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**Ph.D. Dissertation**

**19<sup>th</sup>-Century Lied in the Czech Lands:**

**Composers Setting Goethe's Poetry**

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I declare that this thesis is an original report of my research, has been written by me on the base of the given sources and literature and has not been submitted for any previous degree.

In Pivín on 13 June 2024



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## ABSTRACT

### 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Lied in the Czech Lands: Composers Setting Goethe's Poetry

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The literary work of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) attracted a *considerable* number of European composers throughout the long nineteenth century. This dissertation explores Goethe's position within musical culture in the Czech lands. Numerous reasons led me to investigate this area. Due to an absence of scholarly research, Goethe's impact on musicians originating from the Czech lands was – and still remains – almost exclusively connected with Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850) as the sole composer of songs to Goethe's poetry. The non-existence of literature is connected with the lack of interest in musical settings of Goethe's verse by these composers. Little is known of songs by Josef Antonín Štěpán (1726–1797), Jan Emanuel Doležálek (1780–1858) and Jan Josef Rösler (1771–1812), who was the first to tackle Goethe's words and those by Jan Theobald Held (1770–1851) and Václav Jindřich Veit (1806–1864). An autograph of Mignon's song by August Wilhelm Ambros (1816–1876) remains unknown being omitted in literature and placed in an archive outside the Czech Republic. Songs by Josefína Brdlíková (1843–1910), the only female composer of this group, Otakar Ostrčil (1879–1935) and Bohuslav Martinů (1890–1959) have been entirely neglected. Twenty-one early settings of Zdeněk Fibich remained unpublished until the twenty-first century with only one exception, his Mignon song 'Kennst du das Land'. The settings of Josef Bohuslav Foerster (1859–1951) to Goethe's poetry frame his compositional career and at the same time mirror the genre in the soon-departing nineteenth century (1887) and in the new air of the 1930s between both world wars. *Čtyři malé písně na Goethův text* [Four little songs to Goethe's texts], (H. 94, 1914–1915), combining German original lyrics and Czech translations, by Bohuslav Martinů conclude the century. Goethe's poetry continues to be represented by the works of Boleslav Vomáčka (1887–1978), Pavel Bořkovec (1894–1972), Gideon Klein (1919–1945) and Petr Eben (1929–2007).

Virtually every song composer in Bohemia in the first half of the nineteenth century set to music texts of the various writers from the Weimar Classicism movement, a tendency likewise very popular in the surrounding countries. However, the growth of national patriotism in the Czech lands, strengthening especially in the second half of the

century, gradually prioritised songs to Czech texts. This trend grew despite the fact that good quality Czech texts were largely missing up to the last third of the century. Thus song genre in the Czech lands, inspired by various traditions including Italian music, a Mozartean cult, folk and sacred songs but rejecting everything ‘German’, could not fully develop as the German lied did. Furthermore, interest in the art song was pushed aside by large-scale compositions, especially operatic works which – in the eyes of many – ideally possessed the ability to express ‘Czechness’ in music. This tendency affected musical life even in the first half of the twentieth century.

The submitted thesis aims to provoke discussion and to raise awareness of Goethe’s reception in the Czech lands as well as the poet’s impact on the region’s composers throughout ‘the long nineteenth century’, questions which have to date remained largely in the shadows. Through challenging such a topic, this research sheds new light on the Czech reception of Goethe’s literary legacy in an increasingly bilingual context and broadens the picture of the development and tradition of the song genre in the Czech lands during the nineteenth century.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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### A. Abbreviations in tables, figures and musical examples

/ refers to an upbeat, for example, bar /1 means upbeat to bar 1 etc.

**Upper case** indicates major, for example, C denotes C major etc.

**Lower case** indicates minor, for example, c denotes C minor etc.

**n. publ.** indicates no publisher

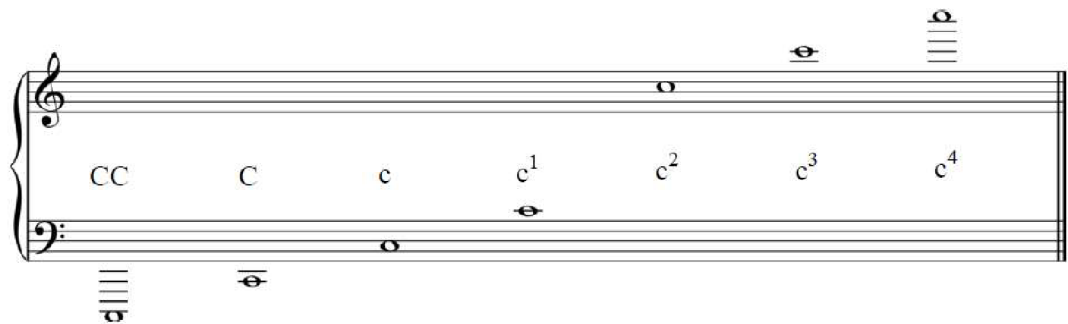
**n. d.** indicates no date

**sig.** indicates signature

**sine sig.** indicates no signature

### B. Pitch notation abbreviation

The following system of notation is used when register is specified



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## INTRODUCTION

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### 1 Background to the research

Internationally, interest in the nineteenth-century German lied by scholars and musicians is considerable. However, such enthusiasm is not evident in Czech musicology today. Scholarly research, critical editions and recordings of nineteenth-century German songs from Bohemia are exceptional in Czech musicology. A stronger place is occupied by the songs of a few favoured composers and their popular cycles to Czech texts. Musical interest in the present day prioritises composers especially from the last third of the century, with Dvořák and Janáček at the forefront. The absence of significant research investigating the position of German song in the cultural environment of the Czech lands led the author to explore songs to Goethe's texts. The search began with the author's master's thesis on the Goethe lieder of Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850) and continued by covering all the extant settings by composers raised and based in the Czech lands to Goethe's texts throughout the nineteenth century. The writer's bilingual abilities allow her to access Czech literature and bring it into reception history of the lied in the English language, a task which in this area of research has not been done before to the same extent.

Nineteenth-century art song in the Czech lands developed from two separate but intertwined roots: firstly musical settings to texts by German poets, set initially in the original language and subsequently also in Czech translations, and secondly songs to Czech texts. Poems by Bürger (1747–1794), Goethe (1749–1832), Schiller (1759–1805), Chamisso (1781–1838), Heine (1797–1856) and others were to a greater or lesser extent included in the repertoire of all song composers who were born in Bohemia and mainly settled in Prague, the cultural mecca of the country throughout the nineteenth century. Goethe's poetry strongly shaped the song tradition in Germany and Austria. The geographical position of the Czech lands in Central Europe, the territory's political belonging to the Habsburg Empire (after 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Empire), the politically strong German minority living in the Czech lands and its political tendencies within Bohemia and the united official language in particular all predetermine a cultural interconnectedness. Especially the intense connection between the cultural life of Prague and that of Vienna is also apparent on account of the social proximity of both capitals. Aristocratic patrons in the Czech lands, who often travelled to the capital and further

afield including the continent, brought with them contemporary arts and literature back to the Czech lands.

Václav Jan Tomášek's forty-five Goethe settings represented the sole focus of my master's thesis. A deeper engagement with the topic revealed other contemporaries and their handful of settings to Goethe's poems; these include Josef Antonín Štěpán (1726–1797), Jan Josef Rösler (1771–1812), Jan Emanuel Doležálek (1780–1858), Jan Theobald Held (1770–1851), Jindřich Veit (1806–1864) and August Wilhelm Ambros (1816–1876). The second half of the nineteenth century uncovers more familiar names among Czech composers who have been mainly associated with large-scale genres, namely Zdeněk Fibich (1850–1900), Otakar Ostrčil (1879–1935), Bohuslav Martinů (1890–1959) and Josef Bohuslav Foerster (1859–1951), and also those who have been largely forgotten, as in the case of Josefina Brdlíková (1843–1910).

The topic of Goethe and music has been internationally considered from many perspectives, but Goethe's reception by Bohemian composers and their impact on the developing art song in the Czech lands is still largely missing. To open such a broad subject with the focus on the composer's response to Goethe's literary legacy is an important starting-point towards much greater research of German texts as an integral part of the Czech lied tradition, a theme still remaining overshadowed by the Czech national song and songs to Czech texts. The main reason for this neglect consisted in patriotic tendencies based on the rebirth of the Czech language. In addition, the question of Czech music intensified in the 1860s and continued over the following century as scholars sought to confirm Czech musical independence. Therefore this dissertation, by accessing a range of Czech sources, contributes to the broad international field of the history of the lied as well as to the hitherto neglected but significant area of research in the Czech history of the art song.

## **2 Rationale for this research**

The production of approximately eighty song settings to the poetry of Goethe contains a wealthy reservoir of Czech composers' contribution to the genre. However, these musical offerings have been largely marginalised within both historical and theoretical musicology.

In a broader perspective, the need for this dissertation is founded in the lack of scholarly research considering the phenomenon of the lied tradition in the Czech lands.

The focus on Goethe's reception by Bohemian composers and his impact on the song practice in the region is an essential aspect of a far more complex question. Despite a great amount of work that has been done on Goethe and music worldwide within a Czech context, attention was paid only to the German poet as a source of inspiration for the songs of Tomášek. Twentieth-century musicologists including Marie Tarantová, Theodora Straková, Eliška Holubová and Jaromír Nosek have tried to promote the topic. Markéta Kabelková has been publishing on Tomášek's music legacy in the last decade. In English literature, Tomášek's Goethe settings were discussed by Kenneth DeLong and Jan Smaczny, the latter who set the topic in a broader context. The most recent publication on Tomášek's songs was written by Wolfgang Antensberger (2017). A study entitled *Gedichte von Goethe für den Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte* by Ildikó Raimondi was released along with a CD, *Tomaschek Goethe Lieder* (2003), and followed by the only related CD released in the Czech Republic, *Václav Jan Tomášek: Goethe v písniích* (2014). Settings by other Czech composers, however, have not yet been investigated, and the little that has been issued about this topic in Czech to date remains – due to the language barrier – inaccessible to the majority of international music scholars. This thesis addresses such a lacuna and presents new material and perspectives which invite the reader to discover, consider and last but not least to appreciate forgotten Czech settings of Goethe.

My motivation for this research as a musicologist has been and remains an enthusiasm for the genre of song. The lack of examination of nineteenth-century German art song in the Czech lands provoked the author to study this lacuna and question several facets of music scholarship. The criteria for the selection of songs for solo voice and piano to texts by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe as the subject of this research resulted from a number of reasons. Predominantly among these was Goethe's affection towards the Czech lands. Through his visits of the North and West of Bohemia and through many acquaintances made here, Goethe became interested in the cultural life and natural wonders of the country. His interest in musicians from the Habsburg Empire (for example Tomášek) was a motivation to investigate what response was provoked by the genius of Goethe's literature in the musical world of the Czech lands and how Bohemian composers engaged with the legacy. The exploration of Czech composers' inspiration to set the texts already selected by so many European composers (for example Mignon and the Harper texts from the novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*) became a particular focus. Last but not

least, it was necessary to investigate the lack of interest in songs to Goethe's texts in the present day and to uncover possible causes for this apathy.

### **3 Aims of the research**

The lied tradition of the nineteenth-century Czech lands remains overshadowed in favour of large-scale compositions, principally opera. This came about through an unspoken myth, circulating from the last third of the nineteenth century, that Bohemian composers overlooked German literature in favour of Czech texts. The focus of this dissertation is to address this misconception and by discussing the production of songs to Goethe's texts to demonstrate the central position German song occupied within Czech cultural society throughout the long nineteenth century. With reference to the lack of English-language literature on song in the Czech lands during the given period, one of the intentions of this study will be to open and access the topic for international musicology. The primary goals of the research are (i) to rehabilitate a musical genre which is neglected historically and musically in the artistic culture of the Czech lands in the nineteenth century, (ii) to rediscover songs and in some cases even composers who are (semi-)forgotten, (iii) to point out at Czech musical settings of Goethe's poetry, (iv) to reveal the place of song in the compositional output of Bohemian composers who are better known in other musical genres and therefore to present a broader picture of musical endeavours in nineteenth-century Bohemia, and finally (v) to contribute to the reception history of the lied in the Czech lands. This thesis seeks to contextualise settings to Goethe's texts in a broader European framework in order to prove their importance and irreplaceable position in the canon.

### **4 Delimitations of the research**

This interdisciplinary study engages with art song for solo voice and piano accompaniment to texts by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. It therefore does not include vocal duets, choral works or orchestral song. Despite the need to examine those genres, the primary intention here is to focus on Goethe settings for solo voice and piano.

As an initial activity the author had to identify and rediscover every setting which is mentioned in the dissertation in a trawl of archives and by consulting the primary and



secondary literature. Information regarding the songs was largely unpublished. Even the small portion of published songs lay hidden undisturbed in repositories from their original appearance in print in the nineteenth century. It is likely that other settings might still appear in the future.

If comparative settings are included, their purpose is to pinpoint certain musical and textual aspects of the songs. An analytical examination is one of the standard methods applied in order to reveal the creative approach of each composer. If we consider that a great deal of the songs remains unpublished and hidden in archives, a historical and socio-cultural analysis represents an effective method when trying to recover the individual settings. In her analysis the author has attempted to explore not only the initial impulses of the composers but also their inspirations, musical language, methods and especially the purpose of each setting. In the limited scope of this study chosen songs were investigated to provide a relevant and representative backdrop to the textual narrative. All settings included were chosen to demonstrate the musical language of the composers and to uncover their motives for setting Goethe's poems, often related with the music contemporary trends and their social surroundings.

A significant number of musical settings to Goethe's texts include beside the German original also Czech translations (e.g. Fibich's and Klein's Goethe songs), while others were set only in Czech translations (e.g. Foerster's Goethe settings, Brdlíková's 'Rybák' and Martinů's 'Ty, jenž sídlíš v nebesích'). As the status of the Czech language grew within society, linguistic adaptations of German poetry became very popular, especially in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It, however, is not the purpose of this study to scrutinise the textual aspect in terms of comparing the original language and the translation. Equally, due to the limitation of length, this study does not incorporate settings of the literature of other German poets.

## **5 Structure and methodology of the thesis**

This dissertation encompasses two broad interwoven theoretical frameworks: Goethe within Bohemian cultural society and the art song in Bohemia written under the influence of Goethe's poetry. Chapter 1 of the dissertation commences with a detailed account of Goethe's imprint in the Czech lands. His long-standing connections with the country are discussed at length in order to form an insight into Goethe's multi-faceted relationship with the area. Goethe made countless personal acquaintances (e.g. with Jan Rudolf Černín

1757–1845, Jan Baptista Paar 1780–1839, Jiří Buquoy 1781–1851, Kašpar Šternberk 1761–1838, Joseph Sebastian Grüner 1780–1864) and social connections (e.g. Václav Jan Tomášek) during his seventeen visits primarily to the Western-Bohemia spa towns including Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), Františkovy lázně (Franzensbad), Cheb (Eger), Teplice (Teplitz) and Mariánské lázně (Marienbad) between 1785 and 1823. In addition, the poet came in contact with scientific, literary and artistic works of the land's inhabitants while residing in Bohemia (e.g. Egon Ebert 1801–1882, Josef Dobrovský 1753–1829 and Jan Evangelista Purkyně 1787–1869). And last but not least, his interest in the natural wonders of the country became a motivation for his work during and after his stays in the cultural centres. The chapter considers Goethe's reception in the Czech lands during his lifetime and posthumously, and it concludes with Czech translations of Goethe's poetry in songs.

Chapter two is dedicated to the genre of song, its position within society and its development in the Czech lands of the nineteenth century. The intertwined relationships of art and folk songs and the German and Czech lied form the core of the chapter, as an essential backdrop to the central theme, namely Goethe settings and their contribution to the cultural identity of the art song in Bohemia.

A reception history of the individual songs occupies the final two chapters of the thesis. Composers' engagements with Goethe's literary works across 'the long nineteenth century' are introduced and discussed. Chapter three explores composers and their settings in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, while chapter four continues the examination with regard to the second half of the century. The selected songs are examined for a number of reasons: to explore how composers worked with Goethe's poems and how they engaged with the lied tradition of German and Viennese composers; to show examples of their compositional styles; to identify which performers and audiences these songs were intended for (e.g. Tomášek's 'salon' songs to Goethe's texts, Fibich's Goethe settings for his beloved wife-to-be and her sister, Martinů's and Klein's songs which place the art above political happenings and demonstrate poetry and music breaking down country borders and current social barriers). The primary focus is on the historical and social background of the lied, and this is complemented by the analytical discourse.

One part of my methodology accesses and consults primary sources, including personal correspondence, autographs and handwritten copies of scores and other documents, deposited in public and private archives in the Czech Republic and abroad.

Primary literature includes articles in historical periodicals issued in the Czech lands. The historical research and analytical approach were likewise based on Czech and English secondary literature including theoretical, historical and analytical works as well as published musical scores and available recordings. As music-text relationships were part and parcel of the early German lied, the textual and musical readings became a part of performance-based research. Most of all, the work on the edition and CD of Fibich's Goethe settings revealed the need to address both musical and textual approaches. Thus, an analytical view and the aspect of performance practice were incorporated with contemporary singers in mind. Methods and approaches used when writing this dissertation were influenced by my nationality and by the musicological education which I received in the Czech Republic and in Ireland

## 6 Literature overview

Most of the primary sources including scores by Held, Tomášek and Fibich are archived at the National Museum – the Czech Museum of Music in Prague. The Tomášek-Goethe correspondence is deposited at the Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar. Zdeněk Fibich's autographs and scores are in the possession of the Fibich family and the Czech Museum of Music in Prague. Transcriptions of Bohuslav Martinů's unpublished Goethe songs were obtained from the Institut Bohuslava Martinů in Prague. The *Sechs Lieder von Schiller und Goethe* by Jan Emanuel Doležálek (Vienna 1810) are archived in the Music Archive in Melk (Austria). The library of the Music Department at Palacký University in Olomouc includes a valuable handwritten copy of Stanislav Kamenický's catalogue of Fibich's work and a copy of Moser's catalogue of his compositions. In addition, a number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century newspapers and music journals, published in the Czech lands, were examined through Palacký University Library, Olomouc Research Library and the Digital Library of the National Library of the Czech Republic. Amongst the most valuable publications were *Dalibor*, *Hudební listy*, *Lumír*, *Smetana*, *Hudební věda* and *Opus Musicum*.

Chapter One discusses Goethe's relationship to Bohemia. The most valuable and comprehensive account of this topic is contained in Johannes Urzidil's book *Goethe v Čechách*.<sup>1</sup> Earlier wide-ranging contributions were written by Karel Adámek and Arnošt

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<sup>1</sup> Johannes Urzidil, *Goethe v Čechách* (Příbram: Pistorius & Olšanská, 2009).

Kraus which are important for Goethe research in Bohemia.<sup>2</sup> Some additional articles supplement the picture.<sup>3</sup> The view of Goethe in the first decades of the twentieth century in Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) is best described in *Goethův sborník*.<sup>4</sup> The socio-cultural and political questions focused on German influence on the lands of the Czech crown are discussed in numerous essays. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk's *Česká otázka* and Vladimír Macura's *Znamení zrodu* are among the most important: Masaryk, leaving the poet's aura of glory aside, critically tackled Goethe's opinions and Macura offered a great scholarly treatise, a broad spectral view of literature and culture in the Czech lands in the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Ingeborg Fialová territorially oscillates between German and Austrian literature of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries with the focus on German written works of Bohemian Jewish authors.<sup>6</sup>

Goethe's influence on music culture has been researched by many. For the connection of Goethe and the Czech lands, primarily *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst* holds a significant position at least for two reasons: for its scholarly credibility and for the fact that it is one of a few works which brought to light the topic of Goethe and the musical world of the Czech lands. In this book, Goethe's influence on music in Bohemia is outlined by Jan Smaczny in his article 'Goethe and the Czechs'.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, Otto Biba's essay 'Goethe's Presence in the Vienna Music Scene of His Era', issued in the same book, contributes to the subject of the dissertation.<sup>8</sup> Important evidence of Goethe's reception in the first half of the nineteenth century is also found in Václav Jan Tomášek's 'Selbstbiographie'.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Karel Adámek, 'Goethe a Čechy'. *Lumír*, nos. 13–15 (1863). Arnošt Vilém Kraus, *Goethe a Čechy* (Praha: Bursík a Kohout, 1898).

<sup>3</sup> Zdeněk Šamberger, *Goethe v českých lázních* (Plzeň: Státní oblastní archiv, 1997); *Tradice a současnost: týdny J. W. Goetha v Mariánských Lázních: výroční sešit 1999–2009 = Tradition und Gegenwart: Zehn Jahre der Goethe-Woche in Marienbad: Denkschrift 1999–2009*, eds. E. Neupauer, D. Ernstová (Mariánské Lázně: E. Neupauer, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> *Goethův sborník. Památce 100. výročí básnickovy smrti*, eds. čeští germanisté (Praha: Státní nakladatelství, 1932).

<sup>5</sup> Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, *Česká otázka* (Praha: MKP, 2013), Vladimír Macura, *Znamení zrodu* (Praha: Academia, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Ingeborg Fialová-Fürstová, *O německy psané literatuře pražské, moravské a židovské* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Jan Smaczny, 'Goethe and the Czechs'. *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), pp. 159–184.

<sup>8</sup> Otto Biba, 'Goethe's Presence in the Vienna Music Scene of His Era', in *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), pp. 7–40.

<sup>9</sup> Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, 'Selbstbiographie', *Libussa* 4–9 (1845–1850). In Czech translation: Václav Jan Tomášek, *Vlastní životopis Václava Jana Tomáška*, ed. by Zdeněk Němec (Praha: Topičova edice, 1941).

When assembling the historical backdrop, the thoughts and perspectives of more recent scholars on the cultural environment – with a focus on music and literature – are contrasted with the contemporary reception of Goethe during the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

The books *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century* and *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* became the starting point for sections discussing the genre of song.<sup>11</sup> Thoughts on the song culture of the first half of the century in Bohemia were explored by Meliš and Bergmann and offered in the introduction of their *Průvodce v oboru tištěných písní*. The book presented a list of publications of Czech songs and as such was the first of its kind.<sup>12</sup> Meliš edited and republished selected passages from the book in his article ‘Vývin českých písní. Příspěvek k dějepisu české hudby’.<sup>13</sup> Karel Hůlka’s extensive essay ‘O starší české písni lidové’ was no less important for its uniqueness. No other writer before Hůlka had researched in the same depth Czech song in the first half of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, his essay omits German songs.<sup>14</sup> The same defect is revealed by Vladimír Hudec’s tendentious article ‘Úloha písně v českém hudebním vývoji’. Hudec, in accordance with the time, highlights the folk song, degrades the influence of Italian and sacred music and entirely omits the German-language lied.<sup>15</sup> Modern perspectives are offered by more recent studies.<sup>16</sup> Elementary but essential information on composers discussed in the thesis was obtained from the *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Otakar Hostinský, ‘O nynějším stavu a směru české hudby’ *Rozpravy hudební*, no. 5, ed. by Em. Chvála (Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek, 1885). Otakar Hostinský, *Hudba v Čechách. – Nástin dějepisný.*, (Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek, 1900). Otakar Hostinský, *Česká hudba 1864–1904* (Praha: Grosman a Svoboda, 1909). Vladimír Helfert, *Česká moderní hudba* (Olomouc, 1936). Vladimír Hudec, ‘Úloha písně v českém hudebním vývoji’, *Hudební rozhledy* 18/VIII (1955). Petr Vít, ‘Doba národního probuzení (1810–1860)’. *Hudba v českých dějinách: od středověku do nové doby*, ed. by Jaroslav Černý, 2nd edn. (Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1989). Marta Ottlová, Milan Pospíšil, ‘Idea slovanské hudby’, in *Slavme slavně slávu Slávův slavných* (Praha, 2006). Ivan Poledňák, ‘Hudba v českých zemích / Česká hudba’, in *Dějiny hudby V. Hudba 19. století*, ed. by Naďa Hrkčková (Praha: Ikar, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> Rufus, Hallmark, ed., *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009). James Parsons, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> Emanuel Meliš, Josef Bergmann, *Průvodce v oboru českých tištěných písní pro jeden neb více hlasů od r. 1800–1862* (Praha, 1863).

<sup>13</sup> Emanuel A. Meliš, ‘Vývin českých písní. Příspěvek k dějepisu české hudby’, *Dalibor* vol. 6, nos. 8–10 (1863) pp. 57–8, 65–66, 73–75.

<sup>14</sup> Karel Hůlka, ‘O starší české písni lidové’, *Dalibor* vol. 28 (1906), nos. 28–48, 219–22, 238–40, 258–61, 283–85, 297–301, 311–15, 323–27, 339–43, 355–59.

<sup>15</sup> Vladimír Hudec, ‘Úloha písně v českém hudebním vývoji’, *Hudební rozhledy* vol. 8, no. 18 (1955), pp. 926–28.

<sup>16</sup> Josef Kotek, *Dějiny české populární hudby a zpěvu (1). 19. a 20. století (do roku 1918)*, (Praha: Academia, 1994). Václav Petrbok, ‘Čím česká píseň je a není. Čelakovský a Rittersberg očima jednoho Biedermanna’, in *Biedermeier v českých zemích*, eds. by Helena Lorenzová, Taťána Petrasová (Praha: KLP, 2004).

<sup>17</sup> *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí* [online: <http://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz>.]

Lorraine Byrne Bodley's *Schubert's Goethe Settings* identifies perspectives of the liaison between poetry and music in arguably one of its best examples, the artistic affinity between Goethe and Schubert. Furthermore, this book provides essential information about Goethe's poems, the background to their creation and their literary meanings.

Translations of Goethe's poems were primarily accessed online at the Oxford Lieder website.<sup>18</sup>

A good deal of musical scores were accessed in archives. Doležálek's *Sechs Lieder von Schiller und Göthe* was obtained in the Music Archive in Melk.<sup>19</sup> Fibich's handwritten copy entitled *Pisně* is located in the Czech Museum of Music in Prague.<sup>20</sup> An autograph of Martinů's setting 'Ty, jenž sídlíš v nebesích' was accidentally found with Martinů's song cycle *Měsíce* to texts by Karel Toman. The Czech title of the song and its incorrect attribution to Martinů's Toman cycle succeeded in concealing this song for decades. The unpublished transcription of *Čtyři malé písně na Goethův text* is deposited at the Czech Museum of Music.<sup>21</sup> The following settings were released only in the nineteenth century. To find and obtain these was a challenging and time-consuming task. For instance Jan Theobald Held's 'Der Fischer von Göthe' was included in the *Harmonia* journal (1805).<sup>22</sup> Others were hidden in published books of collective songs such as Jan Josef Rösler's 'Vzdálené – An die Entfernte'.<sup>23</sup> A few songs are also accessible online as is proven by Václav Jindřich Veit's *6 vierstimmige Gesänge für Männerstimme*.<sup>24</sup> Josef Antonín Štěpán's *Sammlung Deutscher Lieder für das Klavier* was released online at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek only recently.<sup>25</sup> Settings to Goethe by Václav Jan Tomášek and Zdeněk Fibich were – in Fibich's case only partially –

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<sup>18</sup> <https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/songs>.

<sup>19</sup> Jan Emanuel Doležálek, *Sechs Lieder von Schiller und Göthe* (Wien: Ludwig Malsch, 1810), sig. A-M VI 382 Musikarchiv Melk.

<sup>20</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Pisně*, sig. S80/433 Národní muzeum – České muzeum hudby Praha.

<sup>21</sup> Bohuslav Martinů, 'Ty, jenž sídlíš v nebesích', sig. TrB 316, Národní muzeum – České muzeum hudby and *Čtyři malé písně na Goethův text*, transcription, sig. 094/D, Institut Bohuslava Martinů, Praha.

<sup>22</sup> 'Der Fischer von Göthe', *Harmonia eine Monatschrifts für Gesang und Clavier*, 4tes Heft (Prag: C. Pluth, 1805), pp. 13–18, sig. I.C.16 Národní muzeum – České muzeum hudby Praha. Johann Theobald Held, 'Nähe des Geliebten', III. *Gesänge für des Piano-Forte von J. T. Held* (Prag: L. Haas, n. d.).

<sup>23</sup> Jan Ladislav Dusík – Josef Rösler – Jan Václav Voříšek, 'Vzdálené – An die Entfernte', *Pisně – Výběr z vokální tvorby* (Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1961), pp. 55–61.

<sup>24</sup> Václav Jindřich Veit, *6 vierstimmige Gesänge für Männerstimme*, op. 37 (Hofmeister's Monatsbericht, 1854) [accessed online 26/1/2023]

[https://imslp.org/wiki/6\\_Songs\\_for\\_Mens\\_Chorus,\\_Op.37\\_\(Veit,\\_V%C3%A1clav\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/6_Songs_for_Mens_Chorus,_Op.37_(Veit,_V%C3%A1clav))

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Anton Steffan, *Sammlung Deutscher Lieder für das Klavier* (J. E. von Kurzböck, 1778)

[accessed online 18/10/2023] <https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00026159&pimage=2&v=100&nav=&l=it>

published during the composers' life times and subsequently in recent decades.<sup>26</sup> Fibich's first critical edition of songs to Goethe's poetry was released in the course of the writer's dissertation with the aim of making the music available to performers. The first CD recording, supplementing the edition, was created under the writer's supervision.

Besides the new critical edition of Fibich's Goethe songs, Otakar Ostrčil's *Písně na texty německých básníků. Songs to German Poems* is a valuable issue for two reasons: the availability of the scores and the rarity of such a publication in the Czech musical world.<sup>27</sup> Compositions by Josef Bohuslav Foerster are to be found at the headquarters of the J. B. Foerster Society in Prague.<sup>28</sup> Published scores of Josefina Brdliková's 'Rybák' can be accessed at Český rozhlas (Czech Radio).<sup>29</sup>

When approaching the text settings, Christian Schubart's book on music aesthetic<sup>30</sup> was mined to better understand compositions from the first half of the nineteenth century. The early study of Václav Jan Tomášek's settings to Goethe by the Czechoslovakian musicologist Theodora Straková (1955) was a vital source.<sup>31</sup> Straková was the first to describe the Tomášek-Goethe relationship and examine many of the songs in one source. Subsequently Jan Panenka dedicated his master's thesis to the topic. Besides the autographical passages and description of Tomášek's relationship to Goethe, Panenka only briefly introduced each song and in doing so very much derived his information from Straková.<sup>32</sup> More recently Kenneth DeLong contributed to the field with his article 'Jan Václav Tomášek's Goethe Lieder'. His study was an important input not only for the fact that it is an early contribution to the topic written in the English language. Decades later Ildikó Raimondi wrote her study in German and included a CD of the

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<sup>26</sup> Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, *Gedichte von Goethe: für den Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte* (Prag: self-published, c1818). Václav Jan Tomášek, *Blížkost milého: zpěv a klavír. (Nähe des Geliebten)*, (Kutná Hora: A. Novák, [1932?]). Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, *Gedichte von Goethe: für den Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, Ildikó Raimondi (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003).

Zdeněk Fibich (ed.), *Hudební album. Sborník skladatelův československých* (Praha: František Urbánek, 1893), no. 2, book 1./2., part I. 'Mignon' ('Nur wer die Sehnsucht Kennt'), pp. 9–15. Zdeněk Fibich, *Jarní paprsky* (Praha: František Urbánek, 1894), book 1, song no. 4 ('Kennst du das Land', Hud. 300). Zdeněk Fibich, *Fibich. Písně na texty Johanna Wolfganga von Goethe*, ed. by Barbora Kubečková (Praha: Editio Bärenreiter Praha, 2018).

<sup>27</sup> Otakar Ostrčil, *Písně na texty německých básníků. Songs to German Poems*, ed. by Markéta Kratochvílová (Praha: Academus Edition, 2016).

<sup>28</sup> Bohuslav Foerster, *Pastýřová píseň pro střední hlas s průvodem klavíru na slova J. W. Goethe* (Kutná Hora: Edice „Česká hudba“ [before 1930]) and Bohuslav Foerster, *Šest zpěvů pro sólový hlas a klavír*, op. 142a (1932–1940), (Foerstrova společnost, 1943).

<sup>29</sup> Josefina Brdliková, *Písně*, vol. V (Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek [1900]), U. 761.

<sup>30</sup> Christian, Fr. D. Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Asthetik der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Wolkenwanderer-Verlag, 1924).

<sup>31</sup> Theodora Straková, 'Tomáškovy písně na Goethovy texty', *Časopis Moravského Muzea*, XL, 1955.

<sup>32</sup> Jan Panenka, *Pisňová tvorba Václava Jana Tomáška* (1977), unpublished master's thesis.



songs.<sup>33</sup> A wider range of Tomášek's songs became the subject of doctoral research in 2017.<sup>34</sup> Wolfgang Antensberger was the first who structured and analysed all Tomášek's settings to German texts. As the only researcher, Eliška Holubová published a study on Tomášek's dramatic scenes to Goethe's and Schiller's. Holubová examined and compared the musical perspectives of Tomášek's dramatic settings to select scenes by Schiller and two scenes from Goethe's *Faust* (*Gretchen am Spinnrad*, op. 102 and *Requiem*, op. 103).<sup>35</sup>

The starting point in the consultation of literature which tackled Fibich's early songs was a two-volume book entitled *Zdeněk Fibich – Sborník dokumentů a studií o jeho životě a díle*.<sup>36</sup> The memories of Anežka Schulzová<sup>37</sup> and Otakar Hostinský served as vital sources.<sup>38</sup> Only two books, both by Vladimír Hudec, offered information about Fibich's early compositions.<sup>39</sup> Although both show some limitations, they still remain an indispensable tool when researching Fibich's Goethe lieder. In the creation of a complete picture of Fibich's songs to Goethe's texts, catalogues of Fibich's compositions also became an essential resource.<sup>40</sup> The narrow range of literature when considering Zdeněk Fibich's songs is represented by one single study: Jaroslav Tomášek's article 'Písňová tvorba Zd. Fibicha'.<sup>41</sup> Tomášek in his piece comments on Fibich's compositional style and progress in the song genre, describes his influences and summarises the composer's vocal work. Thus it constitutes a valuable source. In the case of other composers, two unique works on the music of Otakar Ostrčil by Markéta Kratochvílová became central reference works for the research of his Goethe songs.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, *Gedichte von Goethe: für den Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, ed. by Ildikó Raimondi (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> Wolfgang Antensberger, *Die Deutschsprachigen Lieder Für Pianoforte von Johann Wenzel Tomaschek* (EOS, 2017).

<sup>35</sup> Eliška Holubová, 'V. J. Tomascheks Musikdramatische Szene zu Texten Goethes und Schillers', *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, vol. 24, 1975, pp. 35-47.

<sup>36</sup> Artuš Rektorys (ed.), *Zdeněk Fibich – Sborník dokumentů a studií o jeho životě a díle* (Praha: Orbis 1951 (vol. 1) and 1952 (vol. 2)).

<sup>37</sup> Anežka Schulzová, *Zdenko Fibich, hrstka upomínek a intimních rysů* (Praha, 1949).

