garde',<sup>21</sup> actually belongs to moderated modernism, for both technical and ideological reasons. Firstly, its artistic means were only novel (and 'shocking') in the local environment. It emerged through the process of gradual assimilation of new technical means, and not through radical and organised artistic revolution. Besides, it never really questioned the entire ideology of Soviet moderated modernism, which could be described as the defensive-integrationist determination to open towards Europe and 'modernise' and actualise Soviet culture, but not at the cost of destroying the existing institutions of musical and cultural life, and without calling for the radical denial of tradition. But although Soviet officials and foreign audiences had no illusions about the novelty of the young Soviets' compositions,<sup>22</sup> what made them sound 'avant-garde' to domestic ears were not only the (relatively) new techniques they introduced, but even more, the composers' anti-conformist attitude, 'unofficial' status, rebellion against the establishment, and the courage to embrace the banned techniques.<sup>23</sup> Another 'new' feature was the fact that they (at least in the beginning) departed from realist gestures and turned to abstract, 'non-expressive', 'formalist' compositional models. So, if we apply only musical criteria, the 'Second avant-garde' was yet another type of defensive integrationism; but in the Soviet context it indeed

<sup>20</sup> Reflections of this attitude can be seen even in relatively recent publications. For example, Mikhail Tarakanov asserts that: "... the very existence of the avant-garde in Russian music at the turn of the 1960s could be questioned... [...] All these [Western, avant-garde] trends found their expression in the music of Soviet 'avant-gardists' as mere reverberations, being used in more than moderate, sometimes even in homeopathic doses. As for the main attraction for the young composers, their ears and minds were primarily preoccupied with the classical, Schoenberg's dodecaphony, which by that time had been a long stage past and gone for Western musicians." [emphasis mine] Mikhail Tarakanov, 'A drama of non-recognition: a profile of Nikolai Karelnikov's life and work' in V. Tsenova (ed.), *Underground Music from the Former USSR*, 102.

<sup>21</sup> M. Veselinović-Hofman introduced the notion of 'local [or pseudo] avant-garde' to describe local versions/receptions of European post-war avant-garde(s) in the countries 'outside' European artistic 'centre' in: M. Veselinović, *Svaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas* [The Creative Presence of European Avant-Garde in Serbian Music] (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1983), 33–34.

<sup>22</sup> Again, Tarakanov's writings offer a good example: 'It did not matter that this music was often of secondary nature, nor that it merely repeated the composition procedures discovered by such masters of the foreign cultural centers as Boulez, Nono, Stockhausen, Ligeti, Lutosławski and other major and minor gods of the avant-garde. The prime value of this music for the West was due to the very fact that it had been written over there, in snow-white Russia and therefore it was entitled to indulgence on the part of strict arbiters making allowances for the inevitable provinciality of the neophytes...' [emphasis mine]. M. Tarakanov, 'Vyacheslav Artyomov: in search of artistic truth' in V. Tsenova (ed.), *Underground Music from the Former USSR*, 145–146.

<sup>23</sup> Peter J. Schmelz investigated the unofficial status of these composers in: 'Shostakovich's "Twelve-Tone" Compositions', 308–353. He observed that 'The unofficial composers were not only younger, but politically and musically set apart from other Soviet composers. "Unofficial" is not only a generational distinction, but a political, social, and stylistic one.' *Ibid.*, 323.

produced an avant-garde impact and gradually changed the profile of the country's musical scene.

The breakthrough of the 'Second avant-garde' in the early 1960s was a major shock, not only for the representatives of the official socialist realist line, but also for prominent moderated modernists of the older generation, because they suddenly found themselves old-fashioned and irrelevant to youngsters. A key example here is Shostakovich himself, and his very personal adoption of note rows was an attempt to re-bond with the young and become relevant again.

The infatuation with dodecaphony and serialism of young Soviet composers did not last long, as they soon grew dissatisfied with the abstract approach to composition. As early as the mid-1960s they were trying out the most divergent compositional devices, and even more so, exploring their potential to convey meaning and transmit political, philosophical and ethical messages more directly and expressively. Hence the composers turned to (what else) – Shostakovichian allusions, quotations, hidden messages craving for hermeneutical interpretation – only this time around using a variety of contemporary compositional techniques, and often superposing them in a deliberately crude manner. Consequently their styles evolved in the direction of re-assessing the entire traditions of European artistic, liturgical, popular and folk music(s). In 1971 Alfred Schnittke 'baptised' the new, eclectic trend as 'polystylistics'.<sup>24</sup> As Richard Taruskin notes, 'Like so many composers in the 1970s [...] Schnittke abandoned serial technique out of a conviction that no single or "pure" manner was adequate to reflect contemporary reality, and that stylistic eclecticism [...] had become mandatory.'<sup>25</sup> The Soviet polystylistics went on to become a major trend and a good export product – as its emergence coincided with the shift of cultural paradigms in the Western societies and the emergence of postmodernism. It is also worth noting that, ever since the mid-1960s and throughout 1970s, the most prominent 'official modernists' and 'unofficial avant-gardists' (such as Shchedrin and Schnittke respectively) were writing rather similar music: however, in his public appearances Shchedrin propagated the ideology of moderateness (and was quickly promoted into the highest ranks of the Composers' Union), while Schnittke chose to point to hypocrisies in artistic evaluation, confront the officials and let his works get premiered in the West – which made him *persona non grata* with the officials. The difference between the official and unofficial composers was predominantly a matter of the ideological position of the authors, their rhetorics and autopoetics, and the role they chose to play within the country's musical community. Still, it was precisely the more adventurous among the 'official' composers, such as Shchedrin himself, who ac-

<sup>24</sup> Al. Schnittke, 'Polystylistic Tendencies in Contemporary Music' in A. Ivashkin (ed.), *A Schnittke Reader*, transl. by John Goodliffe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 87–90.

<sup>25</sup> R. Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. V 'The Late Twentieth Century' (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 465.

tually contributed to the final 'rehabilitation' of avant-garde devices in the eyes of suspicious Soviet cultural officials. In his popular oratorios *Poetorio* (1968) and *Lenin in Folk's Heart* (1969), Shchedrin proved that it was possible to combine the advanced Western techniques with Russian folklore and ideologically 'correct' texts. Besides, Hakobian notes that the supposedly 'non-conformist' Schnittke was not among the victims of the 1960s anti-avant-garde campaign, and that a good deal of the Soviet intelligentsia regarded him as an irreproachable representative of their class, 'who, in the era of overall ethical, intellectual and spiritual decadence kept on speaking to the public about eternal matters in a rich, meaningful, and yet fully intelligible language.'<sup>26</sup> This is an almost exact moderated modernist's position, and in that respect Hakobian rightly compares the significance of Schnittke for his contemporaries to that of Shostakovich a couple of decades earlier.

As for the problem of the final evaluation of moderated modernism, it cannot be addressed here, as that would require examining the emergence of postmodernism in the West, and the consequences of the changing of political, cultural and ideological contexts and paradigms on both sides of the Cold War divide. These changes brought forth the critiques of the avant-garde in the West and, consequentially, altered the profile of both art music and its criticism and historiography. In any case, calling someone a moderated modernist is not such an insult anymore; one might say today that Russian moderated modernism was neither good nor bad, or it was both, depending on the ideologies brought to bear on it which, in turn, determine one's criteria for evaluation.

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## УМЕРЕНИ МОДЕРНИЗАМ У РУСКОЈ МУЗИЦИ ПОСЛЕ 1953. ГОДИНЕ

### Р е з и м е

Након краће расправе о појму умереног модернизма, у раду се класификују различити типови руског умереног модернизма после 1953. године и потом укратко анализирају неки од њих (неокласицизам, неоромантизам, неоекспресионизам и "друга авангарда"). Сталинова смрт 1953. године означила је почетак раздобља у којем су услови за уметничко стваралаштво у Русији (и читавом Совјетском Савезу) постали нешто либералнији, те је – након готово две деценије потпуне изолације од модернистичких

<sup>26</sup> L. Hakobian, 282.

покрета широм Европе – инициран процес поновног приближавања Западу. Мада декрет из 1958. године (којим су признате грешке озлоглашене Ждановљеве резолуције из 1948. године) није означио и напуштање доктрине социјалистичког реализма, једном започет процес модернизације више није било могуће зауставити. Већ почетком шездесетих година припремљено је тло за увођење најсавременијих композиционих техника. Међутим, већина руских композитора сматрала је да посезање за “новинама” не треба да означи и напуштање традиционалних форми и изражаяних средстава, те да је постепено и континуирано увођење нових техника пожељније од радикалног раскида са прошлошћу. Постепено, социјалистички реализам је еволуирао у умерени модернизам – довољно “модеран” да афирмише релативну отвореност новог режима, али недовољно радикалан да истински уздрма етаблирани културно-уметнички (и политички) поредак. Западноевропски критичари углавном су уочавали негативне стране умереног модернизма, његово “историјско кашњење” и “стилску нечистоту”; међутим, сагледан у контексту совјетске музике тог доба, овај “стил” је несумњиво имао и позитивних страна и допринео је постепеној измени профила целокупне руске музичке сцене.

# PROBLEMS OF TERMINOLOGY AND VERBAL MEDIATION IN NEW MUSIC

MARIA KOSTAKEVA

*At the centre of 'the Modern' there is Music  
which defines itself.*

*Reinhold Brinkmann*

FIRST of all we should make clear what terms mean and whether a terminological apparatus is required. Is a word capable of embodying the nature of the music? I think the translation of a musical work into a verbal utterance can be plausible only if it manages to order, and make visible the internal relations of musical phenomena. In other words, the term should function as a 'key', which may make it possible to find out, 'to decode' the meaning of the work. Another question arises: should this so-called 'key' be limited to the technical elements of the music which are exact and bear no interpretation, or should the terminological apparatus also elucidate the stylistic, social and historical relations of the work? Where is the boundary between a very accurate description of the work and its creative verbal interpretation?

I will take for example the famous 'Tristan-chord', the essence of this opera, where the general conception, stylistic and mental constellations of Wagner's music are reflected. The structure of this chord is very common, but there exists until this day no obvious and unambiguous interpretation of this innovative appearance in the music of the nineteenth century. Therefore further questions crop up. Is the nature of a term relevant for all different epochs or does it change according to changes in reception as time goes by?

A given term should make possible the description of an artistic feature – in German we have different synonyms expressing the word 'term' like *Begriff* / *be-greifen* (making able to grasp), *Bezeichnung* / *be-zeichnen* (giving a picture of) or *Benennung* / *be-nennen* (giving a name to). The literal translation from Latin of the word term as being a sort of 'boundary', a 'border-stone'). Can the 'Tristan-chord' be called a term? Yes, because it not only points to a borderline, but to a crossing of the border and makes the artistic feature accessible. Also the term 'cluster' points out a borderline between the classical-romantic and the

modern epoch. Although the nature of a cluster is completely different in the music of Ives, Webern, Bartók, Stravinsky or Ligeti, the meaning of this term as a vertical texture, without any sort of chord structure in it, remains valid.

Although the music of earlier epochs is quite varied, a consistent syntax and regular grammar were the basis of all music which can also be explained by reliable terms. Thus for example we can speak of Gregorian monody in the Middle Ages, Franco-Flemish polyphony in the Renaissance, homophony in the Baroque period, tonality in the classical-romantic period or dodecaphony in the first half of the twentieth century. But with Debussy, Bartók, Stravinsky or Varèse a splintering into different 'grammars' already begins. This phenomenon would increase greatly in the second half of the twentieth century, as the non-European cultures (not without the influence of John Cage and Morton Feldman) became ever more apparent in Europe.

In a time where most composers look for their own syntax-free of associations—for each individual piece, the verbal mediation of new music becomes problematic. German composer Mathias Spahlinger ascertains that 'die neue musik ist die erste und einzige musik, die das syntaktische oder sprachähnliche system ihrer eigenen tradition suspendiert oder aufgehoben hat'.<sup>1</sup> (The new music is the first and the only music, which has suspended or waived the syntactic or linguistics system from its own tradition.)

It is clear that the substance of the musical work is not identical to its grammar and syntactic order: The more opulent and intense the artistic substance of a work, the more difficult it is to adapt the established fixed terminological apparatus to it. Just as the classical sonata form gets quite a different treatment in the music of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert or Schumann, the post-serial organisation by Boulez, Stockhausen, Nono or Lachenmann also differs profoundly from one another. Obviously, certain idioms appear in each epoch, and in the work of each important composer who produces his own and often unique syntax order. The essential task of the terminological equipment is to make these idioms accessible.

The enormous variety of aesthetic directions and individual composer styles nowadays results in a large amount of problems. The pure terminology, which is based on the traditional means of classical analysis, is not able any longer to decipher the meaning of a new feature. Furthermore, it becomes ever more difficult to define new music, as the music experts, due to their narrower specialisations, have splintered into completely different areas.

Here, the authors themselves come to our aid: In their efforts to explain their music, the composers introduce new terms, or turn to metaphors. Mention is often made, for example of 'organic' and 'non-organic' music, the 'music

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<sup>1</sup> M. Spahlinger, 'dies ist die zeit der konzeptiven ideologien nicht mehr', *MusikTexte*, 113 (2007), 35.

labyrinth', 'space' music, music 'aura', 'sound form' etc. Can these self reflections be used as categories of definition in scientific-musical analysis? Or should the researcher create his/her own apparatus, which can also reveal other and different artistic perspectives?

In his article 'The author as his own exegete' Reinhold Brinkmann examines this phenomenon using the example of a self-reflection of Helmut Lachenmann, finding out the same tendencies in the work of such modern composers as Stockhausen and Wolfgang Rihm. (I would also add here György Ligeti and Alfred Schnittke). Brinkmann warns that the authors can select themselves in this way their 'self-appointed place' in the history of music, and thus influence or even manipulate the 'hearing perspectives' of reception.

In spite of this, one should probably not ignore the suggestions of the composers. The tendency of such self-reflections, beginning in the post-war period, continued to spread even more in the post-modern epoch. Even if the composers turn to using bizarre word formations, peculiar phraseology and expressions, and also metaphors, one should not forget that many new ideas, which were expressed first with the help of metaphors, were established later as terms in the context of a new artistic system.

On the other hand, metaphors are sometimes the only means to describe the nature of a work. Such titles which appeared at the end of the late 1950s and early 60s, like *Ionisation* by Varèse, *Chronochromie* by Messiaen, *Metastaseis* by Xenakis, *Marteau sans maître* and *Poésie pour pouvoir* by Boulez, *Apparitions*, *Atmosphères*, *Lontano*, *Aventures*, *Ramifications* by Ligeti, *Kontakte* and *Gruppen* by Stockhausen, *Canto sospeso* and *La fabrica illuminata* by Nono need no comment. Metaphor is used by all these authors in order to describe their individual compositional idea, but primarily to suggest the new kind of sound complexity as a holistic form.

Pierre Boulez also uses a metaphor, when he defines the new music as an 'an organized labyrinth'<sup>2</sup>. György Ligeti speaks in similar form about 'weaving', 'lattices', 'network' and 'labyrinth music' when speaking of his work and using this as a synonym of the constructional order. The metaphor achieves a further actuality in the post-modern period. Umberto Eco says: 'Metaphor forces us to think about the universe of intertextuality making at the same time the context ambiguous and interpretable in multiple ways (...) One can construct metaphors out of metaphors, which can be interpreted only in the light of sufficient intertextual knowledge'.<sup>3</sup>

All this makes a basic tendency accessible nowadays: By means of metaphors, processes and events belonging to completely different fields (nature, society, biology, astronomy etc.) are connected and explained by one another.

<sup>2</sup> Boulez defines also fixed and variable, straight and curved, regular and irregular spaces. See P. Boulez, *Werkstatt-Texte*, Vol. 2 (München: Propyläen Verlag, 1985), 76.

<sup>3</sup> U. Eco, *Die Grenzen der Interpretation* (München: Hanser Verlag, 1992), 211.

The Bulgarian philosopher and semiotician Ivan Mladenov ascertains that a general 'Metaphorising' of the world is taking place<sup>4</sup> explaining this phenomenon with the further development of technology and the new achievements in different fields of the natural sciences.

An important feature in the new music is the surging of the electronic era at the end of the 1950s. In its new, and self-structured tone range, the sound-processes achieve a dimension in space. The other musical parameters—such as melody, harmony and rhythm—are also merged within. As early as 1936 Edgard Varèse spoke of the 'new magic of the sound' as a result of the release from the temperate system and the use of traditional instruments. His conception about similitude of subject and energy in a Hyper Space Time seems very modern. Also Giacinto Scelsi (1905–1988) represents sound as a cosmic force and connects sound and energy. Sound after his theory is spherical and compounded from many sound rings, which move concentrically. (Here one is also reminded of B. A. Zimmermann's theory about the spherical shape of time (*Kugelgestalt der Zeit*).

The influence of electronics in acoustic music can be noticed in such a famous work as *Atmosphères* (1961) by G. Ligeti: The metamorphosis of sound and energy are shaping the work. The metaphorical title embodies, however, an original composition procedure, in which the repercussion of electronic sound process reflects. Thus this work introduces a new epoch in sound shaping as an outcome of release from serial thinking. Sound also receives priority in French spectral music in the 1970s. As a consequence of permanent sound transformations, paraelectronic effects arise in a complex form. The sound becomes form and the form becomes sound. The composer Tristan Murail, a very important representative of this musical direction, speaks about the most important revolution in 'the Sound Universe' as the result of serious interferences into the nature of the sound itself.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, two diametrically opposed models in the music of the post-war period were created: The first one is centrifugal, because super-ordinated sound tends always to transform itself into space (the holistic sound form in the electronic, spectral or some acoustic music); the second one is centripetal, because its strict serial organization, based on a radical reduction of the compositional elements, tends all the time towards its centre. The first one is characterized by dizzy alterations of the sound perspective; the second one appears as an image of an abstract constructional order: a reflection of itself, a self-awareness.

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<sup>4</sup> I. Mladenov, 'The Method of Conceptualizing Signs from Everyday Life', *Trans, Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaft*, 15 (2004). See also I. Mladenov, *Conceptualizing Metaphors: On Charles Peirce's Marginalia* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> T. Murail, 'La révolution de sons complexes', in E. Thomas (ed.), *Darmstädter Beiträge für neue Musik* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1980), 77.

This last tendency increased in the 1950s and 60s as the consequence of the rejection of the historical past and the abrupt breaking away from tradition in avant-garde art. New music like other art forms has articulated itself in the criticism of existing social conditions. Such terms as established by Adorno, Nono and Lachenmann like 'refusal' and 'critical composing' suggest dispensing with the bourgeois art and music of earlier periods. Thus, the serial<sup>6</sup> and post-serial organization and the fragmentation of the formal processes became the basis of a whole aesthetic direction within the range of the new music.

These two very common composition models are not only continued in the music of the post modern period but they are also often combined. The common ground being the holistic sound form. That the new 'sounding' and the post-serial thinking are closely connected, is shown in metaphor-terms like 'sound form', 'sound-structure' or 'structure-sound'<sup>7</sup> as used by Lachenmann. It seems that these definitions are once more a demonstration of the aforesaid modern concept based on the proximity of the musical process to the organic world.

It is evident that the self-reflections of the composers have to be observed seriously, even with critical distance towards their self-developed terminology. Of course several definitions (like 'refusal', 'rejection' and 'critical composing' which refer to the period of the 1960s) are historically conditioned. So before we begin to coin new terms or to give a new meaning to existing terms, we have to review the actual social and aesthetic conditions of the period in question. This would give new impulses for revitalising and refreshing the methodological apparatus within the scope of the new music and thus create plausible possibilities for its further mediation.

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<sup>6</sup> Curiously the basic arrow for the avant-garde composer was not the romantic-expressionistic music of Schoenberg und Berg, but the ideology-free, serial world of Webern.

<sup>7</sup> Lachenmann explains this with 'ein Superklang, den wir erst im allmählichen, zeitlich gesteuerten Abtasten seiner in die Zeit projizierten Komponenten, also gleichsam horizontal erschließen.' See H. Lachenmann, *Musik als existentielle Erfahrung* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1996), 77.

*Марија Костакева*

## ПРОБЛЕМИ ТЕРМИНОЛОГИЈЕ И ВЕРБАЛНА МЕДИЈАЦИЈА НОВЕ МУЗИКЕ

### Р е з и м е

У овом раду се разматрају неки специфични проблеми терминологије нове музике.

У речнику музичких авангардиста после Другог светског рата био је артикулисан протест против старих социјалних и естетских норми. Уобичајени изрази, као „критичко компоновање“ или „одбијање“ из Лахенманове школе, настављају систем мишљења Теодора Адорна и Луијија Ноноа. Ипак, данас је неопходно да се музичкој терминологији да ново значење и да се она реактивира као значајно средство објашњавања и посредовања у складу са новим временом. Међутим, у тим покушајима крију се одређени проблеми.

Први је ауторефлексија као дескриптивна категорија у новој музици: она одсликава композиторов циљ да објасни своју музику слушаоцима и да је на тај начин учини приступачнијом. Већина савремених аутора покушава да таквом вербалном саморефлексијом пронађе и истовремено истакне своје место у историји музике. Оваква саморефлексија представља потенцијалну опасност јер субјективно обојен приступ који је у њој садржан може пресудно да утиче на публику и на њену рецепцију музике. Други проблем музичке терминологије у савременој епоси произлази из велике умножености естетских праваца у новој музици која изискује специфичан научни апарат. У поређењу са старијим епохама у којима је музичка граматика била јединствена, данас постоји специфична врста организације код сваког композитора и сваког дела, што треба описати одговарајућим музичким терминима. Средствима класичне анализе, на пример, није могуће дефинисати нов звук настао под утицајем електронике и нове организације музике после Другог светског рата. Развој компјутерске технологије одсликава се и у акустичкој музики, у којој настају ефекти блиски електронским. Сви ови херменеутички проблеми узети су у обзир у мом истраживању.

# REVISITING THE SERBIAN MUSICAL AVANT-GARDE: ASPECTS OF THE CHANGE OF RECEPTION AND OF KEEPING HISTORY ‘UNDER CONTROL’

MIRJANA VESELINOVIC-HOFMAN

A NUMBER of compositions created in Serbian music in the course of the 1960s and the 1970s were perceived in Serbia at the time, as bearing the sense of avant-garde novelties. However, these compositions did not have this sense at the level of international music. In this respect, they were not seen as avant-garde according to any of the features typical of the nature or effect of an avant-garde event.<sup>1</sup>

On this occasion, we shall discuss three mutually dependent issues implied by this statement. They are: 1) the determinants of an avant-garde piece of music; 2) the reasons for which our avant-garde failed to gain international avant-garde ‘legitimacy’; 3) some aspects of the change in the individual composers’ reception of the avant-garde positions of Serbian music.

I have been dealing with the phenomenon of the musical avant-garde—Serbian in particular—since the beginning of the 1980s,<sup>2</sup> and I believe my general definition and consideration of the phenomenon I formulated at that time,<sup>3</sup> still holds. This consideration proved to be vital during my later investigations

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<sup>1</sup> Let us immediately stress that the presence of compositions at the international level is no decisive criterion of their artistic value and quality.

<sup>2</sup> M. Veselinović-Hofman, *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas* [The Creative Presence of European Avant-Garde in Serbian Music] (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1983); the same author, ‘Problems and Paradoxes of Yugoslav Avant-garde Music (Outlines for a Reinterpretation)’, in D. Djurić and M. Šuvaković (eds.), *Impossible Histories – Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991* (Cambridge, Massachusetts – London, England: The MIT Press, 2003), 404-41; the same author, ‘Teze za reinterpretaciju jugoslovenske muzičke avangarde’ [Outlines for a Reinterpretation of the Yugoslav Musical Avant-Garde], *Muzički talas*, 30/31 (2002, published in 2004), 18-32.

<sup>3</sup> Veselinović-Hofman, *Stvaralačka prisutnost* [The Creative Presence]

of contemporary music and also ready to 'meet' an essentially different, postmodern poetical-aesthetical compositional tendency. In fact, my definition of the avant-garde already implied postmodernism as a notion relational to it,<sup>4</sup> which made it possible to check this definition from the perspective of postmodernism. That is exactly why my present discourse relies on this consideration.

1) So, this 'relational look' confirms the avant-garde as a unique psychological, social and artistic phenomenon realised—most typically—through an organised, declared and aggressively anti-traditional movement / a project which acts according to the specific rules of its own life cycle. It is based on the process of the 'internal combustion' of the movement, during which it does anything to achieve the aims proclaimed in its manifesto (manifestoes).<sup>5</sup>

This sheds light on more specific determinants of the avant-garde, among which are the following: it is not a style; it carries out an uncompromising artistic (self)critique of art that aims at dismantling the *institution of art*; it is often based on interdisciplinary logic and ideas; it is a radical, excessive episode of twentieth century modernism; it is esoteric but at the same time decisive in denying and removing boundaries between artistic fiction and real life.<sup>6</sup> Being challenging and experimental, the avant-garde typically lives in transgression and paradoxes.<sup>7</sup>

Exceptions to the avant-garde's own distinctive determinants may be considered as one of these paradoxes. Thus, regarding the highly specific nature of the sound medium which is the essential means of music, these exceptions are particularly noticeable in it. We would even say that it concerns a specific musical, that is, 'medium locality'<sup>8</sup> within the artistic avant-garde. This is brought about by the fact that according to its nature, musical avant-garde is sometimes much more tolerant towards tradition than is the avant-garde in other arts.<sup>9</sup> Hence, the

<sup>4</sup> M. Veselinović-Hofman, *Fragmente zur musikalischen Postmoderne* (Frankfurt am Main, etc.: Peter Lang, 2003)

<sup>5</sup> M. Veselinović-Hofman, 'Teze za reinterpretaciju' [Outlines for a Reinterpretation], 20.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.; also: P. Bürger, *Theorie der Avantgarde* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974); H. de la Motte-Haber, 'Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Avantgarde nach 1945', in *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1994), 63–70; W. Welsch, *Unsere postmoderne Moderne* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997); M. Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik moderne i postmoderne likovne umetnosti i teorije posle 1950* [A Dictionary of Notions of Modern and Post-modern Visual Art and Theory after 1950] (Beograd – Novi Sad: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti – Prometej, 1999), 50–3; the same author, *Pojmovnik suvremene umetnosti* [A Dictionary of Contemporary Art] (Zagreb – Ghent: Horetzky – Vlees & Beton, 2005), 89–105

<sup>7</sup> More about this in: Veselinović-Hofman, 'Problems and Paradoxes'

<sup>8</sup> The term locality should not be considered in the pejorative sense, but in the sense of its original meaning that indicates a peculiarity of the manifestations of a phenomenon (here, the avant-garde) in a certain sphere (here, music), environment, place, etc., during which this peculiarity depends on the specific conditions and needs of these spheres.

<sup>9</sup> I wrote more extensively about the peculiarities of the musical avant-garde in my book *Stvaralačka prisutnost* [The Creative Presence], 132–52, which is why this topic will not be elaborated in the present text.

affirmation of an avant-garde novelty in the field of musical material and the procedures to which it is subjected, is not always corroborated by typical forms of the affirmation of an avant-garde novelty at the social level. And *vice versa*. It is possible that these typical 'models' of avant-garde social excess are not always substantiated by music.<sup>10</sup>

Diverse modifications of and exceptions to typical forms of the manifestation of the phenomenon of musical avant-garde are consequences of the aforesaid. In almost all spheres in which avant-garde radicalism in general is usually exhibited, the radicalism of the musical avant-garde is rather tempered. For example, in the sphere of the nature and features of a manifesto; the forms of composers' gatherings around it; the ways and intensity of its fulfilment; the speed and the range of the 'concentric circles' that emerge around the avant-garde centres, as effects of strong centrifugal force which the avant-garde demonstrates in the field of music.

Regardless of the emphasized particularities, an avant-garde piece of music needs to be recognized by its avant-garde novelty and avant-garde effects in 'its' environment. Quite logically, this is never disputable where it concerns the very centre of an avant-garde 'explosion'. It is unquestionable even when the 'explosion' emerges in a place that is somewhere on the path of the 'echoes' of that explosion. Because, as already stressed, the strong centrifugal force of the avant-garde opens up the possibility of numerous creative reactions on its artistic centre. In other words, at geographically and / or chronologically different cultural and musical distances from the centre, this force can cause the emergence of analogously 'explosive' centres in those regional circumstances. In this way, the force can provide an 'absolute' avant-garde attribute for those 'concentric circles' (which is precisely the case with some manifestations of the avant-garde in Serbian music). All this means that one and the same avant-garde, that is, reiterated avant-garde is just that: the avant-garde reiterated according to the principle of self-similarity and fragmentation.

A questionable situation arises when, for example, a composer who originates from a periphery culture<sup>11</sup> factually may even be the inventor of an avant-garde novelty (as is the case with Vladan Rađovanović and his proto-minimalist *Chorals* of 1956),<sup>12</sup> and when this novelty, as such, remains unknown. This simply means that such a novelty is devoid of the features of an

<sup>10</sup> More about this in my studies 'Teze za reinterpretaciju' [Outlines], and 'Problems and Paradoxes'.

<sup>11</sup> Although we consider the term 'periphery culture' inappropriate, especially from the aspect of the current postmodern perspective, we use it because it has a defined meaning in musicological communication.

<sup>12</sup> M. Masnikosa, *Muzički minimalizam* [Musical Minimalism] (Beograd: Clio, 1998); Veselinović-Hofman, *Svaralačka prisutnost* [The Creative Presence], 379; 'Teze za reinterpretaciju' [Outlines for a Reinterpretation], 22

avant-garde psycho-social-artistic unity, because it lacks 'registers' of its social effects. And it is in the nature of an avant-garde novelty to act in an offensive way, in the role of a *provocateur* and a participant of new artistic and social communication in the field of music. Even within 'its' own, regional (musical) culture, a phenomenon can become 'officially' avant-garde only if it does demonstrate—including possible exceptions during this demonstration—necessary and sufficient avant-garde attributes.

2) Phenomena that have the position of the avant-garde in Serbian music reached that unity of the avant-garde phenomenon, although they were crystallized on the basis of changeable relations and 'hierarchies' among their musical, psychological and social determinants and effects. But they never 'belonged' to the phenomena that represented 'epicentres' of avant-garde destruction at an international level as well. This is mainly so because they never produced any unknown musical 'matrices' in the international musical context. And, as we emphasized, an avant-garde novelty may be 'absolutely' avant-garde only when it first appears. This means that during its later appearances, chronologically and / or geographically usually distant from the centre, it can be considered as avant-garde only in the musical culture where it emerges for the first time; and in which it is established and acts in the context of its specific conditions, criteria and needs.

On the one hand, this 'concentric' transmission of the avant-garde, as its noticeable trait, and which is not characteristic of Serbian music only, indicates the developed critical and creative integrity of a musical milieu. On the other hand, it is the crucial reason why achievements that acted as avant-garde within a periphery culture—and here we refer to Serbian music—remained avant-garde only within its own boundaries.

However, we should not overlook the numerous cultural and social issues, which led to this. For example, in our cultural environment, due to its chronically badly planned and financially awkwardly directed cultural strategy, the avant-garde results of Serbian music—as our music in general—were not presented on the international 'stage' of music, as the results of some other periphery cultures were.

Our avant-garde music—and again our music in general—was deprived of the necessary prerequisites, such as the continual publication of study scores, frequent performances, well equipped recordings, an efficient distributive and advertising network, etc. As these depend directly on well-organized funding by the relevant social and professional institutions, our avant-garde music could never fully attain its appropriate position.

This is why one could raise the question of whether the avant-garde results of our music might have a more appropriate reception from the international musical public if they had been supported by an appropriate system of presentation and advertising at the moment of their appearance, as was the case

with the avant-garde in Polish music of the 1960s, for example. This might not have impacted so 'absolutely' on international music, had it not gained the necessary endorsement within the Polish cultural policy of the time. Let us now pose the same question the other way round: if this had not happened as described and if the analogous avant-garde results of Serbian music—which, otherwise, were part of the first 'impact' during the transmission of the aleatory writing of the Polish type—had had the same sort of necessary support in *our* cultural policy, which direction would that aleatory avant-garde wave have taken: towards our music or away from it?

Of course, the question is purely rhetorical. Its aim is not to play a game on the edge of the absurd, but to emphasize the importance of certain social dimensions of the avant-garde. In the same sense and for the same reason the question of the prompt musicological identification and elucidation of the avant-garde occurrences within a musical culture might also be raised. We know that the theoretical word crucially endorsed the affirmation of the avant-garde phenomena within the occidental cultures. It treated them as 'absolute', *primary* in every respect. Quite clearly, this was not possible without purely musical grounds. And yet, might the Serbian musical avant-garde of the 1960s have had a different reception in the international musical context if it had *already* been musicologically elaborated as such, *at the time* when it appeared?