<sup>38</sup> Otakar Hostinský, *Vzpomínky na Fibicha*, appendix (Praha, 1909).

<sup>39</sup> Vladimír Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich* (Praha, 1971) and *Fibichovo skladatelské mládí, doba příprav* (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1966).

<sup>40</sup> Viktor Moser, *Thematický seznam veškerých skladeb Zdeňka Fibicha od r. 1862. do 31. května 1885*, unpublished autograph. Stanislav Kamenický, *Přehled temat veškerých skladeb Zdeňka Fibicha*, autograph, n. d. Stanislav Kamenický, *Fibichovy rukopisné písně v opisech*, autograph (Příbram, 1952). Vladimír Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich. Tematický katalog* (Praha: Editio Bärenreiter, 2001).

<sup>41</sup> Jaroslav Tomášek, 'Písňová tvorba Zd. Fibicha', *Hudební rozhledy* II (1925–1926), nos. 3–4, pp. 91–6.

<sup>42</sup> Markéta Kratochvílová, 'Ostrčilovy rané písně na německé texty', *Clavibus Unitis* 2016. Markéta Kratochvílová, 'Otkar Ostrčil' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Univerzita Palackého Olomouc, filozofická fakulta, 2011).



## 7 Discography

A discography became an important additional source when engaging with the lieder themselves. At this point, I wish to acknowledge my joy that these settings to Goethe's poetry are being performed and recorded all over the world. A discography is included at the end of my dissertation; the CD *Bohemian Songs*<sup>43</sup> includes Goethe settings by Bečvářovský and Rösler. From the list of Bohemian composers' settings to Goethe, Tomášek's songs have been recorded the most often.<sup>44</sup> The list of Goethe settings concludes with *Fibich Goethe Lieder*.<sup>45</sup> The CD has been recorded and released hand in hand with the edition of the songs. The intention was to make the music available for the national and international audiences. Songs based on the poetry of Goethe by other composers including Foerster, Martinů and others are still awaiting their first comprehensive recordings.

## 8 Future research

This dissertation seeks to promote research into the settings of other German poets by Bohemian composers. For instance, Tomášek's Schiller compositions and a great number of early songs to Heine's texts by Zdeněk Fibich have never been investigated nor published. Furthermore, Goethe's impact on twentieth-century composers including Josef Bohuslav Foerster, Boleslav Vomáčka, Pavel Bořkovec, Gideon Klein and others still needs to be investigated. In a wider context, this work may inspire a broader study of the nineteenth-century German lied within Czech musical culture. The translatability of songs opens three possible ways of research: German lyrics translated to Czech and then set to music, German lieder translated and sung in Czech, and songs to Czech texts and subsequently translated into German all remain largely uncharted areas. Moreover, the

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<sup>43</sup> *Bohemian Songs*, Claron McFadden (soprano), Bart van Oort (piano) (Rhoon, 1999).

<sup>44</sup> Václav Jan Tomášek, *Nähe des Geliebten – Lieder auf Goethes, Schillers, u.a. Gedichte*, Magdaléna Hajóssyová (soprano), Marián Lapšanský (piano) (Multisonic a.s., 1995). Václav Jan Tomášek, *Goethe v písni*, Kamila Mazalová (mezzosoprano) and Monika Knoblochová (fortepiano) (Radioservis, a. s., 2014). *Piesni inspirowane Rekopisem króldworskim*, Anna Budzynska (soprano), Tomasz Sosniak (fortepiano) (Host, 2010). Václav Jan Tomášek, *Songs by Tomášek*, Renata Pokupic (mezzosoprano), Roger Vignoles (piano) (Hyperion Records, 2015). Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, *Tomaschek Goethe Lieder*, Ildikó Raimondi (soprano), Leopold Hager (piano) (Paladino Music, 2003).

<sup>45</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Fibich Goethe Lieder*, ed. by Barbora Kubečková (Olomouc: VFF UP Olomouc, 2018), Lucie Laubová (soprano), Jaroslav Šaroun (piano).

large topic of the intertwined influence and mutual development of the German and Czech lied in Bohemia is another pathway for future research.

## **9 Note to the reader**

Apart from the English language in which this dissertation is written, the dissertation contains Czech and German texts. Therefore, the body of text includes both the original as well as the translated versions of each quotation. Unless otherwise stated, translations from Czech and German to English are by the author of this thesis. This dissertation conforms with the Modern Humanities Research Association *Style Guide*.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *MHRA Style Guide* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2008).

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# CHAPTER 1

## GOETHE'S IMPRINT ON THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE CZECH LANDS IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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Tracing Goethe's influence on nineteenth-century Bohemian cultural life is a journey determined by a number of specifics. Bohemia,<sup>47</sup> being a part of the Habsburg Empire, inevitably adopted German as its official language, leaving Czech spoken mostly in rural areas. The linguistic unification with surrounding lands provided a hinterland to various romantic writers of German origin in the Czech lands. Clemens Brentano (1778–1842), Heinrich von Kleist (1777–1811), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), Adam Müller (1779–1829) and of course Goethe (1749–1832) all stayed in or visited Prague and the popular Western Bohemian spa towns.<sup>48</sup> The cultural and linguistic interconnectedness with German, Austrian and Jewish influences meant that literature and literary inspiration did not only flow from the Viennese capital but likewise hailed from Leipzig, Weimar and Jena. There is a distinct similarity here in poets set in Vienna. Consequently, the large expansion of German literature beginning at the end of the eighteenth century prevented a large development of publishing houses based in the hometown of Prague. For instance, publications from Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Leipzig and Köln were sold here in the same numbers as those produced by all of Prague's publishers. The imported goods were likewise cheaper than titles from the indigenous production. Moreover, to read books by Wieland (1733–1813), Klopstock (1724–1803) and Schiller (1759–1805) was considered in vogue at the time.<sup>49</sup> Goethe's poetry was understood as an ideal and utilized as a formative factor for the new Czech (and in broader sense also Slavic) literature and

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<sup>47</sup> Bohemia, another designation for the Czech lands, meaning a former kingdom of central Europe independent from the ninth to the thirteenth century; belonged to the Habsburgs from 1526 until 1918. Bohemia in the dissertation is an equivalent for the Czech lands and includes all parts of the region today known as the Czech Republic, specifically the regions of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. See *Collins English Dictionary Online*: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/bohemia> [accessed 6 January 2024].

<sup>48</sup> Ingeborg Fialová-Fürstová, *O německy psané literatuře pražské, moravské a židovské* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2017), p. 193.

<sup>49</sup> Pešková, Hanzlík, Urban a kol., *Dějiny země koruny české II.* (Praha: Paseka, 1992), p. 43.

culture. His *Faust* provided a metaphoric key to the modern age.<sup>50</sup> The prevalence of Prague's production written in the Czech lands was of course German with a great deal of fiction; amongst the important producers were the publishing houses of Jan Bohumír Calve, Ondřej Gerle, Jan Herrl and Kašpar Widtmann. Books considering Czech topics were written in German (i.e. Josef Dobrovský's *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur* [A History of the Czech Language and Literature], 1792; *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache* [A Detailed Teaching Structure of the Czech Language], 1808; František Palacký's *Geschichte von Böhmen* [A History of Czech]), 1836–1867. Matěj Kramerius (1753–1808) and to a lesser extent Martin Maria Neuräutter (1752–1830) and Widtmann were the sole distributors of Czech books in Prague at the time.<sup>51</sup> The increasing interest in Czech national literature, associated with the national revival in the 1820s and 1830s and culminating in the mid-century, contended primarily with three aspects. Firstly, the literature emanated in the culturally and linguistically colourful Austrian Empire, secondly the national perspectives often encountered censorship and finally, the linguistic limitations of both the writers and readers encompassed difficulties. The perception of German literature gradually transformed, with its peak after 1848. The main tendency was, however, the emancipation of the Czech language based on the German literary model. Translations proved popular as much as necessary within the re-establishing Czech literature as is instanced by the translations of Goethe's work to be described later.

Apart from literature, Goethe's name spread across a wide spectrum of contemporary society. Initially Goethe was renowned within aristocratic families, also as a result of countless acquaintances the writer acquired during his seventeen stays in Bohemian spas, and soon after he became equally well known in academic circles. Likewise, his name strongly resonated at middle-class salons.<sup>52</sup>

Long after the poet's death, his legacy not only remained alive but was treasured by succeeding generations as proven by countless references to Goethe in existing newspapers and journals and birth/death commemorative events held in Prague in 1849, 1899 and 1932. On the other side, Goethe's bequest provoked discussions against his

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<sup>50</sup> Vladimír Macura, *Znamení zrodu a české sny* (Praha: Academia, 2015), pp. 422, 444.

<sup>51</sup> There were two other Czech publishers outside Prague: Jan Hostivít Pospíšil (from 1808, Hradec Králové) and Alois Josef Landfras (from 1826, Jindřichův Hradec). Petr Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy: starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století* (Praha: Libri, 2006), pp. 28, 626.

<sup>52</sup> Fialová-Fürstová, p. 217. Nevertheless, the term 'salon' in the Bohemian region did not correspond with a salon as understood in other central European countries. See Macura, pp. 507–14.

worldview, a development evident in Germany in the so-called Junges Deutschland [Young Germany] movement (ca1830–1850). Such tendencies echoed after 1848 and strengthened in the Czech lands in the 1850s and beyond.<sup>53</sup> This chapter aims to briefly outline Goethe's position during and after his life outside musical circles within Bohemia.

## 1.1 The poet's visits to the Czech lands

‘[...] yet I would like to see good old Bohemia again [...]’<sup>54</sup>

During his life Goethe repeatedly visited the Czech lands. From the first visit dating back to 1785 he arrived seventeen times, exclusively staying at thermal spa centres in the West and North-West of the country: Františkovy lázně (Franzensbad), Mariánské lázně (Mariensbad), Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), Teplice (Teplitz) and Cheb (Eger).<sup>55</sup> Goethe's fondness of this area, extending beyond his last visit in summer 1823, arose out of numerous reasons. Goethe felt great healing effects from the local warm mineral waters on his health. These centres also belonged among popular summer holiday locations for upper and high-class society, with various options of social and cultural events.<sup>56</sup> In contrast to busy public life, Goethe was charmed by the countryside with its rich natural wonders. His love of natural science and of minerals especially stirred and gratified his curiosity.

Goethe's visits to Bohemia were certainly not only for the purpose of relaxation. Goethe spent in Bohemian baths altogether 1,114 days, almost twice the amount he stayed in Italy (683 days).<sup>57</sup> The length of time spent here does not suggest anything specific about its importance, but ‘[...] for two fifths of Goethe's mature life up to its end, various Czech tones constantly resonates’<sup>58</sup> in his diaries, letters and in artistic as

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<sup>53</sup> Ivana Vizdalová, ‘„Mladé Německo“ a koncepce novodobého českého románu’, in *Čechy a Evropa v kultuře 19. století* ed. by Petr Čornej, Roman Prahel (Praha: ČSAV, 1993), pp. 68–73.

<sup>54</sup> Johannes Urzidil, *Goethe v Čechách* (Příbram: Pistorius & Olšanská, 2009), p. 209. and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethes Werke. Briefe* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Verlag, 1891–1910), Bd. XXVI, p. 251.

<sup>55</sup> The only exception was a short visit to the Krkonoše mountains in 1790. See Urzidil, pp. 18 – 20.

<sup>56</sup> For more information about the cultural life in the Spas see Jaroslav Fiala, ‘Kultura v lázních na počátku 19. století’, *MEZI ČASY... Kultura a umění v českých zemích kolem roku 1800. Sborník příspěvků z 19. ročníku symposií k problematice 19. století*, eds. by Zdeněk Hojda and Roman Prahel (Praha: KLP, 2000) pp. 294–302 and Jitka Bajgarová – Roman Šebesta, ‘Hudba na karlovarské kolonádě v první polovině 19. století aneb Kterak se Čechy k besedě protancovaly’, in *Biedermeier v českých zemích*, eds. by Helena Lorenzová and Taťána Petrasová (Praha: KLP, 2004), pp. 268–80.

<sup>57</sup> Urzidil, p. 7.

<sup>58</sup> ‘[...] po dvě pětiny Goethova zralého života až do samého konce u něho neúnavně zaznívají nejrůznější české tóny’. Ibid, p. 7.

well as scientific works.<sup>59</sup> When one realises this fact, the question arises: *why* is Goethe's connection with the Czech lands overshadowed by his time in Italy? Of course, the poet caused this himself by publishing his *Italian journey* diary and the biographical significance of that visit. Undoubtedly, the allure of the south, namely Italy, was more mysterious and topical: the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) on Italy were deeply influential, and along with these the rediscovery of Pompeii resulted in the idealistic perception of Antiquity and subsequently the burgeoning interest in Greek and Roman literature. All these aspects add to the attractiveness of the destination for central European inhabitants as opposed to a neighbouring country. With this in mind, the aim here is to note the most significant aspects of Goethe's association with Bohemia and to learn why he continued to return to the Czech lands.

In 1827 Goethe declared: 'National-Literatur will jetzt nicht viel sagen, die Epoche der Welt-Literatur ist an der Zeit und jeder muss dazur wirken, diese Epoche zu beschleunigen' [National literature is now rather an outdated term; the epoch of World-literature is at hand, and everyone must strive to hasten its approach].<sup>60</sup> Perhaps a 'determination that literature and literary activity should not be confined by the relatively arbitrary political boundaries of the nation state' is what Goethe meant by his statement above.<sup>61</sup> This claim supports his repeated visits to the Czech lands. Here he observed new inspirations for his work, the surroundings broadened his horizons in literature as well as other areas outside the German state, and he felt more fully appreciated than in his home country.

During these visits Goethe came in contact with the aristocratic families of Buquoy, Paar and Šternberk (often known in the German version as Sternberg)<sup>62</sup> residing in the Czech lands, artists including the composer Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850), writers Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) and František Palacký (1798–1876) as well as scholars and scientific dilettantes Jan Evangelista Purkyně (1787–1869), Josef Sebastian Grüner (1780–1864), Jan Josef Nehr (1752–1820) and Karel Kašpar Reitenberger (1779–1860) to name a few.<sup>63</sup> Finally, Goethe's encounter with Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–

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<sup>59</sup> According to one writer, Goethe reminisced about Bohemia in *Musejník*, the Prague journal, only a week before his death in one of his last letters. See Arnošt Vilém Kraus, *Goethe a Čechy* (Praha: Bursík a Kohout, 1898), p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Eckermann, *Gespräche*, p. 225; Goethe, *Conversation*, p. 165 quoted from Rebecca Braun, *Authors and the World: Literary Authorship in Modern Germany* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2002), p. 12.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>62</sup> To read about Goethe's long-lasting friendship with both aristocrats see Urzidil pp. 404–13.

<sup>63</sup> For more information about Goethe's visit of the Czech lands see Zdeněk Šamberger, *Goethe v českých lázních* (Plzeň: Státní oblastní archiv, 1997); *Tradice a současnost: týdny J. W. Goetha v Mariánských*

1827) should be mentioned at this stage. In May 1811 the poet was visited by Baron Franz Oliva (1786–1848) in Karlovy Vary. The part-time secretary of Beethoven from ca. 1809 played selected melodies by the composer to Goethe.<sup>64</sup> The poet was already aware of Beethoven and his music from a much earlier date through Bettina von Arnim (1785–1859) and Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832).<sup>65</sup> The personal encounters between Goethe and Beethoven continued in summer 1812 in Teplice and culminated a few weeks later in Karlovy Vary.<sup>66</sup>

Goethe's innate curiosity about arts and science inspired him to explore areas related to local culture and nature, mainly geology and mineralogy, one of the many tasks for which he was responsible in the first decade of his life at the Weimar court. His encounter with the Czech language began by way of local geographical terminology. His general interest in language led him to repeatedly consider learning Czech. In 1821 he obtained a copy of *Lehrbuch für Anfänger in der böhmischen Sprache*<sup>67</sup> [Czech language book for beginners] by Karel Ignác Thám (1763–1816), and according to Johannes Urzidil (1896–1970), Goethe's papers includes sheets containing Czech words jotted down by the poet himself.<sup>68</sup> Although Goethe never learned Czech or any other Slavonic language properly, which he repeatedly regretted, Urzidil claimed that the writer '[...] investigated Czech theme[s] ethnographically, historically and linguistically much more than most important Germans of the time, including Bohemian Germans'.<sup>69</sup>

Even in his final years, Goethe expressed his attachment to the land and its people. In his talks with Eckermann he says: 'Bohemia is a peculiar country. I have always liked to be there. In the culture of the *literati* there is still something pure, which begins to be rare in the north of Germany; since here every vagabond writes, with whom [a] moral basis or higher views are not to be [considered].'<sup>70</sup> Perhaps this statement belongs to the

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*Lázních: výroční sešit 1999–2009 = Tradition und Gegenwart: Zehn Jahre der Goethe-Woche in Marienbad: Denkschrift 1999–2009* ed. by E. Neupauer and D. Ernstová (Mariánské Lázně: E. Neupauer, 2009).

<sup>64</sup> Perhaps these included the three settings to Goethe's texts which the composer sent to the poet through Bettina von Arnim in 1810 or selected passages of *Egmont*, which the composer intended to send Goethe that year.

<sup>65</sup> Romain Rolland, *Goethe a Beethoven – Beethoven a ženy* (Praha: SNKLHU, 1956), pp. 36–45.

<sup>66</sup> See Urzidil, pp. 72–82.

<sup>67</sup> Karl Ignaz Thám, *Karl Ignaz Thams Lehrbuch für Anfänger in der böhmischen Sprache in grammatischen und syntaktischen Uebungen* (Prag, n. publ., 1817).

<sup>68</sup> Urzidil, p. 282.

<sup>69</sup> '[...] Goethe] se české tematice věnoval etnograficky, historicky a lingvisticky mnohem víc než většina významných Němců té doby, české Němce nevyjímaje.' Urzidil, pp. 282–83.

<sup>70</sup> Johann Wolfgang Goethe – Johann Peter Eckermann, *Conversation of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, vol. II., translated by John Oxenford (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1850), p. 158 [Monday, 6 April 1829].

writer Egon Ebert (1801–1882). Ebert, brother-in-law of the composer Tomášek, belonged among those authors living in Prague but writing in German. Ebert's poetry caught Goethe's attention in the late 1820s, as is proven by the poet's talks with Eckermann.<sup>71</sup>

## 1.2 Goethe as a person of interest and literary influence

In contemporary Bohemian journals, Goethe is mentioned – often next to Shakespeare and other writers of importance – as an ideal to follow. The philosopher and first Czechoslovakian president, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937), in his book *Česká otázka* [The Czech Question] in 1895, wrote: '[...] our intellectuals drawn from German literature, [...]. Since the beginning of the revival, we continue to see how our prominent spiritual leaders search for a necessary foundation for their concrete thoughts in German philosophy; [...]. Despite all the enthusiasm for Russians and all Slavs and regardless of the resistance against Germans – Germans remain our genuine teachers.'<sup>72</sup> Masaryk stated a fact which many others were reluctant to admit. Goethe was seen as the greatest of all romantics, the role model of a *righteous German*.<sup>73</sup> His name became a core of theoretical works by Prague-German Philipp Mayer (1798–1828), the school director Joseph Stanislaus Zauper (1784–1850),<sup>74</sup> doctor Andreas Ludwig Jeittles (1799–1878) and writer Franz Thomas Bratranek (1815–1884), four scholars raised in the Czech lands. All four took a deep interest in Goethe and dedicated to him a wide range of their research.<sup>75</sup>

The prelude to the official translations of Goethe, to which is dedicated a separate subchapter in the thesis, became a story sung (in Czech known as *kramářská píseň*) by a wandering singer to the tune of a folk song.<sup>76</sup> In rural areas 'Albert an Werthers Geist' was vulgarized in the Czech version and translated as 'Albert at the Grave of Werther. A Gloomy Song',<sup>77</sup> a story inspired by Goethe's novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*

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<sup>71</sup> Goethe - Eckermann, pp. 72, 158, 178.

<sup>72</sup> Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, *Česká otázka* (Praha: MKP, 2013), pp. 90, 154, 53. '[...] naši myslitelé čerpali z německé literatury, [...]. Od samotného počátku obrození pořád vidíme, jak naši čelní duchovní vůdcové svým konkrétním myšlenkám v německé filosofii hledají potřebný myšlenkový základ; [...]. Přes veliké horování pro Rusy a všechny Slovany, a přes všecek odpor proti Němcům – Němci zůstávali našimi skutečnými učiteli.'

<sup>73</sup> Karel Adámek, 'Goethe a Čechy', *Lumír* no. 13 (26/3/1863), p. 302.

<sup>74</sup> Zauper was acknowledged by Goethe himself. See *Goethe - Eckermann*, p. 158.

<sup>75</sup> Fialová-Fürstová, p. 196.

<sup>76</sup> In a Czech context a *kramářská píseň* was a story partly sung and partly told. Often there was also a picture which complemented the narrative.

<sup>77</sup> 'Albert u hrobu Werthra. Truchlivá píseň'.



(1774). The folk-like song was initially printed as early as 1807 in the Eastern Bohemian town of Pardubice and reprinted with some amendments three years later in the town of Chrudim.<sup>78</sup> It is likely that the first Czech version was inspired by *Drei weltliche Lieder*<sup>79</sup> published in Vienna in 1805. The publication contains a story of the same title, and the poem corresponds with the Czech translation. Thus, Goethe's popularity expanded beyond the upper class, scholars and composers constituting the prevalently German-speaking community, and through a folk-like song reached the Czech-speaking countryside.

Goethe's long-term interest in Slavonic languages and culture is framed by numerous discussions with patriotic scholars. A group of Slovaks – as they introduced themselves – studying in Jena repeatedly encountered Goethe at the turn of 1817. The influential exchange was to prove mutual (i.e. beneficial to both the Slovaks and to Goethe). During these sessions the young patriots introduced to the poet a Slovak ethnic group and recounted local folklore. Goethe requested to hear folk songs from this region which they presented to him together with some unspecified settings to his words while accompanying themselves on the lute.<sup>80</sup> In the eyes of these students Goethe stood as a protector of their national revival attempts.<sup>81</sup> One of those courageous visitors, Jan Kollár (1793–1852), became the author of a large lyrical-epic poetic composition entitled *Slávy dcera* [The Slavic Daughter] in praise of Slavonic nations (1821, publ. 1824).

During Goethe's last visit to Mariánské lázně in 1823 he met the linguist and initiator of the national revival Josef Dobrovský. The core of the discussion was focussed on the national question. Goethe became well acquainted with current happenings in Bohemia, also through the monthly journal of the Prague Museum to which he subscribed from 1827. The intensity and broadness of his attention to the history, society, arts including literature and finally nature of the Czech lands, documented in his diaries and letters, found expression in contributions published in his journal *Über Kunst und Altertum* and *Berliner Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* (nos. 58–60, 1830). In the first periodical the author encouraged publications of old Czech national poems in the

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<sup>78</sup> Bedřich Václavěk, 'Ohlas Goethova „Utrpení mladého Werthera“ v kramářské písni české', *Goethův sborník. Památce 100. výročí básnickovy smrti*, eds. by čeští germanisté (Praha: Státní nakladatelství, 1932), pp. 301–02.

<sup>79</sup> Editor and publisher unknown.

<sup>80</sup> Kollár, Jan, *Spisy Jana Kollára, cestopis druhý* (Praha 1863), pp. 247–50.

<sup>81</sup> Urzidil, pp. 284–85.

For more information see also Albert Pražák, 'J. W. Goethe a Slováci. Příspěvky k problému'. *Goethův sborník*, pp. 139–81.

same manner as Serbian literature at the time. He, among others, reacted with excitement to the ‘discovery’ of the *Královedvorský Manuscript* and *Zelenohorský Manuscript* in 1817 and 1818 respectively. Goethe’s public interest in the manuscripts caused attention beyond the Czech lands, and was followed by translations into German, Polish, Russian and other languages.<sup>82</sup> Around this time Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795–1861), a younger colleague of Jan Kollár, gave Goethe examples of translated Slavonic folk songs as well as parts of the *Královedvorský Manuscript*.<sup>83</sup> The full version of the controversial medieval document, most probably written by Václav Hanka (1791–1861) and Josef Linda (1789–1834), was given to Goethe by his long-term acquaintance the count Kašpar Šternberk (1761–1838)<sup>84</sup> in Mariánské lázně in 1822. Goethe chose a translated poem entitled *Kytice* [The Bouquet] and wrote a variation of it.<sup>85</sup> The poem ‘Das Sträußchen. Alt böhmisch’ published in *Über Kunst und Altertum* and later in *Goethes Werke*<sup>86</sup> was subsequently set to music by the poet’s friend Carl Friedrich Zelter.<sup>87</sup>

Moreover, Goethe aimed to inspire Czech poets to rewrite and convey the ancient texts in their original or altered versions.<sup>88</sup> An important article, ‘Monatsschrift der Gessellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen, Erster Jahrgang 1827’ (1830), appeared in the *Berliner Jahrbücher*, fulfilling his long-term attempt to promote awareness about Czech culture. A year earlier, he writes to Kašpar Šternberk, that the German nation should have a better knowledge about the Czech lands.<sup>89</sup> The well-informed article described the Czech issue and expanded it beyond the Bohemian borders. Perhaps because of these thoughts Goethe found his admirers among writers – revivalists including Ján Kollár, František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852),<sup>90</sup> Josef

<sup>82</sup> Jan Lehár a kol. *Česká literatura od počátku k dnešku* (Praha: Lidové noviny 1998), p. 190.

<sup>83</sup> Published in *Fahrten nach Weimar. Slawische Gäste bei Goethe*, ed. by Rudolf Fischer, Peter Kirchner, Rüdiger Ziemann (Weimar: Arion Verlag, 1958).

<sup>84</sup> The count Kašpar Šternberk became an important pen friend of Goethe’s in the area of the natural sciences, Czech culture, literature and history during the 1820s.

<sup>85</sup> See Václav Nebeský, ‘Královedvorský rukopis’, *Časopis českého Museum* [sic], no. 1, vol. 27 (1853), pp. 159–64.

<sup>86</sup> *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand. Dritter Band* (Stuttgart und Tübingen: Cotta, 1827).

<sup>87</sup> See Goethe’s letter to Zelter in Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues* (Farnham/ Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009), letter no. 301, p. 295.

<sup>88</sup> Urzidil, pp. 294–303.

<sup>89</sup> Jan Pěkný, ‘Goethův román "Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers" v českých překladech. Srovnání překladů Oskara Reindla, Arno Krause, event. dalších’ (unpublished master’s thesis, Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta Praha, 2007), p. 19.

<sup>90</sup> Čelakovský sent his translation of *Výbor z Ohlasu ruských písní* [A selection of Russian songs] to Goethe. In Felix Vodička, ed., *Dějiny české literatury 2* (Pra: ČSAV, 1960), p. 297.

Krasoslav Chmelenský (1800–1839), and Karel Hynek Mácha<sup>91</sup> (1810–1836), some of whom attempted to follow Goethe's literary patterns in their works.<sup>92</sup>

### 1.2.1 Goethe's posthumous reception

On the one hand, Goethe's influence, ubiquitous in the first half of the century in translations, theoretical and philosophical treatises and moreover in Czech literary works, began to lose its predominant importance in the second half of the century.<sup>93</sup> Successors, frequently of German origin, occupied Goethe's position, and his dramas gave way to new plays by others. The following generations and particularly authors focused around the almanac *Máj*, including the writers and literary critics Karel Sabina (1813–1877), Václav Bolemír Nebeský (1818–1882), Karolína Světlá (1830–1899), Jan Neruda (1834–1891) and Vítězslav Hálek (1835–1874), felt the need to defy Goethe critically.<sup>94</sup> This criticism was often related to new philosophical concepts circulating in the 1870s and 1880s. On the other hand, the opposite mood continued to resonate with the poet's work in specific artistic and academic circles. Some representatives sympathised with classical and romantic literature and rejected the new generation after Goethe, while others respected Goethe's literary work but departed from his opinions outside literature (for instance the fascination of Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853–1912) for *Faust*<sup>95</sup> or the repetitive comparison by Otokar Březina (1868–1929) of his work with Goethe's<sup>96</sup> or Masaryk's philosophical thoughts on *Faust*<sup>97</sup> leading to a dismissive attitude towards Goethe).<sup>98</sup> Goethe was omnipresent in high school curriculums as well as at the philosophical and linguistic departments of Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is an entire transformation in comparison to the beginning of the era when Goethe's name rarely appeared – if at all – in school books despite the fact that 'he had been internationally famous and an object of admiration [...] since he burst onto the literary scene in the 1770s. He enjoyed extraordinary literary authority throughout his life and towards its end was increasingly seen as the embodiment of

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<sup>91</sup> See J. Arbes, 'Máchův „Máj“'. *Květy. List pro zábavu a poučení s časovými rozhledy*, no. 8, 8/1886, p. 38.

<sup>92</sup> Vodička, p. 434.

<sup>93</sup> Arne Novák, 'Vrchlický a Goethe', *Goethův sborník*, p. 66.

<sup>94</sup> Vízdalová '„Mladé Německo“ a koncepce novodobého českého románu', pp. 68–73 and Novák, pp. 66–7.

<sup>95</sup> See Novák, pp. 66–97.

<sup>96</sup> Antonín Veselý, 'Otokar Březina ve světle díla Goethova', *Goethův sborník*, pp. 98–115.

<sup>97</sup> See Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, *Moderní člověk a náboženství* (Praha: Městská knihovna v Praze, 2013).

<sup>98</sup> Urzidil, pp. 444–52.

wisdom.’<sup>99</sup> The poet himself had doubts about being the right model for young people, as – according to him – other poets and writers ‘were perhaps more qualified for this role’ including Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769) and Magnus Gottfried Lichtwer (1719–1783).<sup>100</sup> In contrast to Goethe and Schiller, the latter were neglected by history and their texts were rarely set to music.

Goethe’s name gradually increased in academic literature after his death. After the 1850s the Goethe cult in the Bohemian region was represented by figures from the poet’s lifetime, including Jan Evangelista Purkyně (1787–1869) and František Tomáš Bratranek. The latter came out against ‘differentiating between and the pressure of identification from both the Czech and German sides’ as he understood and defined Goethe as a supra-national person.<sup>101</sup> References to Goethe in texts discussing diverse fields of science, literature, history and arts became a matter of course for Czechs. His name appeared in almost every article which considered prose, poetry or theatrical plays. The understanding of Goethe’s thoughts and open recognition of his works proved an endorsement to an emerging nation.<sup>102</sup> In addition to that, his affection towards the Czech nation, its material and spiritual wealth, and his enthusiasm for Slavonic poetry set to music, were quoted countless times<sup>103</sup> (for instance the often-repeated reminder of Goethe’s interest in the supposed medieval Czech manuscripts).<sup>104</sup>

Goethe, along with Shakespeare and Schiller, still belonged to the classical repertoire of Prague’s theatres in the last third of the century and even at its conclusion was presented as a part of ‘the incoming new century, as a symbol of the spiritual magnificence.’<sup>105</sup> An interesting comparison is offered by programmes of the Czech National Theatre and the New German Theatre after the opening of the latter in 1888. While Schiller’s plays occupied the prime position in the German theatre, followed by

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<sup>99</sup> Lesley Sharpe, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), preface, pp. 2–3.

<sup>100</sup> Urzidil, p. 266. See also Novák, p. 67.

<sup>101</sup> Krolop, ‘Goethe a Čechové’, in *Češi a Němci. Dějiny – kultura – politika*, ed. by Walter Koschmal, Marek Nekula, Joachim Rogall Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2002, p. 148

<sup>102</sup> Václav Petrbok, ‘Čechy v Goethovi a Goethe v Čechách’, in Johannes Urzidil, *Goethe in Böhmen. Goethe a Čechy*, ed. by Veronika Dudková, Michaela Jacobsenová, Václav Petrbok (Příbram: Pistorius & Olšanská, 2009), p. 457.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>104</sup> For instance see ‘Zásluhy Slowanů o ewropejskau ciwilisacii’. *Nowiny z oboru literatury umění a věd* (příloha ku Kwětům), no. XXV. (10/12/1840), p. 97.

<sup>105</sup> The dramaturg and director of the New German Theatre, Heinrich Teweles (1856–1927), wrote these words in his prologue to Goethe’s cycle in 1899. In Jitka Ludvová, *Až k hořkému konci. Pražské německé divadlo 1845–1945* (Praha: Institut umění – Divadelní ústav Academia, 2012), p. 121. Besides staging Goethe’s plays in the theatre, Teweles dedicated a few articles to the poet from 1899 up to his death.

Shakespeare and – at a considerable distance – Goethe, the English writer occupied the first position in the Czech theatre, followed by Goethe and Schiller in third place.<sup>106</sup> This proves that Czech-speaking inhabitants appraised Goethe more than the German community did (the same can be claimed about Schiller in retrospect). Goethe felt a distinctive sense of recognition outside German territory already during his lifetime, and perhaps this impression was also behind his many return visits to the Czech lands.

Goethe's visits to Bohemia and his interest in all things Czech played an important role in the establishment of his position and posthumous acceptance in the eyes of the inhabitants. In 1863 Karel Adámek (1840–1918), perhaps the first essayist to consider Goethe's relation with Bohemia, pointed out the necessity of reflecting Goethe in an unbiased way – meaning without a preoccupation towards his German nationality – and highlighted his impact on the Bohemian nation.<sup>107</sup> Subsequently Adámek claims, 'we will prove that we also respect the man whom the German nation adores, whom poets call a God, because if Germans call him the first son of theirs, we can call him the idol of a righteous German'.<sup>108</sup> August Sauer (1855–1926), professor at Charles-Ferdinand University since 1891, lectured on Goethe in almost every semester. Sauer belonged among the cult of the nineteenth-century sympathisers with classical writers and became known as a defender of Goethe. The book *Goethe und Österreich. Briefe mit Erläuterungen* (1902–1904),<sup>109</sup> written by Sauer, was among the first unified works – next to Arnošt Vilém Kraus's *Goethe a Čechy* [Goethe and Bohemia] (1898)<sup>110</sup> – to be related to Goethe and the Czech lands. His student, Johannes Urzidil (1896–1970), proceeded on the basis of Sauer's research and continued to broaden the knowledge about Goethe's relationship to Bohemia up to his death in 1970. His book *Goethe in Böhmen* (in Czech released as *Goethe v Čechách*) was first published in 1932 but extended and edited by the author twice, in 1965 and 1969 respectively.<sup>111</sup> However, not all of Sauer's

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<sup>106</sup> The situation changed in the first decade of the twentieth century. Both German authors were staged less frequently than in the previous period in both institutions. The German theatre offered 8 plays while the Czech staged only *Faust*. Only Shakespeare remained very popular in the National theatre. *Ibid.*, pp. 104 and 252–53.

<sup>107</sup> Adámek, 'Goethe a Čechy'. *Lumír*, no. 13, pp. 302–4, no. 14, pp. 326–9, no. 15, pp. 348–51 (1863).

<sup>108</sup> 'Dokážeme, že dlužno, bychom muže tohoto, ježž národ německý zbožňuje, ježž básníci bohem nazývají, i my ctili, neboť nazývají-li jej Němci prvním synem svým, můžeme my jej nazvati vzorem *spravedlivého Němce*'. In *ibid.*, p. 302.

<sup>109</sup> August Sauer, *Goethe und Österreich. Briefe mit Erläuterungen*, 2 Theilen in 2 Bänden (Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1902–1904).

<sup>110</sup> Arnošt Vilém Kraus, *Goethe a Čechy* (Praha: Bursík a Kohout, 1898).

<sup>111</sup> Johannes Urzidil, 'Goethe in Böhmen'. *Goethe a Čechy*, ed. by Veronika Dudková, Michaela Jacobsenová, Václav Petrbock (Příbram: Pistorius & Olšanská, 2009).

students followed the uncritical worship of Goethe. Köner in his doctoral thesis, following the lead of two romantic writers, namely Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) and his brother August Wilhelm (1767–1845), attempted to show Goethe's face from another, less amiable but perhaps more reliable, perspective. His work was obviously criticised by Sauer for his lack of respect for the classical writer.<sup>112</sup>

Tributes to Goethe were regularly paid in the years of the poet's anniversaries. The first commemoration of what would have been Goethe's hundredth birthday took place in the German house in Prague on 27 August 1849. According to Karl Viktor Hansgirk (1823–1877), numerous artists and people of social importance attended the festive dinner, followed by a lieder concert of Goethe's texts. Among the visitors was the composer Václav Jan Tomášek who, despite his illness and rare departures from his home – he died a few months after the celebration, – came to pay his last tribute to the poet. According to Hansgirk, Tomášek's Goethe settings were also performed, and thus honour that night was bestowed on both: Goethe and Tomášek.<sup>113</sup> The celebration of Goethe in August 1899 in Prague was primarily organised by Czech Germans. The plays *Egmont*, *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Prolog im Himmel* and *Torquato Tasso* were staged to mark the occasion. The daily newspaper *Lidové noviny* published in Brno sharply commented on the fact, hinting at the oppression from the side of Germans which Czech sensed at the time: 'They [...] dare to celebrate the man who stood at the pinnacle of humanity and acknowledged the rights of nations? Really, it would be preferable if we Czechs organised a celebration in memory of this man, appraising those sympathies which [he] demonstrated to our nation and language. It is a mockery of respect when people, who thirst for human blood, celebrate a humanist for his noble principles.'<sup>114</sup> In the Goethe centenary year in 1932, great events to commemorate the poet's legacy were held in numerous places in Czechoslovakia. For instance, the spa towns Mariánské lázně and Teplice unveiled a statue of Goethe while Johannes Urzidil gave a speech.<sup>115</sup> Charles University held an event on 12 March 1932. One of the most popular of Goethe's

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<sup>112</sup> Fialová-Fürstová, p. 82.

<sup>113</sup> Václav Jan Tomášek, *Vlastní životopis Václava Jana Tomáška*, ed. by Zdeněk Němec (Praha: Topičova edice, 1941), pp. 277–78.

<sup>114</sup> Oni, [...] osmělují se slaviti muže, který stál na vrcholu lidskosti a práva národů uznával? Věru, případnějším by bylo, kdybychom my, Češi, na paměť tohoto německého muže slavnost ustrojili, oceňující tak sympatie, jež k národu našemu a jazyku projevil. Je to paskvil na úctu, když lidumila pro jeho vznešené zásady oslavují lidé, žizniví po krvi lidské'. Anon., 'Pražská kronika'. *Lidové noviny*, 7/194 (27/8/1899), p. 2.

<sup>115</sup> The statue in Mariánské lázně was destroyed during World War Two. A new sculpture was erected at the original location in 1993. Similarly, the bust in the chateau garden in Teplice was replaced with a plaque commemorating Goethe's encounter with Beethoven in 1812.

translators into Czech, Otokar Fischer (1883–1938), dedicated his speech *Goethe a Čechové* [Goethe and the Czechs] to the affinity between the poet and the Czech people.<sup>116</sup> The Austrian writer Karl Kraus (1874–1936) read a fragment of Goethe's *Pandora* at the celebrations organised by Kruh moderních filologů [The Circle of Modern Philologists] in Prague.<sup>117</sup> Kurt Krolop aptly describes the events: 'After Goethe's year 1932, which provoked good Europeans such as Karel Čapek, E. R. Curtius, Thomas Mann, Romain Rolland, F. X. Šalda, Albert Schweitzer and Paul Valéry to commemorate the universal legacy of the great cosmopolitan from Weimar, the "Hitler's year" 1933 immediately followed, [...]'.<sup>118</sup> In May 1933, Fischer, in reaction to political happenings in Germany, stepped out with his speech 'Dvojí Německo' [Dual Germany]. Among other things, he reminds us of the '[...] Czech love towards German poetry already during the era of Jungmann and Čelákovský under the auspices of the brightest and the most humane German figures, under the auspices of Herder and Goethe'.<sup>119</sup> A year after the end of World War Two, another Goethe translator, Václav Černý (1905–1987), wrote: 'To thousands of curses, by which the nation cursed itself, the Czech germanist adds his personal curse. Germans made it impossible to read with a clear mind, to translate, to interpret Claudius, Hölderlin, Rilke, Goethe's *Iphigenia*, Goethe's *Pandora*.'<sup>120</sup>

It is obvious that the question of Goethe's association with the Czech region remained highly topical in the first half of the twentieth century. Numerous texts released in the jubilee year informed readers about Goethe's literary genius, his deep interest in organic science and even his occasional excursions into the world of painting.<sup>121</sup> Mirroring the political happenings in the 1930s and 1940s, his persona was viewed

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<sup>116</sup> Gerhard Trapp, 'Johannes Urzidil: Pražský spisovatel kráčejí v Goethových stopách', in *Goethe dnes – Goethe Heute*, ed. by Milan Tvrđík, Alice Stašková (Pavel Mervart 2008), p. 217. Kurt Krolop entitles Fischer's speech as 'Goethe and Čechy' [Goethe and Bohemia] and dates it to 12 March 1932. See Kurt Krolop, 'Goethe a Čechové', in *Češi a Němci. Dějiny – kultura – politika*, ed. by Walter Koschmal, Marek Nekula, Joachim Rogall (Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2002), p. 146.

<sup>117</sup> Krolop, p. 146.

<sup>118</sup> '[...] po Goethově roce 1932, který podnítil dobré Evropany jako Karla Čapka, E. R. Curtia, Thomase Manna, Romaina Rollanda, F. X. Šaldu, Alberta Schweitzera nebo Paula Valéryho, aby ještě jednou připomněli univerzální odkaz velkého světoobčana z Výmaru, bezprotředně následoval "Hitlerův rok" 1933, [...]', Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>119</sup> '[...] stavěla se česká láska k německé poesii, už ode dnů Jungmannových a Čelákovského, pod záštitou německých zjevů nejsvětějších, nejlidštějších, pod záštitu Herderovu a Goethovu', Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>120</sup> 'K tisícovým kletbám, jimiž se proklel národ, přidá český germanista svou kletbu osobní. Němci způsobili, že nelze už s čistou myslí číst, tlumočit, vykládat Claudia, Hölderlina, Rilka, Goethovu *Ifigenii*, Goethovu *Pandoru*', Ibid. p. 151.

<sup>121</sup> A collection of studies, *Goethův sborník*, was released on 22 March 1932. Fifteen volumes of the poet's work was published in the same year followed by a monograph *Goethe in Böhmen* by Johanness Urzidil and was even announced in Prague's Czech periodicals, for instance *Přítomnost*. See Ibid, p. 147.

through the lenses of his philosophy. However, Goethe's interest in music and his contribution to the field remained entirely forgotten.

### 1.3 Goethe's influence on musical culture

#### 1.3.1 The lied seen through Goethe's persona

The conjunction of word and music originated from the desire to match the melodiousness of verses and by doing so to equalize poetry with music, the genre at the pinnacle of art in the nineteenth century. Friedrich Schlegel, the author of the term 'romantic' (1798), formulated the new aesthetic of poetry as an interdisciplinary cooperation with other arts, particularly music.<sup>122</sup> Artur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) wrote: 'Music is not only a tool of poetry, [it] is an art itself [and] even [it] is one of the mightiest arts and therefore [it] reaches its purposes by its own means. Therefore, it does not need the words of a song or the plot of an opera.'<sup>123</sup> Goethe believed that all poetry originates from music and returns to it. In the poem 'An Lina' he even expressed the requirement to always sing the verses never just read them.<sup>124</sup> As he remarked more than once to Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), without music his poetry remained incomplete.<sup>125</sup> Through the Goethe-Zelter correspondence, which lasted more than three decades, we perceive the poet's progressive understanding of the various categories of music including the genre of the lied. The mutual correspondence records Goethe's thoughts about numerous settings of his poems.<sup>126</sup>

Goethe's inclination towards a liaison of music and poetry, which at the same time mirrors the cultural aesthetics at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is represented by the publication of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795), including the musical parts which are sung by Mignon and Harper.<sup>127</sup> Music is also included in other

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<sup>122</sup> Harry Seelig, 'The Literary Context: Goethe as Source and Catalyst', in *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Rufus Hallmark (New York and London: Routledge 2009), p. 3.

<sup>123</sup> 'Hudba není pouhou pomůckou básnictví, je samostatným uměním, ba, je jedním z nejmohutnějších umění, a proto dosahuje svých účelů svými vlastními prostředky. Nemá tedy zapotřebí slov nějaké písně nebo děje nějaké opery'. Arthur Schopenhauer, *Metafysika lásky a hudby* (Olomouc, n. publ., 1995), p. 85.

<sup>124</sup> Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 10.

<sup>125</sup> Hallmark, pp. 4 and 27.

<sup>126</sup> For more information see Lorraine Byrne, 'Goethe and Zelter: An Exchange of Musical Letters', in *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), pp. 41–68.

<sup>127</sup> Seelig, p. 3



works and often has an emotional effect: ‘as a poet and as a playwright Goethe used music as a dramatic vehicle, to communicate the inner thoughts of the character’.<sup>128</sup>

Goethe’s youth is strongly connected with the popular model of literary parodies, texts written to existing and well-known tunes. This new and innovative view of poetry brought Goethe into contact with Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) in Strasbourg in 1770. The older folk collector, writer and ethnomusicologist ‘encouraged Goethe to trust his heart and imagination rather than the arbitrary rules and regulations of the Leipzig academic establishment’.<sup>129</sup> An important example of Goethe’s new poetic approach is symbolised by ‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’ (1774/75), which appears in his novel *Faust*. The fascination lies in Goethe’s ability to describe Gretchen’s state of mind which led Franz Schubert to his ground-breaking setting in 1814, a composition often considered as the birth of the Lied.<sup>130</sup> Goethe, during his long life intentionally formed and influenced many literary genres, and poetry in particular. His impact on literature, lyric and dramatic poetry through the settings of composers had an enormous impact on the development of the lied.

In connection with the Czech lands, Goethe’s views on song were delineated in association with the existing settings of his poetry which were composed and published in Prague. In a brief exchange of letters between the poet and the composer Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850), and through the musician’s diary, we learn of Goethe’s appraisal of some of Tomášek’s Goethe settings. The relationship of the artists will be closely described in chapter three. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to research exhaustively Goethe’s observations of the lied, his insight into the genre is demonstrated in parts dedicated to Tomášek and Goethe.

### **1.3.2 Goethe and composers of the Czech lands: an overview**

Research into settings of Goethe’s poetry by Czech composers reveals limitations in literature considering German art song in the Czech lands. As suggested above, the effort to suppress all Germanic connections stands out strongly in twentieth-century literature, intentionally pushing Czech song to the foreground. Despite this effort, originating from the political and social changes in the twentieth century, the German lied was omnipresent

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<sup>128</sup> Byrne Bodley, pp. 8–9.

<sup>129</sup> Hallmark, pp. 4–5.

<sup>130</sup> See James K. Brown, ‘In the beginning was poetry’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 12 and Hallmark, p. 7.

in everyday musical life in Bohemia throughout the nineteenth century. Each and every song composer descending from and settling in Bohemia set to music German texts and often in a higher number than those in Czech. Furthermore, it was common to set translations and/or print versions in both languages, a phenomenon likewise traceable from the 1870s in the settings of Goethe. On the other hand, due to an increasing awareness of national identity in Europe – and in Bohemia demonstrated as an interest closely connected with the Czech language – the musical attention paid to Goethe’s poetry was not as large as in such surrounding cities as Vienna, Weimar and Berlin, which, like Prague, employed German as its official language. The reasons are clear. Firstly, German in Bohemia was still a language of the political oppressors – an opinion which strengthened after 1848 – Czech language became the central tool when defining intrinsic identity. Secondly, there was public pressure on cultural figures, including composers, to increase Czech production. Even so, Goethe’s poetry remains alive in the works of composers in the nineteenth as well as twentieth centuries.

In wider musical circles, the only Czech composer connected with Goethe’s poetry is Václav Jan Tomášek. More than forty songs were acknowledged in music history books, thanks in particular to the composer’s autobiography in which he described his bond with Goethe.<sup>131</sup> Other composers who measured their musical forces against Goethe’s poetry remain almost completely unknown. Josef Antonín Štěpán (1726–1797) and Jan Emanuel Doležálek (1780–1858) reacted to the fashion for Goethe in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century by setting songs from the novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774) and a popular Singspiel, *Erwin und Elmire* (1775). Goethe’s rising reputation led Pavel Vranický (1736–1808), director of the Vienna Court Theatre, to propose to Goethe a musical setting of the second part of his *Zauberflöte*. Although Goethe appreciated Vranický’s offer, the collaboration was never fulfilled.<sup>132</sup> Ten years earlier, while travelling across Italy (1786–1787), Goethe encountered another composer of Bohemian origin, Vojtěch Jírovec (1763–1850).<sup>133</sup> Like Vranický, Jírovec, who met Goethe in Rome, never set any of the poet’s words to music. Furthermore, Antonín

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<sup>131</sup> See Wenzel Johann Tomaschek: ‘Selbstbiographie’, *Libussa* nos. 4–9 (1845–1850). In Czech translation: Václav Jan Tomášek; *Vlastní životopis Václava Jana Tomáška*, ed. by Zdeněk Němec (Praha: Topičova edice, 1941).

<sup>132</sup> See Otto Biba, ‘Goethe’s Presence in the Vienna Music Scene of His Era’, in *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), p. 39.

<sup>133</sup> Jírovec described his meetings with Goethe in his autobiography, see *Vlastní životopis Vojtěcha Jírovce*, translated by František Bartoš (Praha: Topičova edice, 1940), pp. 32–33 and 40–41.

František Bečvářovský<sup>134</sup> (1754–1823), the former Prague organist who settled in the German kingdom (Braunschweig, Bamberg and finally Berlin), set to music Goethe's 'Nähe des Geliebten' (c1798).<sup>135</sup> The first composers paying tribute to Goethe before Tomášek in Prague were Jan Josef Rösler (1771–1812) and a musical dilettante, Doctor Jan Theobald Held (1770–1851). The Goethe lieder of these composers were published shortly after they were set; however, in terms of quantity the amount was negligible. The same can be claimed about a couple of settings, 'Totentanz'<sup>136</sup> and 'Der König in Thule', by Václav Jindřich Veit (1806–1864), who due to financial difficulties could not be included amongst Tomášek's music students. More successful in this sense was the Czech German musicologist August Wilhelm Ambros (1816–1876). Ambros, who attended Tomášek's classes, set to music the poem 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' (1849). The song of Mignon and the Harper, which remains in autograph, is never mentioned in Czech music literature.

Tomášek's forty-one Goethe lieder [1815] subsequently published in nine books are the only widely known Goethe settings composed by a Bohemian composer. Tomášek returned to Goethe in the 1830s with the settings of 'Tischlied', op. 93 and 'St. Nepomuk', sine op. Three scenes from *Faust*; 'Gretchen am Spinnrade', op. 102 'Scene mit Requiem', op. 103 and 'Gretchen im Kerker', op. 105/1<sup>137</sup> represent Tomášek's last musical treatment of the poet's texts.

The so-called founder of Czech national music, Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884), only set a handful of songs to German poetry in his youth. Settings to texts by Christoph Wieland, Friedrich Rückert and others arose in the 1840s and 1850s, leaving Goethe neglected.<sup>138</sup> The only connection between Smetana and Goethe dates back to 1869, when Smetana stood as a conductor of Czech opera in the Provisional Theatre. Smetana composed music to a tableau vivant of Goethe's poem *Der Fischer*.<sup>139</sup> The music was

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<sup>134</sup> In literature also known as Anton Felix Beczwarzowsky.

<sup>135</sup> Antonín František Bečvářovský, *Gesänge beim Klavier* (Joh. Offenbach am Main: Johann André), [https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com\\_mdictionary&task=record\\_record\\_detail&id=5934](https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&task=record_record_detail&id=5934) [accessed online 24/1/2023].

<sup>136</sup> Alois Hnilička, 'Václav Jindřich Veit', *Světovzor*, 12 1989, vol. 33, no. 8, p. 92.

<sup>137</sup> In Tomášek's catalogue of compositions by Markéta Kabelková introduced as part of *Drei Gesänge*, op. 105.

<sup>138</sup> For instance 'Schmerz der Trennung', 1846 (Ch. M. Wieland); 'Einladung', 1846 (J. G. Jacobi), 'Liebchens Blick', 1846 (B. Breiger), 'Lebewohl', 1846 (W. Melhop) and 'Liebesfrühling', 1853 (F. Rückert). A few choruses to German texts emerged in the same period.

<sup>139</sup> Music to very popular 'living pictures' composed for instance Zdeněk Fibich: *Music to Tableau Vivant for the Reopening of the National Theatre*, Hud. 274 (1883) and *Music to Tableau Vivant in commemoration of 300th birthday of Jan Ámos Komenský*, Hud. 303 (1892).

commissioned by the academy of the Czech aristocracy on behalf of the completion of building works at the St. Vitus cathedral in Prague.<sup>140</sup> The piece was premiered along with another tableau vivant, *Libušín soud* [Libuše's judgment], on 12 and 13 April 1869. The choice of themes was not incidental. Goethe was acknowledged by all Czechs, Czech Germans and Czech Jews, and was universally understood as a prototype of patriotism in terms of belonging to the land. Libuše, the mythological patron of the Czech lands, was recognized by both ethnic groups, Czechs and Czech Germans. From the musical side, *Der Fischer* was motivated by Wagner's *Das Rheingold*. The aspect of the water and unnatural beings – a fascination for the entire romantic movement – mirroring Goethe's poem as well as Wagner's music, became subsequently inspirational for much more important compositions: Smetana's symphonic poem *Vltava* and Dvořák's opera *Rusalka* [Undine].<sup>141</sup> Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904) did not set Goethe's poems to music. In terms of text and music he concentrated his interest on folk and national inspirations rather than on the European fashion closely related with the salon.

Over two dozen Goethe settings by Zdeněk Fibich (1850–1900), which are confined to his student years (1863–1872), are little known. The cosmopolitan composer, who like Bedřich Smetana came from a middle-class German-speaking background, possessed a greater interest in the German lied than did his older counterparts, Smetana and Dvořák. Exclusively German poems were set in his youth, mostly while undertaking musical studies in Leipzig and Mannheim. These two musical centres further prompted Fibich's interest in the song genre which the composer kept during his entire life. Over two dozen compositions to Goethe's texts, including solo songs, duets and music for a drama, emerged in the 1860s and early 1870s.

Zdeněk Fibich's contemporary, Leoš Janáček (1854–1928), treated the field of song in a folkloristic manner. Both Dvořák and Janáček based their vocal styles – each of them in a different way – on attempts to create the national music established by Smetana. Therefore, the German literary influence did not find a response in their work. On the other hand, Czech composers often searched for non-German literary sources as is proven by Smetana's repeated inspirational returns to William Shakespeare's work.

In the late 1880s Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949) tackled Goethe's poetry; however, the destiny of his 'Rybář' [Der Fischer], no. 2 and 'Die Rastlose Liebe' (1886) remains unclear as the scores are lost. Goethe's poetry continued to resonate with composers at

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<sup>140</sup> *Der Fischer* was printed by the Emanuel Starý publishing house in Prague [1923].

<sup>141</sup> See Jan Smaczny, 'Goethe and the Czechs', in *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, pp. 165–67.

the end of the long nineteenth century, namely Otakar Ostrčil (1879–1935) and Bohuslav Martinů (1890–1959). Similarly to Fibich they tackled Goethe’s words in their youth and never returned to this source in their later years. If we omit the social and political situation, the early age of the composers might be another reason why their settings remained unpublished or, in the case of Ostrčil, were published only recently.<sup>142</sup> The response of Josef Bohuslav Foerster (1859–1951) to Goethe’s poetry is the more interesting one. As early as 1887 he published ‘Pastýřova píseň’ [The shepherd’s song]<sup>143</sup> for medium voice, and he returned to the poet over forty years later in the 1930s with Mignon’s song ‘Znáš onu zem?’ [Do you know the land?] and ‘Z poslední scény „Fausta“’ [From the last scene of *Faust*].<sup>144</sup> In the 1890s two Czech settings of Goethe’s ‘Der Fischer’ were released. The setting by Jindřich Káan z Albestů (1852–1926) was published with both the German original poem and the Czech translation by Ladislav Dolanský (1857–1910).<sup>145</sup> The setting of the poem benefits from the imitation of a water current and exploits the experience of the composer-piano virtuoso. The list is completed by the only Czech woman who set Goethe’s words to music. Josefína Brdlíková (1843–1910), the writer and music composer, was inspired for her setting by Goethe’s ‘Der Fischer’ (published in 1894).<sup>146</sup>

**Table 1.1: List of composers who set Goethe’s poetry to music in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries**

No.	Name of composer	Composition	Literary work	Musical genre	Date / opus number
1	Josef Antonín Štěpán (1726–1797)	Das Veilchen		song (aria)	1778
		Lotte auf Werthers Grabe		song	
2	Jan Emanuel Doležálek (1780–1858)	Nähe der Geliebten (sic)	Nähe des Geliebten	song	1810
		An den Mond		song	
		Tischlied		song	
3	Antonín František Bečvářovský (1754–1823)	Nähe des Geliebten		song	c1798
4	Jan Josef Rösler (1771–1812)	Lied des alten Harfners aus	<i>Wilhelm Meisters</i>	song	1803

<sup>142</sup> Otakar Ostrčil, *Písně na texty německých básníků. Songs to German Poems*, ed. by Markéta Kratochvílová (Praha: Academus Edition, 2016).

<sup>143</sup> Bohuslav Foerster, *Pastýřova píseň pro střední hlas s průvodem klavíru na slova J. W. Goethe* [The shepherd’s song for a middle voice and piano accompaniment to the text by J. W. Goethe] (Kutná Hora: Edice „Česká hudba“ [composed 1887]).

<sup>144</sup> Bohuslav Foerster, *Šest zpěvů pro sólový hlas a klavír* [Six songs for solo voice and piano], op. 142a (1932–1940) (Praha: Foerstrova společnost, 1943).

<sup>145</sup> Jindřich Káan z Albestů, *Tři písně s průvodem klavíru, op. 10. Drei Lieder mit Klavierbegleitung, op. 10* (Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek, U. 568, n.d.).

<sup>146</sup> The song was published as a part of Brdlíková’s collection of songs: Josefína Brdlíková, *Písně* [Songs], vol. V (Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek, U. 761, 1894), pp. 8–13.

		Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre	<i>Lehrjahre</i> (Wer sich der Einsamkeit ergibt)		
		An die Entfernte		song	1804
5	Jan Theobald Held (1770–1851)	Nähe des Geliebten		songs	1805
		Der Fischer			
6	Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850)	<i>Gedichte von Goethe</i> (41 settings)		songs for voice and piano songs for two or three voices and piano	opp. 53–59 (c1815–1818) opp. 60–61 (c1815–1818)
		Tischlied von Göthe für Tenor und Chor mit Begleitung des Pianoforte		solo voice w. choir and piano	op. 93 (c1830s)
		St. Nepomuk von Goethe	Der Heilige Nepomuk	mixed choir	sine op. (after 1820)
		Gretchen am Spinnrade aus Goethes Faust mit ganzem Orchesters	<i>Faust</i>	voice and orchestra	op. 102 (1830s–40s)
		Scene mit Requiem aus Goethes Faust mit Begleitung des ganzen Orchesters		voice, choir and orchestra	op. 103 (1830s–40s)
		Gretchen im Kerker von Goethe mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	voice and piano	<i>Drei Gesänge</i> op. 105 (c1838)	
7	Václav Jindřich Veit (1806–1864)	Der Totentanz	Der Totentanz	song for bass and piano	op. 14 (1840)
		Der König in Thule	Der König in Thule	men's choir	op. 37 (1854)
8	August Wilhelm Ambros (1816–1876)	Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt	Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt	song for two voices and piano	1849
9	Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884)	<i>Der Fischer</i>	Der Fischer	tableau vivant	1869
10	Zdeněk Fibich (1850– 1900)	21 settings (in a separate table)			
11	Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949)	Rybář	Der Fischer		nos. 2 and 3 (1886)
		Die Rastlose Liebe			
12	Josef Bohuslav Foerster (1859–1951)	Pastýřova píseň	Schäfers Klagelied	song for the medium range	1887
		Píseň Mignony (Znáš onu zem?)	Kennst du das Land?		op. 142a (1930–1942)
		Z poslední scény Fausta (Pro to místo tříkrát svaté)	<i>Faust</i> (from Part 2, Act 5: Mountain Gorges	song	

13	Jindřich Káan z Albestů (1852–1926)	Rybák	Der Fischer	song	publ. 1890, op. 10, before 1884[?]
		Pěvec	Der Sanger	melodrama	op. 13, before 1889[?]
14	Josefina Brdlíková (1843–1910)	Rybák	Der Fischer	song	published 1894

Goethe's repetitive visits to the Bohemian spas over a period of thirty-eight years indicates an importance of these places for the writer. His interest in the local history, nature, culture and language speaks of the land's favourable position in his eyes. This affection echoes in his work. Goethe's influence, on the other hand, is reflected by various cultural branches of the Czech lands. Scholars, litterateurs and musicians were attracted by Goethe and his work. Many of them attempted to contact the poet with their creations. Long after his death Goethe was repeatedly brought to mind for his strong relationship to the Czech lands, and his interest in Slavic nations was brought up countless times. Goethe's commemorations were always important cultural events despite political and cultural changes in the Czech lands. His legacy strongly resonated among cultural circles of Czech, Czech German and Jewish ethnic inhabitants of the Czech lands. Above all, he stood as a key figure to be dealt with or to be defined against by writers and philosophers. Goethe's work affected various cultural spheres including literature, music and the dramatic arts. Many composers of the Czech lands tackled Goethe's literacy in their works throughout the long century. Prague alone could boast fifteen composers and about one hundred compositions. Czech translations of his plays were staged from the 1820s onwards. Although connections between Goethe and the culture of the Czech lands and composers in particular were focused on the nineteenth century in this chapter, the echoes of Goethe's persona go well beyond this timespan in the artistic narrative of the Czech lands.

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## CHAPTER 2

### SONG: DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

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Poetry occupied an essential position in the everyday life of aristocratic and middle-class society in the nineteenth century, finding its beginning in the mid-eighteenth-century Enlightenment era.<sup>147</sup> Countless song settings usually accompanied by piano, guitar or harp found fame across ‘the old continent’. Thus, the development of the lied in Central Europe in the long nineteenth century is a vast area of research connecting music and literature. The song, having its roots in the eighteenth-century German-speaking environment (Gluck, Haydn, Mozart), continued to flourish with composers such as Reichardt, Zelter, Zumsteeg, Beethoven and of course Schubert at the beginning of the new century. Primarily – but not only – from the literary point of view Goethe holds a crucial position in this interrelation.<sup>148</sup> His literary works influenced generations of composers across Europe and thus had an undeniable impact on the evolution of the art song in both the German-speaking environment and beyond.

Research into the German lied in the Czech lands, meaning songs to German texts written by composers raised or based in Bohemia, is a largely neglected area. A deeper study of the position of song within the environment, unencumbered by outdated national views and tendencies prioritizing songs to Czech texts, is still needed. Apart from research work on the art song, we also lack a comprehensive knowledge of the available song literature as well as platforms including salons and music institutions for their performance in the nineteenth century. A picture of Prague as a city saturated with an unfriendly atmosphere between German and Czech nationalities does not mirror the truth. At least not the full truth. Prague, as a centre of coinhabitant nations – Czech, German and Jewish – creates a more appropriate picture.<sup>149</sup> The national revival started the differentiation of modern Czech and German nationalities in the Czech lands and at the same time created a form of the ‘national utraquistic patriotism’ which resulted in a

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<sup>147</sup> Harry Seelig, ‘The literary context: Goethe as Source and Catalyst’, in *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Rufus Hallmark (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), p. 4.

<sup>148</sup> Hallmark, ed., preface, pp. x–xiv, and Seelig, pp. 1–7.

<sup>149</sup> Another minority group living in the Czech lands was Polish. Jiří Fukač, Ludmila Vrkočová, ‘Polsko’, in *Slovník české hudební kultury*, pp. 708–10.



temporary cooperation establishing the new Czech culture.<sup>150</sup> For instance, the writer Karl Egon Ebert (1801–1882) was born to a German family in Prague. As a writer, he compiled Czech national themes. His *Wlasta: Böhmisches - nationales Heldengedicht in drey Büchern*, 1825/28, was later set to music by his brother-in-law, Václav Jan Tomášek (*Sechs Gesänge aus Carl Egon Eberts böhmisch-nationalem Epos Wlasta mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, 1830). Two of his librettos – *Lidwinna* (1836) and *Der Schild* (1845) – were set to music by other Prague composers: the Jewish pianist Josef Dessauer (1798–1876) and Leopold Eugen Měchura (1804–1870). Also belonging to the city’s German circle were music critics August Wilhelm Ambros and Eduard Hanslick (1825–1904). Both cut their musicological careers in Prague and relocated to Vienna.<sup>151</sup> To move to the capital of the Habsburg Empire, of which the Czech lands were a part, was not at all an unusual step. The city attracted artists from each region of the Empire and as such became a multicultural European crossroad. Thus the musical influence from Germany and of course Vienna often interlaces with the indigenous Czech sources. Besides relocating artists, high numbers of aristocratic families in the Czech lands divided their living between their estates in Bohemia and residences in Vienna. Well educated and often highly cultural, the nobility were central in the reception history of arts and literature, both then and today. Even Goethe’s imprints, found extensively in the Czech lands as in other regions of the Habsburg Empire, are primarily to be traced through connections with numerous aristocratic families.

The expansion of song as a central genre in the Czech lands is explored in relation to two major aspects: the omnipresent German lied, gradually displaced from the music history literature, and the establishment of a new art song to Czech texts as a result of social, political and cultural changes, primarily due to the awakening sense of patriotism. To narrow down the research to a manageable length, Prague, the capital of Bohemia, will be the sole centre of the focus. The objective of this chapter is to present an overview of the song tradition in the Czech lands and to explore how all the above-mentioned aspects influenced the development of the lied in the bilingual environment.

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<sup>150</sup> *Slovník České hudební kultury*, ‘český’ [Czech], ed. by Jiří Fukač, Jiří Vysloužil, Petr Macek (Praha: Editio Supraphon), 1997, p. 134.

<sup>151</sup> While Hanslick resettled in Vienna as early as 1852 and a decade later became the first professor of musicology at the local university, Ambros relocated in 1871. Ambros’s uncle from his mother’s side was the well-known musicologist Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850).

## 2.1 The current reception of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Czech-language art song: a brief overview

The reception of Czech-language art song is such a broad topic that it would fill a separate dissertation. Unfortunately, this area of research has been tackled only partially. This fact once again proves the marginal role of nineteenth-century song in the Czech lands as perceived in a musicological context.

Let us introduce here only some peaks of the broad theme. Jakub Jan Ryba's pastorellas to Czech texts and his very popular Christmas mass *Hej, mistře* are still largely performed. On the other hand, his collections of Czech songs published under their German titles *Zwölf böhmische Lieder* and *Neue böhmische Lieder* are not heard publicly.<sup>152</sup> Once more it needs to be stated that to find a melody naturally suited to the Czech text was a difficult task for a composer of the time. For instance, Ryba's song 'Wětrník' shows trochaic metre, typical for the Czech language with its given accentuation on the first syllable. Ryba fitted the trochaic metre (-U) in a 6/8 bar. Moreover, the composer does not respect the long and short sounds (·) of the syllables.

Pojď, má milá,  
- U - U  
· | · |  
roztomilá,  
- U - U  
· · · |  
pojď sem trošičku;<sup>153</sup>  
- U - U -  
· · · ·

Ryba certainly was not the only composer who found Czech texts challenging. Such errors, difficult to remove and overcome from today's language and performative perspectives, prevent repertoire of this kind being performed. This is the major problem which militates against a good deal of vocal compositions in the early nineteenth century.

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<sup>152</sup> Very rare exceptions were concerts at the Inspirace Theatre in Prague in 2019 (see on youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFol6N3CyQE>) and at the Jakub Jan Ryba festival in 2023 (<https://www.rybufestival.cz/program/>) presenting a selection of Ryba's songs from these collections.

<sup>153</sup> 'Come my dear, lovely, come near here' (translation of my own).

### Example 2.1: Jakub Jan Ryba's 'Wětrník'<sup>154</sup>



If we look at the early nineteenth-century Czech songs reflected in today's repertoire, we recognise only a few pieces. Regularly performed and most well-known is certainly František Škroup's 'Kde domov můj' [Where is my home?], the first strophe of which is the national anthem of the Czech Republic. Alois Jelen's 'Zasviť mi ty slunko zlaté' [Shiny for me, the golden sun] belongs among the repertoire of funeral music. Josef Krov's 'Těšme se blahou nadějí' [Let's look forward to hope in bliss] and Leopold Zvonář's 'Čechy krásné' [Beautiful Bohemia] are two of the very few songs to be aired, if only sporadically. Occasionally, nineteenth-century Czech songs were recorded in the second half of the twentieth century. A selection of songs with a national theme from the first decades of the nineteenth century was recorded in 1969 (and digitally released in 2016).<sup>155</sup> The invasion of the Soviet army in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was one of a few impulses which gave rise to the recording. The Czech-language art song got some public recognition through the *Spirituál kvintet* musical group. The folk band members paid tribute to early nineteenth-century Czech songs with their covers *Saužení lásky* (1980 and digitally released in 2012) and *Čtvero písňj* (1986).<sup>156</sup> Last but not least, a few early nineteenth-century songs were included on a recording entitled *České revoluční písně – Czech Revolutionary Songs*.<sup>157</sup>

Songs to Czech texts composed after the 1860s, in contrary to earlier settings, appear in the repertoire of the day in a larger amount. For instance, a great portion of songs from Dvořák's early cycle *Cypresses* (1865), revised for their errors in the declamation and published as three separate song cycles – *Písně na slova Gustava*

<sup>154</sup> Jakub Jan Ryba, *Zwölf böhmische Lieder* (Prag: Verlag der Herrlichen Buchhandlung, 1800), pp. 20–21.