However, considering that at one time our musical avant-garde did not present to the international environment any compositional solutions unknown to it and that, in parallel, it was deprived of the corresponding social dimension, we lose any reasonable basis for developing the hierarchical inversion at which we have just hinted.

3) It is, nonetheless, exactly this inversion which a few Serbian composers today tend to strive for. Although they might be stimulated in this attempt mainly for the same cultural and social reasons because of which we hinted at this inversion here, it is primarily motivated by their reception of the above described thoughts on the avant-garde, displayed—as stressed—more than twenty years ago.

In their current reception, which is the opposite of their own reaction from that time, we can notice two interesting tendencies.

One originates from the conviction that the musical avant-garde is nothing but the great fallacy of contemporary music. According to that viewpoint, the avant-garde is the margin where music was led by a number of composers and musicologists. This involved composers whose work mainly followed the tradition of the German 'three big B's, including the authors who were somewhere on those Schoenbergian paths that 'promised' German music its primacy during the century to come. An extension of the same belief is the opinion that these composers were already 'by definition' devoid of 'true' musical invention. Closely related to this, is the opinion that musicologists who elucidated on

avant-garde music and wrote about it, actually promoted the fallacy. With their writings they provided it with an importance that should never have been ascribed to it in any respect.

Hence, according to the same viewpoint, the importance of the musical avant-garde should be minimized, and even ignored, because deliberately overlooking the facts might be quite a satisfactory system that efficiently leads to the oblivion of these facts and, with this, to changing the authentic factual 'relief' of the relevant musical occurrences. And yet, all that *should* be done because, as implied by the same viewpoint, the '*true*' *music* is 'somewhere else', not in the avant-garde. Consequently, the '*true*' *history of music* is 'something other' than the factual order, in other words, than the order that some personal creative and aesthetic standpoints do not approve of. It goes without saying that this '*true*' *music* and this '*true*' *history of music*, meaning, the '*true*' *values* of music lie where 'our' own models are (if we agree at all that we ever had them) and 'our' own affinities.

However, musicological explanations which, based on the autonomy, professional standards and purposes of musicological science deliberately examine every segment of musical heritage, including the avant-garde, represent an irritating obstacle to such an attitude. Because, it concerns the explanations that, starting from the 'close reading' of scores, reach diverse contextual interpretations which, as such, need not be axiologically explicit at the same time, but, true, they necessarily entail indirect evidence for possible evaluations.

It is quite understandable then why this negative attitude of composers towards the avant-garde phenomenon also generates a negative attitude towards its musicological elaboration. This attitude is highlighted in various attempts to belittle (if not eliminate) this musicological 'barrier'. One of them is embodied in the mostly indirect personal 'theorizing' of a few Serbian composers, more precisely through their diverse, mostly informal public displays. Generally viewed, these displays would suggest, directly or indirectly, a positive evaluation of the notional and terminological neutralization, universalization and changes in the history of music—especially contemporary and Serbian music—which would ultimately promote as 'absolute' those '*true*' alias desired alias personal 'paths of interest' in music and the 'dramaturgy' of its history.

The other noticeable tendency in the composers' reception of the explication of the avant-garde in our country, is the rejection of its regional character. This tendency is manifested in two parallel ways, and in both lies the pejorative consideration of the notion of the local (the regional) and in treating this notion as offensive.

One of these ways is directly caused by this negative attitude towards the avant-garde and it is occupied with conducting a specific tactic. It is intended to shift the focus from the correspondence of one's own, chronologically proximate composers to one's own more distant aesthetically 'concurring' compo-

ers. More precisely, it aims at shifting the focus to some prior, 'basic affinities' common to both one's own creative interests and the interests of one's own chronologically proximate compositional models.

The other way of manifesting the same tendency is noticeable in deliberate actions whereby some authors try to fight for the primacy of their own avant-garde over an analogous but factually prior 'central' avant-garde. This is being undertaken even in spite of the elementary comparative chronology of the corresponding avant-garde achievements, which seriously deny the grounds of such actions. Still, these actions are performed, revealing a composer's intention to provide himself with an entire mechanism by means of which he can keep under his own control texts which are being written or are to be written about him and his output. This also implies the possibility of his direct intervention in the desired course of a text. These interventions may sometimes become almost comically apparent in a number of rather similar formulations which appear in texts by different authors.

Clearly, in the described forms of the recent change of reception of the avant-garde in Serbian music, there are clear relapses into typically avant-garde behavioural patterns. Maybe it is paradoxical, but these relapses have been considerably stimulated by the change of the entire social and cultural paradigm, from the modern to the postmodern. Because, it is exactly this postmodern paradigm which, due to its relational nature, implies, even stimulates, revisiting and reconsidering one's own modernistic positions, particularly those of the avant-garde. Therefore, the tendencies discussed here disclose a two-fold indication.

On the one hand, they bear elements of a typically avant-garde obsession with its own plan, coupled with avant-garde organizational *clichés* aimed at realizing the plan. On the other hand, in the coexistent postmodern environment today, those tendencies reach a legitimately free and, apparently, considerably protected space for exposing their own manifold creativity but also various fictions.

However, both of the tendencies discussed here—the one that attempts to 'adapt' the (Serbian) history of music according to a personal composer's interest and taste, thereby trying to achieve a state of relativism among operative categories of contemporary music, or the other tendency, which endeavours to sharpen its avant-garde position, fighting for its primacy on the international avant-garde scene—essentially neglect the genuine theoretical aspect of regional avant-garde phenomena. In other words, they totally neglect the neo-avant-garde nature of these phenomena. But what mostly characterizes these phenomena—including the use, development, critique, in a word a kind of institutionalization of avant-garde procedures<sup>13</sup>—are exactly neo-avant-garde traits. Thus, let us say that the neo-avant-garde might be a euphemism for the regional avant-garde phenomenon.

<sup>13</sup> Bürger, *Theorie*

Although the aspects of the change of reception of the Serbian musical avant-garde we dealt with here were quite predictable and unsurprising, they were also rather interesting for us as specific indications of the recurrent, nervous need of a very small number of our former avant-garde authors to rearrange the order of already known musical 'territories', in favour of their own interests.

*Мирјана Веселиновић-Хофман*

## ПОНОВО У СРПСКОЈ МУЗИЧКОЈ АВАНГАРДИ: АСПЕКТИ ПРОМЕНЕ РЕЦЕПЦИЈЕ И „КОНТРОЛА ИСТОРИЈЕ“

### Резиме

Током 60-их и 70-их година XX века настао је један број композиција које су у српској музици тог времена имале смисао њених авангардних новина. Нису то, међутим, истовремено биле и композиције које су биле авангардне у равни укупне европске музике: као такве, у њој нису биле препознате ни по једној од димензија којима се, иначе, карактеришу природа и дејство авангардних појава. Али јесу представљале уметничке домете који су, неоспорно, органски припадали пољу тада најактуелнијих композиционих усмерења, пројеката и процедуре; који јесу били део једног географски и културолошки ширег авангардног плана.

Из тих разлога протумачени у нашој музикологији с почетка 80-их година прошлог века као примери авангарде „локалног типа“, ти композиторски дometи су у историји наше музике остали забележени, музиколошки елаборирани и процењени као уметнички високо конзистентна дела која су српску музику и авангардно обогатила.

Готово три деценије живота који се од тада одвијао током једног по многим одликама другачијег доба, другачијег не само у контексту *институције уметности* у Србији, природно су утицале на промену рецепције тих дела. Али утицале су и на неке појединачне, предвидљиве интенционалне акције усмерене ка обезбеђивању лично „кориговане“, лично усмеравање и контролисане рецепције *сопственог* стваралачког опуса.

У овом тексту је реч оном „трагу“ промене музиколошке рецепције авангардних дела српске музике, који упућује на симптоматичан, пре свега психолошки и идеолошки генерисан и готово агресиван „вишак“ бриге о обезбеђивању сопствене (жельене) ауторске позиције и сопствених естетичких назора у историји српске музике.

# CALIBRATING MODERNISMS: THE IDEA(L)S OF MUSICAL AUTONOMY IN SLOVENIAN CONTEMPORARY MUSIC

LEON STEFANIJA

## Aim

A SHORT note on the Slovenian musical modernisms from the first half of the century would clear the somewhat awkward focus of this paper centred on the concept of musical autonomy. I would like to emphasize the awkwardness of the concept of musical autonomy in the modernity debate since the heterogeneous and heteronomous ideas involved in it reflect different autonomies: different relations between the music's autonomy as a social phenomenon and the autonomy of the composer as its pragmatic differential, to which issues on production and perception within a certain context of musical practice ought to be added. It seems that this 'configurational hermeneutics' behind the concept of musical autonomy has also enabled, in many respects, the frictions and differences to pervade the history of Slovenian modernisms in the second half of the twentieth century, to which I shall confine myself. Thus, my aim is to address, through three musical examples, the levers of defining modernism in this period.

## The Modernist Background

If *modernism*, according to Christoph von Blumröder, is generally seen as a typical phenomenon of the twentieth century due to its striving toward 'the emphatically New'<sup>1</sup>—it is seen as a set of ideas and circumstances that span from the *fin de siècle* till the wide acceptance of the postmodernity proclamation in the 1970s—its roots in Slovenia are marked off especially strongly with

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<sup>1</sup> Ch. von Blumröder, 'Neue Musik' in H. H. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Terminologie der musikalischen Komposition. Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, Sonderband I (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996), 299–312.

the work of three composers: Slavko Osterc, Marij Kogoj and Lucijan Marija Škerjanc.

Slavko Osterc, educated mainly in Prague with Alois Hába, was an influential teacher, active from the middle of the 1920s till his death in 1941. As a fervent advocate of the progressive musical style, his ideas of advancement in music were founded on a mixture of Neue Sachlichkeit influences (especially from Stravinsky and Hindemith) and a kind of 'expressionistic constructivism' (A. Rijavec). Marij Kogoj, on the other hand, living the solitary life of a composer, more or less occasional music teacher and essayist, was indelibly immersed in the teachings of Franz Schreker and, above all, in the ideational expressionism of Arnold Schoenberg, until he was admitted to psychiatric hospital at beginning of the 1930s. Although only several years separated them both from Lucijan Marija Škerjanc (1900–1973), his two years long Viennese studies of composition with Joseph Marx and piano with Anton Trost, four subsequent years at the *Schola cantorum* in Paris with Vincent d'Indy (1924–7) and a degree in conducting with Felix Weingartner (1930) made him a central musical figure of the post-WWII period. Being a omnipresent performer already in the 1930s, influential professor, music theoretician, also musicologist—in short, a person with immense musical knowledge holding prominent posts in Slovenian musical life—his music was seen just as *contemporary*, hardly *modern*, confined within a stylistic scope of late-romantic idioms and impressionism.

Although in the 1930s there were several younger musicians who centered their musical poetics on modernist ideals introduced by Kogoj and Osterc, the aspirations toward 'the emphatically New' began to bear fruits only from the middle of the 1950s on. However, from the 1930s on one should consider a gap between modernist theory and different practices that would widen it in the European musical centers, more differences and antinomies in modernism began to branch out from the musical extremes reached around the middle of the 1950s.

The following anecdote neatly illuminates the gap between theory and practice of exercising modernist ideals neatly for post-WWII Slovenia. A recently deceased composer recalled in an interview<sup>2</sup> how Lucijan Marija Škerjanc grinned at the entrance examination in the beginning of the 1950s, when a student apodictically requested to join the composition master class of Slavko Osterc (d. in 1941!), since he would like to study *modern music* from first hand, as it were. Škerjanc allegedly shrugged his shoulders and silenced the promising youngster saying that his request was unrealizable, since Osterc was no longer alive, but he could enroll in his (Škerjanc's) master class instead, since he would be the next closest choice.

The difficulties in the post-WWII period withdrew gradually, coinciding with the general displeasure of the youngest generation of composers, born in

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<sup>2</sup> Interview with Samo Vremšak, 31 May 2001. My personal audio archive.

the 1920s and especially the 1930s. Their work culminated during the 1960s, when several composers formed the group *Pro musica viva*, promoting their heterogeneous modernisms as 'the avant-garde' Slovenian music of their time especially through performances of their *Ansaml Slavko Osterc*.<sup>3</sup> With Slavko Osterc more as a cultural paragon and Marij Kogoj as a spiritual force of reflection behind their different modernist ideals,<sup>4</sup> *Pro musica viva* realized its modernism according to the individual potency of each of its members. Their main stylistic orientation was inspired especially by the Polish sonorism, serial techniques and later on by electro acoustic music, as heard from the end of the 1950s at the favored festivals by the members of *Pro musica viva*: Warsaw Autumn, Darmstadt, Music Biennale Zagreb (1961→), Festival of twentieth century chamber music Radenci (1963–2001), different studios for electro acoustic music and more liberal Slovenian literary journalism.

### Modernism as Reflected Through Postmodernity

This historical background was inevitably necessary to outline the range of Slovenian musical modernism(s) till the proclamation of postmodernity at the end of the 1970s. Its heritage may be summed up as follows. On the one side, the main modernist paragons of the first half of the century, the 'constructivism' of Slavko Osterc and expressionism of Marij Kogoj, offered a strong moral imagery to the post-WWII generation of composers, who were to evolve into the central Slovenian avant-garde phenomenon bypassing the mainstream 'moderate modernism' (or 'moderate conservatism'), advocated by Lucijan Marija Škerjanc. On the other side, the post-WWII period with its antinomous aesthetic and compositional practices of the late 1950s left the members of *Pro musica viva* without a firm notion regarding modernity; instead, the declarative mottos about 'modern music' and pragmatically understood autonomy of the composer was accompanied by different individual aspirations, founded on rather vague theoretical notions regarding the addressee of their 'messages in the bottle' (T.W. Adorno).

To address those Adornian messages in the bottle, one may well ask: which words have been communicated through them for the period of postmodernity? Three answers shall be offered in the following discussion. The first one comes from probably the most influential Slovenian musician today, one of the most distinguished members of *Pro musica viva* Lojze Lebič (1934). The second answer is offered by Uroš Rojko (1954), a composer with a firm belief in modernism, comprehensively trained in the avant-garde master classes as given

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Barbo, *Pro musica viva. Prispevek k slovenski moderni po II. Svetovni vojni [Pro musica viva. A contribution to the Slovenian Modernism after WWII]*, (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 80, esp. 255 ff.

by Klaus Huber in Freiburg (1983–1986) and György Ligeti (1986–1989). The third answer is given by Marko Mihevc (1957), a composer and conductor whose voice was among the first and the strongest to extol postmodernity as a chance to compose, in his words, ‘more digestible’ music, although he considers himself a pupil of modernism, not of the ‘conservative neo/classicism’.

### Lojze Lebič, Uroš Rojko and Marko Mihevc

Although one could never emphasize enough the differences between these composers, they see the context of their work from the 1980s onward as belonging to a (differently understood) modernity, for which Lebič saw as a central phenomenon an “ecological” shift toward more telling musical narrativity’ (“ekološki” premik k večji povednosti).<sup>5</sup> Yet, apart from the general awareness of the necessity to create communicative music, their compositional means and respective aesthetics burst the common features asunder. Their respective views on the *tellingness* of different musical narratives could be summarized briefly with comments on their views on the autonomy of their music.

Lojze Lebič has several times emphasized that his strongest lesson from his avant-garde phase is the *rigorousness of thought*. However, he is far from underestimating the ‘common listener’. Although he would hardly assent to any pragmatic concession, he has a kind of ‘second listener’ before his eyes when composing: ‘If [my music] is to attract the listener to seek deeper layers and hints, the surface of the work has to be understandable and covered with a sufficient number of recognizable sounds.’<sup>6</sup> However, in Lebič’s music these layers evade the trap of a name. They feature prominently in his music emerging throughout tissues of complex sonoristic textures as ‘hints’, ‘allusions’, ‘evocations’, ‘indications’, or ‘reminiscences’ of certain phenomena. Whether it be an ‘evocation’ of an archetypal feature, such as the elementary diastematic fragments in *Queensland Music*, an allusion to the creation of the world in *Glasba za orkester – Cantico I*, or its more or less apparently associatively ‘permeable’ sound features, such as the bucolic quality of melodic, emphasized repetitions of triads in a highly complex texture, a Mahlerian ‘moment of narration’ (Abbate), or a compliment to Bach’s famous cadence from the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto: these telling details are interwoven carefully in a complex musical narrative rooted in the formal universals of music.

Lebič himself defined the process of composing as a process of ‘framing something from one world which is found in another’.<sup>7</sup> This is, actually, the most far-reaching change in his current poetics if compared to his avant-garde

<sup>5</sup> L. Lebič, ‘Glasovi časov’ [‘Times’ voices], *Naši zbori*, 47/3–4 (1994), 61.

<sup>6</sup> M. Dekleva, ‘Kot da je svet že dopolnjen’ [‘As if the world was perfect’] *Dnevnik* (7 February 1994), 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

ideals of an abstract, arithmetic *order* of the musical logic: he composes by searching for 'the grammatical feeling to return to the music some of its lost ability of speech'.<sup>8</sup> Yet, he adds: 'I remain within the limits of my field. This, however, teaches me that all significant musical works—from Bach's art of fugue to Bartok's masterpieces with a *sectio aurea*—are crafted with a great architectonic consideration, that they are a junction of necessity, that the laws of these junctions may be analytically discovered just as they were consciously built; but that the impulses dictating them will be forever hidden.'<sup>9</sup>

Uroš Rojko, on the other hand, two decades junior to Lebič, has a more negative experience with the 'tradition of the German and European avant-garde': 'did not accept it',<sup>10</sup> moreover, he reckoned it as 'a dead end'.<sup>11</sup> Especially Ligeti, 'leading [him] with his guru-like poise into uncertainty and horrible split',<sup>12</sup> has awakened Rojko to distance himself not only from the avant-garde but also from any other musical tradition. Rojko is inclined to think about (his) music in terms of an ahistoric soundscape, secluded from any semantic homologies – except from the most elemental ones appealing to the 'physicalistic' efficacy of music. 'What I've been doing now, in the last five years', emphasized Rojko in the middle of the 1990s, 'is above all liberation of myself. I try to understand everything as translating, canalizing of primary energies into a palpable substance',<sup>13</sup> of sound.

Basically, I am striving to achieve beauty that has something profound, that has a base. This base does not belong to our world. It is something that our world cannot offer, although it is founded thereof. I would certainly not like to bring my music to the point of a New Age or similar [cultural phenomena], where the only goal is to reach a therapeutic condition [...]. I have no therapeutic intentions with my music. My music borders more on a natural experience, it tries to reach a sense of well-being.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> S. Meh, [Interview with Srečko Meh], *Glasbena mladina*, 5 (1995), 6.

<sup>11</sup> [Booklet of Radio Slovenia], *Prix Italia '93, Uroš Rojko Inner Voices*, (Ljubljana: RTV, 1993).

<sup>12</sup> S. Meh [Interview with Srečko Meh], *Glasbena mladina*, 5 (1995), 6.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Originally the quotes read: 'Ein System sagt noch gar nichts aus, was du daraus machst ist wichtig.' 'Die Idee, etwas Neues zu machen, war damals, als ich mit Serialismus und Neuer Musik beschäftigte, sehr wichtig [...] Es geht mir in der Tat um Schönheit, aber diese Schönheit hat eine Tiefe, hat einen Grund. Dieser Grund liegt nicht in unserer Welt, ist etwas, was unsere Welt nicht bieten kann und was ihr dennoch zugrundeliegt. Natürlich möchte ich meine Musik nicht zu einem Punkt von New Age oder ähnlichem bringen, wo es nur darum geht, therapeutisch einen Zustand zu bekommen [...]. Meine Musik hat keine therapeutische Absicht, sie grenzt schon eher an ein natürliches Erlebnis, so daß man sich als Mensch wohlfühlt. [...] Mein Leben ist so gekommen, daß ich für mich eine andere Welt suche. Die Musik drückt das aus und ist ein Teil von mir.' (*Lauschen auf die innere Musik. Wolfgang Rüdiger im Gespräch mit Uroš Rojko*, CD ARS MUSICI {AM} 1122-2, Freiburger Musik Forum 1995, 15, 18–19.)



However *modernist* a stance might be reflecting through these artistic intentions, contrary to the intellectual pretentiousness, or the semantic provocativeness, of the musical avant-garde, Rojko expects from his listener almost nothing. Persuaded in the 'untranslatability' of the musical narrative, he believes that it is necessary for both—the composer as well as for the listener—to 'let the events happen by themselves, and let music and musical material unfold by itself'.<sup>15</sup> For this reason he draws attention to the "innermost" of the sound, unimpeded by mimetic analogies: 'The most important truths are by no means explicable, the least with words, and they cannot be analysed by the intellect. They can be reached only by experience, or perceived'.<sup>16</sup>

The quoted thought should be seen as the central philosophical persuasion and aesthetical demand posed by Rojko: he wants his music to achieve the efficacy of a *sublime physiological stimulus* — with *no semantic potential 'from without'*, preferably not even from the musical past, of course. In contrast to Lebić's grammatical logic, Rojko's composition is based on some kind of 'logic of pulverization' of the sound spectrum, as the beginning of his *Sinfonia concertante* indicates:

<sup>15</sup> [Booklet of Radio Slovenia]. *Prix Italia '93. Uroš Rojko Inner Voices* (Ljubljana: RTV, 1993).

16 Ibid

As a counterpart to both the above discussed musical poetics, that of Marko Mihevc demands 'the integration of the beauty, the emotions, [...] of healthy eclecticism not intended to imitate the past but to help find new, not to say palatable styles'. His favoured musical form, the symphonic poem, seemed most appropriate to develop semantically vivid, almost picturesque sequences. Attracted by classical Afro-Cuban dance music, as in the symphonic poem *In signo tauri*, developing a kind of 'urban folklorism' with sympathies for 'oriental sound', as in the cantata *In mentem venit mihi*, his musical structures are anchored in the opulence of Straussian harmonic texture from the fin de siècle, transparent modal turns, and effective melodic linearity. The aesthetics of alienation, almost epicurean usufructuary of semantically loaded segments indicates the process that Mihevc described as a 'postmodernist way', a musical logic of combining 'modern elements with the elements of the previous periods'<sup>17</sup> and, one might add, different cultural milieus.

### Historical Embeddedness and Autonomies of Expression

Obviously enough, Lebič's, Rojko's and Mihevc's compositional apparatuses stem from different modernist traditions: Lebič's especially from the Polish avant-garde classics, Rojko's from *musique spectrale*, *New complexity* and different authorial features (comparable to those, for instance, in Giacinto Scelsi and György Ligeti), Mihevc's from a typically post-modern combinatorial perspectivism of layering fin de siècle modernism, 'Orientalistic figments', and several sonoristic details from different avant-garde techniques.

Although firmly embedded in the twentieth century imageries of modernism, the semantic potential of their music reveals a fairly perplexed picture of modernist ideals. As their respective historical footages are evident, differences in their narrativity can also be demarcated rather clearly. Lebič's idiosyncratic musical flow founded on 'grammatical' logic is trying to communicate intellectual, cultural, often national—one may well say: sensuous—*anthropological* imagery. Rojko's musical logic of 'sonoristic pulverization' aims at universal *physicalistic* immersion in sound, leaving traces of cultural semantics aside on behalf of refined, as it were, 'visceral vibrations'. To the contrary, Mihevc with his compositional logic of alienation strives to combine heterogeneous, easily perceptible 'musical commonalities'.

However, in spite of the differences, their respective aesthetic autonomies are difficult to apostrophize as 'messages in a bottle'. Although one should argue about the achievements and degrees of the communicative qualities of their music, a feature they share can be recognized in their aspirations to encompass wide segments of musical experience: Lebič has in mind a kind of transhistori-

<sup>17</sup> E. Senčur, 'V resni glasbi ni dobrih naivcev' ['There are no good naïves in art music'], *Sobotna priloga Dela* 41/12 (16 January 1999), 40.

cal intellectual experience, Rojko's 'translating, canalizing of primary energies into a palpable substance' aims at a thorough sublimation of the senses, while Mihevc strives to gather what he believes are the most efficient musical features around. In short, they are trying to sidestep the relations between the old (the traditional as 'made after an example') and the new (the modernistic, avant-garde): they are trying to focus their musical narratives on different yet basic, elemental segments of what one may describe as an experience with music as 'a whole and belonging to all humanity' ('ein Ganzes und Gesamt menschliches').<sup>18</sup>

### The Classical of the Modern

The quoted description of classical music, borrowed from Friedrich Blume, is far from alluding to canonical stature, even less to canonization of the three composers discussed so far. Yet their respective musical poetics are not to be set within the premise of the *avant-garde art – modernism – traditionalism*, but into a thorny question about the classical, about the 'timeless', 'best', 'most appreciated' values of a musical structure. In contrast to the ideas of advancement, modernisation, improvement and similar, more 'material', 'factual', 'historicistic' categories, their main artistic concern shifts the horizon toward a value-conditioned, axiological ontology of music as common human experience.

Their 'messages in bottles' do not *contain* or *transmit* metaphysical truths; instead, they thematize distinct cultural, mental and physiological commonsensical experiences, for which the main values lay in what Rudolf Bockholdt sees as three main categories of the classical: the 'ripeness' (Reife) of individual style, its 'common intelligibility' (Allgemeinverständlichkeit), and its 'claim to excellence' (Anspruch).<sup>19</sup>

It is necessary to observe similar postulates of cognitive universals with suspicion. It is also important to question their relevance for the concept of modernism. However, it would be difficult to diminish, let alone deny, its importance for a modernist practice of *musique informelle* from the 1960s, centred, pace Gianmario Borio, in the idea of an 'appeal to the recipient's world' ('Appellcharak[t]er [...] an die Lebenswelt des Rezipienten').<sup>20</sup> The postmodern reflection of modernism in the musical ideals of Lebič, Rojko and Mihevc seems to struggle with the same problem as *musique informelle*: with aspirations to surpass the fast aging of the new that formed the core of Adorno's cri-

<sup>18</sup> F. Blume, 'Klassik', in: F. Blume (ed.), *Epochen der Musikgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1974), 233–306, 238.

<sup>19</sup> R. Bockholdt, 'Über das Klassische' in: R. Bockholdt (ed.), *Über das Klassische* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987), 231–236.

<sup>20</sup> G. Borio, *Musikalische Avantgarde um 1960. Entwurf einer Theorie der informellen Musik*, in H. Danuser (ed.), *Freiburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Band 1 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1993), 173.

tique of new music during its 'heroic period' in his broadcast *Das Altern der neuen Musik* (1954).

Although one of the central features of their musical poetics—the 'appeal to the recipient world'—is infallibly postmodern, the main focus of their work should be set in a line with the 'emphatically New', not only as a concept of twentieth century music history, but as a much lengthier stream, a process of searching for a 'better music'. In this sense, they are but dwarfs on the shoulders of a giant standing in the period of the enlightenment. Although it is irrelevant to argue about the modernity of their respective musical idea(l)s and compositional practices—their views and music bring hardly anything 'emphatically new' in the technical or aesthetical sense—they should be positioned within the concept of modernism in the most elemental, basic sense, as defined, for instance, by Boris Groys: 'the new is not only the Other but the valuable Other' (Groys 1992: 43)<sup>21</sup>. Their positions within this notion of *modern* as the search after the *valuable*, not only *different* with regard to the old, could be, of course, questioned further. But notwithstanding that, their musical poetics are irrefutably an autonomous contribution to the concept of the twentieth century music modernisms as a perplexed set of streams in their search of the new between different levels of expressive *symbolism* (Lebič), aesthetic immediacy (Mihevc) and acoustic *sensualism* (Rojko). And this, it seems, is an issue surpassing the history of modernisms.

Леон Стефанија

## КАЛИБРИРАЊЕ МОДЕРНИЗАМА: ИДЕЈЕ / ИДЕАЛИ МУЗИЧКЕ АУТОНОМИЈЕ У САВРЕМЕНОЈ СЛОВЕНАЧКОЈ МУЗИЦИ

### Резиме

Прихватајући широку перспективу модерности као „недовршеног пројекта“ (J. Хабермас), као неопходности у музичкој култури у којој се привиди стално трансформишу, једна од централних тема музичког модернизма, питање музичке аутономије, разматра се као музиколошки концепт. Пореде се три музичке поетике – Лојзета Лебича, Уроша Ројка и Марка Михевца – с једним циљем на уму: понудити специфични ниво аутономије

<sup>21</sup> 'Das Neue ist nicht bloß das Andere, sondern es ist das wertvolle Andere.' B. Groys, *Über das Neue. Versuch einer Kulturökonomie* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1992), 43.

у музици узимајући у обзир централну антиномију овог појма, чиме се модернизам открива модернизам као концепт разапет између идеја „прогре-са“, „аутентичности“, с једне стране, и њиховог порицања у идеалима квалитета дугог трајања, с друге. Другим речима, поред премисе центриране у опозицији историјско – трансисторијско и филозофији „очишћеног“ ест/етичког става, модернизам, како су га схватили споменути композитори, открива се као претежно субјективан скуп представа који чезне за идеалним језиком, истовремено се колебајући између непомирљивих циљева квалитета и другости.



# SPRACHKOMPOSITIONEN IN DER MUSIK DES 20. JAHRHUNDERTS, INSbesondere AM BEISPIEL ÖSTERREICH

HARTMUT KRONES

DIE Verbindung bzw. Aneinanderkoppelung von Sprache, Musik, Gestik und Bewegung ist in der Vokalmusik der sechziger und siebziger Jahre auf mannigfaltigste Weise in Angriff genommen worden. Der Bogen beginnt hier bei rein assoziativen Stücken, die ohne (im herkömmlichen Sinne) semantische Sprache Geschehen simuliert und Emotionen freisetzt; wir denken hier insbesondere an György Ligetis *Aventures* oder an Mauricio Kagels *sur scène*. Weiters umfaßt er Werke, die das rein Äußerliche, Technische, Materialhafte plakathaft verschmelzen und dabei bewußt absurde Wirkungen erzielen, z. B. Kagels *Staatstheater*<sup>1</sup> oder Karlheinz Stockhausens *Originale*<sup>2</sup>. Und schließlich gibt es dadaistisch-lettristische Versuche, die aus Sprachpermutationen oder aus speziell komponiertem, nicht semantischem Text eine musikalische Struktur erhalten, die bisweilen auch bis ins Gestisch-Theatralische reicht und dort ihren Niederschlag findet; wir verweisen hier etwa auf Kagels *Anagrama* oder Dieter Schnebels *Glossolalie*<sup>3</sup>. Umgekehrt gibt es wieder eine Reihe von speziellen

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<sup>1</sup> Mauricio Kagel: "Ich habe versucht, verschiedene Formen des Musizierens und des Geräuschmachens kompositorisch zu inszenieren. Es genügt nicht, musikalische Prozesse sichtbar zu machen, sondern musikalische Formen sollen vielmehr in der optischen Realisation wieder zu Musik werden [...]. Die Frage nach dem ‚Was soll denn das?‘ wird durch die Intensität der musiktheatralischen Idee und ihrer szenisch-akustischen Darstellung zunächst überwunden." Mauricio Kagel, *Tamtam. Monologe und Dialoge zur Musik*, hrsg. von Felix Schmidt, München 1975, S. 89ff.

<sup>2</sup> Karlheinz Stockhausen: "Selbständige Momente verbunden nach Maßgabe von Intensität, Dauer, Dichte, Erneuerungsgrad, Wirkungsreichweite, Gleichzeitigkeit, Reihenfolge. Szenenharmonik - Szenenmelodik (.) Szenenmetrik - Szenenrhythmik(.) Szenendynamik - Szenen-agogik [...]." Karlheinz Stockhausen, *Texte zu eigenen Werken(,) zur Kunst anderer. Aktuelles. Band 2. Aufsätze 1952-1962 zur musikalischen Praxis*, Köln 1964, S. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Schnebel: "Sprechen als solches und als Musik hat viele Aspekte oder Parameter, wie man in der neueren Musiktheorie sagt. Aus der breiten Skala eines jeden davon wurden einige

Sprachkompositionen, wo die Sprech- bzw. Sprachverläufe gleichsam die Musik bilden und zu einer autonomen Struktur auf der Basis kompositorischen Denkens finden; man denke hier an Hans Ottes *Alpha-Omega I* oder an Dieter Schnebels *Dt 316*.

Im weiten Feld dieser Sprach- und Laut(klang)komposition nehmen zwei Österreicher, Anestis Logothetis und Otto M. Zykan, besonders radikale Positionen ein; sie sind zugleich aber auch besonders universell im Sinne einer Synthese der verschiedensten Techniken und sinnstiftenden Möglichkeiten. Denn läßt man die mannigfachen Bestrebungen in diesem Genre Revue passieren, so werden die genannten Prinzipien des Gesamtspektrums meist gleichsam isoliert angewandt; deren Vermischung erscheint dagegen eher selten. Die Gegenpositionen sind hier Sprachkomposition kontra Sprachmanipulation, Eigenerfindung im Sinne von Lautkomposition kontra Zerstörung der Fremderfindung, ja Komposition kontra Dekomposition. Logothetis und Zykan haben hier jeweils eigene Wege gefunden, um die erwähnten Möglichkeiten zu verschmelzen und sich solcherart der üblichen Einordnung weitgehend zu entziehen.