<sup>155</sup> *České písně vlastenské - dítkám vlastenským obětuje Skiffle Kontra*, Heda Hošková (voice), Praha: Supraphon, 1970.

<sup>156</sup> *Saužení lásky* (Praha: Supraphon, 1980 and 2012). *Čtvero písňj pro geden hlas při kytáře* (Praha: Panton, 1986). The CDs include songs by F. M. Kníže, F. Škroup, J. B. Kittl, J. Ryba and L. Čelakovský.

<sup>157</sup> *České revoluční písně – Czech Revolutionary Songs* (Praha: Supraphon, 1975 and 2013).

*Pflegra-Moravského, Čtyři písně* and *Písně milostné* [Songs to Words by Gustav Pfeleger-Moravský, Four Songs and Love Songs) in the 1880s, have been frequently performed and recorded. The Urtext of these lieder was published by Bärenreiter in Prague in 2017. In 1998 Eva Velická pointed out the neglect of Dvořák's other early songs, in the Czech Republic as well as abroad (e.g. Dvořák's *Písně z Rukopisu královédvorského*, op. 7).<sup>158</sup> Velická also reminded us that to date there is no work which considers Dvořák's complete song production.<sup>159</sup> Since then, Dvořák's lieder were, thanks to Velická, largely issued. Apart from the cycle *Cypresses*, the *Biblical songs*, *Gypsy melodies* and *Songs II* were issued by Bärenreiter in the last ten years.<sup>160</sup> The last volume *Songs I* is due for completion in 2024 or 2025. Some other song collections of composers such as Zdeněk Fibich, Josef Bohuslav Foerster and Vítězslav Novák were recently critically edited and published.<sup>161</sup> A selection of Martinů's early songs, an exception in this case as most of his early settings are still in autograph, was published in 2020 amongst editions of Martinů's early vocal works.<sup>162</sup> The expansion of available scores has provoked the interest of interpreters<sup>163</sup> and music producers, such as the music festival 'Baroko 2023' which decided to introduce a vocal repertoire of largely forgotten nineteenth-century composers.<sup>164</sup> A similar project was presented by the Czech Radio Vltava in the autumn of 2022.<sup>165</sup> Singers in the programme performed, for example, songs by Václav Jindřich Veit (*6 Gesänge*) and

<sup>158</sup> These songs were recorded as part of the CD *Pieśni inspirowane Rekopisem królowódvorskim*, Anna Budzyńska (voice), Tomasz Sośniak (piano) (Lubrza: RecPublica Studios, 2014).

<sup>159</sup> Velická articulated the problem in viewing Dvořák from the perspective of a symphonic composer rather than as a song composer. Eva Velická, 'Antonín Dvořák: *Písně z Rukopisu královédvorského* op. 7', *Referáty z hudebně historického semináře*, ed. by Jarmila Gabrielová (Příbram: XXX. Ročník hudebního festivalu Antonína Dvořáka, 1998), p. 8.

<sup>160</sup> Antonín Dvořák: *Biblical Songs*, op. 99 (BA 10426, BA 10426), *Gypsy Songs*, op. 55 (BA 10431, BA 10432), *Songs II* (BA 11517, BA 11518).

<sup>161</sup> Josef Bohuslav Foerster: *Erotikon. Čtyři písně pro vyšší hlas a klavír*, op. 23 [Erotikon. Four songs for higher voice and piano] (H 7849), Bohuslav Martinů: *Four Songs on Czech Folk Poetry* (H 7809).

<sup>162</sup> Bohuslav Martinů, *Písně pro zpěv s doprovodem klavíru* [Songs for voice and piano], Městské muzeum a galerie Polička and Centrum Bohuslava Martinů, 2020.

<sup>163</sup> The forefront Czech singers such as Pavel Černoch, Adam Plachetka, Kateřina Kněžiková, Roman Janál and Markéta Cukrová perform songs from these new editions. Also see an interview with Markéta Cukrová and Eva Velická in *Harmonie* 12/2022, pp. 26–33. Audio recordings include the following: *Erotikon*, Zdenka Kloubová (voice), Věra Müllerová (piano) (Praha: Supraphon, 1999 and digitally revised in 2021). *Foerster Songs*, Ivan Kusnjer (voice), Marián Lapšanský (piano) (Praha: Supraphon, 2001). *Gypsy melodies/Dvořák, Bendl, Novák, Brahms*, Roman Janál (voice), Karel Košárek (piano) (Praha: Supraphon, 2005). *Songs by Antonín Dvořák*, Adam Plachetka (voice), Gary Matthewman (piano) (Praha: Radioservis, 2016), etc.

<sup>164</sup> Settings to Czech texts by Jan Pavel Martinovský (1808–1873) and Ludvík Dietrich (1803–1858) were performed. See <https://festivalbaroko.cz/> [accessed 20/2/2024].

<sup>165</sup> Český rozhlas Vltava, online: <https://vltava.rozhlas.cz/hlasy-narodniho-divadla-zpivaji-ceske-pisne-dvou-stoleti-8843454>, [accessed 11/1/2024].

Karel Bendl (*Čtvero písní pro bas*).<sup>166</sup> Bendl was a prolific songwriter to Czech texts, and his songs and choirs were composed and published for four decades from the late 1850s onwards. His vocal works, so popular in their day for their melodic invention, are rarely performed.<sup>167</sup> For instance, his song cycle *Cypresses* had to await an in-depth musicological and analytical approach until 2022.<sup>168</sup>

As the paragraphs above show, a certain revival of nineteenth-century (semi-) forgotten songs to Czech texts has begun to appear. The creation and reception of the nineteenth-century art song in the Czech lands seem finally to be a fruitful topic in contemporary musical culture. A different perspective, however, is brought by those songs set to or incorporating Czech translations of German original texts. For instance, if settings of Goethe's poetry appear, they are predominantly presented in their language of origin, as is proven by the scores and CDs of Tomášek's and Fibich's Goethe lieder released in the last decade.<sup>169</sup> There are at least three main reasons for overlooking Czech adaptations, and the famous proverb 'Bohemica non leguntur' characterises this case. Firstly, the archaic language could appear inappropriate or might not be understandable even to the native speakers. Secondly, there is the problem of incorrect accentuation caused by the fact that some of these settings were originally set in their German version and only then provided with the translation. Thirdly, most of these songs also contain the original verses, which are more understandable for a global audience. Goethe's original verses undoubtedly attract wide attention, even outside the Czech-language area, and promise a certain level of poetry which at first sight might be disguised in translations (more on the topic is discussed in the part 'Translations of Goethe's poetry in music').

Rufus Hallmark's opinion, that Goethe held a key position in the cultural environment of central Europe, also proves to be right in the context of the Czech lands in the nineteenth century. Goethe's work provided an important cultural bridge between the Czech and German nationalities across the whole century. He was the right role model

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<sup>166</sup> Selected songs were recorded in 1957 and digitalised in 2015: *Karel Bendl – Ten Duets for Soprano and Contralto (selection)* (Praha: Supraphon, 1957 and 2015).

<sup>167</sup> Vlasta Reitererová, 'Karel Bendl', in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*, online: [https://slovník.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/component/mdictionary/?task=record.record\\_detail&id=7406](https://slovník.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/component/mdictionary/?task=record.record_detail&id=7406) [accessed 3/2/2024].

<sup>168</sup> Kristián Přenosil, 'Karel Bendl a jeho tvorba: analýza písňového cyklu *Cypřiše*' (unpublished bachelor's thesis, Palacký University Olomouc, 2022).

<sup>169</sup> Scores: *Wenzel Johann Tomaschek – Gedichte von Goethe* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003) and *Fibich. Písňě na texty Johanna Wolfganga von Goethe* (Praha: Bärenreiter, 2018). CDs: Václav Jan Tomášek: *Goethe v písních* (Praha: Radioservis, 2014), *Songs by Tomášek* (London: Hyperion, 2014) and *Fibich Goethe Lieder* (Olomouc: Palacký University, 2017).

to follow for both ethnic groups. Czech linguistic adaptations of his poems appeared in the musical renditions of composers whose origins lay in the Czech lands especially from the 1870s onwards.

## 2.2 The variety of the nineteenth-century song in the Czech lands

‘Song is the purest outpouring of our emotions transformed into the easiest form. Dressed in a charming robe, it speaks truthfully to us and finds a response in our heart. Song is our most heartfelt confidante, a comfort to our pain, a sister to our happiness, a genius of love’.<sup>170</sup> With these words Emanuel Meliš opens his *Průvodce v oboru českých tištěných písní pro jeden neb více hlasů od r. 1800–1862* [Guide to the genre of Czech printed songs between 1800 and 1862]. Due to the cohesion of Czech lands with German culture – although Czechs tried to articulate a contrasted position to that of Germany, it could not avoid mirroring developments there – the song occupied an irreplaceable position within the social and cultural life of both the individual and society. With the increasing attractiveness of the piano and the growing popularity of domestic music-making, the lied played an important role within aristocratic and middle-class families. Last but not least, the song represented attributes such as joy, moral values, intimacy and emotionality. With its intimate closeness and the brevity of its form, the song corresponded with the developing *Biedermeier*. In a chaotic world full of change and war the genre provided a shelter and understanding for the inner human, the desire of the human and the human’s relationship to nature, characteristics typical of romanticism. Both poetry and vocal music were dominated by lyrical themes, romances and epic ballades, as well as folk and mythical inspirations.<sup>171</sup>

The process of binding word and music gave a voice to national tendencies, which emanated from the urge to re-establish national life in Europe and as such pervaded the whole nineteenth century. The growth of revolutionary tendencies after the French Revolution likewise found a nutritious soil in the Czech lands. In the region of the Austrian-Habsburg Empire the official language was German. Czech, up to the

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<sup>170</sup> ‘Píseň jest nejčistší výlev našich citů, v nejjednodušší formě podaných. Jsouc půvabným rouchem oděna, mluví k nám řečí pravdivou a najde ohlas v našem srdci. Píseň je naším nejsrdečnějším důvěrníkem, těšitelkou naší bolesti, sestrou našich radostí, géníem lásky, kterýž jen těm ruku podává, jímž jeho hvězda v slastech a strastech svítila.’ in Meliš–Bergmann, *Průvodce v oboru českých tištěných písní pro jeden neb více hlasů od r. 1800–1862*, p. 1.

<sup>171</sup> James Parsons, ‘Introduction: why the Lied?’ and Jane K. Brown, ‘In the beginning was poetry’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 3–32.



beginning of the nineteenth century, survived only in rural areas, where it was spoken mainly by uneducated people. The awakening national tendencies took shape in the renaissance of the Czech language as it was known during the pre-White Mountain period (1526–1620),<sup>172</sup> a time of rich culture and the expansion of Czech literature. The battle of the White Mountain (1620) and three decades of war which followed resulted in the deterioration of the national culture and language. Speaking the same language, the *Golden Age* of German literature significantly influenced the direction taken by the emergence of the contemporary Czech writing. The thoughts of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) of a great future for the Slavonic nation ‘as bearers of a cultural and ethical mission’<sup>173</sup> as expressed particularly in his chapter *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Ideas toward a Philosophy of the History of Mankind], a notion also held by Goethe, awoke enthusiasm and encouraged revivalists,<sup>174</sup> ‘through the work of the early philologists and writers such as Dobrovský and Jungmann, scholars such as Šafařík, poets such as Kollár, and founding historians such as Palacký, to the ‘father’ of the new nation of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš G. Masaryk.’<sup>175</sup> Herder’s above-mentioned work provoked a tendency to look at Slavs through idealistic lens, which above other characteristics expressed Czechs as a musical nation.<sup>176</sup>

The genre of song developed hand in hand with the tendencies to re-establish national identity by way of the mother tongue.<sup>177</sup> By raising the national language, the patriots had an important tool in their hands.<sup>178</sup> The close and conscious connection between the Czech language and music had already begun to appear within society at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Franz Martin Pelzel (1734–1801) in his professorial speech at Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague in 1793 proclaimed the musicality of the Czech language. According to Pelzel the versatility and softness of the

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<sup>172</sup> This was the period before the battle of the White Mountain which started the Thirty Years’ War.

<sup>173</sup> Frederick M. Barnard, ‘Humanism and Titanism: Masaryk and Herder’, in *T. G. Masaryk (1850–1937): vol. 1, Thinker and politician*, ed. by Stanley B. Winters (London: Macmillan, 1990), p. 24.

<sup>174</sup> Jan Klecanda (ed.), *Devatenácté století slovem i obrazem. Dějiny politické a kulturní*, part I., vol. I. (Praha: Josef Jarolím, [1904]), pp. 121–22.

<sup>175</sup> Jan Smaczny, ‘Musical national traditions in Ireland and the Czech lands in the nineteenth century: similar roots, creative divergences’ in *Irish Musical Studies 9: Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, eds. by Michael Murphy, Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Court Press 2007), p. 289.

<sup>176</sup> Smaczny, ‘Musical national traditions in Ireland and the Czech lands in the nineteenth century: similar roots, creative divergences’, p. 290.

<sup>177</sup> The early linguist and writer Josef Jungmann (1773–1847) formulated the idea that the nation is inseparably united with its language. See Tilman Berger, ‘Jazyk a národ’, in *Češi a Němci. Dějiny – kultura – politika*, pp. 131–32.

<sup>178</sup> Macura, *Znamení zrodu*, pp. 543–44 and Otakar Hostinský, *Česká moderní hudba* (Olomouc, n. publ., 1936), pp. 17–18.

vowels predetermine musical hearing, and therefore also musical talent as well as a higher ability to learn a foreign language.<sup>179</sup> A preference for the national language and themes, a logical feature emerging from both cultural needs and the social situation, led to a confrontation with the *great* German literature. The linguistic form of a text was considered as a crucial element. In fact, translations became an integral part of the cultural rebirth, a feature already touched upon in the subchapter entitled ‘Translations of Goethe’s poetry in music’.

Three important factors affected the image of the song genre: (i) Italian music, especially its operatic tradition, which was performed at Prague’s theatres in the first three decades of the century, (ii) the Mozartean cult,<sup>180</sup> (iii) and the folk songs. All factors wind as a red line through the genre. For instance, ‘Ach není tu není’ [Oh, there is nothing that would please me] (1882) by Jan Ludevít Procházka (1837–1888) is an arrangement of a folk song set in a manner of an Italian coloratura aria and was included in a performance of Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville*. The song ‘Kde domov můj’<sup>181</sup> [Where is my home?] by František Škroup (1801–1862), which became the national anthem of Czechoslovakia in 1918,<sup>182</sup> mirrors the Italian cantabile style.

### 2.2.1 To imitate folk songs or take inspiration from foreign models?

‘Our poets first of all imitated foreign ideals and of course again primarily German; [...] Next to translations there soon appeared collections of national songs and their imitations; [...]’<sup>183</sup>

Composers and poets gravitated towards folk songs, one of a few directions which became popular by the end of the 1830s, in order to create Czech vocal music based on a

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<sup>179</sup> Franz Martin Pelzel, *Akademische Antrittsrede über den Nutzen und Wichtigkeit der Böhmischen Sprache* (Praha, n. publ., 1793)

<sup>180</sup> Hector Berlioz, for instance, stated that Prague’s musical environment was described to him in Vienna as a place where new music was often not well accepted and compared with Mozart’s. See Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz – Autobiography of Hector Berlioz*, vol. 2, translated by Rachel (Scott Russel) Holmes and Eleanor Holmes (London: Macmillan and Co., 1884), pp. 213–14.

<sup>181</sup> The song first appeared in the theatrical play *Fidlovačka* (1834) written by Josef Kajetán Tyl (1808–1856).

<sup>182</sup> See Gabriel Gössel, et. al., *Státní hymna České republiky v proměnách doby = The Czech Republic’s national anthem down the ages* (Praha: Úřad vlády České republiky, 2008).

<sup>183</sup> Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, *Česká otázka* (Praha: MKP 2013), p. 14: ‘Báshníci naši napodobili napřed vzory cizí a ovšem zase hlavně německé; [...]. Ku překladům záhy přistoupily sbírky národních písní a jejich napodobování; [...].’



Pan-Slavic mutuality.<sup>184</sup> This tendency, initially slowed by Bach's neo-absolutism, culminated after 1860. The enthusiasm to gather folk songs, commencing with Herder<sup>185</sup> and followed by Goethe towards the end of the eighteenth century and spreading beyond Germany,<sup>186</sup> strongly influenced the folksong collection movement in the Czech lands. František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852), a prolific poet, linguist, translator and editor of collected songs, was influenced in his work by Herder's philosophy and Goethe's poetry. It was Goethe to whom Čelakovský sent selected poems from his *Výbor z ohlasu písní ruských* [A selection of Russian songs] (1829), poems inspired by folk motives, together with the translation of his *Geschwister* in 1830.<sup>187</sup> A response, which would have given a new impulse to Czech writers and in which Čelakovský certainly hoped, never arrived. Attempts to collect folk songs were officially encouraged by the establishment of the Habsburg Empire following the outcome known as the *Guberniální sbírka* [Governorate's collection] (1819). The appeal to assemble the tunes of Czech, Moravian and Silesian folk songs stimulated collecting activities within a wide spectrum of society (scholars, priests, teachers, writers, musicians, etc.) and gave rise to numerous collections.<sup>188</sup> Folk tunes became hugely popular. In one scenario composers provided harmonic accompaniments to simple melodies or arrangements for voice and piano. Variations of folk tunes emerged from this approach (i.e. Bedřich Smetana's 'Sil jsem proso' for piano or Jan Ludevít Procházka's 'Ach není, tu není' for voice and piano). The arrangements appeared with a sustained intensity up to the twentieth century as is proven by the work of Leoš Janáček, Ezechiel Ambros (1861–1915) and Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949), who was devoted to arrangements and instrumentations of folksongs throughout his life.<sup>189</sup> Another line was followed by Antonín Dvořák: '[...] in the instrumental and dramatic music [Dvořák] proves that the folksong is proximate to him (*Slavonic dances*, [*Slavonic*] *rhapsody*, *The cunning peasant*, etc.). Because of his love for [folksong] he

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<sup>184</sup> Marta Ottlová, Milan Pospíšil, 'Idea slovanské hudby'. „*Slavme slavně slávu Slávov slavných*“. *Slovanství a česká kultura 19. století*, ed. by Zdeněk Hojda, Marta Ottlová, Roman Prahel (Praha: Klp, 2006), pp. 172–83. Remarkable are a collection of folk songs entitled *Guberniální sbírka* (1819) and individual projects led by F. L. Čelakovský and K. J. Erben.

<sup>185</sup> Thoughts of a great future for German and Slavonic nations were strongly exposed in his above-mentioned major work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Ideas on the philosophy of the history of mankind].

<sup>186</sup> See Smaczny, 'Goethe and the Czechs', p. 166.

<sup>187</sup> Urzidil, p. 292.

<sup>188</sup> For instance Jan Ritter z Rittersberku (ed.): *České národní písně* [Czech national songs], 1825; František Sušil (ed.): *Moravské národní písně s nápěvy do textu vřaděnými*, 1860 [Moravian national songs with texts included with the tunes].

<sup>189</sup> Jiří Štílec, 'Slovenské spevy Vítězslava Nováka v orchestrální podobě', *Hudební rozhledy* 11/20, pp. Studie, komentáře.

embraces its texts for his art songs, which he sets in the spirit of folksongs.<sup>190</sup> In the mid-1870s, when Dvořák was asked to write a second vocal line and piano accompaniment to selected tunes taken from Sušil's collection *Moravské národní písně s nápěvy do textu vřaděnými* (1860), the composer chose to set the given texts to melodies of his own but with a solid knowledge and understanding of the nuances in the folk tunes (e.g. 'Moravian' modulation a major second lower, usage of church modes or metric alterations). The resulting compositions are known as the *Moravské dvojzpěvy* (opp. 20, 29, 30, 32).<sup>191</sup> Instrumentations of the folk songs are connected with the musician of Polish origin and conductor of the Spa orchestra in Karlovy Vary Josef Labický (1802–1881). He was one of the first to provide instrumentations for a large number of folk songs, mainly adopted from the *Guberniální sbírka*. Performances of Czech songs stylized as dances by the orchestra of Karlovy Vary became highly popular in Prague after its publishing in three volumes in late 1830s. These dances, based on folk tunes, progressed to the later Czech folk ball known as the *Česká beseda*, which became very popular in Prague in the 1860s.

On the other hand, Czech authors were inclined to identify with world literature, and German in particular, although this is partly due to the fact that they sought a much-needed model to follow. '[...] attempts to search for new ways mostly ended with returns to the previous themes [...]; operatic libretto benefited again and again from Shakespeare and Faustian themes were of service as well.'<sup>192</sup> The general claim of Petr Křivský corresponds with the practice in Bohemia. The literature of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) had an immense impact on the formation of art works, supporting revolutionary ideas and establishing avant-garde artistic styles in German and Czech environments throughout the nineteenth century. The Shakespeare celebrations in Prague in 1864 were a starting point. From this moment his work formed an integral part of Czech culture.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> '[...] v hudbě instrumentální i dramatické dokazuje, že je mu blízká lidová píseň (Slovanské tance, rhapsodie, Šelma sedlák aj.). Z lásky kní béře si tedy texty ku svým písním umělým, ale v duchu lidových písní pracovaným.' Emil Axman, 'Dvořákova písňová tvorba', *Dalibor*, vol. 32, nos. 39–40, 22/6/1910, p. 292.

<sup>191</sup> Eva Velická: 'Dvořák, Antonín', in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí* (online: [https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com\\_mdictionary&task=record.record\\_detail&id=1119](https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&task=record.record_detail&id=1119), 18/02/21).

<sup>192</sup> 'pokusy o hledání nových cest končily většinou návratem k předchozím námětům ..., operní libreta znovu a znovu těžila ze Shakespeara a udržovala se i faustovská tematika'. Petr Křivský, 'Věda v životě a kultuře XIX. Století (II.). Umění a společenský život ve století vědy.', *Historický obzor*, VII.–VIII., 1992, p. 212.

<sup>193</sup> Jiří Kopecký, 'Jak se stal Shakespeare „kmotrem“ české hudby', *Opus musicum* 46/2 (2014), pp. 18–33.

In a similar way Johann Wolfgang von Goethe became a supranational and timeless person.<sup>194</sup> Škroup's song 'Kde domov můj?' refers to the popular search for a lost paradise or the longing for an idyllic dreamworld about which Mignon sings in her song 'Kennst du das Land' from the well-known Goethe novel *Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre* (1795/1796). Josef Kajetán Tyl (1808–1856), the author of the verses, translated Goethe's Mignon, and his adaptation opens the poem with the words 'Znáš onen kraj, kde domov můj...' [Do you know the land, where my home...]. From a linguistic perspective, the fact that Goethe's verses stood as an inspiration for a song so popular that it became the national anthem almost a century later is a fascinating curiosity; 'it is surely the greatest success in the popularisation of Goethe outside the German-speaking area',<sup>195</sup> although largely unknown to Czech people themselves. The same motive appeared a decade earlier in Jan Kollár's book of poems *Slávy dcera* [The Slavic daughter] (1824) 'Znáš-li kraj ten, ony ráje věčné' [Do you know the land, those eternal paradises].<sup>196</sup> Thanks to Kollár, Goethe's *Faust*<sup>197</sup> was translated and repeatedly played<sup>198</sup> in Prague's theatres from 1855.<sup>198</sup> The inspiration of Goethe's ballads is apparent in *Kytice z pověstí národních* [A Garland of National Tales] (1853) by Karel Jaromír Erben (1811–1870). The writer, collector of literary folk motives and admirer of Goethe, became one of the first translators of 'Der Erlkönig' into Czech (1864). His translation was even published in the seventh edition of his book of poems *Kytice* under the title 'Kráľ duchů'.<sup>199</sup> Erben's volume of folk-sourced ballads influenced many writers, composers and artists.<sup>200</sup> Antonín Dvořák chose for his cantata a poem entitled 'Svatební košile' [The Spectre's Bride, 1884], which evokes Goethe's 'Der Totentanz'. His symphonic poems 'Vodník' [The Water Goblin] and 'Polednice' [The Noon Witch, 1896] (1896), to poems of the same titles, are analogous to Goethe's 'Der Erlkönig', 'Die wandelnde Glocke' and 'Der Fischer'. Previously, Erben's 'Vodník' was chosen by Zdeněk Fibich for his melodrama of the same name (1883). Goethe's balladic atmosphere goes by way of Erben's poems beyond the

<sup>194</sup> For instance Goethe's celebrations in Prague in 1849 and 1932.

<sup>195</sup> '[...] jde bezpochyby o největší goethovský popularizační úspěch mimo německý jazykový prostor', in Urzidil, *Goethe v Čechách*, pp. 443–44.

<sup>196</sup> Jan Kollár, *Slávy dcera* (Praha, n. publ. 1951), p. 48. See Macura, pp. 283–84.

<sup>197</sup> Goethe's *Faust* was premiered in Prague in 1828. See Pavel Petránek – Jitka Ludvová, 'Historický repertoár Stavovského divadla 16. 7. 1815 – 31. 12. 1826' online in [http://encyklopedie.idu.cz/index.php/Historick%C3%BD\\_reperto%C3%A1r\\_Stavovsk%C3%A9ho\\_divadla\\_16.7.1815\\_%E2%80%93\\_31.12.1826](http://encyklopedie.idu.cz/index.php/Historick%C3%BD_reperto%C3%A1r_Stavovsk%C3%A9ho_divadla_16.7.1815_%E2%80%93_31.12.1826) [accessed 23/2/2021].

<sup>198</sup> Jaroslav Kvapil, 'Faust v Praze', in *Goethův sborník*, p. 362.

<sup>199</sup> Karel Jaromír Erben, *Kytice z básní Karla Jaromíra Erbena*, 7th edition (Praha: Alois Hynek, 1893), pp. 156–57.

<sup>200</sup> Urzidil, p. 448.

nineteenth century. In 1912, in the footsteps of Dvořák, Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949) likewise composed the cantata ‘Svatební košile’.<sup>201</sup>

### 2.2.2 The linguistic dualism in vocal music

This omnipresent linguistic and cultural ambiguity echoes in the self-presentation of scholars. Ethnic Czech academics and writers published their works in German to ensure a wider understanding and a broader reception. Within more extended society they usually introduced themselves in the German version of their names, but within their own circles the core message was to define themselves patriotically, and thus these, especially the literati, chose new forenames referring to Czech history or names derived from geographical destinations expressing their belonging to Bohemia.<sup>202</sup> To confuse the whole situation even more, aristocrats – prevalently of German origin – upheld the so-called patriotism by land, which stood for the autonomy of a Czech noble status under the supremacy of the monarchy. However, these patriots equally absorbed both the local tradition and German culture and literature. They were interested in the national history and in the Czech language, but they wrote in German.<sup>203</sup> Love for Czech mythology was evident also in the works of Czech German writers including Karl Egon Ebert and Carl Georg Herloszsohn (1802–1849).<sup>204</sup> Consequently, readers outside Bohemia would not be able to distinguish between ethnic Czechs and Germans living in ‘Böhmen’.<sup>205</sup> Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785–1858) wrote: ‘Because Czech authors cannot be other than Germans in thought, description and poetic forms, especially if they follow old ideals, then German poets in Bohemia are truly Czech authors due to their more fundamental inclination and constant returns to the old national topics’.<sup>206</sup>

Like the writers, the majority of nineteenth-century Bohemian-born composers followed both directions and set to music German and Czech texts. Firstly, both ethnic

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<sup>201</sup> Imitations of foreign models understandably appeared in opera as well. The literary works of poets such as Herder, Höltz, Heine and Goethe were largely copied or set in translations throughout the whole century. The lack of linguistic knowledge naturally obliged the local writers to even follow German grammar, a fact apparent in librettos to early Czech operas from the 1820s onwards.

<sup>202</sup> For instance, the Czech female writer Božena Němcová chose her name according to the myth about the prince Oldřich and his wife Božena.

<sup>203</sup> Berger, ‘Jazyk a národ’, p. 134.

<sup>204</sup> Lorenzová, Helena, ‘Český biedermeier a náhrobní poezie’, in *Hra na krásný život* (Praha: KLP a Ústav dějin umění AV ČR, 2005), p. 187.

<sup>205</sup> Urzidil, p. 281.

<sup>206</sup> ‘Neboť nemohou-li čeští autoři, zvláště pokud následují staré vzory, jinak než být i v dnešní podobě uvažováním, vyjadřováním a básnickými formami Němci, pak jsou zas němečtí básníci v Čechách zásadnějším sklonem a neustálými návraty k starým národním látkám autory vpravdě českými.’ In Urzidil, p. 281.

populations lived alongside one another and with a tolerance for one another (although some tension was present and strengthened after 1848) with a strong cultural influence from Austria and the German state.<sup>207</sup> Secondly, at the time no-one would even consider the possibility that the Czech language and even the Czech nation might become independent one day. And thirdly there is a cultural *utraquism*: some composers were raised with a German-speaking background and thus still spoke Czech as their second language in the second half of the century (e.g. the German-educated Smetana, who gradually strengthened his knowledge of Czech grammar in his adulthood, or Fibich, whose early schooling was in Vienna and whose mother was of Viennese origin). After all, the characteristics of the Czech language and its melodic and rhythmical values were obscured by the poor vocabulary and unclear grammar of the first revivalists. This fact is demonstrated, for instance, by the case of Alois Jelen (1801–1857). The early singer and prolific composer of popular *liedertafel* to Czech texts (around 1822) is today only known for one setting, a song called ‘Zasvit’ mi ty slunko zlaté’ [Shine for me, you golden sun], which is nowadays performed exclusively only at funerals.<sup>208</sup> The problem, still present in the 1860s even among Czech native speakers, was affected by following German models and thus accentuating inappropriate upbeat patterns (e.g. Dvořák’s early song cycle *Cypresses*, 1865).<sup>209</sup>

The production of songs in the first half of the century shows a predominance of German texts. For instance, Tomášek’s pupil, Jan Bedřich Kittl, produced over fifty German *lieder* which were published in Vienna, Leipzig and Prague during the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>210</sup> His peer, Václav Jindřich Veit, set to music over six dozen texts by Heine, Goethe, Mörike and others. The same poets inspired Leopold Měchura (1804–1870) for his settings. Songs by composers such as Vincenc Mašek (1755–1831) and Tomášek’s companion Jan August Vitásek (1770–1839) remain largely unknown while hidden in archives. In general, the musicians of this period composed a much smaller amount of

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<sup>207</sup> Two main branches shaped the Prague musical scene: the new romantic ways represented by Wagner and followed by composers such as Škroup and young Smetana, and the late eighteenth-century legacy represented by Weber, Vitásek and Tomášek.

<sup>208</sup> Klára Kolofíková, ‘Alois Jelen’, *Český hudební slovník online* [https://slovník.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/component/mdictionary/?task=record.record\\_detail&id=5476](https://slovník.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/component/mdictionary/?task=record.record_detail&id=5476) [accessed 2/8/2023].

<sup>209</sup> Jan Smaczny, ‘Musical national traditions in Ireland and the Czech lands in the nineteenth century: similar roots, creative divergences’, p. 286.

<sup>210</sup> Radek Poláček, ‘Jan Bedřich Kittl’, in *Český hudební slovník*, [https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com\\_mdictionary&task=record.record\\_detail&id=1107](https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&task=record.record_detail&id=1107) [accessed 14/2/2023].

Czech songs than German.<sup>211</sup> Because of this fact, a large community of Bohemian immigrants was subjected to ongoing criticism for overlooking national songs in their production.<sup>212</sup> Unsurprisingly, composers who left Bohemia did not feel the urge to compose to Czech texts, in contrast to those who stayed in Prague. And perhaps even if they did, the musical market outside Bohemia would not have shown much interest in songs in an unknown language. Such settings would only be valid for a limited market formed by incomers from the Czech lands. Both groups of musicians wanted to publish and be performed, and thus the interest of musical amateurs and purchasers predetermined the textual choice of vocal music. An exception among Czech immigrants in Vienna was the already-mentioned Jan Emanuel Doležálek with his *Czeské pjesne v hudbu uvedené pro zpěv a klavír* (Vienna 1812). In the literature on Czech music history Doležálek represents a great supporter of Czech music in Bohemia and Vienna. One-sided Czech musical-historical sources fail to inform us about his songs to German texts, namely those by Goethe and Schiller<sup>213</sup> which remain entirely omitted from the narrative up to now.<sup>214</sup>

The linguistic plurality was overshadowed in the literature on music history at the expense of promoting Czech song. However, the common practice was to publish song books in both languages up to the twentieth century. For instance, the first printed Czech songs, composed by Jakub Jan Ryba, were published under the German title *Zwölf böhemische Lieder in Musik Gesetzt* (1800).<sup>215</sup> On the other hand, Tomášek's *Šestero písní pro jeden hlas při forte pianu*, op. 50 (1814) [Six songs for voice and piano accompaniment] placed Czech as the primary language, which confirms the dedication to 'all patriots of my country',<sup>216</sup> but the German translation follows to ensure production sales of the music.

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211 For instance compare settings by Jan Václav Hugo Voříšek, Ján Jozef Rösler and František Max Kníže. Settings in the Czech language gained a predominant position after 1860.

212 At the end of the eighteenth century many musicians departed from Bohemia primarily due to subsistence reasons. The main emigration centres were Germany, Italy and France. A number of musicians also relocated to the capital of the Habsburg Empire, Vienna.

213 Jan Emanuel Doležálek, *Sechs Lieder von Schiller und Göthe mit Begleitung un Piano-forte in Musik Gesetzt* (Wien, n. publ., 1810).

214 See A. Rybička, 'Jan Emanuel Doležálek', *Lumír* 1858, pp. 663–65; Karel Hůlka 'O starší české písní', *Dalibor* 1906, p. 259; A. Hnilička, 'Beethovenův přítel – Jan. Em. Doležálek', *Zvon*, 1910, pp. 673–75.

215 Jakub Jan Ryba's collection was published at Herrl's publishing house (1793–1818) in Prague. Authors of the texts or translations from German originals were poets from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, i.e. Šebestián Hněvkovský, Vojtěch Nejedlý, Antonín Puchmajer and Josef Rautenkranc.

216 'neodrodilým ginochům Wlasti swé obětowaných'.