Wenden wir uns zunächst Anestis Logothetis<sup>4</sup> (1921-1994) zu, einem ab 1942 in Wien lebenden Wahlösterreicher griechischer Abstammung. Er war einerseits einer der wichtigsten Vordenker bei der Entwicklung einer graphischen Notenschrift<sup>5</sup>, die weit über die graphischen Versuche eines Earle Brown oder John Cage hinausging und vor allem auch Gestus und Emotion der Musik in angemessener Weise einfing. Darüber hinaus bezog sie auch spezielle Möglichkeiten der Wortkomposition ein. Denn hier sind Sätze, Einzelworte und asemantische Buchstabenkombinationen derart notiert, daß Größe, optische Anordnung und gestische Wirkung der Schriftzeichen auf die musikalische Ebene übertragen werden können; sie führen solcherart zu gleichsam musikalisierten Deklamationen, zu speziellen Betonungen und zu emotionsdurchzogenem Sprechen. Das sprachliche Material wird meist aus einem zunächst semantischen Grundstock gewonnen, kann im weiteren Verlauf aber durch Kombinationen und Permutationen einerseits Mehrdeutigkeit, andererseits musikalische Eigengesetzlichkeit (und dadurch auch semantische Unbestimmtheit) erhalten.

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Werte ausgewählt und miteinander verknüpft. Dies teils so, daß nur einer oder wenige Aspekte des Materials hervortreten, teils so, daß das Spiel der Sprecher oder das Sprechen der Instrumente besonders viele Seiten zur Erscheinung bringt.“ Dieter Schnebel, *Denkbare Musik. Schriften 1952-1972*, hrsg. von Rudolf Zeller, Köln 1972, S. 257.

<sup>4</sup> Zu ihm siehe allgemein Hartmut Krones, Logothetis, Anestis, in: MGG. Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil 11, Kassel etc. sowie Stuttgart-Weimar 2004, Sp. 406-409, sowie Hartmut Krones (Hg.), Anestis Logothetis. Klangbild und Bildklang. Band 27 der Reihe „Komponisten unserer Zeit“, Wien 1998. In diesen Band sind auch die beiden Hauptschriften des Komponisten aufgenommen.

<sup>5</sup> Erstmals publiziert in: Anestis Logothetis, Zeichen als Aggregatzustand der Musik, Wien-München 1974.

Zur Verdeutlichung des Gesagten blicken wir auf unser **1. Beispiel**, einen Ausschnitt aus dem "Musik-Hörspiel" *Anastásis* ("Auferstehungen"). Man erkennt zunächst Notensymbole, die jeweils auf Hilfslinien notiert sind, wobei es sich um gedachte Hilfslinien über dem Baßschlüssel bzw. unter dem Violinschlüssel handelt. Weiters sieht man Buchstaben, graphische Klangdarstellungen und Wortketten. Hierbei handelt es sich um Medikamenten-Namen und Krankheitsbezeichnungen, deren Auftauchen seine Begründung in einem zu Beginn des Stückes rezitierten Liebesgedicht aus assoziativ gewonnenen Verben findet; denn Liebe ist sowohl chemische Reaktion als auch eine Krankheit, was nichts daran ändert, daß das Werk mit dem klanglich zauberhaft unterstützten Liebesgedicht endet. Aus diesen medizinisch-chemischen Begriffen werden nun aber assoziativ auch ganz andere Worte gewonnen: Wir lesen etwas unter der Mitte: "Ophthalmologica Trara Ararat TrakTat Track"; Ararat und Trara stellen de facto Buchstabenpermutationen dar, Traktat wird in Trak und Tat zerteilt. Zur Erklärung: "trara" macht die Trompete, "Ararat" ist ein Berg, Traktat ist eine wissenschaftliche Abhandlung, doch stecken in diesem Wort auch die Worte "Trak" für Traktor und "Tat"; "Track" ist sowohl der "track" einer CD als auch ein Neffe von Donald Duck. In der 3. Zeile lesen wir Onomatopantik, daraus wird dann Taktik, dann Tag, dann Ticktack (einer Uhr) usw. Um einen ersten Eindruck zu erhalten, wollen wir uns einen Teil dieser Partiturseite, beginnend mit dem Alpha oben halblinks, anhören (Tonbeispiel 1). Vergleichen wir die Notation des soeben gehört Ausschnittes mit (**Beispiel 2**) optophonetischen Gedichten eines Raoul Hausmann, mit der gleichsam graphischen Notation des Lautgedichtes von Man Ray oder mit Plakaten von Merz-Matineen des Dadaisten Kurt Schwitters, so fällt die gleiche Grundhaltung auf, graphisch Klang zu suggerieren bzw. – im Falle von Logothetis – tatsächlich zu notieren.

Wenden wir uns nun einem weiteren Werk von Logothetis zu, und zwar dem Zyklus *Kybernetikon* von 1971. Auf 37 Blättern entwickelt sich hier eine weltanschaulich-ideologische Gedankenwelt, die das menschliche Leben samt seinen Krankheiten und gesellschaftlichen Verstrickungen beleuchtet. Blatt 5a des Werkes (**Beispiel 3**) beginnt mit dem Wort "AuBär", unter welchem Wort man sich etliches vorstellen kann, jedenfalls sind die "Au" (also die Flußlandschaft) und der "Bär" deutlich angesprochen. "tAuBer" läßt zwar beide Worte noch erkennen, erhält aber zusätzlich die Bedeutungen "tauber" (eine männliche Taube oder auch ein tauber Mensch) und "Tau" (der morgens in der Au liegt). Ähnlich verhält es sich bei "ZAuBer", womit auf den "Zauber" der Natur verwiesen wird, ohne daß die Konnotationen "Au" und "Bär" verloren gehen; zusätzlich deutet das "Z", ähnlich wie "ts" gesprochen, an, was des Morgens in der Au alles passiert – in welche Richtung man denken kann, verrät das folgende Wort: "SauBär", worunter man sich nur zu einem geringen Teil die Inhalte von "sauber" vorzustellen hat, wie nicht zuletzt der Wortteil "Sau" verrät (für "Nicht-Österreicher": ein "Sau-Bär" ist ein säuisches männliches Wesen; das Wort wird allerdings eher

humoristisch angewendet). Und wer ist mit dem "SauBär" gemeint? Ein "Jüngling", wie das nächste Wort verrät, ein "Lehrling" auf diesem Gebiet noch, aber einer, der weiß, wofür er lernen will – für das Leben und nicht für die Schule: "non scholae sed vitae discimus"; Vokabel aus dem "Schulwortschatz" ergänzen die Assoziation, doch weisen die Worte "Liberalismus", "Aggrammatismus" und "Freudianismus" erneut auf den inhaltlichen "roten Faden" sexueller Gedanken.

Weiter geht es mit "Schmetterling", und wir sind gleichsam wieder in der Au. Der Schmetterling ist "flink", "fliegt" – Assoziation: in der Au "schwimmt" man aber auch – und "fliegt" in den "Lüften", während das Schwimmen eher an die "Hüfte" erinnert, die sicher auch dem "SauBär" wichtig war und ihm "Düfte" vermittelte. – So sprang Logothetis bisher "von Wort zu Wort", "von Hauptwort zu Zeitwort", von "Beiwort zu Fü[h]rwort" (in dem das Wort "führ" bzw. "führen" steckt); weiter geht es zum "Sprichwort", von dem man nur einen einzigen Buchstaben ändern muß, um zum zuvor gesprochenen "Speich[er]wort" zu gelangen. – Die letzten Sentenzen waren sämtlich "klangetymologisch" zerteilt, haben also beim Vortrag folgendermaßen zu klingen: "von Hau! – pt! [was stellen sich hier nicht alles für Assoziationen ein, denkt man etwa an den "SauBär"] – Wo? [in der Au natürlich] – rt! – zu – Z (klingt wie "ts" im Sinne von "ts, ts!") – Ei! (hier sind im bisherigen Zusammenhang gewiß mehrere Assoziationen möglich: vom fruchtbaren "Ei" bis zum "ei, ei" des Streichelns. t! (ein emotionaler Ausruf) – Wo? – rt! usw.; man denke auch noch an die sich bald ergebenden Worte "Führ!" "Spei!" (ebenfalls als Imperativ), "Ich!" und "Ort!"

Dem Wort "Sprichwort" fügt Logothetis sogleich ein Beispiel für ein solches an: "Lügen haben kurze Beine", und sofort taucht eine neue Assoziation auf: Wer an "Beine" denkt, denkt auch an "schlafe nie alleine", und er denkt an "bei wohn!", wobei die folgende Frage "wo" insbesondere dann zu stellen ist, wenn die vorige Einheit als Imperativ "beiwohn [!]" verstanden wurde. Es geht also um das "Beiwohnen". Man muß das "bei" aber gar nicht auf "wohn!" beziehen, denn auch die Folge "wohn! wo!?" ergibt einen guten Sinn. Wenn dies aber so ist, wenn sich also "bei" nicht auf "wohn" bezieht, sondern zur vorigen sprachlichen Einheit gehört, dann ist (eigentlich: war) folgendermaßen zu lesen, zu artikulieren: "schlafe nie alleine bei", und "bei" bezieht sich auf "schlafe", was jeder verstehen wird und wie "eigentlich" auch die autographen Schriftzüge belegen. – All dies führt jedenfalls zu den Worten "um Gottes willen / will ja fort", und dies muß – wie deutlich zu sehen ist – zittrig erregt vorgetragen werden, ehe zu "neutraleren" Inhalten weitergegangen wird (Tonbeispiel 2). Abschließend sei (**Beispiel 4**) gezeigt, wie Logothetis seine Worte auch im Sinne der alten dadaistischen Typography, bzw. Skriptographie, einsetzt: Hier werden 3 nackte Sirenen, von unten gesehen, sichtbar; Sie müssen nur etwas Phantasie haben. Die Sirenen, die den Odysseus während seines Weges in die Heimat zu verführen trachten, beantworten die Frage nach der Zukunft, wobei alte Mythologie und neue Denksysteme ihre Koppelung erfahren; man ersieht dies aus den Texten,

die den Leibern eingeschriebenen sind: z. B. ganz rechts oben: "weil du nicht bist, sondern wirst", "stehst ständig! davor! löse!". Mathematische Ausdrücke, die gleichzeitig Anspielungen auf die Graphik darstellen, ergänzen – z. B. rechts Mitte "ihre Schenkelbreite 3 mal 17". Auch Sätze aus der Kybernetik<sup>6</sup> sind zu sprechen, und auch sie geben Anspielungen auf die nackten Leiber; unterste Sirene, oberste Zeile: "die Beziehung Eingang-Ausgang schließt eine eine! Vergangenheit-Zukunft[-]Ordnung ein!". Gemäß den Anspielungen auf die antiken Sirenen erklingen aber auch griechische und lateinische Worte.

Anestis Logothetis nennt seine Wortkunst "Hörspiele", wobei die Schreibweise "HörSpiel!" mit Rufzeichen wieder typisch für das Genre selbst ist. Sie verarbeiten mannigfache Anregungen aus dadaistischer und asemantischer Dichtung sowie aus Graphik und Malerei des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts. Insbesondere James Joyce's *Ulysses* war für den Komponisten ein faszinierendes Erlebnis, aber auch die gesamte Szene absurder und surrealer Kunst hinterließ ihre Spuren in seinem Œuvre. Als echter Nachfahre der alten "Sprachmusik" bzw. "Sprachkomposition" behandelt er die Sprache selbst als Musik und zerstört so ihre syntaktische Struktur; andererseits arbeitet er mit semantischem Material und erhält durch Laut- und Inhaltspermutierung sowie durch Assoziationsketten immer neues, sinngebend eingesetztes Material.

Der zweite hier zu behandelnde Komponist ist der "Urwiener" Otto M. Zykan<sup>7</sup> (1935-2006), der seit der Mitte der sechziger Jahre an vorderster Front sowohl des avantgardistischen Musiktheaters als auch der Sprachkomposition stand. Er ging meist von semantischem Material aus, das einen besonders aggressiven, meist gesellschaftskritischen Charakter aufweist. Dabei ging es ihm bisweilen um verschlüsselte Botschaften für Insider, bisweilen aber auch um gleichsam marktschreierisch-plakative, lehrhaft pädagogisierende Sentenzen, deren Variation, ja Verstümmelung wieder eine spezielle demonstrative Funktion besitzt.<sup>8</sup>

Zykans oft reihenmechanisch strukturiertes Manipulieren von Textbausteinen erinnert durch seine Assoziationsprünge deutlich an literarische Bestrebungen sowohl des frühen Dadaismus als auch des Neodadaismus der Wiener

<sup>6</sup> Aus Norbert Wieners Buch über die Kybernetik.

<sup>7</sup> Zu ihm siehe allgemein insbesondere Hartmut Krones, Zykan, Otto M., in: MGG. Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil 17, Kassel etc. 2007, Sp. 1609-1612.

<sup>8</sup> Hiezu siehe u. a. Hartmut Krones, Dadaismus, "In-Szene" und Gesellschaftskritik. Otto M. Zykans Konzept eines optisch-akustischen Musiktheaters der sechziger Jahre, in: Oper als soziales oder politisches Engagement? (Slovenski Glasbeni Dnevi 1992. Kongreßbericht), hrsg. von Primoz Kuret, Ljubljana 1993, S. 175-186; weiters siehe auch Hartmut Krones, Vom Wortbruchstück zur Sentenz und zurück: Otto M. Zykans Konzept der Sprachkomposition zwischen Reihenmechanik und Neo-Dadaismus, in: Musik als Text. Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Freiburg im Breisgau 1993, hrsg. von Hermann Danuser und Tobias Plebuch. Band 1. Hauptreferate, Symposien, Kolloquien, Kassel etc. 1998, S. 409-415.

Gruppe um Gerhard Rühm und H. C. Artmann.<sup>9</sup> Dementsprechend war es schon in seinem ersten großen Werk, der Bühnenfarce *Singers Nähmaschine ist die beste*<sup>10</sup>, wesentliches Gestaltungsmerkmal. Als **Beispiel 5** sehen Sie den Text eines Sprechchors, der sinnfällig machen soll, daß das Komponieren einer Oper bzw. Ode bzw. Opernode eine Sisyphus-Arbeit darstellt. Die vier Zeilen eines "Systems" in der Notation sind als die vier Chorperte zu lesen – im 1. Takt wird also gleichsam das Ausgangsproblem genannt. Ich lese in der Reihenfolge Sopran-Alt-Tenor: "Oper oder / Ode oder / Opernode". Das in der Konstruktionsreihe nächste Wort ist dann die dem Baß anvertraute "Orderader", durch innere Permutation aus dem Vorhergehenden entstanden. Betrachtet man die Vokal-Verhältnisse, so zeigt sich, daß die Reihe O-E-O-E, die zweimal unverändert blieb (Operoder / Odeoder / Opernode), hier nur an einer Stelle variiert wurde: O-E-A-E (Orderader). Und das wird nun zum Prinzip des weiteren Geschehens, das zusätzlich dadurch gekennzeichnet ist, daß jedes vom Baß neu gebildete Wort von unten nach oben durch alle Stimmen läuft. "Operoder" (Sopran) verschwindet also im 2. Takt, "Odeoder" (Alt) wandert in den Sopran, "Opernode" (Tenor) in den Alt (und im 3. Takt in den Sopran), "Orderader" (Baß) in den Tenor und im weiteren Ablauf in den Alt und in den Sopran. Je Hörverhalten bzw. Konzentration auf einzelne Stimmen ist also partiell ein Wandern von Wörtern durch die Chorperte auszunehmen.

Das jeweils neue Wort des Basses tauscht nun jeweils einen Vokal aus, wobei die beiden fehlenden Austauschvorgänge vom Beginn dadurch nachgeholt erscheinen, daß zwischen "Orderader" und "Öderautor" drei Positionen verändert werden. "Öderautor" meint "öder, also schlechter Autor" und besitzt somit eine zusätzliche semantische Qualität; Verweisfunktion haben auch Worte wie "Chorherrauer" (Chorherr in der Au), "Ohrenglauber", "Armmatknappe" (der Knappe hat einen Arm), "Sängermörder", "Schwulenmule" ("schwul" heißt soviel wie "warm", englisch "gay") oder "Singersierig" – für Nicht-Österreicher: "Sierig" bedeutet soviel wie geldgierig, was ja alle "Singer", also Sänger, sind. Vier Takte vor Schluß wird schließlich "Sissifusis" erreicht. Hier schließt die Wort-Reihe, und Zykan wartet ab, bis alle dieses Zielwort, das die Endaussage der Nummer darstellt, sprechen; die Sentenz ist hier gleichsam in ein Wort zusammengefaßt.

Mit dieser Art der Sprachkomposition hat Zykan auch in der Radio- und Fernsehwerbung Fuß gefaßt. Legende sind hier seine Wortspiele, die nach ähnlichen Reihenabläufen in dem Satz "Humanic paßt immer" gipfeln – Humanic ist eine österreichische Schuhfirma, deren Bekanntheitsgrad (und Umsatz) durch diese Bewerbung sprunghaft anstieg.

<sup>9</sup> Siehe Karl Riha, *Da Dada da war ist Dada da*, München-Wien 1980, S. 223ff. sowie S. 232ff., wo Gerhard Rühms Texte über lautgedichte und auditive poesie abgedruckt sind.

<sup>10</sup> Mschr. Libretto, Wien o. J. [1965/66]. Zu diesem Werk siehe Hartmut Krones, Dada – Provokation und Anti-Kunst, in: *Provokation in der Musik. Symposium Laibach 1993*, hrsg. von Primoz Kuret, Ljubljana 1993, S. 146ff.

Ein weiteres Erfolgsstück des Komponisten, die "Polemische Arie" über einen Ausspruch Arnold Schönbergs, konzentriert sich vor allem auf Wortverfremdungen und semantische Permutationen. Ausgangspunkt ist hier der bekannte Ausspruch Schönbergs "Ich habe eine Erfindung gemacht, die die Vorherrschaft der deutschen Musik für die nächsten hundert Jahre sicherstellt". Zykan geißelt durch mit beißender Ironie durchsetzte Buchstaben-Umgruppierungen die seiner Meinung nach faschistoide Haltung auf, die zu jenem Satz führte: "Vorherrschaft - Horde schafft - Tor der Haft - forsch er hofft - fahr er fort - Afterhort" hört man genauso wie "Vorherrschaft der deutschen Musik - Heil der deutschen Musik - Heil!" - Doch auch hier geht der Chorsatz ebenso wie der Part des solistischen Sprechers, also Zykans, trotz aller humoristisch-dadaistischen Effekte nach streng musikalisch-klanglichen Überlegungen vor sich (Tonbeispiel 3). Ein Stück, in dem alle genannten Elemente paradigmatisch zusammengefaßt erscheinen, ist Zykans zweites abendfüllendes Bühnenwerk "Der Zurückgebliebenen Auszählreim" von 1986, das der Komponist als "Theater für ein Opernhaus" bezeichnete. Zentrales Motiv des 28 Nummern umfassenden Werkes ist die Darstellung der laut Zykan "mit der Schöpfung beginnenden und sicherlich bis zur Erschöpfung der Welt fortdauernden Heiterkeit des Scheiterns"<sup>11</sup>, und dementsprechend haben sämtliche Szenen irgendeinen Aspekt von Tod oder Untergang zum Inhalt. Zentrales Stück ist der bereits vorweg als selbständige Chornummer entstandene "Auszählreim", eine grimmige Anklage gegen Krieg, Gewalt und Streit in der Welt. Als Beispiel 6 sehen Sie den Text:

Ping peng peng katakomb, bomb bomb knatteratta tatterattata pistol puschka pestilenz, schieß sies suicid düsentschüß sui schieß sß—sß—sß—Ich tu dir nichts, sagt der Dings, sagt der Dongs.

Ping peng peng allerdings, schlag den Schädel ich dir ein, leuchtet es dir gar nicht ein...

Dings denkt der Dongs schlechterdings allerdings

ping peng peng katakomb, waff wau wafflauf wau. Hau auf trau auf Waffenlauf. Tollwutvoller Treppenroller Truppenkoller Lügenholler! Aber waff wau wiff ist wenn, waffenwifse wegwerfwsche Waffen bündeln Affen zündeln?

Ping Peng peng katakomb, bomb bomb knatteratta tatteratta da wo die dem widerstand, drum Widerstand wer Böses ahnt!

Sand Strand Wald Brand, Deckenstrecker Doppeldecker Phrasenquäker: Sa a a a alve Cäsar morituri te sa a a lutant Sand Wald Brand!

Salutant sandd lad zu tant! Salutschand nur Unflat tarnt! Beißt den Finger, küßt die Hand!

<sup>11</sup> Otto M. Zykan, "Der Zurückgebliebenen Auszählreim" (Theater für ein Opernhaus). Wiener Festwochen 1987. Textbuch, Wien o. J. [1987], S. 5. Siehe auch: "Auszählreim" oder Von der "Heiterkeit des Scheiterns". Hartmut Krones sprach mit Otto M. Zykan, in: Österreichische Musikzeitschrift 42 (1987), S. 222–226.

Ping peng peng katakomb bomb bomb knatteratta tatteratta da ja wie ja wo ja wann ja so!

So läuft der Hase! Phrasen auf der Nase aber Zündstoff in der Blase!

Ui je weh ui weh o je. Kriegsdreh Unglückskle Schießpulverschnee und wenn der Nebel aufsteigt, der Rest auf hohlen Knochen geigt...

Depperte Debatte patentiert Debakelpack! Ob der die da, ob die der da, ob der da war, ob der Diva wer den Darmverschluß als Gagenvorschuß buckeln muß, wenn bei Torschlußpanik plötzlich dann der ping peng peng Katakomb Bunkersong, seine letzte Strophe singt, wenn sein letzter Marsch erklingt Ping peng peng katakomb...

Ping peng bumsti paff!

Wer singt denn schon wenn alles schlaff!?

Wenn krummer Kriege Gruselkrallen grölend in die Häuser fallen?

Knall Fall Schlußfanal, drängen in den Schußkanal!

Für wen, ja von wo, ja nur wie?

Für den über die ja von dort?

Dort wo man Tauben schießt, gibts auch den stinkenden Mistkäfer fliegt wo zu fressen er kriegt!

Ping peng peng katakomb, bomb bomb knatteratta tatteratata

Pistol, puschkha, pestilenz, schieß sie's suicid düsentschüß suischieß.

Ich tu dir nichts, sagt der Dings sagt der Dongs, könnt man glauben, was sie meinen, ja dann gings, ja dann gings!

Allerdings muß der ping peng peng Bunkersong dann ausgeblasen, weggelassen, ohne hassen: unterlassen.

Den Ping peng peng ist zu eng. Knatterattateratata macht uns taub, mit Verlaub!

Bomb bomb Bombenzank, Horrorboom Waffengang.

Bumm bumm Bumerang, macht uns bang!!

Knibber knabber Dummian, nimmt Uran statt Lebertran und wundert sich dann schief und bös, warum, wieso er so nervös, warum in seinem Kopfgekrös, so störend quält das Kriegsgetös...

Betrachtet man die Vertonung, so sieht man, daß die Nummer mit freien Assoziationen beginnt, wobei der Wechsel der Einsätze gleichsam zu einer Chor-Stereophonie führt, die den Text quer durch die Choraufstellung ziehen und auch verfolgen läßt. Zu Beginn vierstimmig, wird das Geschehen für kurze Zeit zweistimmig, und ab Buchstabe A dreistimmig, jetzt aber zum Teil kanonisch. Der Sopran ist nun genau eine Achtelnote hinter dem Tenor zurück, bis sich die beiden Linien vier Takte später wieder vereinigen; der Baß geht zunächst mit dem Tenor, ehe er durch eine freie Wiederholung des Wortes "Pestilenz" abdriftet und sich eine Viertelnote hinter dem Sopran einordnet. Bei der Stelle "schiß uß", die lautmalerisch genau jene Assoziation einbringen soll, die Sie alle haben, wäre die Ordnung folgende: Alt-Sopran+Baß-Tenor. Zunächst stimmt sie, dann vergißt der Tenor seinen Einsatz, holt ihn aber einen Schlag später nach, wodurch der 3. Takt dieser Stelle nun folgendermaßen lautet: Alt+Tenor-

Sopran+Baß. Nun geht es wieder in freier Gestaltung weiter. Die Beethoven-Hereinnahme<sup>12</sup> soll sowohl den Mißbrauch klassischer Musik durch faschistische Regime ansprechen als auch die als "Kitt des Daseins"<sup>13</sup> fungierende Musikrezeption, die in einer Welt der Schrecken zur Beiläufigkeit verkommt.

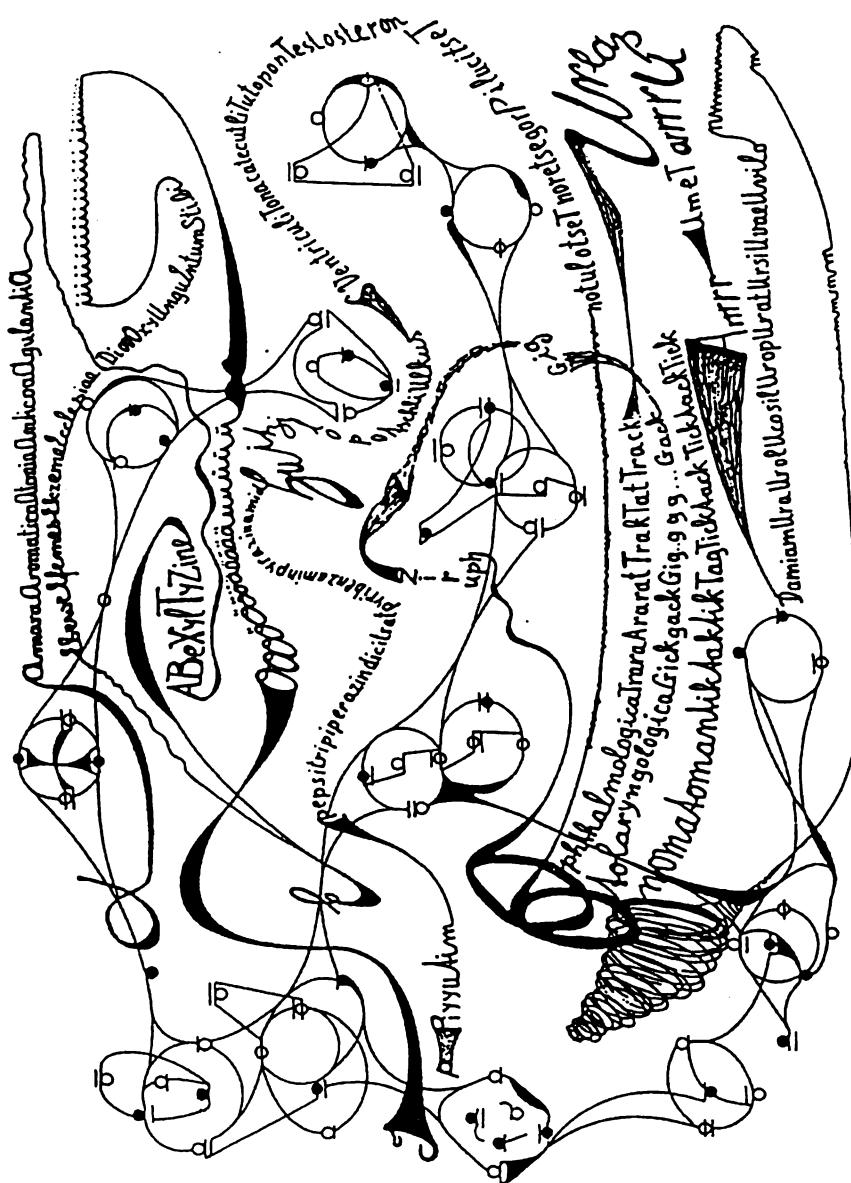
Insgesamt geht es jedenfalls auch hier um die sukzessive "Hörbarmachung" eines Textes durch die Komposition, also die Zusammenstellung (das "componere") von Wortfetzen, Silben und ganzen Worten. Dabei werden die Bestandteile der Ausgangs- bzw. End-Sentenz zum "Thema" im alten rhetorischen Sinne<sup>14</sup>, über das nun abgehandelt wird. Die Schärfe ergibt sich dabei – wie einst bei den Dadaisten – aus den affirmativ eingesetzten und bewußt gesteuerten assoziativen semantischen Valenzen, die zugleich Text und Kontext, Sprache und Klang sind. Und auch hierin steht Zykan in einer langen Traditionslinie der Wortbehandlung sowie (bisweilen) auch der schöpferischen Auseinandersetzung eines Komponisten mit Literatur seiner Zeit.

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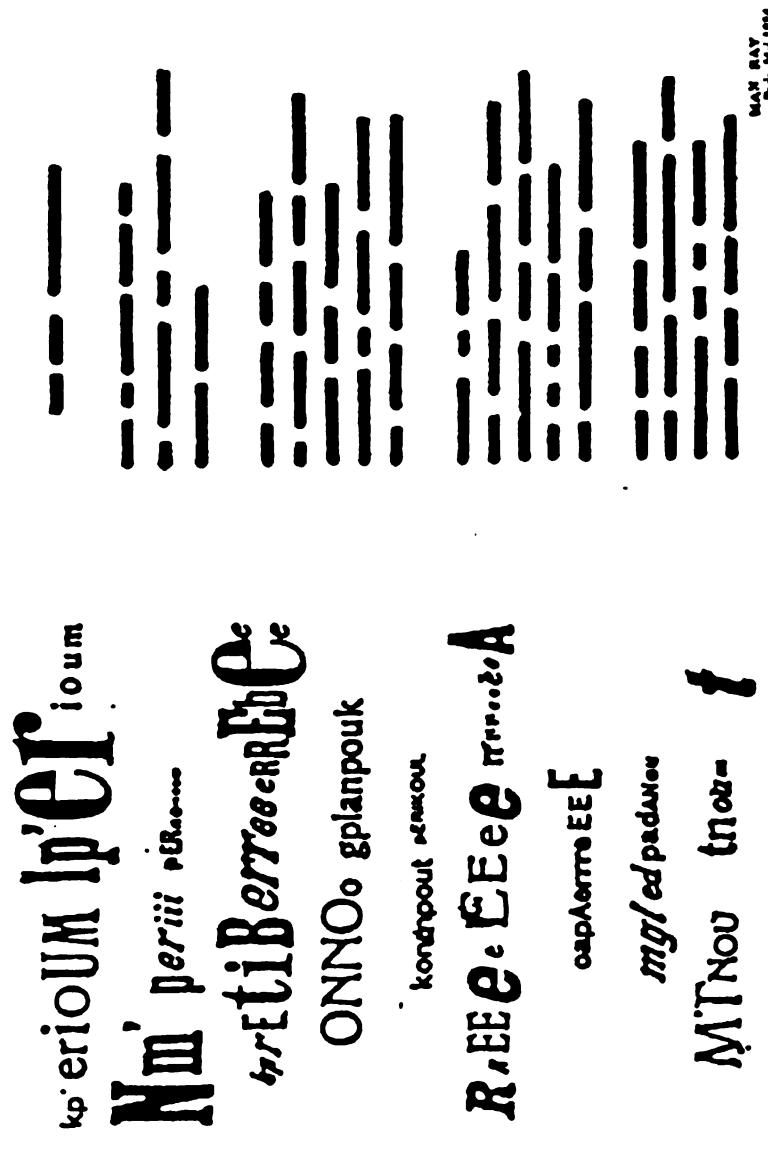
<sup>12</sup> Im Verlauf des Chores singen die vier Stimmen einmal das Hauptthema des Klavierkonzertes Nr. 4 (1. Satz) von Ludwig van Beethoven in freier Imitation, gleichsam fugiert.

<sup>13</sup> Siehe Michael Alt, Didaktik der Musik. Orientierung am Kunstwerk, Düsseldorf 1968, S. 14. Vergleiche auch den Adornoschen Typus des Bildungshörers, der "die Themen berühmter und immer wiederholter Musikwerke summt [...]. Sein Verhältnis zur Musik hat insgesamt etwas Fetischistisches." Theodor W. Adorno, Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie. Zwölf theoretische Vorlesungen, Taschenbuchausgabe [Reinbek bei Hamburg] 1968, S. 17f.

<sup>14</sup> Siehe u. a. Hartmut Krones, Rhetorik und rhetorische Symbolik in der Musik um 1800. Vom Weiterleben eines Prinzips, in: *Musiktheorie 3* (1988), S. 124ff.