### 2.2.3 Translations of Goethe's poetry in music

The phenomenon of translations, typical of the bilingual area of the Czech lands, was already touched on in previous passages. Translations in general were seen as a necessary product which helped to broaden the limited field of Czech literature. The increase in translations of German literature became a constituent part of a newly-created subculture established within the dominant culture. The linguistic conversion also became a popular aspect from the perspective of the 'great' German literature which was assumed to be the key model to follow.<sup>217</sup> On the basis of German examples, Czech litterateurs were encouraged to translate: 'The glory of great writers is based mainly on translations [...] yes even the heroes of German literature, Goethe and Schiller, were not ashamed to translate. [...] The greatest literary fame is based on exquisite original writings; after that nothing is more creditable than an excellent publication perfectly translated'.<sup>218</sup> However, it has to be admitted that the early translators often incorporated their own thoughts into the original texts or omitted selected passages without any comment.<sup>219</sup> Translations had one more important role: to promote the quality of the Czech language (as an integral part of Slavic culture) on the basis of a renowned poet's work. A loosely conceived Czech adaptation (the translation is twisted by the translator, a fact not apparent from the text, to the benefit of the translator's opinions) enables the translator to positively use the authority of the author for his/her intention (for instance Jungmann's adaptation of Herder's thoughts on Slavic nations).<sup>220</sup> Paradoxically, translations in the first three decades of the nineteenth century did not appear in order to broaden the circle of readers as is typical of today's linguistic adaptations. In fact, the catchment area was much smaller when one considers that readers understood more German than Czech. From today's perspective this apparent problem was solved by translating large dramatic works and novels which began to appear from the 1820s onwards in order to be staged. Simeon Karel Macháček (1799–1846) adapted *Iphigenie* into Czech in 1822 and was soon followed by the rendering of Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852) of Goethe's *Geschwister* in Czech entitled *Márinka* (1827) according to a character from the play. Both translators of Goethe's literature sent their linguistic alterations to the author himself, and neither

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<sup>217</sup> Lehár a kol., *Česká literatura od počátku k dnešku*, p. 154.

<sup>218</sup> 'Sláva mnohých velkých spisovatelů zakládá se hlavně na překladech [...] ano i héroové německé literatury Goethe a Schiller, nestyděli se překládati. [...] Největší sláva literární zakládá se na výtečných spisech původních; po té však není nic záslužnějšího, než výborný spis výborně přeložiti.' by Z. [?] 'Úvaha'. *Lumír*, no. 17 (27/4/1854), p. 405.

<sup>219</sup> Macura, pp. 68–89.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 81–2.

ever received a reply.<sup>221</sup> Josef Jiří Kolár (1812–1896) translated *Götz von Berlichingen* (1856),<sup>222</sup> *Faust* (1855)<sup>223</sup> and *Egmont* (1858) to be performed in the Provisional Theatre in Prague for the first time in the Czech language. Goethe's drama *Faust* became the first play translated from German to be acted in the National Theatre in 1885, only the second year after its opening. Selected scenes were, however, performed in Prague in the original language as early as 1838.<sup>224</sup> From 1855 up to the mid-1880s *Faust* was reprised twenty times in Prague, finding its audience likewise in other Bohemian cities.<sup>225</sup> The translations themselves conceal a respect towards the poet and a strong effort to follow his philosophy. Arne Novák claimed that in Goethe the small and newly-established nations found an ideal promoting variability and individualism which, on the basis of humanity, unites Europe.<sup>226</sup> Thus translations – often received as a part of the indigenous culture – became an important element on the way to forming a new Czech literature and culture as such. Besides, Czech adaptations frequently personified the main characters with the personas known from national history.<sup>227</sup> For instance in Carl-Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz* the main figure is Liborín instead of Max, and in Alexandre Dumas's *Les Trois Mousquetaires* it was stated that D'Artagnan used a gun as the Hussite warrior Jan Žižka z Trocnova did.

Translations of individual poems appeared in the same intensity as dramatic works and found a musical response among composers. Václav J. Tomášek set to music a rendering of *Mignons Sehnsucht* 'Kennst du das Land' in Czech entitled *Mignonina tužba* 'Znáš onu vlast, citrony tam zrají', translated by Simeon K. Macháček.<sup>228</sup> The Czech version was published in *Zpěvy České* in 1825.<sup>229</sup> A few years earlier Tomášek released the song in its original German text as a part of his *Gedichte von Goethe*. To issue only the translated version – thus without its original – seems, in the case of Goethe, to appear rarely in the first half of the century. To the present day there is only one more known case which dates back to the 1820s. Jan E. Doležálek published the song 'Taužení'

<sup>221</sup> Otokar Fischer, 'Mladý Čelakovský a Goethe', *Goethův sborník*, pp. 32–60.

<sup>222</sup> See the notice for the play in *Lumír*, no. 48 (27/11/1856), p. 50.

<sup>223</sup> See the notice for the play in *Příloha k Lumíru*, no. 83 (13/11/1855), p. 329; *Lumír*, no. 49 (4/12/1856), p. 74 and review in *Lumír*, no. 45 (22/11/1855), pp. 79–80.

<sup>224</sup> Krolop, p. 147.

<sup>225</sup> Jaroslav Kvapil, 'Faust v Praze', *Goethův sborník*, p. 362.

<sup>226</sup> Novák, p. 97.

<sup>227</sup> Macura, pp. 68–89.

<sup>228</sup> An overview of Goethe's works translated into Czech is offered by Arnošt Kraus in his *Goethe v Čechách*, pp. 197–204.

<sup>229</sup> Meliš – Bergmann, *Průvodce v oboru tištěných písní*, p. 104.



[Longing] without stating the name of the poet or a translator.<sup>230</sup> A comparison of both textual versions proved Goethe's poem *Wandrer's Nachtlied* 'Ich denke dein' to be the model. However, the lack of the need to publicise the original author of a song text – a feature not at all unusual at that time but nowadays considered a breach of the translator's code of ethics – makes it difficult to trace the literary origin today. Such interpretations were commonly signed by their translators, leaving the names of the authors aside.<sup>231</sup> A similar custom appearing within the realm of poetry complicates the search for authors of song texts.

**Figure 2.1: An excerpt of Doležálek's 'Ich denke dein' published in its Czech adaptation entitled 'Taužení' in *Dobroslav* journal**



The growing ability to communicate in Czech within upper-class society and the changing position of the Czech community itself caused translations to appear in higher numbers in the late nineteenth century. For instance, a translation of Schubert's song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* (in Czech entitled *Spanilá mlynářka*) was published in parts in the journal *Hudební listy* in 1873 and in response to a song recital by Vojtěch Šebesta (1842–

<sup>230</sup> Published in *Dobroslav* (1821), part II., volume IV.

<sup>231</sup> Macura, p. 69.

1880) early that year.<sup>232</sup> Zdeněk Fibich widely published his songs in both languages (e.g. *Patero písní* – Five songs, publ. 1872, *Jarní paprsky* – Spring rays, publ. 1893) in accordance with the times. By including Czech texts in the compositions, Fibich meets the contemporary and omnipresent insistence of what was understood as Czech music. Thus he ensures a broad circulation, performance and reviews of his settings and in the first place secures their publication. The era of the 1870s was specific for its fight for Czech music, while the 1890s witnessed the self-confident demonstration of its power. In the case of songs to Goethe's texts, Fibich set to music the original German poems as is proven by the autograph (1871), including this single-language version.<sup>233</sup> The Czech alterations were later added to the unpublished transcription of selected songs, perhaps for the purpose of performances.<sup>234</sup> Josefina Brdliková's 'Rybák' [The Fisherman] and Josef B. Foerster's 'Pastýřova píseň' [Shepherd's Lament] were, unlike Fibich's settings, released merely in Czech versions in the 1880s and 1890s. However, in the case of Brdliková, the simplicity and average value of the song speak for the publisher's intention to release the setting only within the limited Czech market rather than as evidence of a Czech music which was growing in confidence.<sup>235</sup> Both music editions declare Goethe's authorship. This is an important shift in comparison to the early translated settings which entirely omitted Goethe's influence. However, the authors of translations often remain unknown, a fact which is also exemplified by these publications. On the one hand, Goethe belonged among abundantly translated writers. On the other, the bilingualism and low requirements of translations caused a great expansion of a wide range of interpretations. In the case of Fibich's songs as written in the transcriptions, the authorship could be attributed to his wife Betty Fibichová (1846–1901), the popular performer of his vocal compositions. Only two compositions published by Fibich admit to translations: 'Kennst du das Land' adopted a rendition by Ladislav Quis (1846–1913), and the duet 'O Tobě sním' [I think of you] accepted an interpretation by Josef Srb (1836–1904). Brdliková was also known as a translator, and therefore her 'Rybák' might well be a Czech

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<sup>232</sup> *Hudební listy*, vol. 4 (1873).

<sup>233</sup> The autograph is placed in the Czech Museum of Music in Prague, sig. S 80/433.

<sup>234</sup> The unpublished transcriptions are based at the Fibich family archive in Prague.

<sup>235</sup> Firstly, Foerster published his song at Edice „Česká hudba“ v Kutné Hoře, which initiated its activity in 1895. Secondly, Fibich's *Jarní paprsky* and Brdliková's 'Rybák' were both released by Urbánek's publishing house. However, Fibich's front page includes both language versions and presents Urbánek as a publisher from Prague, but Brdliková's cover identifies Urbánek already as the first Czech music seller to earmark Czech composers.

adaptation of her own. Jindřich Káan's published song 'Rybák' (publ. 1890) discloses translation by Ladislav Dolanský next to the German original.

Worth mentioning is Bohuslav Martinů's song to Czech verses 'Ty, jenž sídlíš v nebesích' [You who come from heaven, 1915], textually corresponding with the first Goethe poem *Wandrer's Nachtlied* 'Der du von dem Himmel bist', which is the only one of four songs appearing in the translated version. A possible explanation is that Martinů found in the poem an inward response to the actual political happenings which inevitably resonated personally with the composer as well as his surroundings. At the same time the choice of language became a form of revolt against the oppressing nations.

#### **2.2.4 The national mythology: A vital impulse for the flourishing of the song genre**

According to George S. Williamson 'an increasing number of scholars and writers insisted on a mythology that would be unmistakably "national"'.<sup>236</sup> Song sets based on historical legends belonged among the most popular in the Czech territory, for instance Tomášek's *Sechs Gesänge aus C. E. Eberts böhmisch-nationalem Epos Wlasta*, op. 74 (1830) or the ballad 'Břetislav' (1819) by František Max Kníže (1784–1840).<sup>237</sup> Ebert's text foreshadowed the German language in Tomášek's setting, while Kníže's ballad was set to a Czech text by Josef Hukal (1794–1867). Both pieces illustrate the linguistic utraquism mentioned earlier. Historical themes also became a requirement for the first Czech operas: *Oldřich a Božena* (1828) [Oldřich and Božena] and *Libuše's sňatek* (1835) [Libuše's marriage]. Songs from singspiels were widely distributed by printing in *Věvec ze zpěvů vlasteneckých*.

A significant inspiration for musical treatment was the *Královédvorský* and *Zelenohorský rukopis*, the purported medieval manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and Green Mountain which turned out to be falsifications most probably created by Václav Hanka. By the time that the falsehood was exposed, both collections had frequently been set to music in Bohemia and beyond.<sup>238</sup> Firstly, these Czech texts proved a rarity, especially at a time when there was a dearth of Czech texts. Secondly, the manuscripts demonstrated the excellency of the Czech language, largely disseminated abroad in form of translations.

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<sup>236</sup> George S. Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany: Religion and Aesthetic Culture from Romanticism to Nietzsche* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 73. Quoted from Anja Bunzel, 'Johanna Kinkel's Lieder Compositions as a Socio-Political and Cultural Mirror of Her Time: A Reflective Interpretation' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Maynooth University Ireland, 2017), p. 84.

<sup>237</sup> Published in František Max Kníže, *Patěro českých písní pro jeden hlas*, vol. 2 (Praha, n. publ., 1819).

<sup>238</sup> For example by Polish composers such as Vatroslav Lisinski and Wladyslaw Zelenski.

And thirdly, the text provided the best platform for composers to demonstrate their affiliation to the nation. Tomášek's collection *Starožitné písně na slova Rukopisu královédvorského* [Antique songs to texts of the Dvůr Králové Manuscript], op. 82 (1825) is one of the early settings; however, the popularity of the texts reached a boom in the 1870s as a result of a strengthening pressure on composers to prove their ability to create Slavic or rather Czech music. At the same time, the best authors were aware of the need to go beyond mere imitations of folk songs and dances in their compositions. Among those settings which emerged were Fibich's *Písně z Rukopisu královédvorského* [Songs from the Dvůr Králové Manuscript], Hud. 155 (1871), Dvořák's *Písně na slova z Rukopisu královédvorského* [Songs to texts of the Dvůr Králové Manuscript], op. 7 (1873) and *Šest písní z Rukopisu královédvorského* [Six songs to texts of the Dvůr Králové Manuscript] (1875) by Karel Bendl (1838–1897). The legend about the princess Libuše as it appeared in the *Green Mountain Manuscript* and likewise known from the chronicle of Kosmas<sup>239</sup> became an inspiration for Smetana's opera *Libuše*. The document stood as a model for Zdeněk Fibich's symphonic poem *Záboj, Slavoj a Luděk* [Zaboj, Slavoj and Luděk] (1873), followed by settings of all six lyrical poems (1875, 1877).

The popular Czech revival songs were unbalanced in quality for numerous reasons. The early attempts were due to a rise in music dilettantism followed by the lack of suitable Czech texts and thus too often reflecting only national tendencies.<sup>240</sup> In many cases, the early lyrics revealed evidence of poor Czech vocabulary and grammar. Furthermore, discussions over the prosodic system crystallised into two camps. Linguists such as Antonín J. Puchmajer (1769–1820) and Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) fostered accentuation, while the circle around Josef Jungmann (1773–1847) and Pavel J. Šafařík (1795–1861) defended 'časomíra' (a regular alternation of long and short syllables) popularised by Kollár's *Slávy dcera*.<sup>241</sup>

Although the natural accentuation was criticised for being too primitive, 'časomíra' was subsequently rejected for its unnaturalness. The ephemeral nature of themes and prosody are the main reasons for the repertoire and composers being overlooked today (i.e. song writers around *Věvec ze zpěvů vlasteneckých* or operas including *Dráteník, Oldřich a Božena* and *Libušin snátek*). Contrary to the rising

<sup>239</sup> *Chronica Boemorum* from the early twelfth century.

<sup>240</sup> Petr Vít, 'Doba národního probuzení (1810–1860)', in *Hudba v českých dějinách: od středověku do nové doby*, ed. by Jaromír Černý, 2nd edn. (Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1989), pp. 326–27.

<sup>241</sup> Ivan Poledňák, 'Hudba v Českých zemích/Česká hudba', in *Dějiny hudby V. Hudba 19. století*, ed. by Nad'a Hřečková (Praha: Ikar, 2011), p. 417.

popularity of folk tunes, art song did not reach such artistic values in the Czech lands as the lied did in German-speaking areas, where it was represented and cultivated by Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832) as well as Franz Schubert (1797–1828) and later Robert Schumann (1810–1856). Bohemian culture, always focusing on Czech themes, could not relate to a non-existing continual development of the song genre. The lack of good-quality Czech literary works did not help the expansion, and thus the early settings remain lost in musical history.

### 2.2.5 The dissemination of the (Czech) song

In an age where patronage played an important role, musical inscriptions had an impact on the expansion of songs. These musical gifts, attuned to the playing and singing skills of amateurs, were often dedicated to dilettantes from aristocratic and middle-class circles, the patrons and lovers of music who protected its publication (e.g. Tomášek's above-mentioned *Starožitné písně* were devoted to Count von Thun-Hohenstein). Dedications on the highly ornamented initial pages were written with the intention to address the maximum possible audience and as such to be sold and performed widely. For this very reason females were often receivers of music dedications. Tomášek's production *Šest písní v hudbu uvedených*, op. 48 [Six songs set to music] was addressed to the Countesses Augusta and Kristiana ze Šternberku. Kittl dedicated songs from his *Sechs Lieder*, op. 3 to Countess Elise Schlick, a well-known supporter of musicians, and to the countesses von Thun-Hohenstein. Women were the key figures in carrying and nurturing the cultural life within their families and beyond. Their most important role was to bring up children, and as such they had an essential impact on the following generations. Furthermore, the desire for education in the humanities and beyond, accompanied by the increasing emancipation of women, was another strong point encouraging women to disseminate songs. This fact did not escape Czech patriots, who appealed to women to introduce and cherish Czech culture by way of the literary and musical arts in their households and salons.<sup>242</sup> Women were to find musical impulse in *Věnec ze zpěvů vlasteneckých, uvitý a obětovaný dívkám vlastenským* [A garland of national songs wreathed and dedicated to patriotic girls], the first journal, established in 1835, to release songs on a periodical basis. The songs incorporated educational and patriotic tendencies, for instance 'Otčina'

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<sup>242</sup> The writer Božena Němcová encouraged her female compatriots with the poem 'Ženám českým' [To Czech women] in *Květy* 10/1843, no. 27, p. 105.

[Father's land] and 'Píseň Čecha' [The song of the Czech man] to texts by J. K. Chmelenský and F. J. Kamenický, as well as all kinds of social themes including love and nature. Over a hundred and fifty songs by various composers were published monthly in this collection. The journal aimed to publicise Czech songs among young girls in accordance with the actual title. Women were natural intermediators and distributors of such songs to future generations as well as to their social circles. However, the lack of public interest, and therefore the absence of financial resources, stopped the activity of the journal as early as 1839. Despite its renewal in 1843 by František Škroup its circulation ceased for good only a year later. Next to the *Wreath*, there was an increasing number of Czech periodicals such as *Hlasatel*, *Česká včela*, *Květy*, *Lumír* and *Dobroslav* which included news about music. Some periodicals even enclosed scores so as to inform readers about the current repertoire in music and at the same time to ensure the better production of the newspapers. The students' society *Slavia* partly followed the intention of the *Garland* with publications of Slavonic songs of Polish, Croatian and of course Czech origins in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>243</sup>

The lack of interest in Czech songs is still repeatedly bemoaned in the pro-national oriented press such as *Dalibor* and *Hudební listy* in the 1860s and 1870s. Authors of concert programmes are criticised for the lack of Slavic and particularly Czech repertoire at their musical events.<sup>244</sup> In 1863 Emanuel Meliš wrote: 'How often we find translations – sometimes even of little songs by Kücken, Proch, Gumbert – instead of Czech songs in the programmes of musical institutions [...]'<sup>245</sup> A rejection of German influence intensifies to unprecedented dimensions: 'I would rather read criticism about the unmelodic verses of a Slavic poet in which the role of Slavic music set to national poetry would be clarified and explained to him, than translations of Heine's and Hoffmann's poetry which are assigned Slavic tunes afterwards. [...] I even think that it would be good if Slavic music would avoid any contact with German, because separatism helps art the most and enriches it.'<sup>246</sup> Dependence on German music became inevitable for composers

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<sup>243</sup> For more information about 'Slavia' see *Lidová kultura: národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska*, vol. 3, ed. by Zdeněk Měřínský (Praha: Mladá fronta, 2007), p. 916.

<sup>244</sup> Michaela Freemanová, 'Slovanství v zrcadle pražského koncertního života, dobové hudební kritiky a literatury', „*Slavme slavně slávu Slávov slavných*“. *Slovanství a česká kultura 19. století*, ed. by Zdeněk Hojda, Marta Ottlová, Roman Prahel (Praha: Klp, 2006), pp. 184–93.

<sup>245</sup> 'Jak často nacházíme v programech besedních místo původních českých písní - překlady, někdy i nepatrných zpěvů od Kückena, Procha, Gumberta [...]' Emanuel Alois Meliš, 'Přehled hudební literatury české v r. 1863, *Dalibor*, VII 1864, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>246</sup> 'Raději bych četl kritiku o nezpěvných verších slovanského básníka, v níž by se tomuto objasnily a vyložily úlohy, jaké slovanská hudba všim právem ukládá národnímu básnění pro zpěv, nežli překlady

and musical dramaturges (e. g. Smetana's opera *Dalibor*, Dvořák's cosmopolitanism and Josef Krejčí's repertoire at Prague's conservatoire which included young German composers but excluded their Czech or Slavic counterparts).<sup>247</sup> Composers, leaving the political world aside in contrary to music theorists, took inspiration elsewhere (Wagner and Mahler prove the case).<sup>248</sup> Nonetheless music critics, with their strongest tool, i.e. the word, put pressure on composers to base their work on Czech and Slavic musical motives and to renounce alien models, so that this pressure exerted a strong impact on the image of the musical scene in Prague in the nineteenth century. Such a tendency was very strongly mirrored in the development of the song genre.

Patriotic slogans, such as 'dokud český zpěv nezhyne, nezhyne ni Čechové' [as long as Czech song is alive, the Czech nation remains alive] or 'v hudbě život Čechů' [in music [is] the life of Czechs]<sup>249</sup> or 'Slovan pěje od srdce k srdci a tudíž ve zpěvnosti a vroucnosti hudba jeho sobě libuje' [A Slav sings from the heart to the heart and thus his music takes pleasure in melodiousness and fervour]<sup>250</sup> were to stimulate a fondness for vocal music and the trend to set Czech texts.

### 2.2.6 Reflection of the song in literature

Although a list of compositions by all the Czech song composers reveals this linguistic dualism, music literature owes much to settings to German texts in preference to Czech songs. The interest of the following generations of musicologists – when it occasionally transferred its focus away from opera and large instrumental pieces to song – turned exclusively to two domains: (i) the Czech revival song with an accent on its roots in the national history, and (ii) song after 1860, leaving compositions based on non-Czech texts on the margin.<sup>251</sup> Meliš in his *Guide* suggests that any song lacking a 'Czech soul' – a patriotic text or an imitation of a folk melody was often enough to meet this need in the first half of the century – or any song (or music in general) reminiscent of German models

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Heine-ových a Hoffmannových básní, ku kterým pak se skládají slovanské nápěvy. [...] Ba myslím, že by bylo dobře, kdyby slovanská hudba pražádného styku neměla s německou, poněvadž celkem napomáhá umění nejvíce separatismus a je obohacuje.', Franjo Š. Kuhač-Koch, 'Vzchopme se k dílu', *Hudební listy*, vol. V, no. 10 (5/3/1874), p. 10.

<sup>247</sup> Freemanová, p. 190.

<sup>248</sup> Jitka Ludvová, 'Německý hudební život v Praze 1880–1939', *Uměnovědné studie IV* (Praha: Ústav teorie a dějin umění ČSAV, 1983), p. 54.

<sup>249</sup> Poledňák, 'Hudba v českých zemích/Česká hudba', p. 415.

<sup>250</sup> Jan Ludevít Procházka, 'Husitská nevěsta', *Národní listy*, vol. VIII, 1868, no. 81 (7/10/1868).

<sup>251</sup> For example the study of Josef Srb-Debrnov: 'První pěstovatelé českého zpěvu', *Dalibor*, vol. VIII (1886), pp. 83–5; and Srb-Debrnov, *Dějiny hudby v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Matice česká, 1891), pp. 97–145.



was seen as faulty. ‘The main responsibility of a composer is a diligent and thorough study of harmony, and the Czech composer in particular [is obliged] to study national songs.’<sup>252</sup> This state is supported by Jiří Kopecný’s claim: ‘The national revival became an ideological demand, which even excused falsifications in the name of strengthening originality and antiquity (see the Ossian songs, Manuscripts of the Dvůr Králové and Green Mountain, all sorts of alterations of old legends, etc.). [...] a national composer had to accomplish the requirement of “worldliness” and at the same time not to absorb foreign influences so as not to infringe the national peculiarity’.<sup>253</sup> Another important aspect for the evaluation of songs as seen by Meliš was a correct declamation, a topic ever-present in music in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>254</sup> Some fifty years later Karel Hůlka claimed: ‘Prague’s musicians did not possess the degree of awareness of the writer-revivalists. They could perform instrumental music freely, but they were to renounce the ideals of Czech national life’.<sup>255</sup> Vladimír Helfert pointed to two leading aspects in the genre of song: ‘the undue influence of German and French romanticism [and] the romantic and aesthetic lapse according to which national music can be created by a simple imitation of folk song’.<sup>256</sup> The first half of the twentieth century was dominated by tendencies to create an idea that Czech art song, basing its ideal on Smetana’s operas, was established on folk song before the Battle of the White Mountain and on the tradition of protestant sacred vocal music. Furthermore, Helfert was of the opinion that melodic invention, harmonic colours and musical spontaneity belonged among the strong qualities of Czech song composers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the art work, innovation and the structure of the work were aspects in which Czech composers lagged behind. In this case Helfert based his view on a contemporary opinion

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<sup>252</sup> ‘Hlavní povinnost hudebního skladatele vůbec jest pilné a důkladné studium harmonie, skladatele pak českého zvláště probírání a studování národních písní.’, Meliš, Bergman, pp. IX-X.

<sup>253</sup> ‘Obrození národa se stalo ideologickým požadavkem, který ve jménu utvrzení svébytnosti a starobylosti omlouval i falsa (viz Ossianovy zpěvy, Rukopisy královedvorský a zelenohorský, všelijaké upravování starých legend, atd.). [...] národní skladatel měl splnit požadavek “světovosti”, zároveň však neměl přebírat cizí vlivy, aby neporušil národní svéráz.’ Jiří Kopecný, *Přehled dějin hudby 19. století* (Olomouc: FFUP, 2007), p. 13.

<sup>254</sup> The Czech female writer Eliška Krásnohorská pointed out an incorrect declamation in Bedřich Smetana’s opera *Prodaná nevěsta* (1870): ‘O české deklamaci hudební’ [On Czech musical declamation], *Hudební listy*, vol. II (1871), pp. 1–4, 9–13, 17–19. Otakar Hostinský tackled the word-setting problem in 1882: ‘O české deklamaci hudební’, *Dalibor* vol. IV (1882), nos. 1–8, 10–12, 18.

<sup>255</sup> ‘Pražští hudebníci nepovznesli se na stupeň uvědomělosti spisovatelů-buditelů [...]. Nástrojovou hudbu mohli provozovat dle libosti. Ale ideálův českého života národního bylo jim se zříci.’ Karel Hůlka, ‘O starší české písní umělé’, *Dalibor*, vol. 28 (1905–6), nos. 30–48, p. 240.

<sup>256</sup> ‘přílišný vliv německého a francouzského romantismu“ [a] „romantický estetický omyl, podle něhož lze národní hudbu vytvořit prostým napodobením lidové písně.’, Vladimír Helfert, *Česká moderní hudba* (Olomouc, n. publ., 1936), p. 18.



of Czech musicology, which connected Czech music with an extraordinary melodic invention. A similar opinion describing the richness of melodic invention on the Czech side but a great harmonic progression in German music, while each party lacked the benefits of the other, was stated by Jan Ludevít Procházka in 1860.<sup>257</sup> From today's perspective, both claims are vague. Such views do not look at the wider context nor do they inspire further research based on comparative analysis.

The activity of musical production demonstrates the important position of both languages in society despite the fact that the existing literature strongly promoted Czech songs (and only in its closely selected form). The degree of patriotism in musical literature was one of the major factors which caused information about vocal compositions set to foreign, prevalently German, poets to be omitted. This remains a debt still present in contemporary research into nineteenth-century music in Bohemia. A new critical approach is required in order to put forward an objective view on the topic of song studies in the Czech lands.

### **2.3 The art song: its (re)birth after the 1860s?**

The development of musical life in nineteenth-century Bohemia evolved hand in hand with the opening of newly-established institutions. In 1803 the *Jednota umělců hudebních ku podpoře vdov a sirotků* (Tonkünstler Wittwen-und-Waisen Societät) [The society of musicians to support widows and orphans] started its activity, while the Prague Conservatory was established in 1811 from the initiative of the *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách* (Verein zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Böhmen) [The society to improve music in Bohemia]. In 1840 the *Cecilská jednota* (Cäcilien-Verein) [The Cecilian society] and *Žofinská akademie* (Sophien-Akademie) [The Žofín Academy] were founded with the ambition to 'meliorate classical music, particularly singing'. Besides that, *Biedermeier* culture increased the popularity of literary and musical salons. All these platforms provided a space for music to be performed and heard in Prague. At the same time, music was distributed through Prague's publishers: Marco Berra (est. 1811), Christoph a Kuhé, Robert Veit, H. J. Enders, and after the 1850s: J. Hoffmann's Wittwe (est. 1849), Emanuel Starý, Hudební Matice (est. 1871), and F. A. Urbánek (est. 1872).

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<sup>257</sup> Kopecký, *Přehled dějin hudby 19. století*, p. 75.

While the German-speaking world has its great composers of art song across the whole of the nineteenth century (from Schubert to Mahler) and its tradition followed the path set in the previous century, the Czech environment initially needed to build a solid ground. The first half of the century offered a large number of patriotic songs to Czech texts, but their problematic language in terms of declamation prevented them from being a good base for a future development of the art genre.

A new impulse for the nationally orientated cultural expansion brought about the October Diploma (1860), a turning point in governing the empire which led from absolutism to federalism. At this point the process of separation in the cultural life of Prague got under way. The last joint performance of Czech and German artists and intellectuals in Prague was a celebration of the Schiller centenary in 1859. From then, Schiller was gradually removed from Czech circles, being seen as the ‘German author’. By contrast, Shakespeare still remained highly valued in ‘Czech culture’ after 1848. Shakespeares’s work was understood as a pillar of national effort. The utraquistic institutions began to split into separate Czech and German entities.<sup>258</sup> Artistic societies were formed by both nationalities (on the Czech side: *Hlahol*, est. 1861; *Umělecká beseda*, est. 1863) to provide a context for new music to be composed and performed in public. Even though Czech societies were formed in accordance with already functioning German institutions, at the same time they opposed them. While the Czech politicians did not achieve any major success at the Viennese court when trying to define their individuality – in comparison to Hungarian region which led to the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1867 – the newly-established societies were more successful in forming a picture of cultural individuality and independence. The rising demand for vocal music, driven by national ideas, is connected with the development of choirs in both national circles. The first German choir was formed in Prague in 1859.<sup>259</sup> The establishment of Czech choirs, having their roots in the German *liedertafel*, was often associated with the newly-formed societies as is proven by the case of *Hlahol* in 1861.

Song, which was up to now cherished only at the private events of culturally engaged families (e.g. the salon of Jan Ludevít Procházka, the initiator of *Hlahol* and *Umělecká beseda*), soon spread across the type of public concert known as *beseda*. Each

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<sup>258</sup> Ludvová, ‘Německý hudební život v Praze 1880–1939’, p. 53.

<sup>259</sup> The most enduring choirs were the *Deutscher Männergesangverein* (est. 1866) and *Deutscher Singverein* (est. in 1880s). The *Deutscher Männergesangverein* developed from the utraquistic choir *Harmonia* (est. in 1861 by the German association *Zauberflöte*, est. 1859). See Ludvová, pp. 138–39.

platform kept and developed the song in its centre in artificial and (quasi-)folk forms<sup>260</sup> and in adaptations in both languages. Despite the great rising national wave, international inspiration remained at the core of Czech culture. Litterateurs from the groups *Májovci* (1850s–60s) and subsequently *Lumírovci* (1870s–80s) followed European trends (the Young Germany movement in particular), which in translations reached native readers. Thus, song composers after the 1850s marked the beginning of their careers (as in the case of Zdeněk Fibich, Josef Bohuslav Foerster and Vítězslav Novák) with songs to the highly esteemed poets of their day (Rilke, Rückert, Eichendorf, Uhland, Lenau, etc.) as well as (semi)-forgotten authors of the past. Besides Goethe's ever-popular work, Heinrich Heine's texts were widely chosen. There are not many song composers of Bohemian origin who did not musically tackle Heine's verses. This fact, overlooked by musicologists even to the present day, poses a large area for research which would help to create a more complete picture of nineteenth-century song in the Czech lands. Furthermore, Heine's poetry became an inspiration for a rising generation of Czech writers as we see in the case of Vítězslav Hálek's collection of lyrical poems *Večerní písně* [Evening songs] (1859). Although the poetry was criticised for its lack of originality and for its inspiration by Heine, Hálek's initial lyrical poetry found a great response among readers and became a popular choice for composers in the 1870s: Zdeněk Fibich (1871), Antonín Dvořák (1876), and Bedřich Smetana (1879) all set their early song cycles to Hálek's texts.

Prague in the 1880s can be outlined as an institutionally divided city with distinct Czech and German cultural centres. The Neues Deutsches Theater was opened in 1888 in Prague and established in reaction to two facts: the opening of the National Theatre in Prague (1881) and the problematic position of German-speaking artists in Prague's theatres. The newly opened institution became a cultural centre for Czech Germans and German-speaking Jews.

### **2.3.1 The choice of theme and language**

The art song after 1860 became an independent genre, shedding the shadow of operatic works and theatrical plays of which it was a part in the previous decades. With the rise of suitable collections of texts – which showed an inclination towards lyrical poetry with love themes, folk motives and praise of nature, leaving the national subjects aside – in the

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<sup>260</sup> Poledňák, 'Hudba v českých zemích/ Česká hudba', p. 418.

form of new Czech poems or popular translations, song cycles, a nineteenth-century phenomenon, began to emerge in large quantities.<sup>261</sup> Texts and their linguistic versions were produced according to public demand and by the country of publication.<sup>262</sup> Song cycles and collections, released in the multinational and multilingual Czech lands, were typically published with Czech- and German-language versions.<sup>263</sup> Setting German poetry was still in vogue as proves for example Vilém Blodek's *Liebeslieder/Písňe milostné* (1834 – 1874)<sup>264</sup> and Karel Kovařovic's (1862–1920) song production from 1870s and 1880s.

Lyrical themes prevailed in the nineteenth-century song genre of the Czech lands. Love poems were set by the leading song composers (e.g. Fibich, Dvořák, Foerster, Janáček and Novák). Likewise imaginative reality, dream world and moods were popular choices for many (e.g. Novák's song 'Sny' [Dreams] 1896 and cycles *Pohádka srdce*, op. 8 [The Tale of the Heart] and *Melancholie*, op. 25 [Melancholy], Foerster's 'Lieder der Sehnsucht', op. 53).

The ongoing fascination with folk song across Europe found a strong resonance in the art song of Czech composers, namely Smetana, Dvořák and Janáček. Antonín Dvořák repeatedly found inspiration in folk melodies as demonstrated by *V národním tónu*, op. 73 or the *Moravské dvojzpěvy* [Moravian Duets], which 'fulfilled the idea of an aesthetic ideal of the song – an apparent folksiness and simplicity evoked by melodic evolutions are supplemented here with refined harmonies, rhythmical progressions, effective intertwining of voices and engagement of the piano accompaniment.'<sup>265</sup> These songs were exported abroad in German and English translations. Dvořák's increasing popularity overseas – affirmed after the success of the *Stabat Mater* in England – encouraged the composer to go even beyond the simple song set with Czech texts and

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<sup>261</sup> i.e.: Gustav Pflieger Moravský's *Cypřiše* (1862) [Cypresses] set to music by Antonín Dvořák (1863) and Karel Bendl (publ. 1882); Adolf Heyduk's *Cigánské melodie* (1859) [Gypsy melodies] set to music by Antonín Dvořák (1880), Karel Bendl (publ. 1881) and Vítězslav Novák (1897).

<sup>262</sup> In the case of Dvořák, songs published by Fritz Simrock in Berlin were set to the Czech original and published with German and English translations (e.g. *Písňe milostné*, op. 83, 1888) or were already set to German translations (*Čtyři písňe*, op. 82).

<sup>263</sup> E. g: Zdeněk Fibich's *Jarní paprsky* (Frühlingsstrahlen) [Spring Rays], op. 36 Hud. 300 (1870–1891).