## Beispiel 1



Beispiel 2



### Beispiel 3



## Beispiel 4

<b>CHOR:</b>			
OPERODER ODEODER OPERNODE ORDERADER	ODEODER OPERNODE ORDERADER ÖDERAUTOR	OPERNODE ORDERADER ÖDERAUTOR CHORHERRAUER	ORDERADER ÖDERAUTOR CHORHERRAUER OHRENGLAUBER
ÖDERAUTÖR CHORHERRAUER OHRENGLAUBER ABARTKLAPPE	CHORHERRAUER OHRENGLAUBER ABARTKLAPPE ARMHATKNAPPE	OHRENGLAUBER ABARTKLAPPE ARMHATKNAPPE STANDANNAHME	ABARTKLAPPE ARMHATKNAPPE STANDANNAHME WARENBAHRE
ARMHATKNAPPE STANDANNAHME WARENBAHRE WÄRERHERRDER	STANDANNAHME WARENBAHRE WÄRERHERRDER FÖRDERLEHRER	WARENBAHRE WÄRERHERRDER FÖRDERLEHRER JÄGERHEGER	WÄRERHERRDER FÖRDERLEHRER JÄGERHEGER SÄNGERMÖRDER
FÖRDERLEHRER JÄGERHEGER SÄNGERMÖRDER MÖGERJUNGFER	JÄGERHEGER SÄNGERMÖRDER MÖGERJUNGFER UMKEHRMUSE	SÄNGERMÖRDER MÖGERJUNGFER UMKEHRMUSE SCHWULENMULE	MÖGERJUNGFER UMKEHRMUSE SCHULEMULE KUNIGUNDE
UMKEHRMUSE SCHWULENMULE KUNIGUNDE MUSTERSTUNDE	SCHWULENMULE KUNIGUNDE MUSTERSTUNDE MUSIKMIEME	KUNIGUNDE MUSTERSTUNDE MUSIKMIEME INZUCHTBIENE	MUSTERSTUNDE MUSIKMIEME INZUCHTBIENE INTIMSHINSICHT
MUSIKMIEME INZUCHTBIENE INTIMSHINSICHT INZICHTIRIG	INZUCHTBIENE INTIMSHINSICHT INZICHTIRIG SINGERSIERIG	INTIMSHINSICHT INZICHTIRIG SINGERSIERIG Gingersinger	INZICHTIRIG SINGERSIERIG Gingersinger SINGERSCHIENE
SINGERSIERIG Gingersinger SINGERSCHIENE IRRSICHTSINGER	GINGERSINGER SINGERSCHIENE IRRSICHTSINGER SINGERSURINX	SINGERSCHIENE IRRSICHTSINGER SINGERSURINX INSIXSINGUR	IRRSICHTSINGER SINGERSURINX INSIXSINGUR SINGERFISIS
SINGERSURINX INSIXSINGUR SINGERFISIS SISSIFUSIS	INSIXSINGER SINGERFISIS SISSIFUSIS SISSIFUSIS	SINGERFISIS SISSIFUSIS SISSIFUSIS SISSIFUSIS	SISSIFUSIS SISSIFUSIS SISSIFUSIS SISSIFUSIS

Beispiel 5

Хартмут Кронес

## ГОВОРНЕ КОМПОЗИЦИЈЕ У МУЗИЦИ ХХ ВЕКА, НА ПРИМЕРИМА ИЗ АУСТРИЈЕ

### Р е з и м е

Осим у оквиру дадаизма између два светска рата, разноврсни начини повезивања језика, гласа и музике појавили су се и у вокалној музичи шездесетих и седамдесетих година ХХ века. Могуће их је уочити у асоцијативним комадима који симулирају радњу без коришћења семантичког језика (на пр. у *Авантурама* Ђерђа Лигетија и *На сцени* Карлхајнца Штокхаузена), као и у делима у којима се звуци и материјали стапају, при чему се свесно постижу апсурдни ефекти (Кагелово *Државно позориште* или Штокхаузенови *Оригинали*), све до дадаистички инспирисаних остварења, у којима се музичке структуре изграђују пермутацијом језика или специјално компонованим асемантичким текстовима у којима се уочава продор гестуалности и театралности у музичке структуре (Кагелова *Анаграма* или *Глосолалија* Дитера Шнебела). Супротно томе, има неколико композиција у којима токови говора и језика образују саму музику, тако остварујући аутономну структуру засновану на композиционом мишљењу, као што је реализовано у *Алфа-Омеги I* Ханса Отеа или Шнебеловом *DT 31 b*.

Ниједан аустријски композитор – осим натурализованог Аустријанца Ђерђа Лигетија – није до сада споменут, мада су аустријски композитори стално изнова изазивали чуђење својим новим концепцијама. Већ у 1920-им годинама Раул Хаусман је био један од најнапреднијих представника говорних композиција, док је Ернст Тох био значајан борац за тај правац током следеће деценије. После 1965. године бечки композитори Герхард Рум и Ото М. Цикан, као и натурализовани Бечлија Аnestис Логотетис, обогатили су музичку сцену мноштвом нових идеја које су знатно прошириле жанр говорних композиција и модерне музике. У раду се даје преглед ових остварења и указује на њихове иманентне структуре помоћу изабраних примера.



# STRUCTURE – MEANING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERM IN THEORETICAL AND ‘MUSICAL’ STRUCTURALISM

JELENA JANKOVIĆ

IN this paper I intend to explore the influence of the theoretical structuralism (developed in the French culture during the sixth and seventh decade of the twentieth century) on the composers of the time. Is it justified to interpret the ‘structural’ procedures in high modernist music as evidences of musical ‘structuralism’? This topic has recently been provoked by an interesting and important book by Jelena Novak, entitled *Divlja analiza (The Wild Analysis)*,<sup>1</sup> in which she discusses different types of analysis of the twentieth century music – formalistic, structuralistic and poststructuralistic. In the book she outlines the philosophical movements of formalism, structuralism and poststructuralism and discusses their implications in the field of musicology. Her observations about the notion of structure and descriptions of ‘musical structuralism’ deserve particular attention. Here, these two notions are going to be discussed in relation to the contemporary works and autopoetic texts by Pierre Boulez (1925) and Iannis Xenakis (1922–2001) which seemed to be particularly interesting for this discussion on musical structuralism, and for several reasons. Boulez and Xenakis are among the most prominent composers of the époque in which structuralism flourished, and they shared the same cultural framework with the structuralists, being their compatriots. Furthermore, their poetic positions are often interpreted as opposed to one another, since Boulez explored the possibilities of the serial technique and Xenakis was critical of serial music and was one of the first exponents of the ‘music of the masses’.<sup>2</sup> Finally, both composers

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<sup>1</sup> J. Novak, *Divlja analiza. Formalistička, strukturalistička i poststrukturalistička razmatranja muzike* [The Wild Analysis. Formalistic, Structuralistic and Poststructuralistic Considerations of Music], Edicija Muzika (Beograd: SKC, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> ‘The musical thinking of Iannis Xenakis manifests itself with a true autonomy from all existing systems, and especially from the serial system. [...] The determinism of the serialism

derived strong creative impulses from various non-musical fields, especially from the field of science: Boulez from the mathematics, and Xenakis from physics, mathematics, architecture, but also from ancient Greek philosophy, astronomy etc.

### 1. Structuralism – Definitions

Structuralism appeared in academia for the first time in the nineteenth century and then reappeared in the second half of the twentieth century, when it grew to become one of the most popular approaches in academic fields concerned with the analysis of language, culture, and society. The work of Ferdinand de Saussure concerning linguistics is generally considered to be a starting point of twentieth century structuralism.<sup>3</sup> The term 'structuralism' itself appeared in the works of French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (*Anthropologie structurale*, 1958), and gave rise, in France, to the 'structuralist movement', which spurred the work of such thinkers as Michel Foucault, Louis Althusser, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan and others. Structuralism is closely related to semiotics, developed by Charles Saunders Pierce simultaneously with Saussure's semiology. Roland Barthes defines semiology as *translinguistics*, which studies all semiotic systems which may be connected to language, expanding semiology to various forms of communication in culture (film, music, theatre, fashion, gastronomy...).

In her book, Jelena Novak, summarises the most important features of structuralism: first of all, it focuses on research of the cultural artefacts using the methods of the contemporary linguistics, with an emphasis put on the pairs signifier–signified and synchrony–diachrony.<sup>4</sup> Saussure's term sign (*signe*) refers to the **whole**, while he introduces terms signified (*signifié*) and signifier (*signifiant*) for the notion and its acoustic expression. He claims that the combination of the signifier and the signified is an arbitrary entity, and that the linguistic sign is arbitrary because a supposed ontological and necessary relation between the signifier and signified simply does not exist. However, Saussure says that language must not be understood as a register of names arbitrarily chosen and attributed to the sequence of notions because each language articulates and

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seemed to him as one particular case of the more general logic the final border of which was the pure hasard. In other words, Iannis Xenakis posed a principle of uncertainty upon all compositional systems.' J.-Y. Bosseur, 'A propos de *Pithoprakta* (1955–56)', [www.iannis-Xenakis.org/bosseur.htm](http://www.iannis-Xenakis.org/bosseur.htm)

<sup>3</sup> His most influential book, published posthumously in 1916, is *Cours de linguistique générale*, C. Bally and A. Sechehaye (eds.), with the collaboration of A. Riedlinger (Lausanne and Paris: Payot).

<sup>4</sup> R. Bart [Roland Barthes], *Književnost, mitologija, semiologija* [Literature, Mythology, Semiology] (Beograd: Nolit, 1979), 151. Cf. Novak, *Divlja analiza* [The Wild Analysis]. 73.

organises the world in a different manner (that is the reason why the translation from one language to another can never be literal).<sup>5</sup>

Differentiating the system of language from its real manifestation, Ferdinand de Saussure made a famous distinction between *parole* – speech and *langue* – unspoken and unheard system of language which determines the structure and meaning of a statement.<sup>6</sup> Barthes says that *langue* and *parole* only receive their full meaning in dialectical process which connects them: ‘There is no language without speech and there is no speech outside language’.<sup>7</sup> Graham argues that the hidden *langue* behind visible *parole* is not something that exists independently from the language in use (i. e. the speech). Even though *langue* may be different from concrete statements, it can nevertheless manifest itself in these statements. Concerning the intellectual attractiveness of structuralism, it is not unusual that the basic ideas of linguistic structuralism spread to other spheres of research. The most important example is the anthropology developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss. His starting point is the idea that humans get to know the world with the help of language. According to Lévi-Strauss, ‘**the descriptions which are made ‘for’ the world and ‘about’ the world do not come ‘from’ the world but they are artificial models, constructs**’.<sup>8</sup>

Here is how Lévi-Strauss defines the object which is suitable for structuralistic analysis: ‘An object is structured if it fulfills two conditions: that it represents a system which reveals its internal cohesion, and that its cohesion, which cannot be observed in an isolated system, is discovered through studying of transformations which allow to recognize similar characteristics in seemingly different systems.’<sup>9</sup> Graham rightfully concludes that it is not difficult to see how structuralism can spread its influence on other fields of art: two preconditions for existence of a structured system, as formulated by Lévi-Strauss, do not refer exclusively to language and it is possible to imagine other art forms, and not just literature, as semantic systems, as structural conglomerates.

One of the basic structuralistic postulates is that every system, since it consists of elements which are interdependent, is different from other systems thanks to the unique interconnections of the elements that form its structure.<sup>10</sup> From the structuralists’ point of view, elements that form a structure do not

<sup>5</sup> N. Ivanović, *Muzika i znakovi* [Music and Signs] (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2002), 36.

<sup>6</sup> G. Grejam [Gordon Graham], *Filozofija umetnosti. Uvod u estetiku* [Philosophy of the Arts; an Introduction to Aesthetics], preveo sa engleskog Z. Paunović, Ars Theoria (Beograd: CLIO, 2007), 214.

<sup>7</sup> R. Bart, *Književnost, mitologija, semiologija* [Literature, Mythology, Semiology], 289. Cf. Ivanović, *Muzika i znakovi* [Music and Signs], 68

<sup>8</sup> J. Novak, *Divlja analiza* [The Wild Analysis], 73

<sup>9</sup> Cf. G. Grejam, *Filozofija umetnosti* [Philosophy of the Arts], 215.

<sup>10</sup> J. Novak, *Divlja analiza* [The Wild Analysis], 75.

have any meaning independently, but they get the meaning by forming relationships with other elements and by being different from them.<sup>11</sup>

Jelena Novak takes an attitude that the music based on the principles of dodecaphony, punctualism and integral serialism could be defined as **musical structuralism because it uses 'pre-compositional procedures'**.<sup>12</sup> Later she explains that integral serialism and micropolyphony are characterized by musical structuralism i. e. **the shift from the process of construction of form towards the construction of structure**.<sup>13</sup> The author also quotes the opinion of Dunja Dujmić that Anton Webern 'legalized' musical structuralism by saying that **the bearer of the meaning of the whole is its structure, instead of its individual parts**.<sup>14</sup> However, Novak quotes on Gisèle Brelet who says that 'in all music, in all its aspects and on all levels, the musical activity [...] consists of structuring of the sound matter'.<sup>15</sup> Continuing in that direction she concludes that **structuralism in music is not limited to the fields of serial and dodecaphonic music, but it covers a much broader area**.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Structure – Definitions

Drawing on Roland Barthes and Mukařovský, Jelena Novak defines the structure as a group of signs that form relationships of some sort and which are determined by the law of unity, where every element contributes to the construction of a whole.<sup>17</sup> According to Nikša Gligo, structure 'reflects itself in the manner in which individual elements are organized to create some sort of a whole'.<sup>18</sup> However, the structures in music can be formed on many different levels, and that is why Gligo says that it is not just languages of serialism and dodecaphony which indicate structuralism in music – its field is potentially wider.

It seems to me that the most important and useful distinction that Jelena Novak makes in the book *Divlja analiza* (*The Wild Analysis*) is the realization that **in music (or rather related to music) the notion of structure may have two possible meanings, which are often confused – the 'colloquial' one and the structuralistic interpretation**. 'Colloquially' a structure is defined as a 'concrete relationship among several elements that build a whole or a system'. The colloquial definition is often used in theory of music and it is very similar

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 73.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 88. See also M. Milin, 'Jelena Novak: *Divlja analiza. Formalistička, strukturalistička i poststrukturalistička razmatranja muzike*', *Muzikologija, Časopis Muzikološkog instituta Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti*, 5 (2005), 410.

<sup>13</sup> Novak, *Divlja analiza* [*The Wild Analysis*], 88.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 90.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 88.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 74–5.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 79.

to the notion of musical form. According to Novak, the only difference is that, when speaking about musical form, we tend to focus more on the whole, while in case of musical structure we take a better look at the internal relationships of its elements.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, the theoretical structuralistic definition suggests that the notion of structure does not refer to the empirical reality of a piece of music, but to the descriptive and interpretative models which are constructed for that piece.<sup>20</sup> According to that point of view, the musical structure is not inherent in the work at question: we cannot identify it by analysing its sound phenomena and its score. The structure is constructed for the piece; it consists of semiological models which describe the piece. It is possible to say that, according to this type of interpretation, the notion of structure refers to the particular sort of analysis of musical pieces, and not to a certain musical style.<sup>21</sup>

This is similar to the dichotomy that Umberto Eco sees in the nature of the structural model:<sup>22</sup> it is both the operational process which makes possible to observe various phenomena from the metalinguistical point of view as semiotic systems (i. e. interpretative model), as well as the ontological reality (structure as a whole which can be studied from various aspects). According to Mukařovský one of the most important features of a piece of art is its sign-based nature. He observes a work of art as a very complex sign in which 'each component and each part bear a partial meaning and merged together they create the whole meaning of the work'.<sup>23</sup> The authors of the 'Czech circle' of structuralists claimed that the work of art should be understood as a sign or a structure created of signs.<sup>24</sup> Zoran Milutinović says that in understanding a work of art as a sign there are several immediate consequences for the study of art. First

<sup>19</sup> Starting from the observation that the structuralists have often been 'accused of being formalists', Claude Lévi-Strauss pointed out to the differences between the notions of structure and form, as well as structuralism and formalism, in his essay *Structure and Form*. Unlike formalism, structuralism does not oppose concrete to the abstract and does not give merit to the latter. A form is defined as something opposed to matter, whilst a structure does not have any content that would be separated from it: the structure itself is the content, seen in the only logical order. Cf: *ibid*, 77.

<sup>20</sup> M. Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik moderne i postmoderne likovne umetnosti od 1950* [A Dictionary of Notions of Modern and Post-modern Visual Art and Theory after 1950] (Beograd – Novi Sad: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti – Prometej, 1999), 331.

<sup>21</sup> Thus, the chapter of J. Novak's book called 'Strukturalizam u muzici' [Structuralism in Music] deals with structuralistic interpretations of music.

<sup>22</sup> U. Eco, *La Struttura assente*, Milan, 1968. Cf. Ivanović, *Muzika i znakovi* [Music and Signs], 98.

<sup>23</sup> J. Mukařovský, *Struktura, funkcija, znak, vrednost* [Structure, Function, Sign, Value] (Beograd: Nolit, 1986), 210. Cf. Novak, *Divilja analiza* [The Wild Analysis], 76.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Z. Milutinović, *Susret na trećem mestu. Ogledi iz teorije i interpretacije* [The Meeting at the Third Place. Essays in Theory and Interpretation], Edicija teorija (Beograd: Geopoetika, 2006), 119–20.

of all, it means that the study of material aspects of art is insufficient: we cannot understand its meaning just by observing its internal organization. In addition, it is necessary to have an insight into the relationship between that organization and the most general code in its background. The code should be understood as the artistic tradition on the basis of which the work of art is perceived and which 'creates' that piece of art in the first place.<sup>25</sup> This transition from study of individual works to study of codes of art represents the transition from *parole* to *langue*. The second consequence of understanding of a work of art as a sign is study of the nature of the reality to which the sign refers. Mukařovský says: a work of art is an *autonomous* sign which is used as the mediator among members of the same collective. 'Autonomous' does not mean that it does not refer to anything but that 'something' to what it refers is inconclusive. That 'something' is the total context of social occurrences.<sup>26</sup>

Under the influence of Saussure and Barthes, art works are observed as signs built according to structuralistic principles. It is believed that the meaning of an art work is 'encoded' in its structure. For instance, Ruwet says that there is a **homology between the structure in music and the structure of reality and experience**, and he sees this homology as **solution to the problem of meaning in music**.<sup>27</sup> The basic assumption is that **meaning and structure are connected**. Therefore, if it is possible to find a syntactic or quasisyntactic structure, it is also possible to determine the meaning which is encoded in it. In such framework the existence of a syntactic structure serves as a proof that music is a semiotic system. However, Scruton observes that Saussure's linguistics does not give a convincing theory of syntax, nor does it provide an explanation of how the syntactic structures 'bear' their meanings.<sup>28</sup> For in natural language syntax and semantics are firmly connected – syntactic composition of a sentence is explained by its semantic aim. Or, in other words, the purpose of syntax in language is to articulate meaning.<sup>29</sup> However, meaning of this sort does not exist in musical systems, and it is possible to say that the 'syntax' in music is autoreferential – its 'sentences', 'motives' and other constituents of the structure do not have any external referents. This is obvious in most works of 'absolute' music, while in case of vocal music (or 'programmatical' music) it is not easy to study the musical content without relationship to the text (both explicit and implicit).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> P. Steiner, 'Jan Mukařovský's Structural Aesthetics', in *Structure, Sign, and Function. Selected Essays of Jan Mukarovsky*, J. Burbank, P. Steiner (eds.) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), XVI. Cf. *ibid*, 121.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> N. Ruwet, 'Methode d'analyse en musicologie', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 20 (1996). Cf. Ivanović, *Muzika i znakovi* [Music and Signs], 99.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 188.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 189.

<sup>30</sup> In her book J. Novak studies musical examples which are all 'referential': 1) pieces composed by Webern, Pärt and Andriessen which contain the musical motif 'B-A-C-H', 2) works

### 3. Music as Language, Music as Text

It is a very complex endeavour to try and compare linguistical and musical systems, and structuralistic literature in that field is extremely rich and diverse. Here I will go briefly through some of the most characteristic points of view. Lévi-Strauss defines music as ‘language minus meaning’, explaining further that the ‘significative function of music can never be explained verbally’.<sup>31</sup> Lotman gives a typically structuralistic definition of art: ‘Art can be described as meta-language, and art works are texts written in that language’.<sup>32</sup> According to Gordon Graham, musical pieces and styles are often valued on the basis of what they ‘tell’ us, and that is the reason why composers and performers use such terminology.<sup>33</sup> However, this does not mean automatically that music is a form of communication – because it is possible that these terms (‘statement’, ‘sentence’, etc.) used in musical discourse may have different meanings than in natural language. For instance, the term ‘musical statement’ is most often used to denote a relatively simple exposition of central musical motif or theme which serve as the starting point for further development of the piece.

Graham suggests that it is possible to imagine very complex representational systems which are nevertheless far from ‘natural language’. Their insufficiency, according to Graham, can be described in the following way: **they possess vocabulary, but they do not possess grammar**.<sup>34</sup> He also claims that the relationship between words and music is **asymmetrical**: words (libretto or lyrics of a vocal piece, title, dedication or programme in programmatical music) may resolve ambiguities concerning the ‘meaning’ of music; but if the words are ambiguous in themselves, than their meaning can not be explained with music (later I will give some examples to illustrate this comment). Graham concludes that music always *follows* the words, and never precedes them; music alone cannot express meaning.<sup>35</sup>

Nada Ivanović argues that certain compositional procedures in music (such as exposition, repeating, relationship of equivalence etc.) have their parallels in poetry; thus, music is closer to poetry than to natural language, despite the fact that poetry is also based on natural language. However, what differs poetry as an art form from everyday speech is predominantly its formal framework, i. e. its structure.<sup>36</sup>

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of Berio and Cage based on texts by James Joyce, and 3) pieces inspired by the notion, sound or mechanical structure of a train, composed by Poulenc and Glass.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. J. Novak, *Divlja analiza* [The Wild Analysis], 85

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 75.

<sup>33</sup> G. Grejam [Graham], *Filozofija umetnosti* [Philosophy of the Arts], 99.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 105.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 106.

<sup>36</sup> N. Ivanović, *Muzika i znakovi* [Music and Signs], 97.

Marcel Cobussen is among the authors who take the view that **music can be regarded as text**, if we take into consideration the expanded concept of text, the one that was defined by Derrida.<sup>37</sup> Derrida says that 'There is nothing outside the text'<sup>38</sup>, or: 'There is nothing before the text; there is no pretext that is not already a text'.<sup>39</sup> It means that 'every referent, all reality has the structure of a differential trace, and that one cannot refer to this 'real' except in an interpretive experience'.<sup>40</sup> According to Cobussen, music is in fact talkative, full of virtual discourses; it is a system of signs inscribed in the play of differences. Starting with Derrida's disseminated idea of text, Cobussen says that music can be regarded as a text on three, interrelated, plateaus. First, the discursive institutions, constitutive orders of knowledge and power that identify music as art, as culture, and as a 'social field' are textual. Second, the representation of music, of listening to music, in language is (of course) textual. And third, music as sound, music as a spatial, temporal, and sense event, is text.<sup>41</sup>

According to structuralist thinking, the meaning of a text is determined by its inner order; a text is a closed order of signs. In contrast, Derrida takes the view that its relations with other texts determine the meanings of a text; it is not a closed order. Textuality is the open production of meanings. Derrida also realizes that within a structure, there is always a non-structure functioning at the same time as well, 'something' which prevents the structure from closing up. Cobussen thus concludes that music too is not a closed text.<sup>42</sup>

Graham points out to another important aspect of Derrida's critique of structuralism.<sup>43</sup> Structuralism was thought to represent the final split with Platonism: while Platonism assumed that human language and the outside world were two different and corresponding entities, structuralism claimed that the

<sup>37</sup> M. Cobussen, 'Music is a Text' in *Music and Deconstruction*,

[www.cobussen.com/proefschrift/100\\_outwork/120\\_music\\_is\\_a\\_text/music\\_is\\_a\\_text.htm](http://www.cobussen.com/proefschrift/100_outwork/120_music_is_a_text/music_is_a_text.htm)

<sup>38</sup> J. Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. G. Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 158, cf. *ibid*.

<sup>39</sup> J. Derrida, *Dissemination*, trans. B. Johnson (Chicago & London: Chicago University Press, 1981), 328, cf. *ibid*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>42</sup> Deriving on Julia Kristeva's notion of intertextuality, and in following with M. Šuvaković, Cobussen speaks of **intermusicality**, and sketches three possible meanings of intermusicality: (a) A relation between 'extra-musical' (linguistic) texts and musical texts; (b) the relation between a musical text and music as a cultural, historic institution; and (c) the exchanges, referentialities, (dis)placements, inscriptions, or mutual coverings of two (or more) musical texts. In particular, (b) and (c) point to the fact that there is no musical text that exists autonomously. A musical text always exists only through its relationship with other musical texts, as well as with other (artistic) texts in a cultural field. *Ibid*.

<sup>43</sup> Graham relies upon Derrida's critique of structuralism as seen in the collection of essays *Writing and Difference*. London, Routledge, 1990. Grejam [Graham], *Filozofija umetnosti* [Philosophy of the Arts], 217.

reality was not some ‘fixed’ world but rather the reality of structures of thoughts and the language itself. However, the problem arose with the notion of structure since it was still observed as an actual Platonian entity instead of just a metaphor. Thus, ‘contemporary structuralism is actually the affluent to the most traditional current of Western philosophy’.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4. Boulez and Xenakis

Several aspects of structuralists’ thinking seem to be closely related to the ideas and procedures that Boulez and Xenakis elaborated in their works, both musical and theoretical. I would like to start with the postulate that in structuralism a piece of art is observed as a closed system, in which all of its parts are interdependent and they gravitate towards some sort of ‘centre’.

According to Allan F. Moore,<sup>45</sup> it was Gilbert Chase who noted a re-orientation in the mid twentieth century in many fields away from ‘discretely deterministic histories’ towards studying ‘classes of inter-related events’, drawing citations from Lévi-Strauss’ *Cultural Anthropology* and Chomsky’s *Syntactic Structures*, where the ‘problem becomes one of modeling [sic] the structure of the system, rather than measuring each component’.<sup>46</sup> In Moore’s opinion, this is clearly true in the ‘second wave of modernism’ represented by the post-war serialism, in which systems are invented to logically pre-determine the place of every sound (whether in works of Boulez or Babbitt, or even in antiserialism of Xenakis), rather than relying on inherited conventions of rhetoric and expression.

The traces of the structuralists’ point of view—but also the criticism of it—can be observed in such theoretical works written by Boulez and Xenakis in which the composers explore the balance between determination and indetermination in avant-garde compositional techniques. The idea of ‘chance’ is being introduced in the rigidly controlled system of a piece, which is evident in the ‘stochastic music’ of Xenakis or the ‘aleatorics’ of Boulez.

Moore’s principal thesis is that many crucial works of the post-war avant garde are marked by the refusal of the mantle of compositional responsibility. He quotes a well known example – the moment in the early and mid-1950s when the compositional aesthetics of Pierre Boulez and John Cage ran nearly in parallel. Already at the time it became a somewhat common observation that the former’s supremely rational processes, and the latter’s supremely irrational ones,

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *ibid*, 219.

<sup>45</sup> A. F. Moore, ‘Anachronism, responsibility and historical intension’, *Critical Musicology Journal. A Virtual Journal on the Internet*, [www.leeds.ac.uk/music/info/critmus/articles/1997/03/01.html](http://www.leeds.ac.uk/music/info/critmus/articles/1997/03/01.html)

<sup>46</sup> G. Chase, ‘Structuralism and music: a preliminary overview’ in *Two lectures in the form of a pair* (New York: Brooklyn College Department of Music, 1973), 23–4. Cf. *ibid*.

were producing equivalent aural results.<sup>47</sup> In the *Structures* of Pierre Boulez, written in 1951, the outcome of the piece is determined wholly by its pre-compositional plan, a plan which applied a numerical programme to discrete musical domains (that programme having been drawn impersonally from Messiaen's *Mode de valeurs et d'intensités* for piano, 1949). According to Moore, the programme, rather than the composer, produces the actual music that we hear. This is probably the most important reason why Xenakis (who put an emphasis on the overall sound result<sup>48</sup> i. e. the sound-whole of the piece) expressed his dissatisfaction with serialism.

For Cage, the programme (or, more usually, 'system') which produced the work was the result of chance processes, whether radio station playlists in the *Imaginary Landscape no.4*, or performer's freedom in later pieces. The parallel between the aesthetics of Boulez and Cage, as focused on the relationship between chance and control, was suggested by George Rochberg in 1959, in his insistence that total serialisation was, in practice, a chance process.<sup>49</sup> This argument rests on the observation that the composer who uses total serial procedures does not anticipate each 'event' in all its individuality. Boulez confessed the same thing in his text *Aléa*: 'According to my experience, it is impossible to predict all meandering and all surrealities of the initial material'.<sup>50</sup> Thus, both aesthetic positions represent a **vesting of authority in an outside force**, rather than in the compositional process.

In his seminal text *Aléa* Boulez, however, insists upon the fact that the composer must accept responsibility for the piece – and that he must stay in control of its development. Hence his attempt to 'enslave' the chance, to make it an integral part of the compositional technique so that it can be 'absorbed' in the system.<sup>51</sup> Boulez says that chance may intervene on different levels of composi-

<sup>47</sup> Several years later, Serbian composer Vladan Radovanović explored this audible parallelism between pre-composed (serial) and freely composed (atonal) segments of music in his radiophonic musical work *Sferoon* (*Spheroon*, 1960–4). 'I decided on this two-fold construction out of the conviction that the application of *a priori* musical systems is not essential for the nature of sound unless they are governed by the regulations agreed upon through the experience with sound.' Vladan Radovanović, *Muzika sfera/Music of Spheres*, CD 1-2, PGP RTS (2005), 21

<sup>48</sup> D. Stojanović-Novičić, 'Stvaranje kao rađanje: tradicija i originalnost u delu Janisa Ksenakisa' [Creation as Giving Birth: Tradition and Originality in the Opus of Iannis Xenakis] in D. Golemović (ed.), *Čovek i muzika. Međunarodni simpozijum* [Man and Music. The International Symposium], collection of papers, (Beograd, 2003), 425.

<sup>49</sup> G. Rochberg: 'Indeterminacy in the new music' in *The aesthetics of survival* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1984). Others had of course pre-empted Rochberg's criticism, most notably Iannis Xenakis' 'La crise de la musique sérielle', *Gravesaner Blätter* no.1 (1955). Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> P. Boulez, 'Aléa', *Relevés d'apprenti*. Textes réunis et présentés par Paule Thévenin, Collection 'Tel Quel' (s. l.: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 45. [Translated in: *Novi zvuk, Izbor tekstova o suvremenoj glazbi*, Zagreb, 1972, 15–23.]

<sup>51</sup> P. Boulez, 'Aléa', 45.

tion: 1) on the level of performance – the composer can give some liberty to the performer(s),<sup>52</sup> 2) on the level of ‘play of the structures’ and 3) within the structure itself.<sup>53</sup>

In his study *A propos de Pithoprakta* (1955 – 56) Jean-Yves Bosseur claims that Xenakis was equally interested in finding techniques to control the chance within a piece – but he did that in an entirely different manner, using stochastic probability formulas derived from the physics.<sup>54</sup> ‘Actually, the densities, the durations, the registers, the tempi etc. can be subordinated to the laws of the numbers, with necessary approximations.’<sup>55</sup> Based on the probabilistic logic of organization, the musical writing pretends to have solved the problems of continuity and discontinuity in musical compositions. Speaking about the same piece, Dragana Stojanović-Novičić says that ‘Xenakis attempted to symbolise the movement of the molecules of gas – the movement which is a consequence of thermodinamic laws [...] In *Pithoprakta*, Xenakis reinterpreted the theory of gases by observing the orchestra as a gas, and instruments individually as molecules of that gas’.<sup>56</sup> It seems obvious why these attempts to naturalize compositional processes with methods and techniques of mathematics, physics and other sciences were sometimes interpreted or identified as traces of structuralistic thinking in works of Boulez or Xenakis. For instance, Michel Foucault wrote about many common traits and relationships between music and other elements of culture.<sup>57</sup> He believed that these relationships were evident on several levels – firstly, in the relationship between music and technological changes and developments.<sup>58</sup> However, speaking about Xenakis, Pascal Dusapin<sup>59</sup> rightfully observes what Boulez already admitted in *Aléa* and other texts – that neither composer would let mathematical or other ‘scientific’ laws rule their

<sup>52</sup> This level of structural liberty and the role of the performer can be related to the observation of Roland Barthes, who says that the performer is responsible for the production of signifiers (such as tonality, rhythm, meter) for he is capable of ‘relocating, regrouping, combining, arranging, in one word, structuring (which is pretty different from constructing or reconstructing in classical sense).’ R. Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 265. Cf. Novak, *Divlja analiza* [The Wild Analysis], 83.