<sup>264</sup> The cycle was composed around 1860 and published with the Czech translation at Urbánek's publishing house in 1909.

<sup>265</sup> 'naplňovaly představu o dobovém estetickém ideálu písňe – zdánlivá lidovost a prostota evokovaná melodickými postupy je zde doplněná rafinovanými harmoniemi, rytmickým průběhem, efektním proplétáním hlasů a zapojením klavírního doprovodu'. Velická, 'Antonín Dvořák' in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí* online.

Czech themes when composing for the international market.<sup>266</sup> A different but very intensive approach to folk tunes was adopted by Leoš Janáček, who studied Moravian folk song deeply in the late 1880s and 1890s. Arrangements of folk tunes, quotations and imitations appear across Janáček's compositional work. A strong reference to vernacular music in the genre of song and beyond is also to be found in the works of Vítězslav Novák.

Besides folklorism, a fascination with exoticism is symptomatic for the end of the long nineteenth century. Rather sporadic responses are to be found in the art song of Czech composers. On the other hand, the Czech-like melodies sounded exotic abroad, a popular and welcoming aspect in the music of which Czech composers were aware. In regard to folkloric tendencies, perhaps the greatest musical response is registered by Adolf Heyduk's *Cigánské melodie* [Gypsy melodies], set to music by Dvořák, Bendl and Novák. A unique factor is Dvořák's interest in foreign folk poetry, which crystallised in the form of *Tři novořecké básně*, op. 50 [Three modern Greek poems] and *Čtyři písně na slova srbské lidové poezie*, op. 6 [Four songs to Serbian folk poetry]. The lure of a 'mysterious otherness' culminates in Bohuslav Martinů's *Nipponari* (1912), a song cycle inspired by Japanese lyrical verses.

The early decades of the twentieth century offered a great range of possibilities for the expansion of the song in terms of various styles (from expressionism to neoclassicism and jazz) and genres (lyrical, realistic, symbolic, satiric, parodic, folksong-inspired etc.).<sup>267</sup> In time this flowering displaced the art song as it was perceived in the nineteenth century as an agent of social and cultural musical life.

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<sup>266</sup> E. g. the Czech ballad *Svatební košile*, op. 69 (1884) [The Spectre's Bride] in the form of a cantata and the historical theme *Svatá Ludmila*, op. 71 (1885) [Saint Ludmila] which was conceived as an oratorio, both commissioned by English music festivals in Birmingham and Leeds respectively.

<sup>267</sup> Ladislav Brábek, 'Písniová tvorba hudební skupiny Mánesa pro potřeby současné školy' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Karlova Univerzita v Praze, 2011), pp. 39–59.

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## CHAPTER 3

### COMPOSERS OF THE CZECH LANDS AND THEIR SETTINGS OF GOETHE UP TO 1850

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#### 3.1 Goethe and Bohemian Composers: Reception of settings to Goethe's poetry

'Czechs are known around the world as a musical nation; already the renowned English travel writer [Charles] Burney<sup>268</sup> spoke about this around 1772, then the immortal *Mozart* and famous *Goethe* [...]'.<sup>269</sup> The connection between the musicality of the Czech lands and Goethe appears repeatedly.<sup>270</sup>

Due to the lack of professional positions for musicians in the Czech lands, composers at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were forced to leave Bohemia. They travelled to culturally richer centres in Italy, England, Germany and Russia but often settled in Vienna. In the capital of the Habsburg Empire these composers were – quiet logically – influenced by a broader range of contemporary poetry in the German language. To set these popular lyrics was one way to break through as a composer. At the same time the musicians belonged to a smaller Czech community which demanded Czech songs as a remembrance of their roots. These songs were swiftly distributed to Prague as a support to the awakening national revival. The songs in the maternal language began to retroactively occupy the forefront position in Bohemian musical history.

Josef Antonín Štěpán, the music teacher at the emperor's court, departed to Vienna in 1741. In his collection of twenty-five German songs from 1778 are placed two settings of Goethe.<sup>271</sup> The first song in the collection, 'Ein Veilchen auf der Wiese stand', taken from Goethe's singspiel *Erwin und Elmire* (1775) and later adopting the title 'Das Veilchen', was wrongly attributed, perhaps by the editor, to Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719–1803). The second setting, 'Lotte auf Werthers Grabe', was inspired by the

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<sup>268</sup> Meliš referred to *An eighteenth-century musical tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands* by Charles Burney (1726–1814). In Czech published as Charles Burney, *Hudební cestopis 18. věku* (Praha: Supraphon, 1966).

<sup>269</sup> Emanuel Meliš, 'Nynější stav hudby v Čechách vůbec a v Praze zvlášť', *Lumír*, no. 41 (8/10/1857), p. 976.

<sup>270</sup> František Ladislav Rieger, 'Slovo o založení národního hudebního archivu v Čechách', *Lumír*, no. 27 (6/7/1854), p. 639.

<sup>271</sup> Joseph Anton Steffan, *Sammlung Deustcher Lieder für das Klavier* (Vienna: Joseph Edler von Kurzböck, 1778).

‘Werther fever’ in Vienna in the 1770s.<sup>272</sup> Recent research places Štěpán at the vanguard of composers originating from the Czech lands and setting Goethe’s words to music. His ‘Das Veilchen’, indicating a concert aria form, was aimed at trained voices. The highly ornamented singing lines, composed with the intention to reveal the singer’s technical qualities, refer to Mozart’s lieder.

Another Viennese Bohemian composer was Jan Emanuel Doležálek. Doležálek is currently primarily recognised for his songs to Czech texts. His case proves that a handful of Czech songs overshadowed German lieder in Czech musical history in terms of interest. Doležálek’s *Sechs Lieder von Schiller und Goethe* was published in Vienna in 1810. The collection contains three Goethe settings: ‘Nähe der Geliebten’ (sic), ‘An den Mond’ and ‘Tischlied’. The opening song is especially significant, as it became the first setting of Goethe to be translated into Czech. The song was released under the title ‘Taužení’ (‘Na tebe mním, zlatý, když jitro kyne’) [Longing. I think of you when the golden morning rises] in an appendix to the journal *Dobroslaw*, printed in Prague in 1821.<sup>273</sup> The lack of importance associated with stating the original source meant that Goethe’s authorship remained long forgotten. Doležálek’s strophic songs consist of simple melodies doubled in the piano right hand and accompanied with static chords in the left hand. Semiquaver figurations and melodic embellishments enhance the piano preludes and interludes.

Jan Josef Rösler dedicated two songs to Goethe before his departure to Vienna in 1805. ‘Lied des alten Harfners aus Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre’ was published as the first song in the collection *Sechs Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte in Musik gesetzt*<sup>274</sup> in Leipzig. The second song ‘An die Entfernte’, composed in 1804, was published the following year in the monthly journal *Harmonia*.<sup>275</sup> Rösler’s ‘An die Entfernte’ is the first setting to Goethe’s poetry composed in Bohemia.<sup>276</sup> Interest in Goethe’s poetry drew larger musical circles beyond professional composers. Jan Theobald Held, the reputable

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<sup>272</sup> *Erwin und Elmire* became the first Goethe play to be staged in the Vienna Burg Theater in 1776. For more information see Otto Biba, ‘Goethe’s Presence in the Vienna Music Scene of His Era’, in *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), pp. 7–40.

<sup>273</sup> Jozef L. Ziegler, *Dobroslaw, aneb, rozličné spisy poučugjýho a mysl obweselugjýho obsahu w řeči newázané y wázané* (Praha: J. Fetterlowá 1821), vol. 4, no. 2.

<sup>274</sup> Josef Rösler, *Sechs Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte in Musik gesetzt. Zweite Sammlung* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1803).

<sup>275</sup> C. Pluth, ed., *Harmonia eine Monatschrift für Gesang und Clavier*, vol. 8, Praha 1805, pp. 14–19. Subsequently published at Jan Ladislav Dusík; Josef Rösler; Jan Václav Voříšek, *Pisně : výběr z vokální tvorby = Lieder : Auswahl aus der Vokalmusik = Songs : A selection of vocal works : canto e piano*, Milan Poštolka and Oldřich Pulkert, eds. (Praha: SNKLHU, 1961).

<sup>276</sup> Rösler left Prague in 1805 for a better position as a conductor in Vienna.

Prague doctor, primarily composed salon music. The songs ‘Nähe des Geliebten’ and ‘Der Fischer’ appeared in *Harmonia* as early as 1805.<sup>277</sup> The Goethe songs of Rösler and Held did not belong among the progressive vocal pieces with new harmonic progressions or melodic inventions. The compositions, with their uncomplicated piano parts doubling the vocal line above a chordal accompaniment, reveal the common practice for the early lied, also mirrored in Prague’s musical style of the time. The songs were possible to play at sight and thus suitable for salon concerts and amateur home music-making. The music never overshadows the words, an approach taken from Rousseau’s philosophy presented during the enlightenment which corresponded with composers of the Berlin school. The dominant position of the poem combined with the simplicity of the music as presented in strophic form were also ideas close to Goethe. The poet believed that the singer’s role rested in distinguishing details and creating atmosphere according to the meaning of each strophe. For Goethe, strophic form was a unifying element which held the character of the poem together in contrast to the through-composed setting.<sup>278</sup>

The impact of Goethe’s legacy was felt by Bohemian composers long after his death. New generations of composers from the second part of the century found it important to react musically to his poetry. One of those was Václav Jindřich Veit who, as well as Held and to some extent Tomášek, is ranked among the musical autodidacts. Despite this fact his numerous vocal compositions, primarily choruses, were among the most popular pieces at the time. Both of Veit’s Goethe settings were composed exclusively for men’s voices: ‘Der Totentanz’ for bass and piano, op. 14, released in Hoffmann’s publishing house in Prague (1840), and ‘Der König in Thule’, op. 37 for men’s choir.<sup>279</sup> In comparison with the early Schumann version of the latter with rhythmically unified voices, Veit’s rendering introduced canonic repetitions on purpose to illuminate the key parts of the text. The list of composers who tackled Goethe’s poetry includes the first professor of musicology at Prague University (1869–1872), August Wilhelm Ambros. The musicologist set to music Mignon’s and Harper’s song ‘Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt’.<sup>280</sup> The autograph from 1849 was dedicated to Jakob Emil Hock (1823–1908), a member of Prague’s League of David (Davidsbundelei) established by

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<sup>277</sup> ‘Nähe des Geliebten’, *Harmonia*, vol. 2, Praha 1805, pp. 11–13 and ‘Der Fischer’, *Harmonia*, vol. 4, Praha 1805, pp. 13–18.

<sup>278</sup> Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>279</sup> Václav Jindřich Veit, *Sechs vierstimmige Gésänge für Männerstimmen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1854), no. 4.

<sup>280</sup> The title is as follows: ‘Mignons und des Harfners Gesang: „Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt“ aus Göthes Wilhelm Meister für 2 Stimmen und Pianoforte’.



Ambros. The autograph remained in Hock's estate and is today archived at the Stiftelsen musikkultures främjande in Stockholm.<sup>281</sup>

### 3.2 Václav Jan Tomášek: a prominent musical figure in Prague

Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850) is recognized as a Bohemian musician, teacher and composer of the late classical and early romantic period. His early music education oscillated between inconsistent singing and violin lessons<sup>282</sup> and self-education at the piano. Following this Tomášek engaged in studies at the Convent of the Order of Friars Minor in Jihlava between the years 1787 and 1790. Here he also attended a boys' choir with the reputation of a talented singer. It is most likely that his vocal ability, which developed as a result of this early choral training, influenced the success of his songs later on. Tomášek's concern for music was stimulated by a performance of Mozart's opera *Don Juan (Don Giovanni)* in 1790 in Prague. According to the composer's autobiography this significant cultural occasion influenced the young student enormously.<sup>283</sup>

A lack of money prevented Tomášek from paying a tutor to study music exclusively while undergoing his studies in humanity (1794) and subsequently law (1797) at the Charles University in Prague. Moreover, Tomášek and his generation were not able to attend any musical school in Bohemia. The Prague Conservatory – the first conservatory established in the Czech lands – was opened as late as 1811. Therefore, Tomášek was reliant on the self-study of music theory as well as piano-playing with the support of various books and manuals, as well as occasional advice from similarly-minded friends. To trace the development of his compositional attempts is not possible, as Tomášek destroyed most of his early pieces. Despite the unfavourable years, Tomášek's dominant musical position as a reputable teacher and composer, known from his mature years, spread beyond Prague and even the Czech lands. He composed in a diverse range of musical genres, including popular short piano pieces such as his Eclogues and Dithyrambs. Besides that, one of his most important contributions is reflected in vocal literature, in particular songs with piano accompaniment. Entirely according to the

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<sup>281</sup> Bonnie und Erling Lomnäs, Dietmar Strauß, *Auf der Suche nach der poetischen Zeit. Der Prager Davidsbund: Ambros, Bach, Bayer, Hampel, Hanslick, Helfert, Hock, Ulm*, Band 1 (Saarbrücken: PFAU Verlag, 1999), pp. 244, 384.

<sup>282</sup> Tomášek attended the class of Pavel Josef Wolf (1724-1797), the organist in Chrudim town. After a few abortive lessons Tomášek's father abandoned his son's musical studies due to the teacher's belligerence and lack of educative feeling.

<sup>283</sup> Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, 'Selbstbiographie', *Libussa*, 4 (1845), p. 365.

existing fashion, he set to music texts written by both Czech and German writers, including forty-five settings to poems by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In terms of quantity, Tomášek stands on the peak among Czech composers who set Goethe's texts to music. The ensuing pages will list these songs as well as the relationship between Tomášek and Goethe between the years 1818 and 1822. For Tomášek, Goethe was one of the most important poets of his age, an artist whom he greatly admired. For Goethe, Tomášek's musical conception of his poems mirrored the composer's understanding of the poetic intent; Goethe highly valued these settings and complimented the composer.

**Table 3.1: List of songs in Tomášek's *Gedichte von Goethe für Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte***

<p><b>Book 1, op. 53, songs for voice &amp; piano</b>            'Heidenroslein' ('Sah ein Knab'), op. 53/1            'Nähe des Geliebten' ('Ich denke dein'), op. 53/2            'Mailied' ('Wie herrlich leuchtet mir die Natur'), op. 53/3            'Nachgefühl' ('Wenn die Reben wieder blühen'), op. 53/4            'Trost in Tränen' ('Wie kommt's, daß du so traurig bist'), op. 53/5            'Wer kauft Liebesgötter?' ('Von allen schönen Wangen'), op. 53/6</p>
<p><b>Book 2, op. 54, songs for voice &amp; piano</b>            'Mignons Sehnsucht' ('Kennst du das Land'), op. 54/1            'Die Sprode' ('An den reinsten Frühling'), op. 54/2            'Die Bekehrte' ('Bey dem Glanze der Abendröthe'), op. 54/3            'Der frühzeitiger Frühling' ('Tage der Wonne'), op. 54/4            'Der Rattenfänger' ('Ich bin der wohlbekannte Sänger'), op. 54/5</p>
<p><b>Book 3, op. 55, songs for voice &amp; piano</b>            'An die Entfernte' ('So hab'ich wirklich dic verloren?'), op. 55/1            'Die Spinnerin' ('Als ich still und ruhig spann'), op. 55/2            'Am Flusse' ('Verfliesset, vielgeliebte Lieder'), op. 55/3            'Mit einem gemalten Band' ('Kleine Blumen, kleine Blätter'), op. 55/4            'Philine' ('Singet nicht in Trauertönen'), op. 55/5</p>
<p><b>Book 4, op. 56, songs for voice &amp; piano</b>            'Schäfers Klage' ('Da droben auf jenem Berge'), op. 56/1            'Selbstbetrug' ('Der Vorhang schwebet hin und her'), op. 56/2            'Erster Verlust' ('Ach, wer bringt die schönen Tage?'), op. 56/3            'An den Mond' ('Füllest wieder'), op. 56/4            'Hochzeitlied' ('Wir singen'), op. 56/5</p>
<p><b>Book 5, op. 57, songs for voice &amp; piano</b>            'Das Veilchen' ('Ein Veilchen auf der Wiese stand'), op. 57/1            'Geistesgruss' ('Hoch auf dem alten Thurme'), op. 57/2            'Auf dem See' ('Und frische Nahrung'), op. 57/3            'Sorge' ('Kehre nicht in diesen Kreise'), op. 57/4            'Jägers Abendlied' ('Im Felde schleich' ich still und wild'), op. 57/5</p>
<p><b>Book 6, op. 58, songs for voice &amp; piano</b>            'Rastlose Liebe' ('Dem Schnee, dem Regen'), op. 58/1            'Stirbt der Fuchs, so gilt der Balg' ('Nach Mittage sassen'), op. 58/2            'Das Geheimnis' ('Heiss mich nicht'), op. 58/3            'Wandrer's Nachtlid' ('Der du von dem Himmel bist'), op. 58/4            'An Linna' ('Liebchen, kommen diese Lieder'), op. 58/5</p>
<p><b>Book 7, op. 59, songs for voice &amp; piano</b>            'Der Erlkönig' ('Wer reitet so spät'), op. 59/1            'Der König in Thule' ('Es wast ein König in Thule'), op. 59/2            'Der Fischer' ('Der Wasser rauscht'), op. 59/3</p>
<p><b>Book 8, op. 60, songs for two voices &amp; piano</b></p>

'Der Edelknabe und die Müllerinn' ('Wohin? Wohin?'), op. 60/1 'Vorschlag zur Gute' ('Du defällst mir so wohl'), op. 60/2 'Der Junggesell und der Mühlbach' ('Wo willst du klares Bächlein hin?'), op. 60/3
<b>Book 9, op. 61, songs for three voices &amp; piano</b> 'Wonne der Wehmuth' ('Trocknet nicht Thränen der ewigen Liebe'), op. 61/1 'Erinnerung' ('Willst du immer weiter schweifen?'), op. 61/2 'Meerestile' ('Tiefe Stille herrscht im Wasser'), op. 61/3 'Glückliche Fahrt' ('Die Nebel zerreißen'), op. 61/4

### 3.2.1 Tomášek: an influential song composer

Tomášek's compositional works embraced varied areas of musical genres including chamber music and large instrumental pieces. However, the majority of his oeuvre remains vocal: from the body of 163 compositions<sup>284</sup> there are 115 vocal and 48 instrumental works.<sup>285</sup> Such an amount places Tomášek among one of the most prolific art song composers in Bohemia until the 1830s. Soon after initiating his university studies in Prague in 1790 a musically self-educated Tomášek became a music teacher in a number of upper-class families. Subsequently short instrumental and vocal pieces began to emerge as the largest part of Tomášek's compositional production.<sup>286</sup> However, it was not until 1806 that he became a full-time musician. The song 'Lenore' op. 12 to the popular and highly set text by Gottfried August Bürger (1747–1794) secured Tomášek his first major success following the offer of a lucrative position as a composer and music teacher in the house of count Georg Franz August Buquoy (1781–1851). As part of the agreement the count offered to provide accommodation and food for the composer and pay him a salary up until his death. To compose, organise concerts and teach the count's yet unborn children music were the only duties Buquoy requested of Tomášek. The years at Buquoy's palace (1806–1824), with such exceptional conditions for a musician at the time,<sup>287</sup> became essential for Tomášek's compositional development in terms of the formation of his musical language and the quantity of his work. During this existentially carefree period Tomášek was able to freely compose and publish.<sup>288</sup> His songs and short piano works became highly popular within both the noble and middle-class families for their availability and easy practicability to a wide range of performers. The close

<sup>284</sup> 114 works include opus numbers and 49 are left without them. The compositions with opus numbers 23 and 29 include two pieces for each.

<sup>285</sup> Markéta Kabelková, 'Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, nebo Václav Jan Tomášek?', p. 347.

<sup>286</sup> For example, the *Sei Menuetti* (1795) and *XII Ländler* (1795) for orchestra, the song *Lenore*, op. 12 (1796), and *Grosses Rondeau fürs pianoforte*, op. 11.

<sup>287</sup> The exceptionality of Tomášek's position is proven by his contemporaries, who lacked enlightened employers and thus were forced to leave Bohemia for culturally richer cities.

<sup>288</sup> Adrienne Simpson, Kenneth DeLong, 'Tomášek, Václav Jan Křtitel', in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28077> [accessed 28/2/2019].

acquaintance with Georg Buquoy facilitated Tomášek's access to Prague's noble society. His teaching activities beyond Buquoy's family brought to the composer a wide circle of generous patrons and promoters of his music. In return for this support Tomášek dedicated various compositions to numerous aristocratic supporters.<sup>289</sup> Tomášek's compositions often resonated with the needs of the society which surrounded him. For instance, during his studies he reacted in his compositions to the growing popularity of string quartets performed at salons. Inspired by the works of Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ignaz Pleyel he followed the fashion with attempts of his own. 'I composed three quartets for two violins, viola and violoncello in Pleyel's style; these were generally liked; however, I burned them a few years later.'<sup>290</sup> Similarly, the composer's interest in art song was partly encouraged by the demand of the public, as is proven by his dedications to members of the higher society residing in Bohemia.<sup>291</sup> Tomášek's vocal music became one of the important starting-points in the evolution of the nineteenth-century song literature in the Czech lands. The composer set to music an absolute prevalence of German texts (over 100) by the most popular existing authors. Besides these his Czech songs (*ca*30), emerging as a result of the awaking national revival, occupied a distinguished position in Czech musical history. Both domains will be further pursued in the following pages. Among texts by a total of 85 identified authors, there are also settings to Italian (6) and Latin (10) texts by Giuseppe Carpani (1751–1825)<sup>292</sup> and Publilius Syrius (85–43BC) as well as liturgical texts.<sup>293</sup> Thus, Tomášek was considered an initiator of the art song in the Czech lands. For instance, such a claim was held by Marie Tarantová: 'The emphasis of Tomášek's production rests on song, and songs we also see in his pupils' [compositions], the so-called 'Prague romantics' [...] Their songs [were] aired in the Prague salons and in the concert halls of the time, when young Smetana came to Prague and became a pupil of J.[osef] Proksch in 1843. He did not escape their influence [...] Thus Tomášek and his students became the creators of the

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<sup>289</sup> Dedications of his works are connected with families of Štenberk, Lobkovic, Kounic and Kinski to name but a few.

<sup>290</sup> 'Napsal jsem tři kvarteta pro dvoje housle, violu a violoncello v Pleyelově stylu; všeobecně se líbila, nicméně však jsem je za několik let potom spálil', in Němec, pp. 31–35.

<sup>291</sup> E. g. *VI Lieder*, op. 2 to Karoline von Kerpen Kinsky; *Sechs Lieder*, op. 6 to Rosa Harrach Kinsky; 'Lenore', op. 12 dedicated to Joseph von Lobkowitz.

<sup>292</sup> For example the popular text 'In questa tomba oscura', op. 29. Perhaps Tomášek with his setting reacted to an open invitation to set the text in 1808.

<sup>293</sup> Kabelková, *Václav Jan Tomášek – Goethe v písničkách*, Radioservis a. s., 2014, booklet, p. 3.

art song before Smetana,<sup>294</sup> which develops in two directions: the first one seeks a way towards national music [...], and the second connects to the translation of German poetry, in the wider European musical context of the romantic era'.<sup>295</sup> Undoubtedly, Tomášek's songs became a core repertory for the Czech musical circle but the purely German-language world remained closed to it. '[Tomášek's songs] did not and could not meet a strong response in German circles at the time when Schubert was, with his divine songs, a universal point of entry to all music world.'<sup>296</sup>

Tomášek's songs are recognised for a melodiousness which derived from the composer's natural ability to sing, a talent recognized and further nurtured during his childhood. Some aspects of Tomášek's vocal compositions, and especially his ballads, are similar in musical features to those by Zumsteeg, Zelter, Beethoven and Schubert.<sup>297</sup> The songs are characteristic for their post-classical idioms, including strictly or varied strophic form. Ornamentation and embellishments refer to Mozart's era. Kenneth De Long even claimed: 'His best songs achieve a melodic intensity that approaches Schumann. What is ultimately missing, however, is the imagination, so striking in Schubert, that finds a fresh musical solution to the setting of each poem. In his songs, as in his piano music, Tomášek developed certain musical idioms – particular melodic and harmonic patterns, accompanimental figurations, and formal and structural models – that he was content to repeat with slight variations.'<sup>298</sup>

### 3.2.2 Tomášek's German lieder: the choice of literature

The music of the early romantic period in central Europe was highly influenced by the flourishing of German classical poetry as represented by writers such as Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803), Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), Gottfried August Bürger (1747–1794) and Joseph von Eichendorff (1788–1857). As for many other

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<sup>294</sup> Tarantová is also convinced that although Smetana proceeded from the vocal compositions of Tomášek and his pupils, his songs soon overshadowed those of his predecessors by their ability to an international public. See Marie Tarantová, *V. J. Tomášek* (Prague: Orbis, 1946), p. 52.

<sup>295</sup> 'Těžiště Tomáškovy tvorby spočívá v písni, a s písněmi se setkáváme i u jeho žáků, t. zv. „pražských romantiků“[...] Jejich písně zněly v pražských salonech a v koncertních síních v době, kdy mladý Smetana přišel do Prahy a stal se roku 1843 žákem J[osefa] Proksche. Neušel jejich vlivu [...] Tak se stal Tomášek se svými žáky tvůrcem písně předsmetanovské, jež se vyvíjí dvěma směry: jedním hledá cestu k hudbě národní [...], druhým se připojuje k tlumočením německé poesie k evropskému hudebnímu projevu doby romantické.' Tarantová, p. 51.

<sup>296</sup> '[Tomáškovy písně] nedošly ba ani dojíti nemohly v německých kruzích valnějšího ohlasu v tehdejší době, kde Šubert se svými božskými písněmi byl všeobecným heslem veškerého světa hudebního. Václav Novotný, 'Rukopis Královédvorský a literatura hudební', *Dalibor*, vol. 1, no. 32 (8/8/1873), p. 257.

<sup>297</sup> Simpson, DeLong, 'Tomášek Václav Jan Křtitel'.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*

composers, for Tomášek the poetry by Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe became the most preferable choice. The analogy is to be traced with Franz Schubert, who also favoured texts by these two classical writers above other contemporary poets.<sup>299</sup> The sets of songs to these figures, two of the greatest German poets, belong artistically among Tomášek's most valuable vocal compositions.<sup>300</sup> To Schiller's texts Tomášek composed seven books of songs (op. 85–91) and a dramatic work *Maria Stuarts Abschied vom Frankreich und Klage aus dem Kerker für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 49,<sup>301</sup> Tomášek set the same theme for voice and orchestra: *Schillers Maria Stuart – Erster Auftritt des III. Aufzuges – für Gesang mit Begleitung des Orchesters*, op. 99, followed by *Thecla aus Wallensteins Tod von Schiller – Die Piccolomini für Gesang mit Begleitung des großen Orchesters*, op. 100 and *Scene aus der Braut von Messina von Schiller mit Begleitung des ganzen Orchesters*, op. 104. In the case of Goethe, the nine books of songs (op. 53–61) will be introduced in a separate subchapter. For the dramatic compositions, Tomášek was influenced by Goethe's *Faust* from which he set to music three scenes; *Gretchen am Spinnrade aus Goethes Faust für Gesang mit Begleitung des Orchesters*, op. 102 and *Scene mit Requiem aus Goethes Faust mit Begleitung des Orchesters*, op. 103 (Gretchen and Böser Geist) appeared separately, while 'Gretchen im Kerker' became a part of *Drei Gesänge für einde Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 105/1.<sup>302</sup> Tomášek's brother-in-law, Karl Viktor Hansgirk (1823–1877),<sup>303</sup> commented on Tomášek's fondness of both German writers as follows: 'Also the versatility and objectivity of the poet [Goethe] elicited our old master's [Tomášek's] enthusiastic admiration, especially of *Iphigenia*, *Tasso* and *Faust*. Nevertheless, his admiration of Goethe did not cause any detriment to the second poet, Friedrich Schiller. [Tomášek] attempted to capture the pathos of his igneous, sublime emotions in a few song sets and also in the *Bride of Messina*. However, it seems that he was not led to the composition of Schiller's numerous texts by his own intuition but by a desire to try to grasp the contrasts between Schiller's and Goethe's lyricism in

<sup>299</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 30.

<sup>300</sup> Theodora Straková, 'Tomáškovy písně na Goetheho texty', *Časopis Moravského Musea Acta Musei Moraviae*, XL (1955), 214-252 (p. 216).

<sup>301</sup> Published with German and Czech lyrics. The Czech title is as follows: *Marie Stuartské loučení s Francií a nářek z vězení pro jeden hlas při fortepiánu*.

<sup>302</sup> The collection includes the settings 'Der Klauslerin Letztes', op. 105/2 (H. Paris/J. von Haza) and 'Tscherkesisches Lied', op. 105/3 (A. S. Puschkin).

<sup>303</sup> The poet K. V. Hansgirk was the husband of Elisabeth Ebert, sister of Tomášek's wife Vilemína. Hansgirk wrote Tomášek's memoirs *Reminiscenzen an Wenzel Tomaschek* five years after the composer's death. See Kabelková, 'Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, nebo Václav Jan Tomášek?', pp. 344-46.

music and whether it would be possible to overcome problems which a composer meets both in the philosophical spirit of Schiller's poetry and in the rich, dazzling beauty of a word and at last in the broad, heavy structure of a verse'.<sup>304</sup> The musicologist Eliška Holubová considers the scenes from the *Bride of Messina* and *Faust* as the peak of Tomášek's dramatic works.<sup>305</sup>

Among the poetry set by Tomášek is to be found texts also by non-German writers including Robert Burns (1759–1796) and Alexandr Sergejevič Puškin [Alexander Sergejevich Pushkin] (1799–1837); however, in Tomášek's case these were set to music exclusively in German translations. Even female authors, mainly from Tomášek's social circle, belonged among contributors of the song texts: Carolina Pichler-Greiner (1769–1843), Julie Ebert-Glaser and Elisabeth Ebert-Hansgirk<sup>306</sup> to name but a few.

The choice of texts for his vocal compositions proves Tomášek's knowledge of the existing popular literature. His further relationship to literature and whether he kept his own library remain unclear. While living at Buquoy's palace, the composer surely, would probably have used the count's library. According to the vogue, he would access literature from his friends and possibly from the University library (in its annual reports from 1815–1850 poetry belonged among the most borrowed items).<sup>307</sup> Poetry was often published in newspapers and journals, and in addition Tomášek kept personal contact and corresponded with a number of authors living in Bohemia.<sup>308</sup>

Tomášek's German lieder remain unknown to the musical public. They are occasionally performed at chamber concerts, usually in connection with the commemoration of 'the year of Czech music' or with the composer's anniversary. A selection of his songs to Goethe's texts was recorded and released in 1958 under the title

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<sup>304</sup> 'Rovněž všestrannost a objektivita tohoto básníka [Goetha] strhovala našeho starého mistra k nadšenému obdivu zejména u Ifigenie, Tassa a Fausta. Nicméně jeho obdiv ke Goethovi nebyl nijak na újmu druhému z obou bliženců, totiž Friedrichu Schillerovi. Pokoušel se zachytit pathos jeho ohnivých, vznešených citů v několika zhudebněných písních, poté však i ve zpracování Messinské nevěsty. Ale zdá se, že ke skladbám na text četných Schillerových básní nevedla ho ani tak vlastní intuice, jako spíše touha, pokusit se, zda by obdobně i v hudbě bylo možno vystihnout protiklady Schillerovy a Goethovy lyriky, a zda by bylo možno překonat nesnáze, s nimiž se hudební skladatel setkává jednak v abstraktním a filozofickém duchu Schillerových básní, jednak v bohaté, oslňující nádhěře slova a posléze i v široké, těžké stavbě verše.' in Němec, p. 286.

<sup>305</sup> Eliška Holubová, 'V. J. Tomášeks Musikdramatische Szenen zu Texten Goethes und Schillers', *Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university*, H 10, 1975, p. 46.

<sup>306</sup> Julie Glaser, Elisabeth Hansgirk, Wilhelmine Tomaschek (the composer's wife) and Karl Egon Ebert (1801–1882) were siblings.

<sup>307</sup> Kabelková, *Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850). Život a dílo*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, FF UK Praha, 2012), pp. 75–76.

<sup>308</sup> For more information on Tomášek's German lieder see Wolfgang Antensberger, *Die Deutschsprachigen Lieder Für Pianoforte von Johann Wenzel Tomaschek* (EOS, 2017).

*Písně obrozenecké doby* [Songs of the Revival Period]. Each of the four songs was recorded with the Czech lyrics translated from the German original by Marie Tarantová.<sup>309</sup> In 1975, a year after the commemoration of Tomášek's birth, some of his music was recorded, including eleven of his Goethe songs.<sup>310</sup> Both LPs were reissued on CDs in the last three years. Four CDs dedicated to Tomášek's German lieder released in the last three decades have helped to reduce the debt towards this music: *Václav Jan Tomášek: Nähe des Geliebten* (1995),<sup>311</sup> *Tomaschek: Goethe Lieder* (2012),<sup>312</sup> *Václav Jan Tomášek: Goethe v písních* (2014)<sup>313</sup> and *Songs by Tomášek* (2014).<sup>314</sup> The conclusion seals a performance of the song 'An den Mond' included on CD *Music from Eighteenth Century Prague: Prague-Vienna - Journey in Songs*.<sup>315</sup>

### 3.2.3 Tomášek's Czech songs: a brief overview

The songs to Czech texts place Tomášek in the front line of the early national song composers. He began to produce Czech song settings in 1814 so as 'not to forget my mother-tongue entirely'<sup>316</sup> and continued up to the late 1830s. The first songs, *Šestero písní v hudbu uvedených* [Six Songs Set to Music] op. 48,<sup>317</sup> were set to texts by Václav Hanka (1791–1861), Antonín Marek (1785–1877) and Vojtěch Nejedlý (1772–1844). The collection dedicated to Augusta and Kristiana, daughters of the count František Josef Šternberk (1763–1830), corresponds with the cultural and social situation described by Milena Vysloužilová: '[In the collection Tomášek] thought of the patriotic revival of the Czech nobility, who began to learn Czech again and who saw in it one of the significant signs of the Czech patriotism.'<sup>318</sup> Nevertheless, some years earlier Tomášek set a Czech

<sup>309</sup> The audio recording consists of 12 songs written by 7 composers. There is 5 songs to Goethe's poetry, each of them performed with Czech lyrics translated by Marie Tarantová. See *Písně obrozenecké doby* (Praha: Supraphon, 1958).

<sup>310</sup> *Tomášek Tre ditirambi pro klavír, písně na básně J. W. Goetha* (Praha: Supraphon, 1975).

<sup>311</sup> Václav Jan Tomášek, *Nähe des Geliebten – Lieder auf Goethes, Schillers, u.a. Gedichte*, Multisonic a.s. 1995, Magdaléna Hajóssyová (soprano), Marián Lapšanský (piano).

<sup>312</sup> Václav Jan Tomášek, *Tomaschek: Goethe Lieder*, Vienna: Paladino Music, 2012, Ildiko Raimondi (soprano), Leopold Hager (piano).

<sup>313</sup> Václav Jan Tomášek, *Goethe v písních*, Radioservis, a. s. 2014, Kamila Mazalová (mezzo-soprano), Monika Knblochová (piano), Saša Rašilov (recitation).

<sup>314</sup> Václav Jan Tomášek, *Songs by Tomášek*, London: Hyperion 2014, Renata Pokupic (mezzo-soprano), Roger Vignoles (piano).

<sup>315</sup> *Music from Eighteenth Century Prague: Prague-Vienna - Journey in Songs*, Martina Janková (voice), Barbara Maria Willi (piano), Praha: Supraphon, 2017.

<sup>316</sup> See Tomaschek, 'Selbstbiographie', *Libussa*, 5 (1846), p. 353.

<sup>317</sup> Tomášek in his autobiography identifies this piece as opus 46.

<sup>318</sup> 'Z dedikací „českých" písní Tomáškových víme, že v nich myslel především na vlastenecky se obrozující



text in the form of a cantata, *Radovánky a díky činění* [Rejoicing and Thanksgiving] sine op., for soloist and choir.<sup>319</sup> The musical score of the piece is currently missing. The enumeration of Tomášek's Czech settings continues as follows: *Šestero písní* [Six Songs] op. 50, *Šestero písní Hankových* [Six Songs of Václav Hanka] op. 71 and *Starožitné písně královedvorského rukopisu* [Ancient Songs of the King's Court Manuscript] op. 82.<sup>320</sup> These last three collections were also published with their German titles and opus 82 even included German translations of the lyrics. Furthermore, Tomášek set three songs to poetry by Josef Krasoslav Chmelenský (1800–1839) which were published in the song collection *Věvec ze zpěvů vlasteneckých* [A Garland of Patriotic Songs] in 1835. The following sacred songs for chorus probably emerged in the 1830s and 1840s: 'Důvěrnost k prozřetelnosti Božské' [Confidentiality in Divine Providence] sine op. (1831) based on Jan Janda's (?–?) poem,<sup>321</sup> 'Píseň k svatému Janu Nepomuckému' [The Song to Saint John from Nepomuk] sine op., and 'Píseň postní k Panně Marii' [The Fasting Song to the Virgin Mary] sine op. to a text by Josef Vlastimil Kamarýt (1797–1833). A remarkable collection is the *Quattro Canzoni* op. 28 which occur in three languages – Italian, Czech and German. The author of the original remains unknown, but the German and Czech translations belong to Václav Alois Svoboda (1791–1849).<sup>322</sup>

A phenomenon typical of the bilingual Czech lands appeared primarily in the first third of the nineteenth century: songs narrating Czech national topics but in the German language. The curiosity mirrors the awakening national feeling while encountering the lack of knowledge of the Czech language. Among Tomášek's list of compositions are to be found for example *Sechs Gesänge aus C. E. Ebert böhmisch nationalem Epos Wlasta* [Six Songs from C. E. Ebert's Bohemian National Epic Wlasta] op. 74 (1830) and the last vocal setting for men's choir, 'An mein theures Vaterland' [To my Dear Fatherland] (1850) to a text by Karl Viktor Hansgirk.<sup>323</sup>

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českou šlechtu, která se znovu začala učit češtině a která v ní viděla jeden z výrazných projevů „českého" vlastenectví". Milena Vyslouzilová, 'V. J. Tomaseks Lieder zu Tschechischen Texten', *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, H. 9, 1974, p. 65.

<sup>319</sup> The lost composition was created probably in 1803 for the occasion of the arrival of Count Filip Sweerts-Sporck in Svatý Jan pod Skalou (a village in the Beroun district of the Czech Republic).

<sup>320</sup> The songs from op. 82 were recorded on the CD *Písně inspirowane Rekopisem královedvorskim* (Lubrza: RecPublica Studios 2014), Anna Budzynska (soprano), Tomasz Sośniak (piano).

<sup>321</sup> The same melody and text were published in 1838 in the collection *Zpěvy duchovní k varhanám* [Sacred Singing with Organ].

<sup>322</sup> Also known under the German title *Vier italienische Canzonetten mit deutschem und böhmischem Text* in Kabelková, *Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850). Život a dílo*, p. 237.

<sup>323</sup> Kabelková, 'Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, nebo Václav Jan Tomášek?', pp. 347–48.

Tomášek's Czech songs were valued in their time, a response which parallels the national revival in the Czech lands.<sup>324</sup> With the passing of time these settings lost most of their impetus mainly as a result of their outdated lyrics.<sup>325</sup>

### 3.3 The relationship between Tomášek and Goethe

The Goethe-Tomášek relationship was primarily based on a brief correspondence of four letters exchanged between the years 1818 and 1820<sup>326</sup>, followed by two personal meetings in 1822 and 1823. The contact proved beneficial to Tomášek, who achieved a certain notoriety because of it in his time and beyond. Any short note describing Tomášek includes his acquaintance with Goethe. However, this information is incomplete and unilaterally tinted in favour of Tomášek as Buquoy's role in the contact is omitted from the composer's autobiography.<sup>327</sup>

#### 3.3.1 Four crucial letters

Tomášek sent his first letter to Goethe on 29 June 1818<sup>328</sup> during Goethe's healing vacation in Karlovy Vary.<sup>329</sup> There he informed Goethe about his intention to transfer the emotion he felt from the poems into music. The letter included a first book – not six books as Theodora Straková claims<sup>330</sup> – of Tomášek's Goethe settings, namely the songs 'Heidenröslein' (op. 53/1), 'Nähe des Geliebten' (op. 53/2), 'Mailied' (op. 53/3), 'Nachgefühl' (op. 53/4), 'Trost in Tränen' (op. 53/5) and 'Wer kauft Liebesgötter?' (op. 53/6). 'If I am not mistaken by my own conscience, I may praise myself as I interpreted

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<sup>324</sup> The Czech National Revival occurred between the 1770s and 1850s. It is often divided into three stages – the defensive period (1775–1805), offensive period (1805–1830) and climax of the national effort (1830–1848).

<sup>325</sup> For more information on Tomášek's Czech songs see Antensberger, *Die Deutschsprachigen Lieder Für Pianoforte von Johann Wenzel Tomaschek*.

<sup>326</sup> All correspondence is kept in the Goethe und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar in the form of originals or copies. The letters and their attachments are accessible except for one – Tomášek's letter to Goethe from July 1820 which is not yet included in the database. The Czech Museum of Music in Prague possesses the original letter from Goethe to Tomášek dated 1 September 1818. The second original missive from Goethe to Tomášek dated 18 July 1820 is unknown. Goethe subsumed both musical attachments sent to him with Tomášek's letters in his private music collection, Goethes Notensammlung, record group 32. [Personal communication with Gabriele Klunkert, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar, 16 April 2014].

<sup>327</sup> In English translation: Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, and Stephen Thomson Moore. *Wenzel Johann Tomaschek (1774-1850): Autobiography* (Boydell & Brewer, Pendragon Press, 2017).

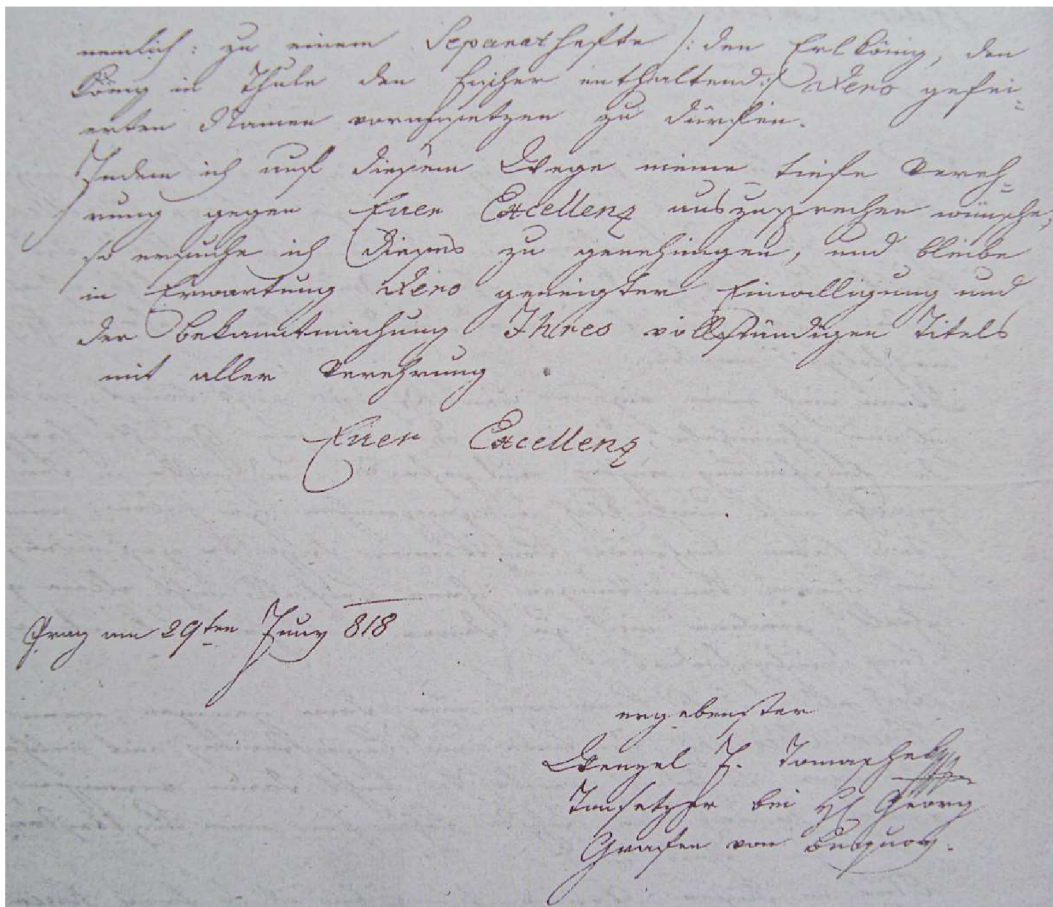
<sup>328</sup> Hans Gerhard Gräf, *Goethe Über seine Dichtungen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), pp. 186-87.

<sup>329</sup> The original letter is placed in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar. Signature: GSA 28/79 Bl. 477 and musical attachment: GSA 32/122.

<sup>330</sup> Theodora Straková, 'Tomáškovy písně na Goetheho texty', *Časopis Moravského Musea*, XL (1955), p. 217.

correctly the emotion felt in each of the poems and I transferred these emotions into the music with success.’<sup>331</sup> The following lines express the composer’s hopes for Goethe’s agreement to dedicate to him a separate book of settings: ‘Only under these conditions am I taking the liberty to introduce to your excellency my innermost desire, namely to dedicate a separate book (including ‘Der Erbkönig’, ‘Der König in Thule’ and ‘Der Fischer’) to your name.’<sup>332</sup>

**Figure 3.1: An excerpt from Tomášek’s letter to Goethe, 29 June 1818**



It is noteworthy that Tomášek in his letter already mentioned his wish to dedicate to Goethe those particular songs which were later included in the seventh book. There is no evidence of or comment on Tomášek’s choice of ballads dedicated to the poet. However, the composer must have been aware of the strong position which these poems occupied

<sup>331</sup> ‘Wenn mich mein eigenes Bewusstsein nicht trügt, so darf ich mir schmeicheln, die in jedem dieser Gedichte herrschende Empfindung richtig aufgefasst und selbe in der Tonsprache nicht unglücklich ausgesprochen zu haben’. In Gräf, *Goethe Über seine Dichtungen*, pp. 186–87.

<sup>332</sup> ‘Nur in dieser Voraussetzung bin ich so frei, E. E. meinen sehnlichen Wunsch hier zu eröffnen, nämlich: zu einem Separathefte (der Erbkönig, der König in Thule, der Fischer enthaltend) Dero gefederten Namen vorzusetzen zu dürfen’ in Tomášek to Goethe, 29 June 1818, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar, sign.: GSA 28/79 Bl. 477.

among others, and by choosing them he agreed on their popularity among readers. The quote regarding the specific selection of poems leads us to a suggestion that all of Tomášek's Goethe settings were already composed and compiled in the nine books before July 1818. His request for approval of a special dedication to Goethe of book seven in 1818 and his forwarding to the poet with books two to six in 1820 reveal that these books could not have been compiled released earlier than 1818 and later than 1820.

Goethe's acknowledgement of and response to Tomášek's first letter written by his secretary dates from 1 September 1818 in Karlovy Vary<sup>333</sup> and described the poet's pleasure at Tomášek's intention to dedicate the following book of settings.<sup>334</sup> 'Please excuse me that I did not announce the arrival of your kind consignment earlier and did not reply immediately to your additional convincing query. I may use as an excuse the mindless days on vacation and the presence of a meaningful society, with which I am willing to spend time. I will not be able to appreciate fully your interest in my Lieder until, back home, I hear performed how you have revitalised the flowers and blossoms of my earlier times. If you want to include in your next collection a special dedication that goes beyond the Lieder dedications that you have already made, then I will feel especially honoured and gratify the ambition to bring my Lieder into the social and artistic environment of musicians'.<sup>335</sup> Tomášek responded with the dedication of his seventh set of Goethe settings as he already intended in his first letter. Therefore, Straková was mistaken when she marked Goethe as the initiator of the dedication.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> The original letter is placed in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar, sign. GSA 29/18 Bl. 170.

<sup>334</sup> The letter was published in the journal *Ost und West*, 10 (1838).

<sup>335</sup> 'E. W. verzeihen, wenn ich nicht früher die Ankunft Ihrer gefälligen Sendung vermeldet und die hinzugefügte geneigte Anfrage nicht sogleich beantwortet habe. Entschuldigen dürften mich die geistabstumpfenden Curtage und die Anforderungen einer bedeutenden Gesellschaft, der man sich so willig hingibt. Ihre Theilnahme an meinen Liedern werde ich erst recht zu schätzen wissen, wenn ich, nach Hause zurückkehrend, wiederholt vorgetragen höre, wie Sie Blumen und Blüthen meiner früheren Zeit neu belebt und aufgefrischt. Wollen Sie beim folgenden Hefte über den meinen Liedern schon gewidmeten Antheil noch eine besonders ausgesprochene Widmung hinzufügen, so werde ich mich doppelt geehrt und eine vielfache Belohnung finden des fortwährenden Eifers, meine Lieder dem Lebens- und Kunstkreise des Musikers anzunähern'.

<sup>336</sup> '[...] z Goethova listu, psaného Tomáškoví 1. IX. 1818 z Karlových Var; básník v něm děkuje za zasláné písně a současně vyslovuje přání, zda by mu Tomášek nemohl další sešit písní věnovat.' [... from Goethe's letter written to Tomášek 1. IX. 1818 from Karlovy Vary; the poet thanks the composer for the received songs and at the same time expresses a wish whether Tomášek could dedicate to him another book of songs.] in Straková, p. 217.

**Figure 3.2: Tomášek's dedication to Goethe of his seventh book of settings**



In the second letter addressed to the poet from the end of June 1820,<sup>337</sup> the composer expresses his respect for German poetry in general, and for Goethe's work in particular, throughout his musical settings. With this letter Tomášek included books two to seven of his settings. As the letter states, Tomášek felt encouraged to set to music some of Goethe's poems and to show 'what German classical poetry is like if it is accompanied by the lyre of a Bohemian'.<sup>338</sup> The following letter by Goethe from 18 July 1820 indicates his great pleasure on examining these settings.<sup>339</sup> 'How much I would like to thank you in person, my dear fellow, for the attention which you devote to my songs and for the tireless, ongoing handling of their musical settings, the performance of which I have enjoyed time and again'.<sup>340</sup>

There is one particularly notable aspect of the Tomášek-Goethe correspondence. Twice Franz Schubert sought the poet's appreciation via a letter of communication and a dispatch of his settings. The first consignment sent by his friend Spaun to Goethe in 1816 never received an answer.<sup>341</sup> So why did Tomášek succeed in getting Goethe's attention and even a measure of praise in answer to his first letter and book of settings sent in 1818,

<sup>337</sup> The original letter is placed in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar. sign. GSA 28/88 Bl. 243 and musical attachment: GSA 32/122. The exact date of the letter is unknown.

<sup>338</sup> 'wie deutsche klassische Dichtung sich ausnimmt, wenn sie von der Lyra eines Böhmen begleitet wird.', Tomášek to Goethe, June 1820 in Gräf, *Goethe Über seine Dichtungen*, p. 323.

<sup>339</sup> The original of the letter is unknown. A draft of the letter is placed in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar, sign. 29/22, Bl. 167. The letter was likewise published in Tomášek's autobiography.

<sup>340</sup> 'Wie sehr ich Ihnen, mein Theuerster, für den Untheil an meinen Liedern danke, und für die unermüdet fortgesetzte Behandlung derselben, möchte ich Ihnen mündlich ausdrücken und zwar aus doppeltem Stunden bei dem Vortrag Ihrer Lieder genosse'. In Tomaschek, 'Selbstbibliographie', *Libussa*, 8 (1849), pp. 485–503 (493–94).

<sup>341</sup> Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert. A Musical Wayfarer* (Yale University Press, 2023), pp. 174–78.



long time before he met Goethe and introduced him to his songs in person? What was different about his approach to Goethe to Franz Schubert's, for example? The key was most probably Tomášek's position in the service of count Buquoy, who first met Goethe in person in 1807 in Karlovy Vary. The acquaintance continued in meetings during the summer months in 1810, 1812 and 1813 and with occasional letter correspondence up to September 1818, two months after Tomášek began his exchange of letters with the poet. Goethe and Buquoy certainly had at least two themes for discussion: mathematics and natural science. Wolfgang Antensberger is convinced that music, art and culture were other areas of discussion in their talks.<sup>342</sup> It is most likely that Goethe was informed about Tomášek and his work from the count. Susan Youens has stated that Goethe was interested in Tomášek's compositions for his Czech settings before their meeting in person.<sup>343</sup> According to Urzidil, Buquoy repeatedly encouraged Tomášek to set Goethe's poems and subsequently to get in contact with the poet.<sup>344</sup> Perhaps Buquoy knew Goethe's opinion on lieder and estimated his interest in Tomášek's compositional language. The possibility could also be an inversion of the sequence: Tomášek might have asked Buquoy to mention himself to Goethe, allowing Buquoy to follow up his own interest and social profit via this contact as the employer and patron of a composer who had been praised by Goethe himself. A sequence of these events must remain unanswered. A comparable parallel to the establishment of social links could be drawn with the introduction to Goethe of Mendelssohn, whose teacher, Carl Zelter, was a good friend of the poet. This kind of acquaintance Schubert lacked when he received back his unopened book of settings in 1816, as did Berlioz with his setting of eight scenes from *Faust* which he sent to the poet in 1829.<sup>345</sup> A link by means of the Goethe-Buquoy-Tomášek triangle is a possible reason behind Goethe's engagement with Tomášek. Goethe's letter from 1820 reveals more information worth considering. In its conclusion Goethe ascribes greetings to count Buquoy, whose friendship flattered him greatly.<sup>346</sup> This sentence is entirely omitted from Tomášek's version, published as a part of his autobiography in the journal *Libussa* in 1849, and therefore remains missing from the Czech translations.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Antensberger, pp. 18–20.

<sup>343</sup> Susan Youens, *Songs by Tomášek*, CD booklet (London: Hyperion, 2015), p. 4.

<sup>344</sup> Urzidil, *Goethe v Čechách*, pp. 288–89.

<sup>345</sup> Jan Panenka, 'Písňová tvorba Václava Jana Tomáška' (unpublished master's thesis, Praha, 1977), p. 61.

<sup>346</sup> 'Ich füge die besten Wünsche hinzu und bitte mich Herrn Grafen Bouqoy, dessen wahre Freundschaft ich mir schmeicheln darf gelegentlich zum besten zu empfehlen'.

<sup>347</sup> Marie Tarantová translated the full version in 'Setkání skladatele J.V.Tomáška s J.W.Goethem', *Od Dyleně*, 1948, which reappears in Panenka's master's thesis, p. 65.

The reason why Tomášek excluded this part of the letter in the publication is evident. It is clear that he did not want to fuel the speculation that Goethe's warm response to his settings was only due to the poet's friendship with count Buquoy. Nevertheless, such assumptions were dissolved by Goethe's kind reaction to their meeting in 1822, a reaction which reveals his endearment towards Tomášek's settings.

### 3.3.2 Meetings in the spas

On 6 August 1822 Tomášek finally met Goethe in the west Bohemian spa town of Cheb (Eger). Following the encounter Goethe noted this meeting in his diary: '[In the morning] Capellmeister Tomášek from Prague. ... 10:30 visited the advocate Frank, where Tomášek played, sang and successfully performed some of my songs. Till 6pm, when the advocate Frank, Tomášek and the counsellor Gruener came to visit me; ... the latter of whom stayed till late. [With Gruener we talked] About musical compositions, Tomášek's achievements and what I wish for him.'<sup>348</sup> Later on the same day his records continue: 'Capellmeister Tomášek from Prague visited, who has a great interest in my lieder and who composed all of them [the footnote says: not in the literal sense]. We went to the advocate Frank where we found a good Viennese piano, at which the composer, with singularity, performed successfully his well-interpreted lieder. In the evening a small social event [took place] at mine; Tomášek said good bye.'<sup>349</sup> The same event is noted by counsellor Gruener: 'The composer Tomášek visited the advocate Frank in Eger. After consulting myself Goethe honoured him with a visit. Tomášek sang some of Goethe's lieder, which he had set to music, namely the 'Erlkönig', the 'Müllerin', and others, and he accompanied them on the piano. Goethe took his leave with applause.'<sup>350</sup> Gruener's notes continue with Goethe's short statement on Tomášek's musical art after the composer's departure: 'At home, Goethe talked a lot about musical compositions, especially those of

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<sup>348</sup> '[Morgens] Capellmeister Tomaschek von Prag ... Halb Eilf zu Gerichtsadvocate Frank, wo Tomaschek von meinen Liedern spielte, sang und glücklich vortrug. Für mich bis sechs Uhr, wo Gerichtsadvocat Frank, Tomaschek und Rath Grüner mich besuchten; [...] Letzterer blieb bis spät. Über musikalische Composition, Tomascheks Verdienste, und was ihm zu wünschen'. In Gräf, *Goethe Über seine Dichtungen*, p. 460.

<sup>349</sup> 'Erschien Capellmeister Tomaschek von Prag, der an meinen Liedern sehr viel Antheil nimmt und sie sämmtlich componirt hat. Wir gingen zum Gerichtsadvocaten Frank, wo wir ein gutes Wiener Fortepiano fanden, woran unser Componist seine Lieder, mit Eigentümlichkeit, mitunter sehr wohl getroffen, glücklich vortrug. Abends kleine Gesellschaft bei mir. Tomaschek nahm Abschied'. In *Ibid.*, p. 460.

<sup>350</sup> 'Compositeur Tomaschek befand sich auf Besuch bei dem Advocaten Frank in Eger. Nach vorgängiger Rücksprache mit mir [Grüner], beehrte Goethe ihn mit einem Besuche. Tomaschek sang einige Lieder Goethes, die er in Musick gesetzt hatte, namentlich den Erlkönig, die Müllerin, und andere, und begleitete sich dazu auf dem Pianoforte. Goethe empfahl sich unter Beifallsbezeugung.' In Gräf, *Goethe Über seine Dichtungen*, p. 459.

Zelter... Then he talked about Tomasek's achievements and praised his artistic compositions.' 'However,' he added, 'I wished he was cosier; the introduction to the "Erlkönig" does not seem to attract me'.<sup>351</sup>

Tomášek also documented this meeting in his autobiography and underlined Goethe's friendliness and interest in hearing his settings to Goethe's words. The composer names seventeen songs which he performed to the poet in Cheb.<sup>352</sup> In addition, Goethe's reception and comments on particular settings are included. When performing 'Trost in Tränen', Tomášek speaks of deep emotions which the poet was unable to hide and adds his presumption that 'perhaps a sad event inspired the poet to write this last lied'.<sup>353</sup> Tomášek could not know about Goethe's farewell to Ulrika Levetzow (1804–1899) just a few days earlier, which most probably caused Goethe's emotional reaction.<sup>354</sup>

Ulrika's shadow is cast over another occasion. As the concert was held in the morning, Goethe invited Tomášek to come to see him once again in the afternoon of the same day, 6 August 1822. Goethe, at Tomášek's request, wrote in the composer's memorial album a commemoration in the form of the first two verses which would later be known as 'Äolsharfen', issued in 1827 as a part of the *Trilogie der Leidenschaft*.<sup>355</sup> The poem in Tomášek's memorial album was entitled 'Liebe Schmerzlicher Zwie Gesang, unmittelbar nach dem Scheiden' [Lovelorn Duet, sung after parting].<sup>356</sup> Goethe chose for this occasion two sheets of paper, and only by folding them together does the poem reveal its meaning. Two separate sheets symbolise the poet's parting with Ulrike, and the folded sheets represent their fulfilment in love after the reunion. This poem was written immediately after Goethe's infatuation with Ulrika von Levetzow in the summer of 1822, and he wrote the poem on his way from Mariánské lázně to Cheb. He gave these lines to Tomášek saying: 'I created something diplomatic in memory of our encounter; I

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<sup>351</sup> 'Zu Hause sprach dann Goethe viel von musikalischen Compositionen, besonders von jenen Zelters, ... Dann sprach er über Tomascheks Verdienste und lobte dessen kunstreiche Compositionen. "Doch", fügte er hinzu, "wünste ich ihm mehr Gemüthliches; der Eingang zum Erlkönig will mich nicht ansprechen"'. In Gräf, *Goethe Über seine Dichtungen*, p. 459.

<sup>352</sup> 'Wer Kauft Liebesgötter?', 'Nachgefühl', 'Mailed', 'An die Entfernte', 'Stirbt der Fuchs, so gilt der Balg', 'Rastlose Liebe', 'Der frühzeitige Frühling', 'Trost in Thränen', 'Am Flüsse', 'Wanderes Nachtlid', 'Schäfers Klagelied', 'An dem See', 'Jägers Abendlied', 'Mignons Sehnsucht', 'Der Erlkönig', 'König in Thule' and 'Der Fischer'. Tomaschek 'Selbstbibliographie' *Libussa*, 9 (1850), pp. 330–31.

<sup>353</sup> Tomaschek 'Selbstbibliographie' *Libussa*, 9 (1850), p. 331.

<sup>354</sup> For information about the relationship between Ulrika and Goethe see Urzidil, pp. 143–65, 335–38.

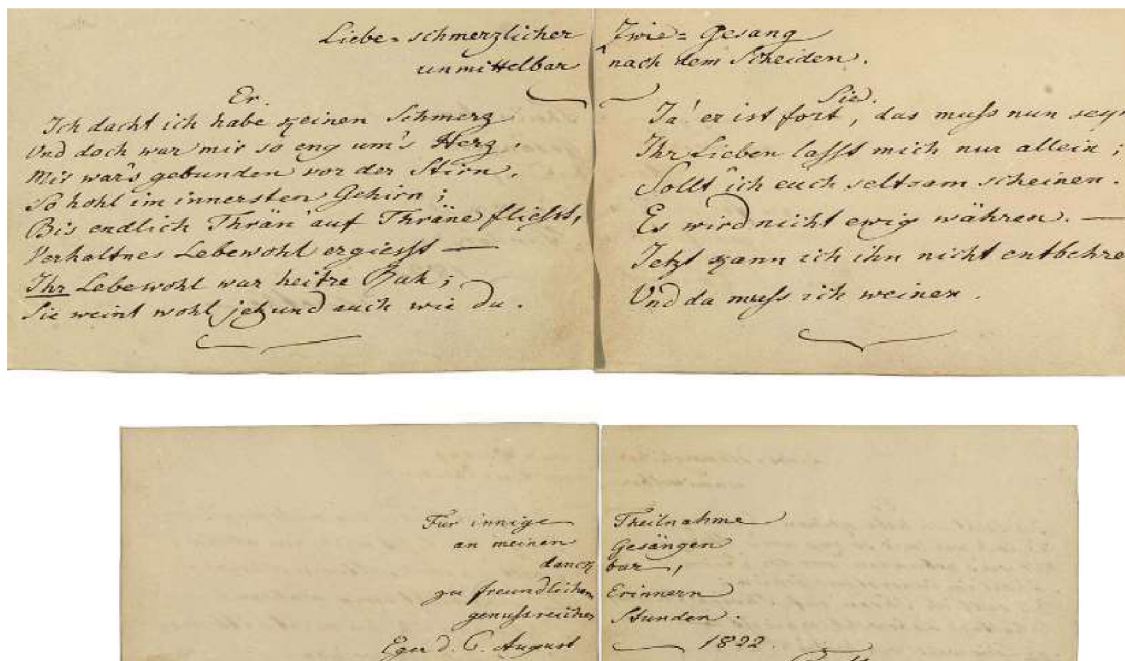
<sup>355</sup> Published in *Gedichte. Ausgabe letzter Hand*, 1827.

<sup>356</sup> Memorial albums usually consisted of separate paper sheets laid in a box.



will be happy to know that you will remember it when you look at these lines.<sup>357</sup> Tomášek did not know that Goethe entrusted him in this poem a very personal confession with unspoken hope of its transformation into a musical setting.<sup>358</sup> As it turned out the poem was never set by Tomášek. A musical treatment of these words was for the first time fulfilled by Goethe's friend, composer Carl Friedrich Zelter<sup>359</sup>, in January the following year.

**Figure 3.3: Goethe's remembrance written into Tomášek's diary: two verses from 'Äolsharfen'<sup>360</sup>**



Although Tomášek wrote about his meeting with Goethe in detail, the same cannot be said about Goethe. There are known only a few very brief references noted in the poet's diary as mentioned above and short remarks in two letters. The first letter, written by Goethe to Zelter on 8 August 1822, mentions 'Musikalische Liebhaber' [music lovers or music amateurs] and pleasant evening entertainment.<sup>361</sup> We can assume that Tomášek would also have appeared at this social occasion. On 26 August Goethe wrote a letter to

<sup>357</sup> 'Da habe ich Ihnen etwas Diplomatisches zur Erinnerung an unser Zusammentreffen gemacht; es soll mich freuen, wenn Sie beim Anblick dieser Zeilen sich dessen erinnern'. In Tomaschek 'Selbstbibliographie' *Libussa*, 9 (1850), pp. 328–32.

<sup>358</sup> For more information about the last meeting see Urzidil, pp. 290–91.

<sup>359</sup> Straková, 'Tomáškovy písně na Goetheho texty', p. 218.

<sup>360</sup> The autograph manuscript poem is in the possession of an unknown collector. From my email correspondence with Thomas Venning, Christie's, London, December 2013, <<https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5370929>> [accessed 2 March 2023].

<sup>361</sup> Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 295.

the Earl K.[aspar Maria] von Sternberg (1761–1838), where he refers to Tomášek's visit and performance of 'some gratifying lieder of mine'.<sup>362</sup>

The following year both artists met again in Mariánské lázně. From Tomášek's autobiography we are informed that Goethe referred to the success of Tomášek's Goethe settings in Weimar and wanted to introduce the composer to the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, who was at that time Karl August (1757–1828), the eldest son of Anna Amalia of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1739–1807). Goethe suggested to Tomášek that he play some improvisation in the Grand Duke's house.<sup>363</sup> Tomášek explains that the meeting never occurred, primarily due to Tomášek's health problems and ongoing curative treatment. Subsequently he adds Goethe's plea to hear Vilemína Ebert's singing of Tomášek's Goethe settings, which also did not take a place due to Goethe's departure from Mariensbad on 20 August, before the arrival of Vilemína and her family.<sup>364</sup> The discrepancy between the composer's statement and reality is evident in records of Vilemína arrival in Mariánské Lázně already on 9 August 1823.<sup>365</sup> The reason why the concert never took place remains unknown, but it is most likely that Goethe preferred the company of young Ulrike to Tomášek's and after Ulrike's departure shortened his stay in Mariensbad and followed Lewentzov to Carlsbad. According to Stanislav Zauper, a friend of Goethe's and superior of the monastery in Teplice, in his *Studien über Goethe* (Wien 1822 and 1840) Goethe praised Tomášek for his humour in melodies which emanate from and at the same time express the unique national character.<sup>366</sup>

The artists never met again, nor has any further correspondence between the contemporaries been handed down. Tomášek's admiration remained life-long, a fact which underlines the composition of a few more settings to Goethe later on and discussed below. One more occasion unites both artists. On 27 August 1849 the celebrations of what would have been Goethe's hundredth birthday took place in Prague. Numerous artists attended the festive dinner. Among them was Tomášek who, despite his illness and rare departures from his home, came to pay his last posthumous tribute to the poet. During the

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<sup>362</sup> 'Dienstag den 6 [August] besuchte mit Musikmeister Tomaschek von Prag und trug manches Erfreuliche von meinen Liedern vor'. In Gräf, *Goethe Über seine Dichtungen*, p. 461.

<sup>363</sup> Tomaschek 'Selbstbibliographie', *Libussa*, 9 (1850), p. 344.

<sup>364</sup> Monika Kubizňáková, *J. W. Goethe a Mariánské Lázně* (unpublished bachelor thesis, Plzeň: Západočeská Univerzita v Plzni, 2013).

<sup>365</sup> Tomaschek, 'Selbstbibliographie', *Libussa*, 9 (1850), pp. 345-46.

<sup>366</sup> '[...] Tomaschek muß man ausserdem noch eine seltene Naivität nachrühmen. Ich weiß nicht, ob ein anderer so gut den Humor in Tönen ausgedrückt. Seiner Nation, deren Volkscharakter er unverkennbar ausspricht, muß er besonders teuer bleiben,' in Tomaschek, *Gedichte von Goethe: für den Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, p. 9.

event Tomášek's Goethe settings were performed. According to Karel Viktor Hansgirk, both Goethe and Tomášek were honoured that night.<sup>367</sup>

### 3.4 Václav Jan Tomášek: *Gedichte von Goethe*

Susan Youens introduces Tomášek's lieder as 'music [which] has much to offer those who wander off the beaten path to explore unfamiliar repertoire.'<sup>368</sup> Tomášek is the only nineteenth-century Bohemian composer who set Goethe's poems in such a large volume. His admiration of Goethe's poetry is immediately obvious through his forty-five musical settings. According to his autobiography Tomášek had been developing the idea to musically tackle Goethe's poems for some time: 'I was seriously considering setting the highest possible number of Goethe's poems, and thus accomplish my older intention'.<sup>369</sup> And later, in his autobiography, he noted in regard to his Goethe settings: 'I wrote several sets of songs which I published as a sequence. I wrote them heart and soul'.<sup>370</sup> His intention began to be realized in 'Schubert's Liederjahr', 1815. The timeline of forty-one of these settings is approximate and bordered by the year 1818 when the composer himself compiled these songs into nine books and issued them periodically at his own expense through Marco Berra's publishing house in Prague between the years 1818 and 1820.<sup>371</sup> The songs, today known under opus numbers 53–61, consist of thirty-four songs for voice and piano, three duets and four trios with piano accompaniment. The front cover is entitled *Gedichte von Goethe / für den Gesang / mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte / gesetzt von Wenzel J. Tomaschek, Tonsetzer bey Herrn Georg Grafen von Buquoy* ['Goethe's poems / for voice / with piano accompaniment / set by Wenzel J. Tomaschek, composer of Georg Count von Buquoy']. Tomášek undertook the task to set to music selected Goethe settings at Buquoy's palace in Prague. At the time he had a number of vocal and instrumental pieces on his 'list of compositions' and began to consolidate his name in the musical world. Each of the nine books bears testimony to a strong artistic grasp. The title page reveals an engraving of the muse crowned by a guardian angel (genius) drawn by an Austrian painter and co-founder of the Prague's Academy (1880),

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<sup>367</sup> Tomášek, *Vlastní životopis Václava Jana Tomáška*, ed. by Zdeněk Němec, p. 278.