<sup>53</sup> P. Boulez, ‘Aléa’, 45–9.

<sup>54</sup> J.-Y. Bosseur, ‘A propos de *Pithoprakta* (1955–56)’.

<sup>55</sup> N. Matossian, *Iannis Xenakis* (Paris: Fayard/Sacem, 1981), 116–17.

<sup>56</sup> D. Stojanović-Novičić, ‘Stvaranje kao rađanje’ [Creation as Giving Birth], 426.

<sup>57</sup> From the conversation between Foucault and Boulez see J. Rahn (ed.) ‘Contemporary Music and the Public’, *Perspective on Musical Aesthetics* (New York and London: Norton&Company, 1994), 85. Cf. Novak, *Divlja analiza* [The Wild Analysis], 85.

<sup>58</sup> It is interesting to note that both Boulez and Xenakis had studied sciences before they became full-time composers: Boulez studied mathematics while Xenakis initially studied architecture and engineering.

<sup>59</sup> P. Dusapin, ‘L’imagination au dessus’, [www.iannis-xenakis.org/dusapin.htm](http://www.iannis-xenakis.org/dusapin.htm) [Source: Jean-Pierre Leonardini, Marie Collin et Joséphine Markovits, *Festival d’Automne à Paris 1972–1982* (Paris : Ed. Messidor/Temps Actuels, 1982), 217–218.]

imagination. This is obvious in works such as Boulez's *Le marteau sans maître* in which serial technique is 'loosened' (in fact, it is only one of several compositional techniques used in various movements of the piece)<sup>60</sup> since it is subject to musical instead of mathematical laws.

Another important question in this analysis would be the relationship between music and text in works of Boulez and Xenakis. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, this is a very complex problem and it can be studied from many different aspects, as it is related not only to vocal and programmatical pieces, but to the works of absolute music as well. Even works such as *Structures* can be examined from that aspect, and this is probably one of the most significant contributions of structuralism and its analytical methods to contemporary theory of music.

The essays of Pierre Boulez *Poésie – centre et absence – musique*,<sup>61</sup> *Son et verbe*,<sup>62</sup> *Son, verbe, synthèse*<sup>63</sup> and *Dire, jouer, chanter*<sup>64</sup> represent the starting point for discussion on Boulez's relationship towards text in his vocal-instrumental works. In these essays the composer developed his key assumption: **that by using the notion of structure**, 'maybe the most typical expression of our epoch'<sup>65</sup> the complex process of interconnecting poetry and music, *son et verbe*, can be explained most efficiently. The communication of words and music is established by means of **esthetical or grammatical structure**, on the level of global form or syntax, or on the level of rhythm and sounds of words.<sup>66</sup> Boulez observes that, starting from the end of the nineteenth century, important literary currents have openly resonated in esthetical spaces of the contemporary music. He believes that these influences can be classified into either 'precise and conscious' (i. e. grammatical)—which means that certain achievements move from one form of expression to another, and they are subject to changes which are necessary in translation—or 'more fluid, osmotic' (i. e. esthetical) – in that case 'the relationship is much more complex and it wider in scope,

<sup>60</sup> For full analysis of this work see: J. Janković, *Le Marteau sans maître Pjera Buleza – neki aspekti kompozicione tehnike* [*Le Marteau sans maître of Pierre Boulez – Some Aspects of the Compositional Technique*], unpublished B. A. paper (Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1999).

<sup>61</sup> Translated in English as 'Poetry – Centre and Absence – Music' in J. Nattiez (ed.), P. Boulez, *Orientations. Collected Writings*, translated by M. Cooper (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 183–98.

<sup>62</sup> 'Son et verbe' in *Relevés d'apprenti*, 57–62. [Translated as 'Zvuk i riječ', *Zvuk*, No. 124–25, 1972, 104–8.]

<sup>63</sup> Translated in English as 'Sound, Word, Synthesis'. Boulez, *Orientations*, 177–82.

<sup>64</sup> 'Dire, jouer, chanter', published in *La musique et ses problèmes contemporains 1953/1963* (Juilliard – Paris: Cahiers de la Compagnie Madelaine Renaud – Jean-Louis Barrault, s. a.) Part of this article is translated in English and published as the preface to the score *Le Marteau sans maître*, Universal Edition, PH398 (pocket score), ISMN M-008-01526-7, IV–VI.

<sup>65</sup> P. Boulez, 'Zvuk i riječ' [Son et verbe], 105.

<sup>66</sup> P. Boulez, 'Poetry – Centre and Absence – Music', 196.

starting from general structural discussions to common traits of a certain es-thetical style.<sup>67</sup> To illustrate Boulez's approach to relationship between music and text I am going to use his masterpiece *Le Marteau sans maître* for alto and six instruments (1953–55, rev. 1957) because many of his theoretical ideas found their practical use in this work.<sup>68</sup> The most interesting ideas that Boulez explored in *Le Marteau...* are the following: 1) structure as a **mediator between text and music in a composition**, 2) **text as 'centre in absence' of music**,<sup>69</sup> 3) **study of comprehensibility of the text used in a composition**, i. e. the possibility to understand its meaning when it is placed in a musical context, and 4) **setting words to music, translating the spoken language into singing** (vocal part).

In his vocal-instrumental works composed during the 1940s and 1950s Boulez used the poetry<sup>70</sup> of French surrealist René Char.<sup>71</sup> Boulez was attracted to the 'condensed time' in Char's short poems,<sup>72</sup> to his condensed and hermetic verse the meaning of which is not immediately revealed since it is hidden beneath layers of metaphores. Boulez says: 'Music fulfills its function perfectly when it connects itself to the means of expression which are not directly meaningful, or when it adjusts them to itself. Music gives unimaginable meaning to that 'which lies beyond language', and at the same time language enriches the sonority of music [...] that is why musicians always prefer the 'language' which does not pose obstacles to purely musical communication.'<sup>73</sup> According to this author, music communicates with the unconscious, and since the surrealists' texts were 'dictated' by the unconscious, he establishes correspondance between Char's poetry and music in his early vocal-instrumental works.

Another reason for Boulez's interest in the poetry of R. Char is his technique called '**verbal archipelago**',<sup>74</sup> and which had a considerable influence on composer's understanding of musical structure and consequently provided a strong impulse for the innovative treatment of the formal aspect of *Le Marteau sans maître*. The notion of 'verbal arhipelago' stands for a poem which is not

<sup>67</sup> P. Boulez, 'Zvuk i riječ' [Son et verbe], 105.

<sup>68</sup> I studied this problem into detail in *Le Marteau sans maître Pjera Buleza* [Le Marteau sans maître of Pierre Boulez].

<sup>69</sup> P. Boulez, 'Zvuk i riječ' [Son et verbe], 106.

<sup>70</sup> P. F. Stacey points to the important fact that all vocal-instrumental works of Pierre Boulez are based od poetry, and not some other type of texts (prose, dramatic...); Peter F. Stacey, *Boulez and the Modern Concept* (s. l.: Aldershot, 1987), 53–70.

<sup>71</sup> Char first cooperated with the group of surrealists, including André Breton and Paul Éluard, and he explored the subconsciousness and dreams. His most famous work from that period is *Le Marteau sans maître* (1934), the collection of surrealistic poems written between 1929 and 1934. All poems which Boulez uses in *Le Marteau sans maître* (as well as in earlier cantatas) originate from this famous collection. Later Char grew apart with the surrealists. See N. Trajković, preface in R. Char, *Arhipelag reči* [The Verbal Archipelago] (Kruševac: Bagdala, 1964).

<sup>72</sup> P. f. Stacey, *Boulez and the Modern Concept*, 56.

<sup>73</sup> P. Boulez, 'Poetry – Centre and Absence – Music', 188.

<sup>74</sup> P.f. Stacey, *Boulez and the Modern Concept*, 53–6.

narrative, linear, but it is shaped as a sequence of separate surrealistic poetic images: the images in the poem can be compared to islands in an archipelago, it is possible to go from one to another in any order and each time the result is the different sum of experiences. The idea of archipelago can be used to arrange poems in a cycle or to arrange poetic images or even individual words. Thus it becomes clear where the 'grammatical' analogy between the structure of Char's poems and the macrostructural level of *Le Marteau sans maître*: Boulez arranges the movements within the work according to the idea of archipelago.<sup>75</sup> Individual mouvements in *Le Marteau sans maître* represent 'images', their relationships are complex and they can be discussed on several levels (relationships of movements within each cycle, relationships between the movements which stand next to one another, interrelations of cycles, interrelations of vocal-instrumental and instrumental movements etc.) In this piece music is not only 'saturated' by the affective quality of poetry—the poetry also defines the internal structure of music.

Formal aspects of Char's poetry also influenced the form of the vocal-instrumental movements: for instance, in the first part of the movement No. 9, *Bel édifice, double*, symmetrical structure of Char's poem determined the form of the piece. I will agree with P. F. Stacey that in this movement the relationship between lyrics and music is accomplished on the basis of **structural correspondence** which Boulez discussed in his earlier mentioned essays.<sup>76</sup>

In his essay 'Dire, jouer, chanter'<sup>77</sup> Boulez discussed the role of the voice as a mediator who 'introduces' text into music, as well as its relationship towards instrumental parts in the score as exponents of purely musical structure. In each vocal movement these relations are different and they lead to the gradual 'disappearance' of the text: in *Bel édifice - double* (No. 9), after the voice says the final words of the poem, it merges with the instrumental ensemble and continues to sing – without words, thus rejecting its own specific quality to articulate words. 'This idea is of great importance to me and I would describe it in the following manner: the poem is the **center** of music, but at the same time it is **absent** from the music...'<sup>78</sup> In other words, the poem is the center of music be-

<sup>75</sup> *Le Marteau sans maître* consists of nine movements grouped in three smaller cycles: they are formed around three vocal-instrumental movements based on three poems of the same names: these are the movements No. 3, *L'Artisanat furieux*, No. 5, *Bel édifice et les pressentiments* and No. 6, *Bourreaux de solitude*. Each vocal-instrumental movement has got some sort of musical 'comment': *L'Artisanat furieux* has prelude and postlude, both instrumental (Nos. 1 and 7), *Bel édifice et les pressentiments* has got one vocal-instrumental 'double' (No. 9), and *Bourreaux de solitude* has got three instrumental comments (Nos. 2, 4 and 8). However, the vocal-instrumental movements are not immediately followed by their comments (in fact, comments do not come necessarily after the central movement of their respective cycles!)

<sup>76</sup> P. F. Stacey, *Boulez and the Modern Concept*, 58.

<sup>77</sup> P. Boulez, 'Dire, jouer, chanter', V.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

cause it defines many structural characteristics of music; but at the same time it is absent because it is not actually present in the majority of movements – and even in the vocal movements there are long instrumental sections. P. Evans rightfully concludes that ‘instrumental comments actually take the same relationship towards the lyrics as the vocal movements’.<sup>79</sup>

Composer is, naturally, interested in the question of vocal emission. ‘Should we sing the poem, or recite it, or maybe just say it? This is the moment when all vocal means come into play and the characteristics of emission determine the future transmission, acceptance of the text...’<sup>80</sup> Boulez thinks that singing represents transfer of sonorities of poetic text into musical intervals and rhythms which are different from the intervals and rhythms of speech: thus the meaning of the text becomes strange and perverted, and its meaning unclear. ‘A good poem possesses its purest sonorities when it is recited...’<sup>81</sup> Therefore, singing cannot emphasise expressiveness of the poetic text – setting to music changes the poem and adjusts it to specifically musical laws. How is it possible to resolve the problem of ‘incomprehensiveness’ of a poem within a piece of music? Boulez offers several answers in his essays: ‘... if you want to understand a text, read it or have it read to you! And in case when text and music have already merged, the smartest solution is to be acquainted with the text in advance. But... if you are interested in sonorities above everything else, then choose to work with the text the meaning of which is not so important, or even meaningless text, created of onomatopeia or imaginary words created specifically to be incorporated in the musical context. Then you will not have to face virtually insoluble contradictions...’<sup>82</sup> This is another answer to the question why Boulez thought that the poetry of René Char was so suitable to be set to music: the meaning of Char’s poetic images is not immediately revealed even when reading the texts alone, and their sonorities represent a quality *per se*. To quote on Boulez, ‘such a poem does not resist to music, it invites music.’<sup>83</sup> Speaking about the means of vocal expression, Boulez praises the innovative work of Arnold Schoenberg<sup>84</sup> and turns to *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912) as main source of inspiration for the treatment of the vocal part. Another influence that Boulez recognizes in ‘Son et verbe’ is Antonin Artaud<sup>85</sup> and consequently the theatrical conventions of the Far East.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>79</sup> P. Evans: ‘Music of the European Mainstream: 1940-1960’, in Martin Cooper (ed.), *The New Oxford History of Music*, X (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 446.

<sup>80</sup> P. Boulez, ‘Zvuk i riječ’ [Son et verbe], 106

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. P. F. Stacey, *Boulez and the Modern Concept*, 57.

<sup>84</sup> P. Boulez, ‘Zvuk i riječ’ [Son et verbe], 106.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 108. See also: Antonen Arto [Antonin Artaud], *Pozorište i njegov dvojnik* [The Theatre and its Double] (Beograd: Prosveta, 1971).

<sup>86</sup> P. Boulez, ‘Sound, Word, Synthesis’, 180.

To conclude: in *Le Marteau sans maître* Boulez was primarily concerned with exploration of structural correspondances between music and text. The poems of René Char, the 'centre in absence' of music, represented a starting impulse for innovations in understanding of musical structure (in its colloquial meaning, borrowed from theory of music). Boulez approaches structuralistic thinking because he believes that the meaning of the work of art lies in its inner organization, in its structure.

In his next major vocal work, *Pli selon pli*, Boulez turned to the 'enigmas' of Stéphane Mallarmé. This was a turn, too, from **construction** to **improvisation**: the work originated from two 'improvisations on Mallarmé' that Boulez wrote in 1957 while beginning two instrumental projects: his Third Piano Sonata (1957–58) and the second book of *Structures* for two pianos (1961). The observation of Paul Griffiths that both these instrumental works also have their Mallarméan aspects seems of particular importance, for it proves yet again that for Boulez **poetic texts were predominantly a source of structural inspiration**. In particular, Boulez was excited by the recent publication of the poet's notes and drafts for a *Book* of manifold mutability, a collection of leaves and dossiers that could be read in innumerable ways as a labyrinth of words. This notion of form seemed to answer the needs of the new serial music as Boulez saw them. Tonal music had been defined by a gravitational kind of harmony, and therefore by linear form, urging towards the final cadence. Serial music, by contrast, was 'a universe in perpetual expansion'. There was no endpoint, nothing to limit how and where the music took its course.<sup>87</sup> The Third Sonata was his first aleatoric piece and it is closely associated to his text *Aléa*: the freedom that is given to the interpreter in this work concerns the order of movements and the internal arrangement of dialogue within each of the movements. The same compositional procedure is used in the *Structures II*: it is **controlled aleatorics**, in which the composer delegates only a small portion of his compositional responsibility to the interpreter.

Speaking about structuralistic ideas in writings of Iannis Xenakis, several ideas seem to be of particular importance. Unlike Boulez, Xenakis seems to have been interested in the second possible meaning of the notion of structure – i. e. structure as interpretative model for reality. **He believes that our entire experience is 'structured', that human beings get to know the world through interpretative models**: 'First of all, what does it mean to 'imitate', to express 'exclamation' if it is not within the syntax, the rules, the construction, and the structure, no matter how primitive? These are already declarations [...] of form, of **structured perception of the environment** [my bold], allowing a man to be an object *per se* of some sort, while the nature and his environment

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<sup>87</sup> P. Griffiths, 'Pli selon pli', [www2.deutschgrammophon.com/special/insighttext.htm?ID=boulez-pliselonpli&DETAIL=1](http://www2.deutschgrammophon.com/special/insighttext.htm?ID=boulez-pliselonpli&DETAIL=1)

are something in front of him and, as a consequence, what he sees is the imitation of what is perceived by his senses. I think that here it is possible to say that the fact that a man was capable of imitating the sound of wind [...] shows that he was able to construct, in a way that was maybe primitive, but already very complex.<sup>88</sup> This is similar to Claude Lévi-Strauss' earlier quoted statement that humans learn about the world with the help of language, and that the descriptions which are made 'for' the world and 'about' the world do not come 'from' the world but they are artificial models, constructs. Also, it corresponds to Šuvaković's definition of structuralism as a theoretical approach to studying of nature and culture with the help of synchronic structural schemes.<sup>89</sup>

In the same book, Iannis Xenakis says that **music is a cultural phenomenon**, even though it is immediately subordinated to the history. It is possible to differentiate the segments which are more stable than the others and which represent the permanent and consistent material remains of different periods of civilisations. 'But what is the essence that these materials are made of? This essence is the **human intelligence, in a solidified form**. It seems to me that **music and arts in general represent solidification, materialisation of the intelligence**. [...] The intelligence [...] is, in fact, the result, the expression of the billions of exchanges, of reactions, of energetic transformations of the cells of the brain and the body'.<sup>90</sup> Further on, Xenakis says: '[...] it is evident and indispensable that the artist, and consequentially the art, must be at the same time rational (*inférentiel*), technical (*experimental*) and talented (*révélateur*); these are three necessary modes and combined they are used to avoid making fatal mistakes [...]'<sup>91</sup> These sentences remind me of Ruwet's earlier mentioned idea of homology between structure in music and structure of reality and experience. I believe that this 'credo' of Xenakis summarizes better than anything else the real range of impact that the structuralistic thinking had on the avantgarde composers of the period: it is 'safe' to say that the composers expressed in their music and their writings **sensitiveness to the general cultural, scientific and social movement (fashion) of their time**. As Xenakis put it, music is probably the most condensatory of all arts – it may not be 'meaningful' or discursive in the same way as the verbal language, but nevertheless it guards and preserves the sediments of human spirit. Thus, it is possible to speak about musical structuralism as one specific manifestation of the philosophical movement, but always having in mind terminological confusion resulting from different natures of each art as well as from the specificities (historical and institutional) of their discourses.

<sup>88</sup> Published as: I. Xenakis, O. Messiaen, M. Ragon, O. Revault d'Allonnes, M. Serres, B. Teyssèdre, *Arts/sciences. Alliages* (s. l.: Casterman, 1979), 49–50.

<sup>89</sup> M. Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik moderne i postmoderne likovne umetnosti od 1950* [A Dictionary of Notions of Modern and Post-modern Visual Art and Theory after 1950], 331.

<sup>90</sup> I. Xenakis et al., *Arts/sciences. Alliages*, 11–12.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

*Јелена Јанковић*

## СТРУКТУРА – ЗНАЧЕЊА И УПОТРЕБЕ ТЕРМИНА У ТЕОРИЈСКОМ И „МУЗИЧКОМ“ СТРУКТУРАЛИЗМУ

### Резиме

Основно питање постављено у раду – у којој мери су одлике теоријског структурализма, развијаног у француској култури током 50-их и 60-их година XX века, утицале на музичке ствараоце – није ново, али провоцира нове одговоре. Да ли је склоност високих модерниста ка „структуралном“ композиционом поступку заиста доказ „структурализма“ у музичи? Рад почива на тези да у музиколошкој и музичко-теоријској литератури појам „структуре“ има другачије значење и употребу него у теоријском структурализму. Аргументацију за и против „музичког структурализма“ тражила сам у композицијама и аутопоетичким текстовима истакнутих представника високог модернизма у музичи – Џера Булеза и Јаниса Ксенакиса.

# MODERNISM IN GERMANY AFTER 1968

## KAGEL, RIHM AND LACHENMANN

ALASTAIR WILLIAMS

FROM 1946 to the mid-1960s, West Germany was an international centre for avant-gardism in music, offering it institutional support through festivals and radio stations. After the first post-war cultural phase, which lasted until about 1968, much of the institutional support for new music remained in place, but the discourses and practices of art music in Germany, as elsewhere, became more fragmented. With its strong socio-political resonances, 1968 offers an interesting transitional point. It covers the end of the first wave of post-war experimentation, exemplified by Stockhausen, which in many ways tried to shut out the past. And yet, it also marks the start of a social shift that led to music in Germany becoming more historically reflective, as composers sought to write music that connected with this nation's illustrious cultural past. This transformation, which affected many established composers, stemmed partly from frustration with a blinkered belief in the progress of technology and knowledge, and partly from a reaction against the previous generation's disdain for tradition.

Mauricio Kagel is an interesting figure through which to observe this shift in perspective, partly because he was a major figure before and after 1968, and partly because, having been born and educated in Argentina, he retained a certain detachment from the European canon. The score of his *Ludwig van* (1970) was assembled from close-up shots taken in a specially constructed Beethoven House, in which the walls and furniture of the music room were plastered with fragments of Beethoven's scores; these excerpts, the composer indicated, can be played in any order. This music room features in a scene from a much longer film entitled *LUDWIG VAN* (1969), which engages more widely with the institutionalization of Beethoven. Unlike the score, the film contains substantial excerpts from Beethoven's oeuvre, but Kagel reorchestrated many of these in order to remove the gloss of professional recordings.

*LUDWIG VAN* is an important transitional work because, on the one hand, it embodies, by means of irony aimed at a dominant institutionalization of the composer, the aesthetic of an avant garde wary of the past; on the other hand, it acknowledges, through creative montage, that the past offers a repository of meanings that can be actively engaged. With a decline in the cultural supremacy of classical music, the possibilities for reinterpretation suggested by this score are now, perhaps, more valuable than its transgressions. Indeed, it is only fair to point out that Kagel himself has recognized the changed circumstances in which classical music exists by means of more reverential, though still critical, encounters with the past, as his *Sankt-Bach-Passion* (1985) demonstrates. Again engaging with reception history, it is the life of Bach that the Passion unfolds, with Bach himself appearing as a speaker.<sup>1</sup> What remains consistent across the years that separate the *Sankt-Bach-Passion* from *LUDWIG VAN* is the idea of new music drawing upon the hermeneutic strategies of older music as a creative resource.

In fact, a range of music stemming from Germany in the 1970s and 1980s struck up dialogues with the past, and it is to such music that I want to turn now, with regard to the two most influential German composers at the end of the twentieth century: Helmut Lachenmann (1935) and Wolfgang Rihm (1952). Because the aesthetic of inclusion associated with Rihm and his contemporaries serves as a way of holding the established post-war avant gardes at arm's length, it does not, at first hearing, seem compatible with Lachenmann's serially-influenced resistance to traditional means of expression. And yet, Lachenmann's emphasis on the physicality of sounds, the ways in which they are produced and what he calls 'broken magic' (something that disrupts the system) is not commensurate with a serialism's formalist preoccupations. Moreover, even though Rihm does not generally deploy extended techniques, he shares with Lachenmann an interest in presenting musical objects in unconventional ways.

The tension ingrained in Lachenmann's music is that its frustration of conventional expectations leaves the listener somewhat disoriented, and yet it is precisely this lack of familiarity that creates the potential for sonorities to impact directly on the ear. This dichotomy was preserved when Lachenmann chose to extend the semantic range of his music by applying techniques of defamiliarization not only to musical materials, but also, in his own, oblique, way, to existing music. Such referentiality is especially evident in three orchestral scores. *Accanto* (1975/76), for clarinettist and orchestra, includes a recording of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto, which plays subliminally throughout the piece, occasionally emerging in unexpected ways. *Tanzsuite mit Deutschlandlied* (1979/80), for orchestra and amplified string quartet, includes Haydn's *Em-*

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent illuminating study of Kagel, the first to appear in English, see Björn Heile, *The Music of Mauricio Kagel* (Aldershot, Ashgate: 2006)

peror's *Hymn*, which eventually became *Deutschland über alles*, along with a range of mostly baroque dance forms in barely recognizable guises. Finally, the score on which I intend to dwell, *Staub* (1985/87), for orchestra, evokes Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, no less.

As one might expect, it is not immediately obvious that *Staub* engages with the Ninth; in fact, the circumstances relating to the genesis of this work very much contribute to its meaning. It was commissioned by the SWF Baden-Baden symphony orchestra, which has a good track record for playing new music, as a prologue to the Ninth, to be performed at a concert in 1986 celebrating the orchestra's 40th anniversary. With Lachenmann already an established figure at this time, the nature of the music he was likely to compose was beyond doubt; nevertheless, the eminence of its composer did not deter the orchestral manager from cancelling the premiere of this score. Why this happened is explained in the title of an interview with Lachenmann on this topic: 'Not with Beethoven, and not in front of Späth' (the Baden-Baden federal minister at the time).<sup>2</sup>

Despite this unpropitious start in life, the work's Beethovenian context remains, not least in the title, *dust*, which, as Lachenmann's programme note indicates, signifies an accumulated temporal deposit.<sup>3</sup> Approaching the Ninth, reverently, as a quarry, the composer suggests that we stumble over the rubble of the expressive formulae that surround us, which become more or less unrecognizable components of a perception field. Hence *Largo cantilenas*, pulsations and bare intervals are transformed for a listener who has overcome, but not forgotten, his or her philharmonic attachment.

Some specific allusions are to be found in the score, although these prompts are unlikely to be heard by an audience—even one familiar with the Ninth. At bars 194–6, a skeletal reference to the concluding phrase of the first subject is penned in beneath the percussion parts, as a way of showing the conductor, presumably, how this rhythm is to be picked out in the wind and percussion. Likewise, bars 203–4 contain a comparable reference to the 'Ode to Joy' theme, which is used to determine the rhythmic onsets, some of which are heard as string clusters, across the whole orchestra. Perhaps the initial point of orientation for an audience, during a live performance, is that, with the exception of some extra percussion, *Staub* uses Beethoven's orchestra. Other signals include the prominent timpani part, perhaps suggestive of the Scherzo; the tonal chords that are occasionally to be heard emerging through gaps in the ensemble; and

<sup>2</sup> H. Lachenmann, 'Nicht mit Beethoven und nicht vor Späth', in *Musik als existentielle Erfahrung*, Josef Häusler (ed.) (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1996), 186–90. For more on *Staub* and this interview, see Richard Toop, 'Concept and Context: A Historiographic Consideration of Lachenmann's Orchestral Works', *Contemporary Music Review*, 23/3+4 (2004), 138–9.

<sup>3</sup> H. Lachenmann, 'Staub. Für Orchester (1985/87)', in *Musik als existentielle Erfahrung*, 398.

the use of sustained pedals and tremolandi, perhaps suggestive of Beethoven's famous opening texture.<sup>4</sup>

Lachenmann's extended techniques and non-pitched sounds undoubtedly make the symphonic gestures unfamiliar; presumably, this is what he means when he says that, in the context of the Beethoven, this is 'Nicht-Musik'.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, as befits a student of Nono, the composer is sensitive to the historical nature of the material deployed. Indeed, the score plays on a tension between tonal and symphonic allusions being understood, on the one hand, as dispersed traditional elements, and being interpreted, on the other hand, as sound objects because they are not organized in the conventional manner. However, the rubble moves in two directions, one might say: not only do we hear muffled resonances of Beethoven in *Staub*, but we also become attuned to the precursors of Lachenmann's sound objects in Beethoven's symphonic gestures.

Because this music refutes a certain reception history of Beethoven, along with many of the values upon which the masterpiece culture is built, it is very much part of the ongoing debate about what Beethoven's vision of human values offers to modern society.<sup>6</sup> *Staub* keeps alive the utopian dimension of the Ninth—though without making universalizing claims—because Lachenmann's modernist refusal of habit and his attenuation of perception encourage listeners to become aware of the processes by which they attribute meaning to music.

In different ways, such processes also lie at the heart of Wolfgang Rihm's approach to a range of traditional resources, because this inclusivity seeks a degree of estrangement from its materials. For Rihm, it is not merely a case of taking stable techniques from the past and rendering them unstable, but of responding creatively to an already present instability, especially in an Austro-German context. I intend to pursue this topic by focusing mainly on Rihm's earlier vocal settings, in which the aesthetic of inclusion is frequently linked to the theme of mental illness.

*Neue Alexanderlieder: fünf Gedichte von Ernst Herbeck* (1979), for baritone and piano, were written during the year (1979) in which Rihm's chamber opera *Jakob Lenz* (completed in 1978) premiered, and were dedicated to Richard Salter, who sang the part of Lenz, as well as subsequently taking principal roles in Rihm's later music theatre pieces. It is certainly not hard to make the transition from Lenz, a figure who cannot find social acceptance, to Rihm's invocation of the deranged sentiments of Herbeck, in a cycle in which we find

<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed study of *Staub*, see R. Nonnenmann, 'Beethoven und Helmut Lachenmanns "Staub" für Orchester (1985/87)', *fragmen: Beiträge, Meinungen und Analysen zur neuen Musik*, 33 (2000), 4–31.

<sup>5</sup> H. Lachenmann, 'Staub. Für Orchester (1985/87)', in *Musik als existentielle Erfahrung*, 398.

<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere, I indicated that the visionary dimension of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony is not defunct, even if it now functions at a less generalized level. A. Williams, *Constructing Musicology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 131–9.

allusions to the romantic Lied fused with enactments of mental instability. The title of the cycle is explained by the fact that Ernst Herbeck (1920–91), who was diagnosed as a schizophrenic and spent much of his life in mental hospitals, published his best-known poetry under the pseudonym 'Alexander'. The opening song of Rihm's setting, 'Die Frau in Mir', brings out the disconnected qualities of Herbeck's verse by resorting to passages of extreme range and dynamics that are not implied by the preceding music. Not only does this device serve to alienate tonal harmony, it also manages to skew the strongly unifying tendencies of the repeated motif that Rihm deploys. The second song, 'Der Herbst', enables Rihm to engage with a tradition of hunting motifs, which are duly shattered by tremolandi marked 'with more terrible power'.

The third song, 'Ich mag euch alle nicht' (I don't like the lot of you) opens with a strongly tonal, Schubertian, rippling accompaniment, suggestive of well being, that grates with the misanthropic sentiments of the words.

Your're so annoying I  
don't like the lot of you.  
You're so stupefying.  
If only you would go away  
from me. I would be  
happy about it.

This incongruity assumes another dimension when the song's accompanying pattern turns to pounding Eb-minor chords, at bar 31, which function more as somatic gestures than as tonal symbols. (The most extreme example of this effect in Rihm's output is found in *Klavierstück* nr. 7, a score composed the following year, in which the frenzied repetition of an Eb-major chord serves to create the most 'dissonant' passage in the music.)

The opening of this song shows that sometimes Rihm's tonal references signify the past in a very connected way, while the conclusion demonstrates that at other times they function as intensities, detached from a structural or historical context. In other words, this song transforms the former tendency into the latter: the broken triadic accompanying figures that are redolent of the past become the Eb-minor chords that offer intensity without tonal meaning. What this amounts to is that Rihm manages to juxtapose modernist anxiety, alienation and fragmentation with the rootless intensity of postmodernist culture, as described by Fredric Jameson. It is the ambiguity of jostling old-style anxiety alongside new-style intensity, of mixing of inner subjectivity with semiotic codes, that enables this music to reconfigure the components of self in unexpected ways.

Kagel engages with Beethoven as an institution; Lachenmann also invokes a reception history, albeit one reduced to rubble, while Rihm extends the semiotic possibilites of established practices in ways that are not generally hostile to the values they embody. These practices suggest ways of releasing new

latencies from the past, in a manner not envisaged by the post-war avant gardes, by loosening established practices so that we encounter them in unexpected configurations. Partly through the disruption of existing practices, Lachenmann and Rihm contribute to a larger search for a critical language capable of understanding the past in terms of the present. They also contribute to the larger cultural project of bringing the more abstract procedures of modernity into contact with heightened, self-reflexive forms of perception. To engage the play of past and present, of procedure and immediacy, is to shape the cultural experience of modernity.

*Алестер Вилијамс*

## МОДЕРНИЗАМ У НЕМАЧКОЈ ПОСЛЕ 1968. ГОДИНЕ: КАГЕЛ, РИМ И ЛАХЕНМАН

### Р е з и м е

Од 1946. до средине 1960-их година Западна Немачка је била интернационални центар за музичку авангарду, нудећи јој институционалну подршку преко фестивала и радио станица. После прве послератне културне фазе, која је трајала до око 1968, већина инфраструктуре је остала тамо где је била, али дискурси и праксе уметничке музике у Немачкој, као и другде, постале су фрагментарније. Својим јаким социо-политичким резонанцама, година 1968. нуди интересантну транзицијску тачку. Она покрива крај првог таласа послератног експериментисања, када се тежило одбацивању прошлости (типично за то време је Штокхаузеново деловање). Та година истовремено означава почетак социјалне промене која је водила ка већој историјској рефлексивности музике у Немачкој, јер су композитори тежили стварању музике која би поново успоставила везу са славном културном прошлости ове нације. Тада преобрађај, који је оставио трага на делима многих етаблираних композитора, делимично је изазван фрустрацијама због раније превелике вере у прогрес технологије и знања, а делимично реакцијама на презир традиције код претходне генерације. У овом раду се разматрају дела *Лудвиг ван* (1969) Мауриција Кагела, *Прашина* (1985/87) Хелмута Лахенмана и *Нове Александрове песме: пет песама Ернста Хербека* (1979) Волфганга Рима.

# ECHOES OF MODERNISM IN ROCK MUSIC OF THE LATE SIXTIES AND EARLY SEVENTIES. THE INFLUENCE OF KARLHEINZ STOCKHAUSEN ON EARLY WORKS OF THE GERMAN GROUP *CAN*

DRAGANA JEREMIĆ-MOLNAR and ALEKSANDAR MOLNAR

TWO years after the completion of Darmstadt international *Ferienkurse* which gave birth to the first two collective works, *Ensemble* (summer 1967) and *Musik für ein Haus* (summer 1968), Karlheinz Stockhausen proudly announced that his new teaching of collective composing had started to spread tremendously, thanks to the efforts of his former students and collaborators:

‘The collective composition *Ensemble* of my Darmstadt seminar in 1967 – realized by 12 composers, 12 instrumentalists and 4 sound producers – found adherence a long time ago: from Smolence to the Dutch Opera Community [...] New groups were later formed by the former assistants or students such as Hugh Davies (*The gentle fire*), Roger Smalley (*'Intermodulation'*), Cornelius Cardew (*Scratch orchestra*) in London; David Johnson in Cologne, together with Holger Schüring (experimental ‘pop music’).<sup>1</sup>

Contrary to his usual underestimation of pop(ular) music, expressed on many earlier (as well as later) occasions, Stockhausen in 1970 was willing to accept the possibility that a mixture such as ‘experimental pop-music’ seemed to be conceivable, if not desirable. By mentioning it in the context of the further development of one of his compositional principles, Stockhausen admitted that ‘pop-music’ was not hopelessly vulgar ‘bodily music’, which primarily appealed to the ‘animal’ in men, but one of the legitimate branches of music, in which some of his disciples could explore and, more importantly, apply the newly gained techniques of collective composing.

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<sup>1</sup> K. Stockhausen, ‘Kriterien (1970)’, in *Texte zur Musik 1963–1970. Band 3: Einführungen und Projekte. Kurse, Sendungen, Standpunkte, Nebennoten* (Köln: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 1971), 222.

The main reason for the change in Stockhausen's attitude towards 'pop-music' was probably his high respect for David C. Johnson, who was at the time an independent collaborator at the Electronic Studio of West German Radio. There he assisted Karlheinz Stockhausen with the production of his electronic work *Hymnen* and also operated the live-electronics in the first performances of the chamber-orchestra version of Stockhausen's *Mixtur* (1967). What is even more important, Johnson was the instructor of electronic music both on the Cologne and Darmstadt courses, organized by Stockhausen. He also played in the ensembles that performed *Ensemble* on 29 August 1967 and *Musik für ein Haus* on 1 September 1968 for the first time. However, Stockhausen did not know that at the time he was happily announcing the beginnings of the 'experimental pop-music' project in Cologne, David C. Johnson was no longer part of it. He departed in early 1969, disappointed with the fact that the music composed and played by the newly formed group, which would later be known as *Can*, was falling increasingly under the influence of rock.

Another disciple of Stockhausen's and the co-founder of the group *Can*, Holger Schüring (later known as Holger Czukay), turned out to be more important and more persistent in the efforts to create and perform 'experimental pop-music'. Czukay was among the oldest students of Stockhausen. He took part in the first three Cologne Courses of New Music (first from 1 October – 20 December 1963; second from 1 October 1964 – 31 March 1965; third from 1 October 1965 – 1 April 1966). On the second and third Courses he became acquainted with Stockhausen's new student David C. Johnson, and on the third Course both of them got the opportunity to meet Irmin Schmidt, another co-founder of the group *Can* whom Stockhausen would overlook in his announcement of 'experimental pop-music', quoted at the beginning of this paper. During his studies in Cologne, Czukay achieved some success as a composer. Stockhausen arranged the performance of his student's independent work *Paare für einen Schlagzeuger* on 27 February 1967, and two years earlier (on 18 March 1965) he organized the performance of *Henri à quatre*, the first collective composition in whose creation Czukay had participated, together with his colleagues from the Cologne Courses for New Music: Attilio Filieri, Gonzalo de Olavide and Ivan Cherepnin.

In spite of his original enthusiasm for the Cologne 'experimental pop-music' project, Karlheinz Stockhausen remained untouched by the later musical developments made by the group *Can*. Furthermore, he was reluctant to take credit for inspiring the music of *Can* (or any other German, so-called 'Kraut-rock' group) and never praised any of its compositions or members. It was in 1997, during a conversation with the contributor of the journal *Die Zeit*, when made to comment on one of the most experimental compositions of *Can*, *Aumgn*, that Stockhausen diplomatically avoided saying anything decisively positive or negative about it. As Holger Czukay later correctly observed, it was

impossible for him to 'make the leap into the musical hereafter [*musikalisches Jenseits*]'.<sup>2</sup>

As time passed, musical links between Stockhausen and the group *Can* seemed to become more and more controversial, even to Holger Czukay. On one occasion Czukay admitted that, considering his importance for the forming of the group, Stockhausen represented a father figure to the members of *Can*.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, from the very moment of their foundation, they had committed 'patricide', by 'cursing him and playing rock' music.<sup>4</sup> On another occasion Czukay tried to be more specific in explaining this troublesome relationship with Stockhausen: 'We never combined Karlheinz Stockhausen with rock music. In the first place, we forgot everything that we learned with him and just let things happened'.<sup>5</sup>

At first impression, Czukay's words sound convincing. For Stockhausen, as for all other avant-garde composers in the sixties, powerful 'beat', simple melodic lines and conventional harmonies were all – as Reginald Smith Brindle correctly observed – 'anathema'.<sup>6</sup> All members of *Can* were reluctant to make any further experiments in atonality, nonmetric or arhythmic music, and, instead, opened themselves to the influences of the beat music. This path led them to the creation of music which didn't have overt similarities with any of the compositions Stockhausen had composed at that time or earlier.

However, this is not the whole truth. At the time the group *Can* was formed, Stockhausen was passing from one to another phase of his conceptual artistic work: from a polyphonic world-music concept (developed for the compositions *Telemusik*, *Hymnen* and *Kurzwellen*) to an intuitive music concept (developed for the textual pieces *Aus den sieben Tagen*, *Für kommende Zeiten* and *Musik für ein Haus*). As we shall see later, both concepts played a substantial role in the music *Can* made in the late sixties and early seventies.

The first concept could be summarized in four basic principles:

1. World-music ought to be performed by four or five performers only;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> W. Kampmann, 'Sänger aus dem Äther. Interview Holger Czukay', in Hildegard Schmidt and Wolf Kampmann (eds.), *Can Box: Book* (MEDIUM Music Books, 1998), 141.

<sup>3</sup> 'If the man had not existed, there would have been no Can'. Quoted after M. Pilz, 'Die Disco ist ein Ort für junge Spießer', *Welt*, 11 July (2003), [www.welt.de/printwelt/article245584](http://www.welt.de/printwelt/article245584).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Kampmann, 'Sänger aus dem Äther. Interview Holger Czukay', 136.

<sup>6</sup> 'Jazz and pop have one characteristic which makes them almost incompatible with avant-garde music – they are based on powerful 'beat', which is just what avant-garde composers want to avoid. At the same time they both have simple melodic lines and conventional harmonies, which again are anathema to the radicals'. R. Smith Brindle, *New Music. The Avant-Garde since 1945* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 138.

<sup>7</sup> Karlheinz Stockhausen, 'Questions and answers on Intuitive Music', [www.stockhausen.org/intuitive\\_music.html](http://www.stockhausen.org/intuitive_music.html) (1971).

2. Although, generally speaking, 'it is best if the players know each other well', one should try 'by all means' to work with musicians who have a completely different musical background;<sup>8</sup>

3. The real world-music is only the music which is unrestrictedly based on 'polyphony of styles, times, and areas';<sup>9</sup> and

4. In spite of the openness of the form developed for 'polyphony of styles, times, and areas', world-music is striving for the equilibrium of composed 'determinism' and 'indeterminism' left to the performers for the sake of improvisation.<sup>10</sup>

The first two principles of the polyphonic world-music concept were still valid for the intuitive music concept, but not as important as before – due to the fact that the first text piece ever performed (*Musik für ein Haus*) was played by twelve performers with approximately the same musical background.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the intuitive music concept, developed for the first time in May 1968 for the collection of textual pieces *Aus den sieben Tagen*, was founded on four completely new basic principles:

1. Intuitive music is new music – music never heard before – because it is determined exclusively by the 'universal consciousness', shared by all human beings, but accessible only to the enlightened few;

2. Intuitive music is styleless, timeless and comes from the inner (sacred) areas of the human mind and not from the outer (profane) areas of the Globe;

3. There are no compositions of intuitive music *stricto sensu*; there are only text pieces, i. e. verbal guides for the performers who should, by playing in concert, bring themselves, as well as the audience, to the higher levels of 'universal consciousness'; and

4. The ultimate consequence of the intuitive music concept is that it abolishes division between the composer and the performer and establishes members of the performing ensemble as equal participants in the collective act of spontaneous creation. Stockhausen was always at pains to admit and accept this consequence, reserving for himself, as the author of the text pieces, the role of a path-finder or kind of a guru, who inspired, enlightened and led all the members of the performing ensemble.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> K. Stockhausen, *Towards a Cosmic Music* (Longmead, Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element Books, 1989), 25.

<sup>10</sup> See J.-C. Eloy, 'Stockhausen or the Metamorphosis of Creative Vitality. Determinism and Indeterminism Throughout His Work', [www.stockhausen.org/Eloy-Stock%20English%20Full.pdf](http://www.stockhausen.org/Eloy-Stock%20English%20Full.pdf) (1987)

<sup>11</sup> See M. Iddon, 'The Haus That Karlheinz Built: Composition, Authority, and the 1968 Darmstadt Ferienkurse', *The Musical Quarterly*, 87 (2004), 87–118.

Having this in mind, it will be shown below that the group *Can* accepted all the four principles of the polyphonic world-music concept, and also the last, fourth principle of the intuitive music concept. As a matter of fact, although never attached to the idea of intuitive music (and particularly to its religious core), the members of *Can* implemented the last principle more consistently than Stockhausen himself, and succeeded in practicing real collective acts of spontaneous creation. We have reached the point where the discussion on the implementation of all five principles in the music of the group *Can* is needed.

### 1. A group consisting of four or five members

Having played for several years in the sixties with five extraordinary musicians, Stockhausen came to the conclusion that 'mass begins with 7' players because 'all becomes too dense'. Serious problems can occur even with six players, for, in Stockhausen's opinion, most of them don't have enough 'self-discipline to stop playing for relatively long periods of time during the performance, and to know exactly when the right moment has come, so that solos and duos and trios can also occur, and not just sextets all the time'.<sup>12</sup> Stockhausen, obviously, was convinced that the best number of players for the performance of polyphonic world-music and, later, intuitive music was four or five.

*Can* began as a sextet, and as early as January 1969, with the departure of David C. Johnson, they became a quintet. Towards the end of 1973 they were reduced to a quartet due to the fact that the singer Damo Suzuki became a Jehovah's Witness and left the group. Until they disbanded late in 1978 they played without a singer, and it was for a short period of time in 1977 that they appeared again as a sextet. So, for most of its existence, the make-up of the group proved to be optimal for playing music Stockhausen called 'polyphonic' or intuitive.

### 2. A group of players who know each other well and have a completely different musical background

The sole original idea around which Irmin Schmidt, David C. Johnson, Holger Czukay, Jaki Liebzeit and Michael Karoli (shortly augmented by Mani Löhne) had gathered in the spring of 1968, was to break through the borders between New music, jazz and beat music.<sup>13</sup> The first three of them had roots in Stockhausen's music; Jaki Liebzeit—as well as Holger Czukay before he became Stockhausen's student—played jazz for a couple of years; Michael Karoly, ten years younger than all the others, was the sole member who was acquainted with beat music. In the autumn of 1968 American sculptor and amateur singer Malcolm Mooney joined the group, bringing with him a spark of raw and

<sup>12</sup> Stockhausen, 'Questions and answers on Intuitive Music'

<sup>13</sup> W. Kampmann, 'Unendlich viel Wahnsinn. Interview Irmin Schmidt', in Hildegard Schmidt and Wolf Kampmann (eds.), *Can Box: Book*, 54.

wreckless spontaneity. Nobody knew where the experiment could lead, and what kind of music should be expected to be born out of the interaction between individuals with such heterogeneous musical backgrounds. According to Irmin Schmidt, 'without knowing what we exactly wanted to do, the enterprise *Can* came into being on 19 July 1968, so called because we put all our income in one can'.<sup>14</sup>

This testimony is very interesting because it reveals two important facts about the whole experiment: first, the lack of any clear, consistent and sustainable musical orientation and, second, stress on the social cohesion within the group. As time passed, 'the can' became a symbol not only of the joint management of financial matters, but also of the communitarian and egalitarian way of life. Jaki Liebzeit was very clear about it:

Each of us was the boss, and each of us was equal. Naturally that came from the political ideas of 1968, when communal thinking sprang up. We were never a commune, never lived together, but in the studio everyone had equal rights and was equally responsible for the group.<sup>15</sup>

It was the so-called 'Inner Space' studio where the members of the group *Can* spent most of their lives in the whole decade of 1968–1978, where they developed extremely tight mutual relationships and where the distinguished and original *Can*-sound finally emerged. During the first three years they used an improvised studio in Schloß Nörvenich near the city of Cologne, and in 1971 they rented a cinema in Cologne and adapted it for the purpose of playing, recording and producing music. In these two studios the group of musicians with such different musical backgrounds came to know each other very well and to transform their friendship into an adventurous musical enterprise.

### 3. 'Polyphony of styles, times, and areas'

The early sound of the sextet with David C. Johnson and Mani Löhne can be heard today thanks to a rather poor quality recording of their very first session in Schloss Nörvenich, some time in June 1968. The recording is valuable only as a document of the search for musical expression, undertaken by six young people with different musical backgrounds and without either common performing experiences, or ideas what their music should sound like. No wonder that in such circumstances no 'polyphony of styles, times, and areas' could emerge. Nevertheless, Holger Czukay was right when he observed, thirty years later, that in those days he and his friends were 'miles away from being a worthwhile group. But from the beginning on, we incorporated all kinds of music from all over the world'.<sup>16</sup> This endeavor to incorporate 'all kinds of music

<sup>14</sup> W. Wilholm, *Deutschrock-Lexikon* (Berlin: Lexikon Imprint Verlag, 1999), 47.

<sup>15</sup> W. Kampmann, 'Der Geist aus der Dose. Interview Jaki Liebzeit', in Hildegard Schmidt and Wolf Kampmann (eds.), *Can Box: Book*, 340.

<sup>16</sup> Kampmann, 'Sänger aus dem Äther. Interview Holger Czukay', 137.

from all over the world' was doubtlessly one of the most important and persistent characteristics of *Can* music, although in its beginnings the group was incapable of integrating all these influences.

The crucial moment in the musical development of the group was the replacement of Mani Löhne by Malcolm Mooney. Mooney's uniqueness lay in his singing style. He used his voice as a rhythmic instrument and soon built with the drummer Liebzeit 'a unit', 'a rhythmic cell with unbelievable strength'.<sup>17</sup> In this way Mooney, like his successor Damo Suzuki, previously a street-singer, brought a spark of raw artistic enthusiasm, thus setting two processes in motion: 1) an overwhelming orientation towards beat, although a peculiar one, that was uncommon even to English and American contemporary beat music, not to mention jazz and New music; and 2) integration of 'all kinds of music from all over the world' in the new and recognizable polyphonic world-music.

Beat was very important to the members of *Can* because it possessed a huge potential for creating trance-like states of mind. Neither New music, nor jazz could produce such powerful rhythms that 'blow the minds' of listeners. Wilfrid Mellers made a good observation of this 'ritual' aspect of beat music: 'In this way the ritual value of the sound is inseparable from its musical nature. Its melodic and harmonic material is rudimentary, its rhythmic appeal obvious in its excess [...]. The essential characteristics of beat music are that its phrases are very brief and are hypnotically repeated; that its rhythm is obvious and unremitting; and that its sonority is very loud'.<sup>18</sup> The beat of the group *Can* became even more powerful, repetitive and penetrating. Although the percussive singing of Malcolm Mooney made a great contribution to the beat, its most persistent and permanent source was the drum kit. The uniqueness of the *Can* sound came through the leading role of the drumming of Jaki Liebzeit who never played usual rock or jazz rhythms. He discovered a different rhythm for every piece of music and played it in cycles, from the beginning to the end, with only minor interruptions and variations<sup>19</sup> – sometimes, like in *Yoo Doo Right*, for over twenty minutes – creating in that way a tremendous hypnotic effect on the audience. Although it had some similarities with contemporary rock music—which led to the identification of *Can* as the rock band—it was peculiar enough to cross all the borders of musical styles and sapcey enough to let the very heterogeneous contents fill and mould the *Can* sound.

Until the end of 1968 all members of *Can*—with the exception of David C. Johnson—accepted this new identification and felt somehow entangled in the emerging rock culture. But rock music was for them—as Irmin Schmidt later explained—just another "universal language" (*Weltsprache*), made of particular

<sup>17</sup> Kampmann, 'Unendlich viel Wahnsinn. Interview Irmin Schmidt', 61.

<sup>18</sup> W. Mellers, 'New Music in a New World', in Jonathan Eisen (ed.), *The Age of Rock. Sounds of the American Cultural Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1969), 180–181.

<sup>19</sup> Kampmann, 'Der Geist aus der Dose. Interview Jaki Liebzeit', 302.

clichés and patterns, not necessarily rooted in American or British rhythm and blues. Furthermore, rock music was fully compatible with the completely ‘different surroundings’ – in the range from Stockhausen’s music, in which Schmidt and Czukay had ‘grown up’ and which ‘made’ them what they were,<sup>20</sup> through jazz, to the various musical traditions from the whole world. Willingness to integrate elements of such traditions was already transparent in 1968: in *Boat Woman Song* from the first Holger Czukay’s album, released shortly before the formation of *Can*, as well as in the so-called *Ethnological Forgery Series*, whose first ten pieces came into being in collaboration with David C. Johnson. These, as well as later pieces which can be heard on the compilation-albums *Unlimited Edition* and *Canaxis 5*, are the first and most prominent manifestations of the group’s conviction ‘about the only-apparent difference between true invention (the original meaning of “forgery”) and a fraudulent copy’. Furthermore, on the sleeve of the mentioned album *Unlimited Edition* from 1976 we find a statement which gives the best explanation of the group’s attitude towards the musical styles they persistently integrated into their own music: ‘*Can’s* version of Indian, African, Greek, avant-garde and other musics, of jazz, even of sailor’s hornpipes and Scottish reels, are so patiently bogus as authentic ethnic manifestations that they become second cultural realities in their own right’. Creation of such ‘second cultural realities in their own right’ was *Can’s* own way—although completely opposite to the one Stockhausen chose a few years earlier—to compose ‘polyphony of styles, times, and areas’.

#### 4. Equilibrium of composed ‘determinisms’ and ‘indeterminism’ left to the performers for the sake of improvisation

When dealing with the music of *Can*, one must bear in mind that this music shares one of the most important features of rock music – its orientation towards recording. In his excellent book *Rock: The Primary Text. Developing a Musicology of Rock* Allan F. Moore described the crucial change in the way of musical transmission that took place with the occurrence of rock music:

The primary medium of transmission of music throughout the European art tradition is and always has been stave notation. The primary medium of transmission of rock, since at least the mid-1950-s rock’n’roll, has been the recording. The distinction is fundamental. European art music is performed with reference to a pre-existent score, which is accepted as an encoded version of the sounds intended by the composer. The rock score, where one exists, is actually a transcription of what has already been performed and produced. Therefore, al-

<sup>20</sup> ‘Interview with Irmin Schmidt’ on *Can-DVD* (Spoon, 2003). Even Michael Karoli thought that *Can* only used ‘elements’ of rock and that their music was as close to New music as to rock music. W. Kampmann, ‘Der Kick aus der Kälte. Interview Michael Karoli’, in H. Schmidt and W. Kampmann (eds.), *Can Box: Book*, 284.

though the analysis of art music *is*, normally, the analysis of the score, an analysis of rock *cannot* follow the same procedure.<sup>21</sup>

In the case of *Can* it was not only the rock tradition that shaped this inclination towards recording. Stockhausen's electronic and concrete music gave enormous impact to the way the music was recorded and produced. In the time he studied with Stockhausen Czukay became aware of the problem that he wanted to be a composer but that he disliked the notes.<sup>22</sup> He got fascinated by tapes, samples and loops that could be used in many, sometimes quite unpredictable ways and give birth to a completely new sonority.

Maybe the most interesting characteristic of *Can* music—at least in the early years—was that the orientation toward recording paralleled the flourishing improvisation. The uniqueness of *Can* music lies in the fact that it was a product of endless improvisation on the composed themes, which took place not only at numerous concerts but also in the studio. As a matter of fact, playing in the studio was much more improvisational than 'live performances' and sessions lasted for many hours. *Yoo Doo Right* from the first album, for example, was the product of a twelve-hour improvisation. After the playing was over, an equally important phase would follow: editing the taped material, for which Holger Czukay was mostly responsible. So, all *Can* LP albums were approximately 40 minutes long and thoroughly edited selections from the numerous tapes which had been made during the studio sessions.<sup>23</sup> Such was the equilibrium of 'determinism' and 'indeterminism' on which the music of group was based.

### 5. Collective acts of spontaneous creation

Collective and spontaneous creation was the principle idea that inspired the whole '*Can* enterprise'. If this idea looked like Stockhausen's concept of intuitive music, the resemblance was only partial, because there were no religious afterthoughts in the direction of a particular *unio mystica*. Irmin Schmidt said on one occasion that he had in mind 'to start a group that invented spontaneously and collectively',<sup>24</sup> using the German word 'erfinden' which Stock-

<sup>21</sup> A. F. Moore, *Rock: The Primary Text. Developing a Musicology of Rock* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1993), 32–33; see also: S. McClary and . Walser, 'Start Making Sense! Musicology Wrestles with Rock', in S. Frith and A. Goodwin (eds.), *On Record, Rock, Pop, and the Written World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 282; R. Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990), 104; M. Elicker, *Semiotics of Popular Music. The Theme of Loneliness in Mainstream Pop and Rock Songs* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1997), 34.

<sup>22</sup> Josef Spiegel, 'Das Gesetz der Zellteilung', in Hildegard Schmidt and Wolf Kampmann (eds.), *Can Box: Book*, 402.

<sup>23</sup> Christian Börsing, 'Analytische Betrachtung zu Peking O', in Hildegard Schmidt and Wolf Kampmann (eds.), *Can Box: Book*, 438–439.

<sup>24</sup> Kampmann, 'Unendlich viel Wahnsinn. Interview Irmin Schmidt', 54.

hausen in the article 'Erfindung und Entdeckung. Ein Beitrag zur Form-Genese'<sup>25</sup> reserved for traditional composition only.<sup>26</sup> *Entdeckung* and *intuitives Spielen* never attracted the attention of the members of *Can*.

Although it was not perceived as intuitive in Stockhausen's sense of the term, the music of *Can* was collective and spontaneous because it was purposely created 'out of the subconscious' and was 'totally untouched by the egos' of the musicians.<sup>27</sup> The sound of *Can* was constantly created by four, five or six musicians without a desire to stand out or play fascinating solos. Even the singer, publicly the most important figure in almost all rock bands, had to fit in like every other instrumentalist. That's why all the texts in *Can's* music were meaningless and created spontaneously during the performance of all the musicians.<sup>28</sup> Malcom Mooney's 'lyrics' were often invented on stage, as a response to the music played by other members. When performing of *Yoo Doo Right*, for example, he simply sung the text of the letter he had just received from his girlfriend in America.<sup>29</sup>

So, from the very start, members of the group avoided mentioning anything which could have the slightest connotation of Stockhausen's concept of intuitive music. Instead of intuitive search for the religious contents of 'universal consciousness', they were, according to Irmin Schmidt, 'looking for the magic moments, when everything sounds perfect and music is played so to speak by itself. If the contemporary witnesses are to be believed, there were enough such moments and many of them were also preserved on the sound bearers'.<sup>30</sup>

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Having all this in mind, it can be concluded that the 'experimental pop-music' of the German group *Can* was never part of the real adherence to the collective compositions such as *Ensemble* or *Musik für ein Haus*. On the other hand, its occurrence and development could have been impossible without Stockhausen's concepts of polyphonic world-music and intuitive music. If it is true that Stockhausen was the 'father' of *Can*, then the resemblance between the two cannot be spotted at first hearing but only established upon a thorough examination.

<sup>25</sup> K. Stockhausen, 'Erfindung und Entdeckung. Ein Beitrag zur Form-Genese (1961)', in *Texte zur elektronischen und instrumentalen Musik. Band 1: Aufsätze 1952–1962 zur Theorie des Komponierens* (Köln: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 1963)

<sup>26</sup> On the contrary, *entdecken* was for Stockhausen experimental way of composing and in the late sixties became the synonym for the creation of intuitive music.

<sup>27</sup> Kampmann, 'Der Kick aus der Kälte. Interview Michael Karoli', 288.

<sup>28</sup> Kampmann, 'Der Geist aus der Dose. Interview Jaki Liebzeit', 316.

<sup>29</sup> K. Unland, 'Can', in *German Rock*, [www.germanrock.de/c/can/index.htm](http://www.germanrock.de/c/can/index.htm) (1998)

<sup>30</sup> M. Ruff, *Rolling Stone* (Mai, 1997), [www.spoonrecords.com/critiques.html#german](http://www.spoonrecords.com/critiques.html#german)

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*Драгана Јеремић-Молнар и Александар Молнар*

**ОДЈЕЦИ МОДЕРНЕ У РОК МУЗИЦИ КАСНИХ  
ШЕЗДЕСЕТИХ И РАНИХ СЕДАМДЕСЕТИХ ГОДИНА  
ХХ ВЕКА. УТИЦАЈ ШТОКХАУЗЕНА НА РАНЕ  
РАДОВЕ НЕМАЧКЕ ГРУПЕ *CAN***

**Р е з и м е**

Музички модернизам је играо малу улогу у развоју такозване прогресивне рокенрол музике током друге половине шездесетих и прве половине седамдесетих година двадесетог века. Ипак, ма колико мала, ова улога заслужује да буде научно истражена. Стога су се аутори текста определили да размотре утицај једног од најзначајнијих и најутицајнијих представника Модерне, Карлхајнца Штокхаузена, на музику његових студената, Холгера Цукаја и Ирмина Шмита, који су 1968. формирали групу *Can*. И поред тога што је *Can* сматран (и што се сматра) једном од водећих "Kraut-rock" група, ова ознака није довољна и адекватна због јединственог стила групе, у којем је рокенрол супстанца била допуњена и обогаћена различитим састојцима. Утицај Карлхајнца Штокхаузена на музику коју је компоновала, продуцирала и свирала група *Can* разматрају се на примеру њихових раних радова из шездесетих – *Prehistoric Future: The Very First Session, Delay 1968, Canaxis 5: Studio Demo Tapes, Monster Movies* – и раних седамдесетих – *Soundtracks, Tago Mago, Ege Bamyasi and Future Days* – као и на примеру оригиналног соло албума Холгера Цукаја *Canaxis 5*. Намера аутора је да покажу да Штокхаузенови студенти Цукај и Шмит, иако образовани у музичкој традицији Модерне, никада нису успели да је развију у потпуности – у правцу, рецимо, Цукајевог соло рада *Canaxis 5* – због тога што су преостала два члана групе, који су долазили из другачијих музичких традиција, имали супротстављене идеје. Млади бит-гитариста Михаел Кароли обезбедио је оријентацију групе ка рокенрол традицији, док је бубњар Јаки Либцајт намерно раскинуо са free-jazz-ом како би истраживао нове репетитивне ритмичке обрасце, који су ускоро постали најупечатљивија карактеристика музике групе *Can*.

# RADICAL (MODERNIST) MINIMALISM BETWEEN NEO-AVANT-GARDE AND POSTMODERNISM

MARIJA MASNIKOSA

HAVING emerged within the family of American experimental music practices of the second half of the twentieth century, minimalism inherited a large number of ideological characteristics from this movement in post-war New Music. The practice of post-war American experimental music received its avant-garde impetus from Cage's works with chance operations from the 1930s, after which it embarked on a course of 'criticism of the modernist domination in culture and its models of the autonomy of art, apoliticalness, abstract formalism and aesthetic formalism'.<sup>1</sup> Because of its excessive and innovative character, as well as the time of its development, American experimental music of the second half of the twentieth century was perceived, according to Bürger's theory of the avant-garde, as neo-avant-garde in the contemporary art theory.

Accepting Cage's, essentially destructive, attitude towards the institutions of art, the composers of American experimental music working in this period realized 'different artistic-existential forms of behaviour'<sup>2</sup> in their works and, during the 1950s and 1960s, directly continued the line of historical avant-gardes.<sup>3</sup>

The excessive and critical artistic practices of indeterminism and Fluxus (American aleatory experience) advocate some of the key principles of neo-avant-garde such as the destruction of the disciplinary autonomy of music, that is, 'the expansion of art into existential spheres', the negation of the autonomy of a work of art and the negation of the category of individual creation. Bürger's only criterion of neo-avant-garde that American pre-minimalist experimental

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<sup>1</sup> See M. Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik moderne i postmoderne likovne umetnosti i teorije posle 1950. [Dictionary of Modern and Postmodern Art and Theory of Art – since 1950]*, (SANU i Prometej, Beograd – Novi Sad, 1999), 52.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 101.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

practice of the era of inauguration and Fluxus does not satisfy is 'the reduction of the destructive intensity of creative actions'.<sup>4</sup>

The historical position of radical minimalism in the order of American experimental art movements, which has not yet been deduced in musicological literature in the context of modern theories of the avant-garde, is fundamentally determined precisely by the fact that the destructive intensity of minimalist actions was noticeably reduced. By its transparent simplicity, this movement critically opposed indeterminism, complexity and forms of processual organization in pre-minimalist experimental music without significant external excesses. We believe that this unequivocally determines it as neo-avant-garde practice (in accordance with Bürger's theory), especially since this is a movement that restored the autonomy of music as a discipline by its departure from polymediality.

It seems particularly significant that, similar to minimalism in visual arts<sup>5</sup> that literally carries out a creative analysis of the limitations of the historical avant-garde and the first neo-avant-garde, radical music minimalism at the same time represents a 'return' to Webern's contribution to European historical music avant-garde and '*a deferred (re)action*' to Cage's neo-avant-garde piece 4' 33" *Silence for the Pianist* (1952), so that the argumentation for the thesis on the neo-avant-garde status of American minimalism is further supplemented by elements of Foster's psychoanalytical interpretation of the avant-garde and neo-avant-garde in twentieth-century art.

Art historian Hal Foster views the history of art as a subject and sees the avant-garde 'hiatuses' in its history as traumas that can be recognized and understood only through a Freudian 'deferred action'. In this respect, Foster perceives every neo-avant-garde as 'a return to the historical avant-garde' and claims that neo-avant-garde 'addresses this institution [of art] with a creative analysis at once specific and deconstructive'.<sup>6</sup>

Music minimalism, as a specific return to Cage's neo-avant-garde, most evidently satisfies the second of Foster's mentioned criteria for the neo-avant-garde. All the more so since, by re-examining the conventional limits of music and exploring the perceptive, cognitive, structural parameters and discursive rules of music as an art, this movement does in fact create 'new aesthetical experiences, cognitive links and political interventions'<sup>7</sup>, which, according to Foster's aforementioned theory of the avant-garde, corresponds to the status of the

<sup>4</sup> Quoted according to: M. Veselinović-Hofman, 'Teze za reinterpretaciju jugoslovenske muzičke avangarde' ['Outlines for a Reinterpretation of the Yugoslav Musical Avant-Garde'], *Muzički talas*, 30/31 (2002), 21.

<sup>5</sup> In the works of Dan Flavin, Donald Judd and Robert Morris in the early 1960s and later on in the works of David Buren, Michael Asher and others.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. H. Foster, *The Return of the Real*, (An OCTOBER Book, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England, 1996), 4, 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 14.

'second neo-avant-garde'<sup>8</sup> in the order of the twentieth-century avant-garde movements.

As a movement whose works are almost diametrically opposed to the experimental works from the stage of inauguration or Fluxus, minimalism inherited some of the characteristics of the experimental avant-garde in the larval and virtually unrecognizable form.

American experimental pre-minimalist practice was guided by the idea that a work should be a process in progress and, from its very first works, it affirmed the concept of '*work-as-a-process*' which, in terms of its indifference to the final identity of a work, was very close to Adorno's notion of *work-in-progress!*

This was already evident in the early works of Cage, Feldman, Brown and Wolf (the inauguration stage, according to Nyman) and was not later abandoned as a tendency either in the works of Fluxus or in the most complex compositions of the period of indeterminacy.

Early minimalist works created in the late 1950s and the 1960s were a direct continuation of this experimental practice and true examples of the experimental '*work-as-a-process*'.

The openness and *limitlessness* of Young's 'tune-in' minimalism, as well as of some early works by Riley (*Keyboard Studies, In C*) and even Glass (*Music in Fifths*), maintain a neo-avant-garde continuity with the basic orientations of previous stages in the development of experimental music.

The compositions of early minimalism, therefore, retain the characteristic neo-avant-garde (experimental) processual organization, the exploratory character of the previous experimental practice, and the lack of teleological focus. However minimalist processes are different from all those inaugurated by previous experimental practice. Unlike experimental works from the stage of indeterminacy (which started almost concurrently with minimalism, at the beginning of the 1960s), minimalists opted for the reduction of material and the strictness of process, so that *non-focused multiplicity*<sup>9</sup> from the stage of indeterminacy received its opposition in the form of 'controlled singularity', which could serve as a slogan for minimalism.

<sup>8</sup> In his theory of avant-garde, Foster defines the first and the second neo-avant-gardes, as 'two historical alternatives to the modernist model' which 'challenge the key point of reference of the then current modernism: the bourgeois principles of the autonomy of art and artistic expression' (Ibid, 4.) He situates the first neo-avant-garde in the 1950s, emphasizing that it 'very literally' rediscovered the historical avant-garde that had been 'institutionally repressed' at the time of its development. Foster sees the impetus for the appearance of the second neo-avant-garde (that took place in the 1960s), which, in his opinion, included minimalism and Pop art, in the process of acculturation and adaptation of the historical avant-garde to the first neo-avant-garde, which 'inspired a criticism of this process in the second neo-avant-garde'. (Ibid, 24)

<sup>9</sup> The syntagm used by Michael Nyman. See M. Nyman, *Experimental Music. Cage and beyond* ( Schirmer Books, A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1974), 139.

What is paradigmatic in that sense is Young's 'unfinished and unfinished' composition – namely, the 'total environment'<sup>10</sup> *The Tortoise, his Dreams and Journeys* (which 'was being created' between 1964 and the mid-1970s), which represents an act of lifelike, strictly controlled permanent exploration of the intonation of voice drone and one of the peaks of early minimalism of the 1960s.<sup>11</sup>

However, already in some of Reich's cyclic, closed, gradual and completely pre-composed processes, based on the principles of phase shifting<sup>12</sup>, as well as in certain closed and pre-composed compositions of Philip Glass, the work became a 'closed', pre-arranged procedure, like those that can be observed in the compositions of post-war European modernism! The unpredictability of the process, its indeterminacy and openness<sup>13</sup> were lost in favour of pre-composing and total control by the author. Reich's integral-minimalist pieces and some of Philip Glass's closed and pre-composed works remained open in the experimentalist manner, but only to the extent to which the listener's perception participated in their final realization!

Consequently, the category of process as an 'open structure' was replaced with the model of modernist process as a closed and autonomous work.

These completed, autonomous works lost the specific kind of independence from their authors that Cage advocated. Having created something that was neither a 'living organism' nor a text – having created a process as a machine whose activity was still independent of its constructor and performer, the author nonetheless 'snuck' into the system yet again, albeit hidden behind his work and pushed into the background, which, according to Jencks, is one of the important characteristics of the art of late modernism.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the principles of (neo-) avant-garde, which constituted American experimental ideology and dominated neo-avant-garde practice of the era of inauguration, Fluxus and indeterminism, lost their supremacy with the appearance of radical minimalism and were supplanted by the arguments of post-war modernism. Abandoning the most prominent neo-avant-garde attributes of American experimental practice, 'integral minimalism' broke away from the neo-avant-garde experimental practices of

<sup>10</sup> See W. Mertens, *American Minimal Music* (Kahn & Averill, London, Pro/Am Music Resources Inc., White Plains, NY, 1983), 30.

<sup>11</sup> See E. Strickland, *Minimalism: Origins* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1993), 235.

<sup>12</sup> The tape pieces *It's Gonna Rain* (1965), *Come Out* (1966), *Melodica* (1966), as well as the instrumental compositions *Piano Phase* (1967), *Violin Phase* (1967), *Phase Patterns* (1970), and even the cult composition *Drumming* (1971), were based on the principle of phase shifting.

<sup>13</sup> The term 'open structure' is used here in the meaning defined by Stockhausen and it refers to the absence of a traditional structure in a composition, as well as to the absence of 'strict dialectical principles of beginning and end'. (See W. Mertens, *American Minimal Music*, 101)

<sup>14</sup> See C. Jencks, 'Postmodern versus Late-Modern', in: *Zeitgeist in Babel: The Post-Modernist Controversy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991/1992), 19–20.

American music. Having returned to the media framework of music as a separate artistic discipline, American minimalism reaffirmed the modernist autonomy of music<sup>15</sup> and thus made a specific shift towards the more conservative European concept of late modernism.

After all, experimental music created before minimalism also clearly demonstrates its basic, high-modernist characteristics: the neutrality of the chosen material, discarding of historical paradigms, composing 'from scratch' (as irrefutable proof of the proclaimed modernist auto-referentiality), non-hierarchical ordering, consistent avoidance of conventional music expressiveness, etc.

In addition to the larval characteristics of American post-war neo-avant-garde and the entire aforementioned set of common characteristics of European and American post-war New Music<sup>16</sup>, minimalism also exhibits, as its own specific distinction, a number of other features—such as: pre-composing of the process (as a specific concern about compositional procedure), musical purism, the principle of 'textual unity', and even the very concept of reduction<sup>17</sup>—which, paradoxically and unexpectedly, bears the attributes of European high or late musical modernism.

The critical position of music minimalism with regard to the experimental neo-avant-garde that preceded it is, however, revealed in the fact that this movement made a radical break with its complexity, which, after all, also characterized European post-war New Music.

Unlike the authors of experimental works from the era of indeterminacy, who composed works of great complexity (for example, Cornelius Cardew's *The Great Learning*), the minimalists opted for simple, strict and pre-composed processes which did not have an in-depth structure. Another, no less important fact is that the minimalist reduction of the material to neutral '*unitary forms*' without inscribed meanings implied their 'literal reading', which had been inconceivable in previous stages of the development of experimental music. By its shocking simplicity, minimalism—without crossing the divide of representation or any other musical 'objecthood'—took the streams of New Music to the place of the 'new beginning', devoid of the dead weight of complexity and structure.

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<sup>15</sup> Among other things, in contrast with some of La Monte Young's early minimalist works which, as mentioned, were designed as intermedia 'works in progress', early minimalist works by Riley, Glass and Reich were removed from the influence of Fluxus and were 'reduced' to the language of music, which brought them back to the (European) modernist concept of the disciplinary autonomy of music.

<sup>16</sup> The syntagma *New Music* is used here in the meaning defined by Hermann Danuser, who defines this coined word as a collective name for the entire post-war musical modernism.

<sup>17</sup> In a table designed to monitor 30 parameters of modernism, late modernism of the 1960s and postmodernism, Jencks writes that reductiveness is a general characteristic of late modernism. Jencks, of course, views this characteristic from the perspective of the expected increasing complexity within modernism! Cf. C. Jencks, op.cit, 19–20.

On the other hand, by its neo-avant-garde 'creative analysis of art which (the analysis) was simultaneously specific and deconstructivist' and which resulted in 'new aesthetical experiences (and) cognitive links', American minimalism also developed some (transgressive) characteristics that brought it to the very threshold of musical postmodernism.

It should be stressed here that all the transgressive characteristics of minimalism, which we could name as proto-postmodernist, originated from its obsessive repetitiveness, which in itself can be understood as a step away from the technical framework of modernist compositional technique, and even as an explicit rebellion against the universal modernist ban on repetitiveness, which had dominated ever since Schoenberg's time.

The most important of all the proto-postmodernist characteristics of minimalist music is its 'different temporality'<sup>18</sup>, or 'vertical time'<sup>19</sup> as a feature of the minimalist musical flow. This characteristic of minimalist music acquires the meaning of a transgressive feature due to its ability to produce a postmodernist 'multiply-directed time'<sup>20</sup>, (specific characteristic of postmodern music, named by Jonathan D. Kramer), interacting with an older, time-oriented, narrative type of musical discourse.

Following the same principle, the non-narrativity of the minimalist musical flow also acquires the quality of the transgressive feature of this music, because the minimalist anti-narrative, being put in a hypothetical or real 'dialogue' with other, narrative musical discourses can produce a typical postmodernist 'multiple narrativity' (which can be clearly noted in postminimalist music as an effectively achieved musical characteristic).

Also, the minimalist concern for the listener, retained as part of its experimental heritage, which, paradoxically, suggests a certain ideological interference between the American experimental music and musical postmodernism,<sup>21</sup> can be regarded as the transgressive, proto-postmodernist feature of this music. Naturally, the minimalist (essentially modernist) obsessiveness with temporality of perception as a *process*, differs from the postmodernist 'birth of

<sup>18</sup> Behind this 'different temporality' lies repetitiveness as a process whose redundancy gives the impression of the immobilization of time. The absence of all conventional means of musical narrativity (contrast, opposition, rise and decline of tension, etc.) disorients the listener who, due to the lack of musical events, feels as though time has stopped.

<sup>19</sup> Jonathan D. Kramer perceives minimalist music as 'vertical music' that materializes an 'eternal present', but 'does not destroy the temporal continuum', and describes the 'absence of events in the musical flow' with the syntagma 'vertical time' or 'nonlinearity'. Quoted according to: J. W. Bernard, 'The Minimalist Aesthetic in the Plastic Arts and in Music', *Perspectives of New Music*, Vol.31, no.1 (1993), 122.

<sup>20</sup> See J. D. Kramer, 'Postmodern Concepts of Musical Time', *Indiana Theory Review*, vol.17, no.2, (fall 1996), 22–25, 48–53.

<sup>21</sup> The problem of interference between American experimental and postmodern music is implicitly or explicitly included in all theoretical studies that regard Cage as a postmodernist.

*the listener*', but the very concern of minimalism for 'the mode in which music affects the listener', not only because of its objective characteristics, constitutes an important step towards the orientations and focuses of the ideology of musical postmodernism.

All of the above mentioned transgressive, proto-postmodernist characteristics suggest a borderline and key position of minimalism, viewed from the other, postmodernist side of music history. The hybrid and ambivalent 'stylistic equation' of minimalism<sup>22</sup> (which bears clear indications of postmodernist as well as modernist characteristics), otherwise typical of postmodernist artistic tendencies, testifies to the fact that musical minimalism, as the last in the order of musical modernist movements, was at the same time the meeting point of the two most important artistic ideologies and practices of the last century.

It is in this constitutional ideological duality of radical American minimalism that the pivotal position of this movement in the order of the art movements of the second half of the twentieth century is revealed.

As the last 'offensive reconnaissance' (Sloterdijk) of musical modernism and, at the same time, the first late modernist movement, whose larvaeral ideological duality enabled its postmodernist re-constitution (the birth of postminimalism!), musical minimalism deserves to be regarded as a neo-avant-garde 'apogee of modernism' and, at the same time, as a 'paradigm shift to postmodernist practices',<sup>23</sup> as concluded by Hal Foster on minimalism in the visual arts.

*Марија Масникоса*

## РАДИКАЛНИ (МОДЕРНИСТИЧКИ) МИНИМАЛИЗАМ ИЗМЕЂУ НЕОАВАНГАРДЕ И МУЗИЧКОГ ПОСТМОДЕРНИЗМА

Р е з и м е

Својим настанком у породици америчких експерименталних музичких пракси минимализам је наследио неке идеолошке карактеристике америчке послератате музичке неоавангарде. Рани минимализам, наиме, задржава експериментални карактер својих остварења (Ја Монте Јанг, Рајли, Глас), процесуалност и отвореност дела које је схваћено као *work-in-process*, његову неусмереност, непредвидивост и неомећеност, али губи најва-

<sup>22</sup> An early identification of ideological contradictions in minimalism can be found in Wim Mertens. Cf. W. Mertens, *American Minimal Music*, 87.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 36.

жнију неоавангардну црту: враћа се модернистичком статусу аутономије музике.

Остварења радикалног америчког минимализма показују карактеристично модернистичке одлике: компоновање „из почетка“ тј. самоутемељење, заокупљеност композиционом техником, „једнострочно кодирање“ музичког текста, неутралност материјала, одбацивање историјских парадигми, одсуство каузалитета у музичком току, нехијерархијско успостављање поретка, реални недостатак правца кретања и декларативно избегавање експресије.

Поред ових својстава која радикални минимализам декларишу као модернистички правац, минималистичка остварења извесним својим карактеристикама наговештавају и припремају појаву неких одлика музичког постмодернизма. У ова „прекорачујућа“ својства радикалног минимализма спадају антинаративност дискурса, нелинеарно музичко време, плочност и одсуство дубине, као и активирање, тј. „рођење слушаоца“ који ће у музичком постмодернизму бити схваћен као коаутор дела.

Чињеница да радикални минимализам (као последњи неоавангардни покрет у музici XX века) у себи помирије одлике послератне америчке неоавангарде, европског касног модернизма и наговештаје карактеристика постмодерне музике, чини овај правац прекретнициом у историји „нове музике“ друге половине XX века. Амерички радикални минимализам је уистину био „апогеј модернизма“, и „парадигма помака према постмодерним праксама“, како је минимализам у ликовним уметностима окарактери-сао Хал Фостер.

# THE TRADITION OF OPERA AND THE NEW MUSIC STAGE WORKS BY YOUNG SERBIAN COMPOSERS

GORICA PILIPOVIĆ

IN the last few years the music stage in Serbia has experienced a unique proliferation. Several music theatre pieces by authors mostly belonging to the younger generation, one who bravely embarked upon the questioning of traditional opera concepts, have appeared, desperately needed considering the predominantly conservative attitude towards the genre in our culture, especially within the context of current European trends which have brought numerous innovations to this field. Namely, since the end of the sixties, an awareness of the inevitability of change in the opera stage has emerged, ranging from Pierre Boulez's cry to demolish the opera theatres to Bohuslav Schaeffer's statement announcing the crisis of modern opera. He believed that no new prophetic, important piece would appear on the music stage until it reached breaking point.<sup>1</sup> This breaking point was reached in 1976 with the piece *Einstein on the Beach* by Phillip Glass and Robert Wilson. Shown the same year in Belgrade, at BITEF festival, this minimalist opera inevitably made an artistic impact. Whether or not by coincidence, the first minimalist compositions by our authors also date from the same year, yet it is only the next generation, today's generation of composers, who were born at that time, who have brought the innovations of *Einstein on the Beach* to our music stage. Innovations such as the lack of plot in the sense of narrative flow, a fragmented structure, the introduction of a non-coloratura voice, the use of mass-cultural artefacts etc.

And just like Glass's opera was shown here as part of a theatre festival, so do the contemporary musical projects of our young artists, which I will be discussing, occur outside an official institution – the Belgrade Opera. Instead they can be found in those theatres and alternative venues willing to provide their resources, venues which are open to theatrical innovation. This social mo-

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<sup>1</sup> B. Šefer, 'Muzičko-scenske vizije budućnosti' ['Musical Stage Visions of the Future'] in P. Selem (ed.), *Novi zvuk [New Sound]*, ( Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1972), 96.

ment also refers to the audience, which does not consist of so called melomaniacs, but of theatre lovers and especially theatre professionals who do not usually attend operatic plays. This says a great deal more about the familiarity between these new creations and the so-called post-drama theatre (the play *Tesla, Total Reflection* [*Tesla, totalna refleksija*], for example, was included in the *Show Case* programme at BITEF 2007), and it implies a kind of artistic familiarity between all of the creators taking part in the play – theatrical, musical, literary, visual etc. In other words they make up an artistic group founded on their common musical and theatrical sensibility.

I have chosen four pieces as the subject of this paper: the chamber opera *Narcissus and Echo* by Anja Djordjević,<sup>2</sup> the music-theatre event *Tesla, totalna refleksija* by a group of authors,<sup>3</sup> ten opera-like pieces with singing *Mozart, lustier, lustik* by Irena Popović,<sup>4</sup> and the rap-opera *The Land of Happiness* [*Zemlja sreće*] by Vladimir Pejković.<sup>5</sup> I have listed only the names of the authors of the music, but in these new pieces, again analogous to the Glass-Willson professional relationship, the role of the director, or the person responsible for the concept of the play as a whole, has become equally important. I could certainly add the pieces *Dream Opera* by Jasna Veličković, and *The Opera is Feminine* [*Opera je ženskog roda*] by Bojan Djordjev (for example, he is a director by vocation, not a composer), but unfortunately, I am not well enough acquainted with those pieces. On the other hand, I believe that *Zora D* by Isidora Žebeljan, one of the most important works of this period, does not belong to the group, the criterion being respect for the traditional genre elements. The Žebeljan opera, namely, stands out with its modern musical and theatrical language, but does

<sup>2</sup> BITEF Theatre, 10 October 2002. Libretto – Marija Stojanović, music - Anja Djordjević, directed by Alisa Stojanović, costumes – Zora Mojsilović-Popović, scenography – Saša Ivanović. Cast: Narcissus – Radmilo Petrović, Echo – Anja Djordjević, nymphs – Aneta Ilić, Ivana Dimitrijević. Instrumental ensemble *Arte*, conducted by Premil Petrović.

<sup>3</sup> JDP, 16 December 2006. Libretto – Marija Stojanović, music – Anja Djordjević, Igor Gostuški, Vladimir Pejković, Božidar Obradinović, director – Miloš Lolić, costumes – Maja Mirković, scenography – Igor Vasiljev, choreography and dance – Isidora Stanišić. Performers – Vladislava Djordjević (in the role of *Tesla*), singers-actors – Milan Antonić, Nebojša Babić, Žarko Dančuo, Anja Djordjević, Jelena Ilić, Mirjana Jovanović, Ivana Knežević, Marko Marković, Radmilo Petrović, Nikola Vujović, dancers – Irina Savić, Jovana Nestorovski.

<sup>4</sup> Sava Centre, 21 December 2006. Libretto – Maja Pelević, Jelena Novak, Marija Karaklajić, music and concept – Irena Popović, director – Jey Sheib, costumes – Danijela Stojanović Diridondica, video – Igor Vasiljev, Nikola Ljuca. Performers – Gertraud Steinkogler-Wurzinger, soprano, Ileana Lužajić, soprano, Damjan Kecanjević, actor, Isidora Stanišić and Bojana Leko, dancers, choir of the Music School *Slavenski*, rock-band *Kanda, Kodža & Nebojša*, ensemble *Acrobat*, conductor Tijana Kovačević.

<sup>5</sup> Kalemegdan, 28 July 2007. Libretto – Dušanka Stojanović, music – Vladimir Pejković, director – Djurdja Tešić, costumes – Jelisaveta Tatić-Čuturović, visual identity and scenography – Gabrijel Glid, video – Danilo Popović. Cast: Baja – Nikola Vujović, Cica – Dubravka Arsić. Choir of the artistic group *Chinch*, instrumental accompaniment realised on the computer.

not question the three basic elements I will be dealing with in the paper – form, libretto and voice.

### Formal-conceptual specification

The piece *Narcissus and Echo* is traditionally labelled as chamber opera. This speaks foremost of the number of performers or characters on stage, and of the kind of accompaniment, which is by no means a symphonic orchestra. This further implies intimate content and relatively restricted theatrical means, but unlike the specifications of the other pieces in this group, this is not implied in the creative concept.

The authors of *Tesla*, however, have symptomatic intentions when labelling this piece a music-theatre event. Thus they have already taken an ironic stance towards tradition by simply calling their play an event which implies the presence of some music on the stage. It turns out, however, that *Tesla* comes closest to a kind of highly aesthetic cabaret.

Irena Popović takes an explicit stand towards tradition: her concept implies 'ten opera-like pieces with singing'. She does not avoid the incriminating term opera, perhaps because her character is Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, one of the greatest opera composers, and thus her creation becomes auto-reflexive, music about music. The miniature instrumental introduction is reminiscent of an overture, but are the repetitive models and the ascending and descending scales that it contains, appropriate material for introduction to an opera? What follows is a piece which could be labelled an aria, the text belonging to one of Mozart's songs, but the singer treats it with irony, and in some moments the spasmodic flow imitates the sound of a broken record. (The fact is that even then the aria radiates melancholy). Then there's the recitative, the rapid pronunciation of the text with sparse instrumental accompaniment, and the occasional leap from speech to singing. And the ensemble scene consists of a female choir, an actor and a female singer. But what about the characterization – the characters mutually exchange text, their lines are interchanged, their parts do not imply the text as a whole and the text is in two languages, sung and spoken in alternation.

*The Land of Happiness* possesses a dual formal-conceptual specification: rap opera by title, silicone melodrama by subtitle. The rap opera specification clearly speaks of the use of a musical genre originating in popular culture, a genre far away from the classical opera idiom, and provocative by definition. The question remains as to how it was used in an operatic context. In this case, it is the clear characterization of the protagonists: the hero – Baja, sings in rap form, and the heroine – Cica, is a representative of the soprano opera idiom, her costume maintaining operatic stereotypes, those belonging to the late eighteenth century for example. The silicone melodrama specification, on the other hand, steers us towards the content of the piece, the subject matter associated with a certain social stratum of, more often than not, problematic moral and aesthetic

values, the subject matter presented in the form of a melodrama, i.e. a love story with a tragic ending.

The subtitle clearly reveals the ironic approach to the subject matter, while the approach to the aforementioned musical idioms implies no irony whatsoever, on the contrary, they represent themselves without meta-meaning, they are equal structural elements and the comic effect, the primary expression of the piece *The Land of Happiness*, arises from their relationship to the text.

### Libretto

The text, in other words the libretto, greatly influences not only the macro form, but also the microform of the pieces as well. It is, except in one case, no longer a libretto which implies a plot, dramatic events in the classical sense, but in most cases a sequence of poetic images, or textual fragments which hint at the subject instead. The poet Marija Stojanović, in collaboration with composer Anja Djordjević, created a series of separate numbers for the opera *Narcissus and Echo*, illuminating the elements of the myth in different ways and establishing it in a modern visual context. Narcissus is an arrogant, self-loving yuppie, who admires his own body in a gym; the nymphs are members of the punk movement, and Echo, innocence and purity lost; a character who is nothing more than a voice. Although 'the poetic images and conditions follow a certain dramatic progression', as the author proclaims, the spectator experiences them more as separate numbers from a thematic authorial pop-album.

The same team of authors, and by all indications the leading team, Anja Djordjević and Marija Stojanović, conceived the play *Tesla, Total Reflection* in a similar fashion, but the dramatic progression is completely absent here, since the symbols and objects from the life of the title character, namely their musical explications, simply follow each other.<sup>6</sup> The title character is now a historical person (whether because of extrinsically imposed reasons—marking the 150th anniversary, is of no importance) and the well known facts from Tesla's life become the subjects of poetic elaboration—the terms and objects are symbols of biographical situations and they are shown as symbols through a highly aesthetic theatrical expression. The separate numbers differ in terms of the criteria of musical language (a unique case of several authors taking part in the musical composition), the performance apparatus and the theatrical means used etc. And just as the author of the text poetically superimposed these facts, often transmitted by popular myth, so did the authors of the text and the concept of the play *Mozart, luster, lustik*, after taking up the subject of Mozart's life for similar anniversary reasons, line up his imaginary letters to his mother, sister and fa-

<sup>6</sup> The titles of the numbers: *Moje osobine* [My Characteristics], *Neprijatelj vreme* [Time as an Enemy], *Pismo* [The Letter], *Žene* [Women], *Automat* [The Automaton], *Nijagara* [Nagara], *Beograd* [Belgrade], *Konj* [The Horse], *Totalna refleksija* [The Total Reflection].

ther. They highlight Mozart's human character, he becomes a lonely being, writing about his feelings, memories and expectations, about the things that happen to him, sometimes trivial by nature, but expressed in a highly poeticised manner. The song about Mozartkugeln, the number 'Mozart and the Chandelier', or the imaginary conversation with Haydn interrupt the letter sequence establishing a different kind of deviation from the subject matter – albeit ironic, comic or absurd.

*The Land of Happiness*, unlike all the previous pieces, possesses a certain degree of continuous narrative, but told indirectly, through the dialogues and texts of the protagonists. The starting point is the first meeting between the heroes, Baja and Cica. And accordingly, unlike the other works in this group, *The Land of Happiness* has a continuous flow; its form consists of musical monologues, dialogues and ensembles being woven into the logical flow of the plot. In addition to the main characters, a five member choir also appears, sometimes taking on the role of the commentator, sometimes taking part in the plot. It visualises a modern moment in Serbian society, a world inclined towards a criminal behavioural pattern, in an extremely engaged text filled with satirical blades and as such represents a unique example in operatic art. And another social moment emerges from this fact – opera is no longer a form of elitist art which takes no notice of the world around, but an engaged theatre piece which, by delving into popular culture, especially a rebel segment like rap music, becomes a theatre play with a social conscience.

### Voice

The voice, of course, coloratura voice, as one of the basic elements of operatic form, simply had to experience an appropriate transformation, i.e. it had to gain meta-meaning in an engaged piece such as *The Land of Happiness*. Naturally, the most obvious intervention is the introduction of the rap form, i.e. the appropriate voice, not only non-coloratura, but of a certain coarse nature. This is how the hero speaks, and the heroine, as a somewhat snobbish, artificial beauty, is a traditional operatic soprano. And while the satirical text, brimming with street language, curses and slang perfectly fits with the rap interpretation, the similar, although rare expressions in the soprano part make the comic effect even stronger due to the total inconsistency with the voice idiom. In other words, the soprano idiom provides a completely new, unusual interpretation of the text and becomes one of the main means of theatrical expression. Then there is the ensemble, or the choir, as well, as a kind of transitional medium, singing composed musical numbers in non-coloratura voice, in other words, commenting on the plot as a representative of the people in ancient Greek theatre, only here the people are dressed in football strips (does this mean they are football fans?), the scene reminds us of a football stadium, and the country where this is taking place is no ancient state with exalted cultural and ethical norms.

For the piece *Mozart, luster, lustik*, Irena Popović chooses rock music from the well of popular culture, music whose method is also that of the non-coloratura voice. It is but one of the elements of fragmentary structure. The rock band on stage simply performs several individual numbers inserted into the series of Mozart's letters, introducing their own poetics and establishing themselves as the co-author of the play. All the numbers in this play, in fact, and as Popović herself claims, may be listened to individually, just like the different layers of this specific structure – vocal, instrumental, dance, acting, video – are completely independent of one another. This also speaks of the so-called disjointed nature of operatic texts, as Jelena Novak sees them in the book *Opera in the Time of Media*.<sup>7</sup> The form of opera is totally deconstructed, not only in the horizontal, but in the vertical sense as well, and that gives the spectator a new task – how to find the meaning in the separate elements of the structure. In this way the traditional concept of following the music as art existing in time is also abandoned and there is no longer any reminiscence or anticipation so that the purpose of opera as a kind of representing art form is also brought into question.

Let us return now to the voice. In *Tesla, Total Reflection* it is equally treated in all its forms – natural and coloratura, spoken and sung, because the participants are the actors and singers, and the form consists of spoken and musical fragments. As for the popular music genres, although the piece as a whole can be regarded as a popular genre of cabaret, the stereotype of pop-singer is also used. These camp numbers, however, gain a surrealistic flavour due to their texts.

For the first time the natural voice, as the most important destructive force of traditional operatic form, has been used in the opera *Narcissus and Echo*. Here it is part of the concept: the affectation and snobbishness of the hero is represented by the most artificial of all singing voices – the countertenor, whereas his echo, his lost innocence and purity is represented by natural voice. And while Narcissus's love of self is reflected in the nonsense of neobaroque coloratura, Echo's arias are 'outside baroque music, they are close to jazz and pop ballads with their straightforward and nonparodic subjectivism, and directness of sound statement', as Zorica Premate puts it. She also emphasizes the thesis of the composer Anja Djordjević that 'the coloratura voice is depersonalized and ridiculous in its affected and coded uses'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> 'With the appearance of structure and the relationship of operatic texts in *Einstein on the Beach* (by operatic text, J.N. means musical, literary and theatrical text – G.P), opera became free of the battle for supremacy of one text, and the rule of "democratic" arbitration of their cohesiveness was established. In *Einstein on the Beach* this kind of relationship is shown in a manifest, poster-like manner.' From J. Novak, *Opera u doba medija* [Opera in the Age of Media] (Sremski Karlovci–Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2007), 49.

<sup>8</sup> Z. Premate, 'Eho Narcisa u nama' ['Echo of Narcissus in Us'], unpublished material.

### Conclusion

It is obvious that the young Serbian authors of the new music stage works have moved away from tradition. Parallel flows, disconnection, various individual styles in the same piece, the different genres that are used, the poly-functional parts and the deconstructed traditional structure are all the marks of something completely new. Jelena Novak introduces the term post-opera but in any case, opera within the context of the discussed pieces, tries like never before to become close to a non-music stage. And in the presence of post-drama theatre, i.e. in the situation where music, dance and movement are legitimate elements of theatrical expression – opera by all means will succeed.

*Горица Пилиповић*

## ТРАДИЦИЈА ОПЕРЕ И НОВА МУЗИЧКО-СЦЕНСКА ОСТВАРЕЊА МЛАДИХ СРПСКИХ КОМПОЗИТОРА

### Р е з и м е

У последњих неколико година на српској музичкој сцени појавило се више остварења која се у односу на традиционални оперски жанр постављају као битно, формално и садржински, нова. Другим речима, *Нарцис и Ехо* Александре-Ање Ђорђевић, *Тесла: томатна рефлексија* групе аутора, *Моцарт, лустер, лустиг* Ирене Поповић и Земља среће Владимира Пејковића, у контексту српске музичке сцене представљају новину која је у сваком случају дуго очекивана. Ако је раније било иновативних редитељских третмана класичних оперских дела, са овим остварењима српска сцена је добила значајну потврду постојања нових тенденција и у области самог стваралаштва. Многе важне заједничке карактеристике ових дела говоре о њиховој припадности тим тенденцијама, односно о њиховој никако случајној, можда једино закаснелој појави у контексту европске музичке сцене. Чинјеница да су њихови аутори углавном припадници млађе генерације српских композитора такође говори о везаности за актуелне европске токове, за прдор новог, смелог схватања опере у окоштало српско виђење овог жанра.

Наме, ако се за преломни тренутак развоја опере прихвати приказивање остварења *Ајнштајн на плајзи* Филипа Гласа, те ако се оно прихвати и као референца, поменута дела успостављају јасну везу са основним иновативним поступцима Гласа и његовог редитеља, односно коаутора Роберта Вилсона. Прво и основно је одсуство нарације, које даље диктира и спе-

цифичан однос према музичкој партитури. Она постаје фрагментарна, састављена од низа одвојених нумера које су само удаљена реплика традиционалних елемената оперске форме – арија, ансамбала, играчких сцена. Пред гледаоцем се, у ствари одвија својеврсна, тј. типично постмодернистичка деконструкција жанра, он се разголићује, раставља на саставне делове, као што се и сам механизам позоришног чина у потпуности разоткрива. Опера се демократизује – то није више висока, ексклузивна уметност већ форма која укључује и пучку забаву – модну ревију или рок-концерт. То је, с друге стране, и доказ о жељи за што већом комуникативношћу коју је савремена музика у једном дужем периоду изгубила. Дакле, на који начин и у којој мери млади српски ствараоци желе да се уклопе у захтеве нове музичке сцене – то ће бити питање на које покушавам да одговорим у овом тексту.

# MIHAIRO VUKDRAGOVIĆ AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CONTEMPORARY TENDENCIES IN MUSIC (1920–1980)

ROKSANDA PEJOVIĆ

THE aim of this paper has been to comprehend fully the thoughts of the composer and music critic Mihailo Vukdragović (1900–1986) on modernism, during the sixty years from 1920, when he first started writing about music, until 1980. Most Belgrade musicians who, like him, continued to write critiques and articles after the Second World War, shared most of his opinions, and the same applies to most of the younger ones who made their appearance after the war. The value of the musical works was of primary importance to them, and the same goes both for contemporary and modern music. Some of them did not make a distinction between the two notions, characterizing the works of certain composers alternatively as contemporary and modern.

Vukdragović closely monitored Belgrade musical life. The choice of compositions he wrote about naturally depended on the repertoires during the period of sixty years. The list of works he wrote about is a very long one, starting with Serbian composers, his contemporaries, who were orientated toward the impressionistic style. As regards foreign music, he paid special attention to the Slav composers and those who were influenced by folk music. When evaluating Serbian composers he tended to apply European criteria.

Vukdragović was one of the most conservative Serbian composers and music critics. He made a strict distinction between modern music on the one hand, and avant-garde / experimental music, on the other. He persistently fought against avant-gardism and protested at concerts, demonstratively leaving them during the performances of extremely provocative compositions.

He was well informed about European musical events, attended many festivals starting from the *Vienna Festival Weeks* to the festivals in Bayreuth and Prague, listened to many modern pieces, but was not well disposed towards most of them. He was convinced that the decreasing attendance of concerts,

even in countries with a cultivated public, reflected their negative attitude towards modern music.

Vukdragović was knowledgeable of the musical disciplines, which enabled him to make analytical comments in which he elaborated his views and judgments, either negative or positive.

He was tolerant of contemporary composers if their works leaned on tradition, and were based on functional harmony. He considered the works of Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel contemporary. He highly appreciated Albert Roussel, but described the works of Florent Schmitt as 'an unhealthy degeneration of the French music'.<sup>1</sup> According to him, Benjamin Britten was not a modern, but a contemporary composer, while his *Flower Songs* were a 'convincing testimony that one could achieve the contemporary expression in the framework of a broadly conceived tonality'.<sup>2</sup> The *Simple Symphony* was in Vukdragović's opinion 'a very rare type of artistically valuable music for which one could justly say that it moved the hearts of the listeners'.<sup>3</sup> The Violin concerto by William Walton<sup>4</sup> sounded contemporary to him.

Being a Czech student himself, he often praised the Czech composers: 'After the Prague première of *Jenufa* in 1916 and its Vienna première in 1918 [...] the creative work of Leoš Janáček [lived to see its] affirmation, which represented a strong and rarely vivid breakthrough of something very characteristic and original within contemporary European currents, something that, by its values reminded one of the previous appearance of Modest Musorgsky'.<sup>5</sup> If he was right about Janáček's works, it appears that he overestimated Karel Boleslav Jirák's Wind Quintet, considering it one of the best examples of the contemporary chamber music.

When Bohuslav Martinů's Fourth symphony was performed in Belgrade in April 1955, Vukdragović wrote that 'it was a rare piece of the present day, vigorous and cheerful [...] full of music that wasn't charged with intellectual

<sup>1</sup> M. Vukdragović, 'Pregled knjiga. *Muzika od kraja 16. do 20. veka*' ['Book Review. *Music from the End of 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*'], *Politika*, 31 May, 1 and 2 June 1936. N.B. In all the following footnotes M.V. will stand for Mihailo Vukdragović.

<sup>2</sup> M. V., 'Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Dirigent Krešimir Baranović, solista Miroslav Čangalović' ['Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. Conductor: Krešimir Baranović, Soloist: Miroslav Čangalović'], *Borba*, 20 October 1953.

<sup>3</sup> M. V., 'Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Dirigent Krešimir Baranović, solista Bruno Brun (klarinet) i Branko Pivnički (bas)' ['Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. Conductor: Krešimir Baranović, Soloists: Bruno Brun (Clarinet) and Branislav Pivnički (Bass)'], *Borba*, 12 December 1952.

<sup>4</sup> M. V., 'Huan Hoze Kastro za pultom Beogradske filharmonije. Solistkinja Marija Mihailović (violina)' ['Juan Jose Castro conducting the Belgrade Philharmonic. Soloist: Marija Mihailović (Violin)'], *Borba*, 25 December 1952.

<sup>5</sup> M. V., 'Kaća Kabanova Leoša Janačeka. Premijera u Operi Narodnog pozorišta u Beogradu' ['Katja Kabanova by Leoš Janáček. Première at the Opera of the National Theatre in Belgrade'], *Borba*, 15 July 1956.

formulations, which frequently give a stamp of despair and desolation to contemporary musical expression', adding that it was based on 'the tradition of the finest models reconciled with deeply genuine personal expression.'<sup>6</sup>

'During the past five decades the music of the European West, in convulsive search for new forms of expression, has led itself into a wasteland'<sup>7</sup>: Vukdragović was convinced that contemporary music had for decades been in crisis and was characterized by 'most heterogeneous tendencies [...], starting from the "classics" of the modern music, namely Stravinsky, Béla Bartók, Sergey Prokofiev, Arthur Honegger and their followers, continuing with the revolutionary works of Arnold Schoenberg and fanatic advocates of his twelve-tone system, up to the latest experiments of admirers of the "concrete" and "abstract" music, which were unacceptable even for dodecaphonists'.<sup>8</sup>

He was aware that Igor Stravinsky was the central figure of the new music and considered his influential objective attitude toward music in his works as a reflection of the turmoil of contemporary intellectual and humanist ideas. He admitted the importance of his output for the creations of the French neoclassicists, and more widely for the whole avant-garde.<sup>9</sup> 'Every new piece by Stravinsky, after the move from the Russian tradition reflected in the *Firebird*, *Petrushka* and the *Rite of Spring*, produced surprise, misunderstanding, disbelief and wonder in the audience. Only he among the modern classicists was able to provoke such astonishing echoes and offer new encouragement for composers [...] In this miraculous complex of creative turns Stravinsky, although recognizable and genuine, has to the present day remained inexplicable in his reactions to diverse influences that questioned the authenticity of his own personality'.<sup>10</sup> Vukdragović quoted Ernst Křenek saying of Stravinsky: 'No one knows what was there hiding behind his true personality – perhaps not even himself, and it is quite possible that he didn't want to know it', and then continued that, 'Stravinsky kept secret a crucial fact about his generally mysterious life – how he managed to move from the *Rite of Spring* to *Le Jeu de Cartes*? ' Vukdragović's reaction to *The Symphony of Psalms* was ambivalent: 'The freezing linearity of *The Symphony of Psalms*, chiselled as if out of stone in its monolithic architecture, meagre in harmony in the consistent elimination of emotional

<sup>6</sup> M. V., 'Uspeh Četvrte simfonije Bohuslava Martinua' ['Success of the Fourth Symphony by Bohuslav Martinu'], *Borba*, 10 April 1955.

<sup>7</sup> M. V., 'Povodom osamdesetogodišnjice rođenja Petar Konjović' ['On the Occasion of the 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Petar Konjović'], *Borba*, 28 April 1963.

<sup>8</sup> M. V., 'Utisci sa koncerata nagradjenih dela' ['Impressions from the Concerts of Awarded Works'], *Borba*, 30 December 1953.

<sup>9</sup> M. V., 'Prvo jugoslovensko izvodjenje *Persefone* od Igora Stravinskog' [The First Yugoslav Performance of *Persefone* by Igor Stravinsky'], *Borba*, 20 February 1955; M. V., 'The Success of the Fourth Symphony by Bohuslav Martinu', *Borba*, 10 April 1955.

<sup>10</sup> M. V., 'Kralj Edip I. Stravinskog. Koncert Beogradske filharmonije' ['*Oedipus Rex* by Stravinsky. Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic'], *Borba*, 26 December 1955.

chromaticism and its sound close to the organ's, was more appealing to me in those rare moments of Russian-Byzantine echoes from afar than in its overall Gregorian effect'.<sup>11</sup>

'When Honegger's *Le Roi David* was first performed in Belgrade, twenty-five years ago', Mihailo Vukdragović wrote in 1954 'it represented one of the most significant musical expressions of the modern music [...] In the meantime, contemporary European music has restlessly searched for new means of expression, rarely producing important achievements, while more often reaching dead-ends. Similar to flashing meteors, from time to time some musical works would shed light on the dark horizon of the European music, but often they would soon disappeared for ever'.<sup>12</sup> The *Liturgical symphony* by Arthur Honegger 'by its purely musical quality of expression and form, belongs to the best works of not only this author but of the entire modern European symphonic music [...] Helpless and lonely, Honegger lost faith that people could create a new world, better than the existing one and looked for inspiration in the liturgical texts'.<sup>13</sup>

Vukdragović's opinion that Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Bartók, Hindemith and Honegger, were the 'classics of contemporary music' shows that he did not always distinguish between the notions of contemporary and modern,<sup>14</sup> as does the comment about Gordon Jacob (1895–1984) whom he called a contemporary composer.<sup>15</sup> He persistently reminded his readers of the need to perform contemporary works of Stravinsky, Hindemith, Honegger, Milhaud and Britten in Belgrade.

Mihailo Vukdragović was among the greatest opponents of avant-garde music: 'What is today referred to as the lasting, even victorious fanfare of the future, by tomorrow will have disappeared from the repertory, sinking into oblivion'.<sup>16</sup> 'When hearing Mozart's music, the reaction of today's public, tired of the abundance of romantic music and weary of the often aggressive sound of

<sup>11</sup> M. V., 'Prvo izvodjenje kantate *Pesme prostora* Ljubice Marić. Simfonijski koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Solista Žilber Zanlongi, dirigent Živojin Zdravković' ['The First Performance of the Cantata *Songs of Space* by Ljubica Marić. Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. Soloist: Gilbert Zanlongi, Conductor: Živojin Zdravković'], *Borba*, 13 December 1956.

<sup>12</sup> M. V., 'Artur Honeger: *Kralj David*' ['Arthur Honegger: *King David*'], *Borba*, 18 January 1954.

<sup>13</sup> M. V., 'Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Dirigent Oskar Danon, solistkinja Melita Lorković (klavir)' ['Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. Conductor: Oskar Danon, Soloist: Melita Lorković (Piano)'], *Borba*, 7 February 1953.

<sup>14</sup> M. V., *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> M. V., 'Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Dirigent Oskar Danon, solista Ivan Turšić (fagot)' ['Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. Conductor: Oskar Danon, Soloist: Ivan Turšić (Bassoon)'], *Borba*, March 1954.

<sup>16</sup> M. V., 'Premijera u Hrvatskom narodnom kazalištu u Zagrebu. Igor Stravinski: *Život razvratnika*' ['The Première in the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb. Igor Stravinsky: *The Rake's Progress*'], *Borba*, 7 March 1954.

the modern musical language, could be compared to the feeling of a man who crosses from a muddy river where even logs remain unnoticed, into a clear mountain spring in which even the thinnest splinter disturbs its clarity and harmony'.<sup>17</sup>

According to Vukdragović, Carl Orff was a modern composer whose music 'went straight into the hearts of his listeners'.<sup>18</sup> Wouldn't he be rather called a contemporary composer? In his opinion, works such as the following were modern: the *Little Symphony Concerto* by Frank Martin and two rondos by Theodor Berger, *Rondino giocoso* and *Rondo*: the former was characterized as 'excellent' while the latter as a composition reflecting 'vigorous strength'.<sup>19</sup>

Vukdragović also had strong opinions on Serbian contemporary music. Like many other musicians and critics in the period between the two world wars, he was convinced that using national idioms was necessary for the true development of Serbian music. He supported the music based on the heritage of Stevan Mokranjac (1856–1914), whom he considered as next to Glinka, Moniuszko and Lisinski and believed that the artistic value of his music could be compared with that of Palestrina and the other great masters of vocal polyphony.<sup>20</sup> In his later years he did not change those opinions, but he no longer persistently insisted on inspiration from folk music, thinking that 'the right way for the domestic musical life should be to based on the performances of the musical inheritance of the past, to which should be added works belonging to the legacy of the "classics" of new music.'

According to Vukdragović, the true contemporary expression was achieved in the music of Petar Konjović (1883–1970), who was 'the most persistent and talented follower of Mokranjac, whose works represented the ultimate success achieved by Serbian music [...] The strength of his musical thought was always vital, true and striking, and very often miraculous in its exciting vibrations'.<sup>21</sup> Konjović followed Mokranjac's idea that Serbian music

<sup>17</sup> M. V., 'V. A. Mocart: *Don Huan* (Premijera u Narodnom pozorištu u Beogradu)' ['W. A. Mozart: *Don Juan* (Première in the Belgrade National Theatre')], *Borba*, the performance was held on 20 October 1953.

<sup>18</sup> M. V., 'Karmiña burana Karla Orfa (u izvodjenju Akademskog hora Branko Krsmanović)' ['*Carmina Burana* by Carl Orff (Performed by the Academic Choir *Branko Krsmanović*')], *Borba*, 7 June 1955.

<sup>19</sup> M. V., 'Nove kompozicije domaćih autora na programu Beogradske filharmonije' ['New Compositions by Domestic Authors on the Repertory of the Belgrade Philharmonic'], *Borba*, 5 May 1955.

<sup>20</sup> M. V., 'O stogodišnjici rođenja (Stevana Mokranjca)' ['On the Centenary of Mokranjac's Birth'], *Borba*, 16 January 1956; M. V., 'Stevan St. Mokranjac', *Letopis Matice srpske*, 1964, 394, 4, 2550/256.

<sup>21</sup> M. V., 'Simfonijska muzika Petra Konjovića. Na koncertu Beogradske filharmonije o kompozitorovoj pedesetogodišnjici' ['Petar Konjović's Symphonic Music. Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic on the Occasion of the Composer's Fifty Years of Composing'], *Borba*, 18 January 1954.

could only develop on the basis of Serbian folk music, and in that way would be aligned together with Musorgsky, Borodin and especially Janáček.<sup>22</sup>

He found the new European expression in the compositions of Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) and Josip Slavenski (1896–1955), as similar to that of Konjović, ‘based on the psychological potentials of the folk music and the adequate conception of the aesthetics of musical nationalism as embodied in the works of Stevan Mokranjac’.<sup>23</sup>

Vukdragović defined the characteristics of Slavenski’s music as modern and contemporary: ‘Josip Slavenski took the same road that many European composers, starting from Debussy or Cyril Scott to the present day had taken before him, trying to push aside or regenerate weary expression with new rhythms, melodies and sounds [...] rich, original and strong ideas [...] the harmony that strives towards polytonality, enriched with the bright colouring of the orchestra’. Vukdragović was convinced that Slavenski’s compositions have their place in the canon of contemporary European creative work. He also thought that the *Four Balkan Dances* ‘represented a genuine Balkan version of the European modern music of the period between the two world wars, just like that of the early Stravinsky and Bartók’.<sup>24</sup> Vukdragović was aware that Slavenski’s music was reminiscent of Bartók’s, but he didn’t doubt at all in the innovative creative spirit of the Yugoslav master.<sup>25</sup>

Vukdragović appreciated domestic music if he recognized in it creative elaboration of the music of the ‘classics of modern music’. He claimed that the Wind Quintet by Dragutin Čolić (1907–1987) was a ‘composition of Hindemithian atmosphere, imaginative and virtuosic’.<sup>26</sup> In Milan Ristić’s (1908–1982) Concerto for piano and orchestra he praised the ‘excellent anti-romantic orchestration, whose language operated mostly within the Hindemithian expression’.<sup>27</sup> As much as his earlier works, Ristić’s *Burlesque* is seen by Vukdragović as full of Prokofievan gaiety.<sup>28</sup> Vukdragović welcomed the use of tonality in

<sup>22</sup> M. V., ‘Povodom osamdesetogodišnjice rođenja. Petar Konjović’ [‘On the Occasion of the Eightieth Birthday of Petar Konjović’], *Borba*, 28 April 1963.

<sup>23</sup> R. Pejović, *Muzička kritika i esejištika u Beogradu (1919–1941)* [Musical Critiques and Essays in Belgrade (1919–1941)], (Belgrade: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1999), 239.

<sup>24</sup> M. V., ‘Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Dirigent Živojin Zdravković, solista Andreja Preger (klavir)’ [‘Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. Conductor: Živojin Zdravković. Soloist: Andreja Preger (Piano)’], *Borba*, 9 April 1953.

<sup>25</sup> M. V., ‘Muzika dvadesetog veka. Koncert hora Radio Beograda’ [‘The Music of the Twentieth Century. Concert of the Radio Belgrade Choir’], *Borba*, 20 February 1957.

<sup>26</sup> M. V., ‘Koncert Beogradskog duvačkog kvinteta. Primer za ugled’ [‘Concert of the Belgrade Wind Quintet. An Example to be Followed’], *Politika Ekspres*, 2 March 1978.

<sup>27</sup> M. V., ‘Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Prvo izvodjenje Koncerta za klavir i orkestar Milana Ristića’ [‘Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. The First Performance of the Concerto for Piano and Orchestra by Milan Ristić’], *Borba*, 6 March 1955.

<sup>28</sup> M. V., ‘Umetnik velikih perspektiva’ [‘An Artist with Great Perspectives’], *Borba*, 6 October 1958.

the Concerto for orchestra by the same composer: 'How lovely and contemporary can traditional triads in root position sound, even in the work of present days!'<sup>29</sup>

As one more proof of Vukdragović's cautious acceptance of the new, objective and anti-romantic sounds, we have the extraordinary praise addressed at the composer Ljubica Marić (1909–2003) in 1931 when the Prague Wind Quintet performed her Wind Quintet in Belgrade.<sup>30</sup> Marić's later works impressed him even more: 'Meditative, introverted, romantically inspired, contemplative, Ljubica Marić is inclined towards the absolute, the 'ultimate things' that stay outside our tangible world. She composed the cantata *Songs of Space* for choir and orchestra, using the texts from epitaphs on medieval tombstones, and presenting them musically in an outstanding manner. In this very significant work the elements of vital, genuine folk impulses were integrated into romantic chromaticism of almost Scriabinian contours, as was the romantic saturation of orchestral colours combined with the cold musical expression of the later Stravinsky, but also with something that recalls the *Symphony of Psalms*'.<sup>31</sup> Vukdragović also recognized the importance of another work of Ljubica Marić: 'The *Byzantine Concerto* is a work of outstanding value in terms of its content, well-known formulae are rejected, elements of tonal musical language and sharp expressionistic accents are connected spontaneously and naturally. The use of the motifs from the Octoëchos adds an archaic dimension to the work, but all the time the spirit of our times is convincingly present'.<sup>32</sup>

Vukdragović was always ready to greet the return to tonality in the works of previously atonal composers. So he did with Stanojlo Rajić's (1910–2000) ballet *Under the Ground*, although he found the new harmonic idiom 'rough' and 'sharp'.<sup>33</sup>

He was also consistent in his views when assessing younger composers who made their appearance after World War II, from Josip Kalčić to Vera Mišanković. According to him Kalčić's (1912–1995) *Musica Concertante* was successful in some details and created refined sound effects, but lacked firmness and coherence of form, thus producing an impression of improvisation.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> M. V., 'Koncert za orkestar Milana Ristića' ['Concerto for Orchestra by Milan Ristić'], *Borba*, 11 January 1964.

<sup>30</sup> M. V., 'Koncert Praškog duvačkog kvinteta' ['Concert of the Prague Wind Quintet'], *Politika*, 17 December 1931.

<sup>31</sup> M. V., 'Prvo izvodjenje kantate *Pesme prostora* Ljubice Marić' ['The First Performance of the Cantata *Songs of Space* by Ljubica Marić'], *Borba*, 13 December 1956.

<sup>32</sup> M. V., 'Ljubica Marić: *Vizantijski koncert*' ['Ljubica Marić: *Byzantine Concerto*'], *Borba*, 8 June 1963.

<sup>33</sup> R. Pejović, *Muzička kritika i eseistika u Beogradu (1919–1941)* [Musical Critiques and Essays in Belgrade (1919–1941)], (Belgrade: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1999), 239.

<sup>34</sup> M. V., 'Festival *Muzika u Srbiji. Bez pravog odjeka*' ['The Festival *Music in Serbia. Without Appropriate Echo*'], *Politika Ekspres*, 1 December 1977.

As could be expected, Vukdragović was annoyed by the *Integrals* and *Antinomy* of the avant-garde oriented Vitomir Trifunović (1916–2007): ‘I honestly didn’t know what these mathematical and philosophical titles were meant to tell the audience, except maybe that in Darmstadt or some other centre of the avant-garde – they have just led us into a blind alley of so-called new sound, from which – it is quite clear to almost everyone – there is no way out’.<sup>35</sup>

‘The Fifth Symphony by Vasilije Mokranjac [1923–1984]’, Vukdragović wrote, ‘will beyond any doubt become an anthological value *sui generis* in the history of Serbian and Yugoslav music. I say *sui generis* because it is an outstanding, even a unique example of ingenuity, with no match whatsoever, not only locally but in a much broader context, at the European level. Compressed into a single movement lasting fifteen minutes, expressed in the language of very extended tonality, within which even the sharpest vertical constructions were psychologically justified, this Symphony vividly and eloquently reminds us of the reflection of the prominent conductor, mathematician and musical philosopher Ernest Ansermet about the music of the future, elaborated in his extensive study entitled *The Foundations of Music in the Human Conscious*. “The music of the future” – Ansermet wrote – “could be nothing but a free, personally shaped application of the existing stylistic variations: diatonicism, chromaticism, enharmonicism, tonal harmony, polytonality, occasional extra-tonality, and cadential rhythms in the melodic flow. There are no other options”. Vasilije Mokranjac has yet again convincingly assured us of his creatively strong potential as a natural symphonist of sovereign composition and technical virtuosity’.<sup>36</sup>

Vukdragović observed contemporary tendencies in the works of Enriko Josif (1924–2003): ‘The second movement of the *Sinfonietta* by Enriko Josif was expressive and formally more balanced than the first, which is broad, lyrically and meditatively cheerful, more profoundly inspired than the first, relying on the achievements of the classics of modern music, primarily Stravinsky, in search of his own lyrical expression’.<sup>37</sup>

The adherence of Dušan Radić (b. 1929) to modern tendencies provoked a critical response from Vukdragović. When listening to the *Sinfonietta*, he noticed that ‘boldness could lead him astray which was not a rare case in modern music’, although it was still, ‘in turmoil, in the large-span sphere from Stravinsky and Prokofiev, to Bartók and Slavenski. ‘Bizarre and artificial combinations

<sup>35</sup> M. V., ‘Muzika u Srbiji’ [‘Music in Serbia’], *Politika Ekspres*, 23 November 1977.

<sup>36</sup> M. V., ‘Koncert Simfonijskog orkestra RTB. Mokranjeva Peta’ [‘Concert of the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Television Belgrade. The Fifth Symphony by Mokranjac’], *Politika Ekspres*, 8 April 1979.

<sup>37</sup> M. V., ‘Simfonijski koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Dirigent Dušan Skovran, solista Andreja Preger’ [‘Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. Conductor: Dušan Skovran, Soloist: Andreja Preger’], *Borba*, 25 December 1954.

of sounds in harmony and orchestration' were naturally less appealing to Vukdragović than the 'warm lyrical atmosphere, especially in a slow movement, which was musically most interesting'.<sup>38</sup>

'The collection of songs called *The Besieged Gaiety* to the poems of Vasko Popa, composed for female choir and two pianos, mirrored the atmosphere of Igor Stravinsky's music, especially in *Pribaoutki* for solo voice and the group of instruments and *Les noces*. The piano also started in the manner of Stravinsky from the mentioned period: compact dissonances of seconds, sevenths and ninths, harmony of fourths, persistent application of *ostinato*, which produced the effect of stasis. The music of this composition is interesting primarily as a document of a disoriented time in which a born musician such as Dušan Radić opposes such a state by exposing something close to an "atavistic sensitivity".'<sup>39</sup>

Vukdragović was not prepared for the bold means of expression displayed in Radić's *Oratorio Profano*. He was especially shocked with the third and fourth movement:

'How can Dušan Radić possibly consider taking this road today, when requiems have already been sung to the avant-garde, when Western musicologists write about the "new tonality" and meaninglessness of experiments that have for decades been destroying music? [...] He is experienced enough to cleverly organize the sound material, dividing it into several instrumental and vocal groups, and in this collage to imaginatively create contrasts in tempo, rhythm, colour and melodic accents. I only wonder what the goal of all this was'. Vukdragović then quoted Radić's own text from the programme booklet: 'I haven't discovered anything new, neither in terms of sound, form or ideas. I didn't even intend to do so. I used the selection of expressive means, invented during the last twenty years, the means that the present day avant-garde composers offered in exchange for the classic tonal system, in order to give an overview of events in today's art. I won't even believe that the author of *The Tower of Sculls* by using the expressive means of avant-garde authors, wishes to identify himself with them. The final bars of the work do encourage me to think so. Or they may be just a nostalgic echo of the irrevocable, because everything that had been said before has a more vital message that leads to the idea that art without experiments is dead, whereas art without radicalism is sterile (Ivana Trišić in a comment on the work). Dušan Radić is the one who should reply to that view.'<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> M. V., 'Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Dirigent Živojin Zdravković, solista Zdenko Marasović' ['Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. Conductor: Živojin Zdravković, Soloist: Zdenko Marasović (Piano)'], *Borba*, 13 November 1955.

<sup>39</sup> M. V., 'Muzika dvadesetog veka. Koncert hora Radio Beograda' [Music of the Twentieth Century. Concert of Radio Belgrade Choir'], *Borba*, 20 February 1957.

<sup>40</sup> M. V., 'BEMUS '79. *Oratorio profano*', *Politika Ekspres*, 8 October 1979.

Adherence to tradition and tonality, and avoidance of the avant-garde were, in Vukdragović's opinion, necessary for the survival of music. From this aspect he contemplated the works of Petar Ozgijan (1932–1979): 'In the turmoil leading to the blind alleys of the contemporary musical language and expression, which most directly influenced generations of composers to which Ozgijan himself belonged, provoking confusion among many, even the most talented among them, he succeeded in facing the progress of the European avant-garde from a distance, both emotionally and intellectually, believing that the future of the new in music was not in the overall rejection of the old but in cleverly built continuity with the past. In his *Nocturno* Ozgijan cautiously uses models of the 'new sound', in an organised way, almost constantly with association to tonality which, nearing the end, becomes emotionally more expressive, to the limits of meaningful post-romantic sensibility'.<sup>41</sup>

After having stated that the dramatic oratorio *Uprising Against Dakhias* by Rajko Maksimović (b. 1935) was 'largely independent and particular' and that it 'contained rich, convincing music', Vukdragović expressed his criticism of the 'harmonic language based on the fourths and fifths structures without thirds' and persistent avoidance of tonality. 'If a composer's procedure aspires to become a system or even a dogma – which seems to be the case with Maksimović's score – the road to despair will be the almost certain result. The half-a-century that has passed since Schoenberg's free atonality, dodecaphonic dogma and everything that followed, have only harshly convinced us that we were right. However, Maksimović does not seem to be aware of this'.<sup>42</sup>

Vukdragović never accepted the abandonment of tonality. On Slobodan Atanacković's (b. 1937) *Chamber Concerto* he wrote: 'The odiousness of his harmonic language was unbearable – the furthest possible from anything that would remind one even remotely of tonality'. Commenting on another work by the same composer, *Ad vivum*, Vukdragović, however, admitted that Atanacković could 'skilfully exploit' avant-garde clichés.<sup>43</sup>

It seems that few musical professionals had any understanding for the choreo-torio *Step* by Zoran Hristić (b. 1938). According to the assessment made by Mihailo Vukdragović, this composer has 'for years and *ad absurdum* exploited the "heritage" of the avant-garde: even sound surfaces on a single tone, crescendo dynamics, the dominant role of percussions, aleatory music in various

<sup>41</sup> M. V., 'Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Ozgijanov *Nocturno*' ['Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. *Nocturno* by Ozgijan'], *Politika Ekspres*, 16 May 1980.

<sup>42</sup> M. V., 'Koncert hora i simfonijskog orkestra RTB. Značajno delo' ['Concert of the Choir and Orchestra of Radio Television Belgrade. A Significant Work'], *Politika Ekspres*, 23 March 1979.

<sup>43</sup> M. V., 'Festival *Muzika u Srbiji*. Bez pravog odjeka' ['The Festival *Music in Serbia*. Without Appropriate Echo'], *Politika Ekspres*, 1 December 1977; M. V., 'Festival *muzika u Srbiji*. Prvo veče' [The Festival *Music in Serbia*. The First Evening'], *Politika Ekspres*, 21 May 1978.

forms, choir unisons, whispering and reciting with obligatory glissandos. He degraded the role of orchestra to a sound coulisse deprived of everything that would point to its independent functioning. Apart from few elaborate vocal lines in the solo sections, the lack of melodic invention appears to be one of the striking characteristics of this music, while thematic work was non-existent. A positive side of this work is the way the verses of Branko Miljković are set to music performed by the soloists: calm lines, good old tonal and modal principles, with Hristić's personal stamp'.<sup>44</sup> Yet another composition of 'the gifted composer Zoran Hristić: *Within Eight*, a resounding collage made of a series of resounding situations', was commented upon as 'music that leaves no traces behind it'.<sup>45</sup>

Vukdragović did not have a positive opinion about *Moving Mirrors* for four pianos by Srdjan Hofman (b. 1944) either, considering that the 'talent of this composer was wasted in the search of the new within a closed circle. Because of that the result did not reflect truly his creative potential. Hofman's firm tonal foundations – the road to salvation that he chose – enable us to discern clearly the structure of the piece, aiming at the stasis of a closed circle'.<sup>46</sup>

Ivana Stefanović (b. 1948), was also among the composers whose ideas were opposed to Vukdragović's, so he criticised her too, for moving in a closed circle. Comparing her works with Hofman's, he maintained that she was 'inclined to irrational and subjective spheres, while her colleague displayed more rational and objective traits. On the other hand, the procedures they used were similar: sharp vertical structures, static and compressed blocs with few agitated motions in high registers and with extremely contrasting dynamics [...] If the composition lasted even a second more, that would be fatal for the listeners'.<sup>47</sup>

Vukdragović's views on the works of Ivan Jevtić (b. 1947) were based on his attitude to the tradition: 'A composer should not be the slave of fashion and the new at any cost, but a creator based upon tradition, with a healthy, contemporary spirit',<sup>48</sup> 'healthy sources of inspiration and healthy contemporary sound, without a single touch of avant-garde ideas'.<sup>49</sup>

Vukdragović found that the choreographic poem *Anagnorisis* by Vera Milanković (b. 1953) had 'a specific personal accent', but he commented that

<sup>44</sup> M. V., 'Premijera Koraka Zorana Hristića. Jednolično' ['The Première of Zoran Hristić's *Steps. Monotonous*'], *Politika Ekspres*, 8 October 1980.

<sup>45</sup> M. V., 'Muzika u Srbiji' ['Music in Serbia'], *Politika Ekspres*, 23 November, 1977.

<sup>46</sup> M. V., 'BEMUS '79. Zanimljivo veče' ['BEMUS '79. An Interesting Evening'], *Politika Ekspres*, 11 October 1979.

<sup>47</sup> M. V., *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> M. V., 'Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. U novoj funkciji' ['Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. In the New Function'], *Politika Ekspres*, 20 January 1978.

<sup>49</sup> M. V., 'Resital Ksenije Janković. Mladi majstor' ['Recital of Ksenija Janković. A Young Master'], *Politika Ekspres*, 18 March 1980.

by ‘applying bitonality, polytonality and even atonal blocks [the composer] did not contribute to the aspired at contemporary character, quite the contrary’.<sup>50</sup>

Mihailo Vukdragović openly exposed his views about contemporary, modern and avant-garde music, and he certainly wished to utilise European criteria, but his character inclined to radicalism and conservatism prevented him from understanding them fully. However, he proved to be right in his high appreciation of a certain number of composers, such as Petar Konjović, Josip Slavenski, Ljubica Marić and Vasilije Mokranjac.

*Роксандра Пејовић*

## МИХАИЛО ВУКДРАГОВИЋ И ЊЕГОВ ОДНОС ПРЕМА САВРЕМЕНОЈ МУЗИЦИ (1920–1980)

### Резиме

У раду покушавам да сагледам мишљење Михаила Вукдраговића (1900–1986) о модернизму, у временском интервалу од шездесет година, од 1920, када је почeo да пише о музici, до 1980. године. Већина београдских музичара која је наставила са писањем критика и чланака после Другог светског рата имала је међусобно сродне погледе, а то се односи и на већину млађих, који су се појавили непосредно после ослобођења – прихватали су дела вредна по себи, и савремена, и модерна, а понеки нису ни правили разлику између савременог и модерног стваралаштва, чак су дела истог композитора називана и савременим и модерним.

Вукдраговићева запажања о савременој музici могу се наћи у његовим критикама којима је пратио београдски музички живот, те и избор композиција о којима је писао у зависности је од тога шта је извођено у Београду током шездесет година. Дуга је листа његових савременика, која је почињала од композитора импресионистичке стилске оријентације. Био је међу најконзервативнијим српским музичарима. Упорно се борио против авангардизма и јавно негодовао на концертима, демонстративно напуштајући концертне просторије током извођења композиција екстремних оријентација. Чини се да није ни потребно наглашавати да је у својим ставовима био претерано искључив.

<sup>50</sup> M. V., ‘Koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Novo ime’ [‘Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic. A New Name’], *Politika Ekspres*, 13 January 1978.

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