<sup>368</sup> Susan Youens, *Songs by Tomášek*, CD booklet (London: Hyperion, 2015), p. 2.

<sup>369</sup> Němec, p. 190.

<sup>370</sup> 'Ich schrieb neun hefte, die ich nacheinander auf Pränumeration herausgab. Ich schrieb sie mit Lust und Liebe'. In Tomaschek 'Selbstbibliographie', *Libussa*, 6 (1847), p. 438.

<sup>371</sup> Straková, 'Tomáškovy písně na Goetheho texty', p. 217.

Josef Bergler (1753–1829).<sup>372</sup> Marco Berra purchased the songs from Tomášek in 1832 and re-issued them in the same year. Although the re-issuing of Tomášek’s Goethe settings by Marco Berra’s publishing house helped their distribution, the songs never reached the kind of popularity achieved by settings of Tomášek’s foreign compatriots and over time fell into oblivion.

**Figure 3.4: Cover page of *Gedichte von Goethe* by Václav Jan Tomášek**



The second wave of Tomášek’s Goethe settings, which was, however, much weaker in terms of quantity, belongs to the 1830s and 1840s. In comparison to the previous period, this time the composer often conceived his Goethe settings for chorus and with the addition of orchestral instrumentation. *Tischlied von Göthe für Tenor und Chor mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* appeared as opus 93. Tomášek’s fascination for Goethe’s *Faust*, which was mirrored in his three vocal works (ops. 102, 103 and 105/1) dating from the 1830s, was mentioned in the previous chapter. ‘Mignon’s Sehnsucht’ (Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt), inspired by the novel *Wilhelm Meister*, emerged in the same period.

<sup>372</sup> Irena Janáčková, ‘Pražští vydavatelé Václava Jana Tomáška’, *Hudební věda*, 18/2 (1981), p. 174.

The song is the first in the collection *Drei Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 109/1.<sup>373</sup> The final Tomášek setting of Goethe, ‘St. Nepomuk von Goethe’ (sine op.) for mixed chorus, dates from the 1840s and remained in autograph. This poem, written by the poet in Karlovy Vary (on 15 May 1820), was rarely set to music by other composers. In the form of vocal settings Goethe’s literary work remained present – with a greater or lesser intensity – in Tomášek’s compositional life for more than two decades.

### 3.4.1 *Gedichte von Goethe: the literary choice and compositional style*

The Czech musicologist Theodora Straková believed that Tomášek took his final selection of poems from the Stuttgart edition of Goethe’s poetry by J. G. Cotta.<sup>374</sup> The first two volumes from the total of twenty began to be issued in 1815, the year when Tomášek claimed to initiate his compositional work. Straková added that Tomášek could not draw from the previous Cotta edition in 1806<sup>375</sup> as it does not include poems from *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. On the other hand, Herbert Zeman and Susan Youens proved that Tomášek based his selection of settings on *Goethe’s Gedichte* in three volumes, edited by the Viennese publisher Bernhard Philipp Bauer, as ‘only there do we find the three songs from *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* given as *Mignon’s Senhsucht*, *Das Geheimnis* and *Die Nacht* – the titles Tomášek used for his settings.’<sup>376</sup> Moreover, the Viennese edition was easily achievable and well distributed.<sup>377</sup> Additionally, Tomášek in his autobiography states his intention to set some of Goethe’s poems as a long-lasting aim. When considering Goethe’s distinction within middle- and upper-class societies at the time, I am convinced that Tomášek was surely acquainted with at least some of Goethe’s poems long before 1815. And in this way he also pre-considered his final textual choice in relation to the already published settings of his predecessors.

For the *Gedichte von Goethe* Tomášek chose poems praising nature, describing love in various forms and those with folk themes. Tomášek set to music nine ballads, three poems from the novel *Wilhelm Meister* and one poem from *Faust*. With the exception of the rarely set poem ‘St. Nepomuk’, he usually musically tackled the most

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<sup>373</sup> The collection also includes the settings ‘Wiegenlied’ (K. E. Ebert) and ‘Die Fahrt’ (A. Glaser).

<sup>374</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethe’s Werke* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta’schen Buchhandlung, 20Bde 1815–1819).

<sup>375</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethe’s Werke* (Tübingen: J. G. Cotta’schen Buchhandlung, 1806).

<sup>376</sup> Youens, p. 2.

<sup>377</sup> Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, *Gedichte von Goethe: für den Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, ed. by Ildikó Raimondi (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003), pp. 9–10.

popular of Goethe's texts. The choice of texts and creation of Tomášek's Goethe settings needs to be measured in the context of their purpose, dissemination and performance. Their creation was conceived with the circle of musical dilettantes around the composer, and his students in particular, in mind. Due to their simplicity and melodiousness Tomášek's songs were identified with the smaller surroundings of salons and private domestic settings. Through these musical circles Tomášek's songs were sung in Prague, and their publications were met with interest. Even after his death, the songs were praised in literature. The tendency to exaggerate the qualities of his Goethe settings is proven by the following article from 1863: 'Goethe's poems set by him [Tomášek] breathed a freshness and an immediacy which were not achieved by any composer of the time and which filled Goethe with a true admiration. "The Fisherman" and to an even greater extent "The King from Thule" remain eternal masterpieces in this genre.'<sup>378</sup>

The general claim about Tomášek's influence on the development of the nineteenth-century lied in the Czech lands has already been stated. Yet his musical encounter with Goethe and the impact of this outcome have not been discussed. Out of more than a hundred German songs, almost half are to Goethe's texts. Some poems were selected to show closely Tomášek's compositional language (see the following parts).

### **3.5 Before the lied was born**

This subchapter aims to introduce and explore the main aspects of settings to Goethe's texts. Songs have been selected to create a better understanding of the works composed in the first half of the nineteenth century by composers connected with the Czech lands. The section also contributes to the genre of the lied and helps to broaden our understanding of its development in the given time period and territory.

Those composers and their songs which are discussed in this part drew their artistic inspiration in the pre-romantic period, a period described by Harry Seelig as follows: '[...], Romantic poetry per se derives its fundamental impetus from the vast and varied earlier poetic achievement of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, whose musically inspired lyricism was already flourishing the three decades before 1800, when the specifically German literary movements of "Sturm und Drang" "[Storm and Stress]',

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<sup>378</sup> 'Goethovy písně, které on do hudby uvedl, dýchaly svěžest a bezprostřednost, kteréž žádný tehdejší skladatel nedosáhl, a kteréž Götha pravdivým obdivováním naplnily, zůstanou "Rybář" a ještě více "Král v Thule" věčnými mistrovskými kusy v druhu tomto.' In P. A. K., 'Památní list Václava Jana Tomáška o duchu a pojmuti (sic) české národní hudby', *Dalibor*, vol. 6, no. 20 (10/7/1863), p. 153.

“Empfindsamkeit” [‘Sentimentalism’], and “Klassik” [‘Classicism’] effectively served as the wellspring of German Romantic poetry even while Classicism stood in opposition to some of the Romanticists’ lyric intentions during the first third of the nineteenth century’.<sup>379</sup> The ideal of the eighteenth-century lied, before its ‘turning point’ in October 1814, corresponded with a simplicity in both melody and harmony. E. T. A. Hoffmann wrote: ‘The very nature of the lied [is] to stir the innermost soul by means of the simplest melody and the simplest modulation, without affectation or straining for effect and originality: therein lies the mysterious power of true genius.’<sup>380</sup> Its connection with the clarity of nature mirrors the philosophy of the Enlightenment, while the other great inspiration emanated from the *Volkslied*.<sup>381</sup> The idea that music should serve words is reflected in the belief that the piano part should support the text. Its subordinate position, and the lack of independent material or virtuosic patterns, leave their footprint through the next generation or two, even though their importance increases towards the end of the century. A strophic setting with slight variations in the vocal line serving ‘to differentiate the imagery of the individual words’<sup>382</sup> remains the leading form, although the multi-sectional and *durchkomponiert* lieder – mainly in ballads – appear in the compositions by Reichardt, Zelter, Zumsteeg and also Tomášek.<sup>383</sup> The highly embellished vocal lines retreat to more frequent declamatory parts. The element of simplicity was seen as a characteristic for each aspect of the genre, which went hand in hand with the song as an entertainment and a pastime activity highly popular in the expanding middle-class society. To be heard and performed was a common denominator for the prevalence of the lied composers including those representatives introduced in this subchapter. Their lieder emanated from the classical conception of the song genre typical of the last decades of the eighteenth century.

As the prevalence and extent of Goethe settings in the Czech lands is unknown, the following pages offer a closer look at selected songs. The aim is to introduce these settings and illustrate how composers responded to the poems, how they tackled the poetic

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<sup>379</sup> Harry Seelig ‘The Literary Context: Goethe as Source and Catalyst’ in *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Rufus Hallmark, (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), p. 2.

<sup>380</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Musical Writings*, ed. by David Charlton, trans. by Martyn Clarke (Cambridge, 1989), p. 379; quoted from ‘The eighteenth-century Lied’ in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons, (Cambridge, 2003), p. 36.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 37–8.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.



form and structure and whether they transferred the linguistic meaning to music. The investigation aims to serve as a starting point for further analytical discourse.

In the choice of songs – especially in the case of Tomášek’s settings – the emphasis was on variety in terms of theme, poetic structure and musical design. To reveal interesting musical solutions was also an important aspect in the song selection. As it is not possible to include the scores of all the songs here, their omission will be compensated for by explanatory tables.

### 3.5.1 Josef Antonín Štěpán: ‘Das Veilchen’

The first setting to Goethe’s texts by a composer born in Bohemia is Josef Antonín Štěpán’s ‘Das Veilchen’ (Vienna, 1778). The musical genre of the setting mirrors the lied from the end of the eighteenth century. The song, entitled ‘Aria’, introduces the same melody for each stanza. The abb’ form splits each stanza into three parts: the first three lines (a) consisting of 6 bars, followed by a two-bar interlude and repeated four lines (b, b’), each consisting of 8 bars. The highly embellished vocal line is accompanied by basic spread chords in G major passing through the dominant D major and parallel g minor tonalities and returning to the tonic key. A similar conception of the poem, which exploited classical idioms including strophic form, was created by Anna Amalia for her Singspiel *Erwin und Elmire* two years earlier in 1776. A more progressive setting of ‘Das Veilchen’, in terms of the form and the musical description of the mood captured in the poem, was composed by Mozart in 1785. Tomášek, who also set the poem from the circle of composers of the Czech lands, possesses a musically more adventurous treatment which will be described later in the chapter.

#### Example 3.1: J. A. Štěpán’s ‘Das Veilchen’, bars 1–8

Moderato

Ein Veil-chen auf der... Wie - se - stand, in sich ge - bückt und un - be - kannt, es  
 war ein her - zigs Weil - chen.



**Table 3.2: Form and harmonic structure of Josef Antonín Štěpán ‘Das Veilchen’**

Form	Poetry	Bars	Keys
Part a	Lines 1–3	/1–8	G, D
Part b	Lines 4–7	9–16	G, g, G
Part b'	Lines 4–7	17–24	G, g, G

### 3.5.2 Jan Josef Rösler: ‘An die Entfernte’

Rösler is the next composer who continued the ongoing tradition of setting Goethe’s texts in the Czech lands. Among his songs is a setting of the poem ‘An die Entfernte’ (1804) which Goethe wrote after his return from Italy in c.1788. The poem mirrors Goethe’s relationship with Charlotte von Stein (1742–1827), a close friend and perhaps a lover for a time,<sup>384</sup> which was followed by a seven-year silence: ‘Overwhelmed with a sense of loss, the poet’s whole being is deeply stirred and translated to a state of longing. [...] his disbelief that their relationship has ended is apparent and the opening questions convey this sense of upheaval.’<sup>385</sup>

Even an outline musical reading of Rösler’s setting shows a close correlation between music and text. The initial query in the poem is presented in a low register of the vocal line. The quasi-recitative melody, initiating on a four-time repeated c1, predicts the poet’s dark fears which are amplified by the move to the key of G minor – in opposition to the principal F major key – at the beginning of the second line (bar 27). The key of G minor returns with the reappearance of stanza 1. The emotions are emphasised by the constant changes of dynamics, in particular including *sforzato* and *rinforzando* patterns at the first two lines. To accentuate the desolation for the absent beloved, Rösler introduces the diminished seventh chord at the word ‘Schöne’ (bar 13).

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<sup>384</sup> Charlotte von Stein was a friend of Goethe and Schiller. She became lady-in-waiting to the duchess Anna Amalia at the age of sixteen. Goethe and Charlotte became soul mates, and Charlotte had an enormous impact on Goethe’s work.

<sup>385</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings*, p. 141.

### Example 3.2: J. J. Rösler's 'An die Entfernte', bars 1–9

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (bars 1-3) begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The vocal line starts with a rest in the first measure, followed by the lyrics 'So hab' ich wirklich dich verloren, bist du, o'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand. The second system (bars 4-6) continues the vocal line with 'Schöne, mir entflohn, noch klingt in den gewohnten'. The piano accompaniment maintains its rhythmic pattern. The third system (bars 7-9) concludes the vocal line with 'Ohren ein jedes Wort, ein jeder Ton.' The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic motif.

Chromatic steps which characterise the song in general, and in particular the last stanza where they are introduced twice, express the despair which prevents the vocalist from singing freely. The third stanza (bar 35) opens with a theme consisting of repeated notes and steps of a second in the vocal line. Moreover, the vocal note (A flat<sup>1</sup>) and the left hand (G) clash to produce the interval of a minor ninth at the words 'ängstlich hin' [anxiously] (bar 36). The static piano left hand gains momentum at bars 40–43, while the melody, which is intentionally built of repetitive notes and an octave leap at the words 'alle meine Lieder alle alle meine Lieder' [all my songs, all, all my songs], makes an impression of stammering. The faster movement suddenly eases with the opening of the

last line ‘O komm, Geliebte, mir zurück!’ [Come back to me, beloved!] (bar 62).<sup>386</sup> The unified rhythmical pattern consisting of three semiquavers and a dotted quaver gives way to a much calmer waltz-like rhythmical arrangement of a crotchet and minim which is adopted in the vocal line (bars 43–51 and 61–75). The final call for the lover’s return is repeated six times and fragmented by the insertion of pauses. The sixth and octave leaps are replaced by upward steps of a second. The mark *vroucně* [dearly] for the vocal line doubled with *stentando* for the piano (bar 72) indicates a nostalgic memento rather than a hopeful expectation. The lover knows that his beloved is not to return again.

**Example 3.3: J. J. Rösler’s ‘An die Entfernte’, bars 40–51**


The musical score for 'An die Entfernte' by J. J. Rösler, bars 40–51, is presented in four systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The piano accompaniment features a consistent eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The vocal line is in a soprano clef. The lyrics are: 'al - le mei - ne Lie - der al - le al - le mei - ne Lie - der, o komm Ge - lieb - te mir zu - ruck, o komm Ge - lieb - te mir zu - ruck!'. The score includes dynamic markings such as 'cresc.', 'f', 'p', and 'rin'.


<sup>386</sup> Translation by Richard Wigmore in *An die Entfernte* (1822), <https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/song/2687> online [accessed 10/1/2022].

### 3.5.3 Tomášek: ‘An die Entfernte’

While Tomášek also musically tackled Goethe’s poem ‘An die Entfernte’ (op. 55/1, book 3), his settings are introduced here and compared with Rösler’s. Like his predecessor, Tomášek in his composition adopted a dotted rhythm in the rather declamatory vocal line (dotted patterns are also characteristic in Schubert’s setting from 1822). The piano combines silence with chordal progressions for the opening questions in contrasted dynamics which helps to create the atmosphere of the verse (bars 5–8). The *fp* marking at the end of stanza 1 (bar 12) represents the only moment in which the dynamics play a role. The song opens with a vigorous piano introduction, beginning in a deep register marked with *sforzato* and *ben marcato* directions which anticipate the heaviness of the initial enquiries. Rösler placed the song in F major, but Tomášek opted for the opposite mode, F minor, which wanders through a number of tonalities in stanza 2 (bars 17 onwards) and returns to F minor for the conclusion of the lied (bar 36). There is another contrary aspect in Tomášek’s setting: while Rösler requires the musician to perform the song *Mit Empfindung und mäßiger Bewegung* [With feeling and moderate movement], Tomášek prescribed an *Allegro con fuoco* tempo which allows the protagonists to awaken different feelings. Rösler’s song is very sentimental, where the domain of the emotions matches the ‘Empfindsamkeit’ tradition. Dissonant passing notes and certain chromatic movements in the piano part of Rösler’s version offer an aurally interesting solution in the figurative accompaniment. By contrast Tomášek’s setting is rather dramatic with a good deal of creative space for the singer. The plain piano part takes its initiative when the voice is silent: the introduction and coda frame the song and complete the dramatic thrust of the poem.

### Example 3.4: Tomášek's 'An die Entfernte', bars 1–8

Mälzl 152  Allegro con fuoco



So hab' ich wirk-lich dir ver-loh-ren? Bist du, o Schö-ne, mir ent-flohn?

#### 3.5.4 'Der Fischer': Jan Theobald Held and Václav Jan Tomášek

This poem was written in 1778 as a reaction to the death of Christine Lasberg, who committed suicide in the river Ilm near to Goethe's house and was found in possession of the book *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*. As with 'Erlkönig', in 'Der Fischer' the subjective feelings are embodied in a supernatural figure which fulfils the main character's fate. The fisherman sits at the edge of a sea when a maiden suddenly emerges on the surface in front of him. Her voice and singing entice the fisherman, and his desire compels him to be with the mysterious water-woman. Half drawn by her, half following freely, the fisherman descends into the water with the maiden and is never seen again.<sup>387</sup> The ballad consists of four eight-line stanzas which alternate between iambic tetrameter and iambic trimeter. With ababcdcd couplets the ballad creates a simple rhyme-scheme that lends itself to musical treatment. In stanzas one and four the plot is introduced by the narrator, while the inner stanzas depict the singing of the mermaid. The musicality of the verses underlines the popularity of the poem among lieder composers (for instance there are settings by Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Carl Friedrich Zelter, Franz Schubert, Carl Loewe and Hector Berlioz).<sup>388</sup> The earliest setting of 'Der Fischer' in Prague belongs to

<sup>387</sup> Paul J. Schmidt, Goethe's „Der Fischer“ and the Perils of Love, *Academia*, [https://www.academia.edu/9277987/Goethes\\_Der\\_Fischer\\_and\\_the\\_Perils\\_of\\_Love](https://www.academia.edu/9277987/Goethes_Der_Fischer_and_the_Perils_of_Love) [accessed 10/10/22], p. 2.

<sup>388</sup> Schmidt, p. 4.

Jan Theobald Held, who published his song in the journal *Harmonia* in 1805. Tomášek's setting was released in the seventh book of *Gedichte to Goethe* (op. 59/3) alongside the ballads 'Der Erlkönig' and 'Der König in Thule' approximately a decade later. Perhaps the great popularity of all three ballads led Tomášek to dedicate the book to Goethe himself.<sup>389</sup> Tomášek most likely knew Held's setting of the text, being a part of the same Prague society as his counterpart who was four years his senior.

**Example 3.5: Tomášek's and Held's settings of 'Der Fischer', opening bars**

The image displays two musical systems. The top system is Tomášek's setting, in 2/4 time, with a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The piano part features a forte (f) dynamic and a sextuplet arpeggio pattern. The bottom system is Held's setting, in 6/8 time, with a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The piano part starts with a piano (p) dynamic and a tremulous arpeggio pattern. The tempo marking 'Andante' is placed between the two systems.

Both composers open their settings with a simple piano introduction characteristic of salon performances at the time: while Tomášek applied a simple broken-chord accompaniment as a reminiscence of a water feature, Held drew the ripple surface with a trembling motive of second steps which is repeated each time a second higher. Tomášek remained faithful to the literary model in terms of the abba form of the ballad. Held's early setting goes beyond the strophic unity with an abca structure. In terms of the word-scheme, both composers respond to the musicality of the verses with dotted rhythmical patterns.

Sextuplet semiquaver arpeggio chords in a rapid tempo and forte dynamics, illustrating the rushing and swelling water in Tomášek's song, remain characteristic of

<sup>389</sup> 'Der Erlkönig' became an iconic text through Schubert's setting, and his lead was followed by many composers. An enormous amount of composers set songs from *Faust I*, and 'Der König in Thule' was, alongside 'Gretchens Bitte', the most popular of these.



the first and fourth strophes. In contrast to Tomášek's approach with a repeated figure, Held's fluid piano accompaniment uses watery onomatopoeia only in accordance with the text.

In 'Der Fischer' a narrator opens the first strophe. Tomášek's melodic line contains a prevalence of second steps, and the brisk accompaniment supports the narrative character. A feeling of anticipation is suggested by the harmonic instability which culminates in the use of a dominant seventh chord for the words 'Flut empor' [the billow breaks and parts] (bar 12). Held's rendering subdues the piano, in conformity with the text, so that the apex strikes with a greater force. The motion of the ocean is captured with the presence of diminished seventh chords in patterns of demisemiquavers in the piano supported with *sforzatto* accentuation (bars 14–15).

**Example 3.6: Renderings of the words 'Flut Empor' in the settings by Tomášek (bars 10–12) and Held (bars 12–14)**

The image displays two musical excerpts. The first excerpt, starting at bar 10, shows Tomášek's setting. The vocal line (treble clef) has the lyrics: "lauscht, theilt sich die Fluth em - por; aus". The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a rhythmic pattern of demisemiquavers with accents, marked with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The second excerpt, starting at bar 12, shows Held's setting. The vocal line (treble clef) has the lyrics: "und wie er sikt, und wie er lauscht, teilt sich die Flut em - por;". The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a pattern of demisemiquavers with accents, marked with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The piano part includes a trill (*tr*) and a piano (*p*) dynamic marking.

The first line of the second stanza reveals a change of scene. The fisherman's presence is interrupted by the unexpected appearance of a supernatural woman. In Tomášek's version of the words 'Sie sang zu ihm, Sie sprach zu ihm' [She sang to him, she spoke to him] (bars 18–21) the narrator's switch to tuneful singing anticipates the voice of a charming

female water sprite while the initial sprightly piano movement is broken to evoke the changeover. The accompaniment shifts to a slower, more seductive pattern of quavers as the water nymph begins to sing her ‘siren song’ to the fisherman. Her singing is more melodic in comparison to the narrator’s and is reminiscent of a cantilena. The sudden magical calmness in her voice is underlined by the static left hand, by the alternation of dominant and tonic harmonies and by the *piano* dynamic level. If Tomášek places the mermaid’s music in the relative C major, Held’s setting reveals the exact opposite. His water fairy turns from the initial C major key to its relative A minor, a tonality which Christian Schubart associated with religious femininity and gentle character.<sup>390</sup> Her entrance is marked with *dolce* and a piano dynamic (bar 20). To emphasize the change Held replaces the initial Andante 6/8 with a faster Allegretto 2/4 meter (bar 23). The interlude, which divides the strophe in half, introduces a melody subsequently imitated in the vocal line (bars 19–20). A switch from A minor tonality (bars 28–40) to A major in the third stanza (bar /41) expresses the impossibility of unilaterally capturing of the water sprite. Tomášek introduces the third stanza with a simple four-bar phrase (bars 36–39), which is sequentially repeated a second higher and then restored to its initial position (bars 40–47). The sequence incorporates a local climax on the words ‘Kehrt wellenatmend ihr Gesicht Nicht doppelt schöner her?’ [Do not their faces billow-drawn loom twice as splendidly?]. On the way to the peak Held gradually increases the dynamic level (bars 46, 47). A line later he imitatively underlines the word ‘Himmel’ [sky] with the highest note a2 and with the dominant seventh chord in E major (bar 50). A four-bar interlude (bars 61–64) leading to the return of the opening music in the fourth strophe (bars 65–68, which recall 3–6) makes an impression of a simple-minded passage but offers an interesting point from an auditory perspective: the F major spread scale supported by a static dominant 7<sup>th</sup> chord in C major (bars 62–64).

In Tomášek’s setting, the return of the narrator in the last stanza brings back the opening melody (bars 62–63 recall 2–3) and *agitato* accompaniment in the piano right hand. The harmony switches between A minor and C major and supports the main highpoint of the story in an analogous approach to the first strophe. The initial figurative piano pattern breaks off at bar 63 to bring attention to the lyrics which are performed in a reminiscence of *secco recitativo* style. Fermatas placed above the words ‘geschehn’ [happened] (bar 64) and ‘hin’ [down] (bar 66), an illusion of time stopping, increases the

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390 Christian, Fr. D. Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Wolkenwanderer-Verlag, 1924), p. 261.



dramatic tension which culminates in the last line. At the words ‘und ward nicht mehr’ [and was never again], marked *a tempo* (bar 67), the voice ascends in chromatic steps which are doubled in the piano right hand. The accompaniment continues with a series of diminished seventh chords which rise in semitone steps and which are amplified by a *sforzatto* direction (bars 67 and 68). Separated by pauses and in contrast to the previous text, the last word ‘gesehn’ [seen] is placed in a quiet dynamic and partly recalls the reintroduction. Here the piano accompaniment evokes the water as it closes behind the fisherman; his destiny is fulfilled. Likewise, in his setting Held returns to the music of the first strophe, marked Tempo I. The denouement of the poem, the angler’s sinking which is revealed in the final verse, is highlighted with a *rallentando* which prolongs the dramatic moment (bars 77–78). Towards its closure the melody steps diatonically down to C, the lowest note in the setting, as the last line describes the drowning fisherman. Held’s ‘Der Fischer’ can be seen as a document of Prague’s musical language on the threshold of the nineteenth century: natural but picturesque melodies, reflecting French and Italian models which greatly shaped the music in the Bohemian capital at the time, are sensed in the song.

**Table 3.3: Structure of Jan Theobald Held’s ‘Der Fischer’**

<b>Bars</b>	1-2	3-17	18-20	21-28	29-32	32ff-40	40ff-60	60-64	65-72	72-74	74-79	79-81	
<b>Strophe</b>		1		2 (lines 1-4)		2 (lines 5-8)	3		4 (lines 1-4)		4 (lines 5-8)		
<b>Metre</b>	6/8			2/4				6/8					
<b>Form</b>	Intr o	A	Inter.		Inter		C	Inter		Inter		Post.	
				B				A					
<b>Tonal Plan</b>	C major through G (bar 10), C (13) and a:V (22)			A minor through d (25) and a (28)			A major through E (44), B (45), E (49), chord e (61) and C:V6-4-3 (62)			C major through G (72) and C (75)			C major

### 3.5.5 Jan Emanuel Doležálek: ‘Nähe der Geliebten’ (sic) and ‘Tischlied’

Both of Jan Emanuel Doležálek’s songs – ‘Nähe der Geliebten’ (sic) and ‘Tischlied’ – exhibit a simplicity and musical elementality. The settings give an impression of vocal exercises rather than art songs. Elements such as the chordal accompaniment and the doubled vocal line in the piano part demonstrate the ability for the music to be performed

at first sight and thus appropriate for amateurs. ‘Nahe der Geliebten’ characterises irregular phrasing (5 bars + 7 bars), bars /10–14 and /16–22, a pattern unusual for such a short song. The combination of symmetrical and asymmetrical features also appears in the settings of the same text by Held and Tomášek. Contrary motion is used in Doležálek’s song (bars 17–18, 24) and also in ‘Tischlied’ (bars 9–10, 21–22 and /25–26), again followed by Tomášek in his ‘Nähe des Geliebten’ (bars 12–14). The left hand moving in parallel octaves is another aspect which appears from time to time in Doležálek’s songs (see ‘Tischlied’, bars 6–10 and ‘Nähe der Geliebten’, bars 17–21) and which was adopted by Held in his setting of ‘Nähe des Geliebten’ (e. g. bars 1–12). The translation and print of the Czech version of Doležálek’s ‘Nähe der Geliebten’, entitled ‘Tauženi’ [Longing] a decade later, illustrate the popularity of Goethe’s literature across the varied layers of society in bilingual Bohemia. From today’s perspective, the declamation of the Czech adaptation reveals defects which would not hold up according to the basic declamatory rules which were developed and embraced in the second half of the century. On the other hand, the text serves as a good example of the re-awakening Czech language.

**Example 3.7: Doležálek’s ‘Nähe der Geliebten’, bars 9–14**

The musical score for Example 3.7 shows a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major and 3/4 time, with lyrics: "Ich den - ke dein wenn mir der Son - ne Schim - mer von Mee - re... strahlt". The piano accompaniment features a left hand with parallel octaves and a right hand with chords and moving lines. Bar numbers 9 and 13 are indicated above the vocal staff.

**3.5.6 ‘Nähe des Geliebten’: Jan Theobald Held and Václav Jan Tomášek**

Goethe’s parody of Friederike Brun’s poem ‘Ich denke dein, wenn sich im Blütenregen’ appeared for the first time in the *Arienbuch der Claudine von Villa Bella* (1795) and was re-published in Schiller’s *Musenalmanach* a year later. Goethe’s verses stimulated a high number of composers. In terms of quantity ‘Nähe des Geliebten’ became the most

musically set poem by Goethe,<sup>391</sup> a fact which also applies to settings of Goethe by nineteenth-century composers of the Czech lands.<sup>392</sup>

The earliest publication of Tomášek's setting of 'Nähe des Geliebten' appeared in the first book of his *Gedichte von Goethe* (op. 53/2). After Tomášek's death his song was translated (by Jar. Fiala) and issued with German and Czech lyrics.<sup>393</sup> The presumed year of publication, 1932, points towards the commemoration of the centenary of Goethe's death, an event of great dimensions and importance in Czechoslovakia.

Tomášek did not follow the strophic structure of the poem and favoured instead an abca' form with the fourth strophe initially recalling the opening phrase. The *Andante* tempo responds to the atmosphere of the poem. The piano introduction gives an impression of a tender tune in a major key, and its varied form frames the song. In contrast to Tomášek's setting, Held's omits a prelude and opens the song quietly with a simple tune initially doubled in unison in the piano right hand accompanied with an uncomplicated rhythm which slightly varies.

**Example 3.8: Held's 'Nähe des Geliebten', bars /1–2**

The musical score for Example 3.8 shows the first two bars of Held's setting. The vocal line is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are "Ich den-ke dein, wenn mir den Son-nen Schim-mer". The piano accompaniment starts with a piano (p) dynamic and includes a crescendo (cres.) marking.

In Tomášek's setting the mood shaped by the tonic B flat major and dominant F major keys suddenly changes with a C major chord switching to the key of c minor (bars 23–24) in the middle of stanza two, followed by a rather dramatic diminished seventh chord (bar 25). The contrasted tonalities symbolise the disparity of day and night. While there is a hope in the sunshine, shades of the moonlight awaken doubts. The wanderer, an illusion of the poet himself, is portrayed with the leap of a falling minor sixth (d2 to f#1 in bar 28), a characteristic feature of Tomášek's significant moments. Held likewise changes tonality from major to minor in accordance with the poem. This feature as well

<sup>391</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, pp. 172–3.

<sup>392</sup> Goethe's verses were set by Held, Doležálek, Tomášek and Fibich.

<sup>393</sup> Václav Jan Tomášek, *Blizkost milého: zpěv a klavír. (Nähe des Geliebten)* (Kutná Hora: A. Novák, [1932?]).

as the melodic embellishments (e.g. bars 2, 6, 17, 19), the introduction of the theme in major (A major) and subsequently minor (a minor from bar 13), and the coloratura moment in the vocal line (bars 38–39), all refer to the Mozartean cult which was very popular in Bohemia at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**Example 3.9: Tomášek's 'Nähe des Geliebten', bars 23–35**

23

prach: v čas půl - no - ční když ztra-cen  
 hebt: in lie - fer Nacht, wenn auf dem

27

vsrá zech ská - ly jde pou - tnik v tmách. Jsi v  
 schma-len Sie - ge der Wand - rer\_ hebt. Ich

31

shu - - - chu mém, když za - čne  
 hö - - - re dich, wenn dort mit

33

bouř se vzte - kat a při - - boj vše.  
 dum - pfen Raus - chen die Wel - - le steigt.

In Tomášek's song the first climax appears characteristically on the words 'Ich höre dich' [I hear you] at the opening of stanza three (bar/31). The vocal line consisting of repetitive notes and leaps stands in contrast to the previous melodic sections, and with the implied syncopation in the piano right hand the lyrics are emphasised. The note G2 is underlined

with a dominant seventh chord of d minor, the key which, according to Schubart, expresses suffering, melancholy and a woman's lament.<sup>394</sup> A different perspective is offered by Held's setting. He separated the third stanza from the surrounding text, and by doing so he responded to the increasing dramatic tension of the poetry. An interlude (bars 18–20) by the piano marked *rinforzando* attempts to introduce the key of a minor, but the third strophe with the words 'Ich höre dich' opens the verse in F major while the piano fastens its accompaniment to an ostinato semiquaver motive. The *crescendo* corresponds to the imagery of the restless sea (bars 22–23). For the first time a minor seventh chord appears (bars 23–24). The final line 'Wenn alles schweigt' [when all is silent], symptomatically separated by rests, sounds above an augmented sixth chord (bar 28). If the stanza is opened emphatically, it closes with the opposite *morendo* effect which leads to a piano fermata.

### Example 3.10: Held's 'Nähe des Geliebten', bars 21–30

21  
Ich hö - re dich, Ich hö - re dich,

24  
wenn dort mit dum - pfen Raus - chen, die Wel - le steigt. Im stil - len

27  
Hai - ne geh' ich oft zu lau - schen, wenn al - les schweigt.

<sup>394</sup> Schubart, p. 261.

In Tomášek's setting, the first two lines of stanza four recall the initial music of stanza one. In the second verse the sea is recalled in the poem and likewise in the music. While the words 'Meere strahlt' [glints from the sea] descend from eb2 to d2 and to c2 (bars 9–10), in the line 'Welle steigt' [the waves surge up] the sequence of vocal notes d2-e2-f2-d2-e2-c#2-d2 in bars 33–35 actually has a wavy outline, as the notes rise and fall several times. The contrast of the roaring waves against the silence of the grove is reflected by Tomášek in the static bass line (from bar 44). The unusual texture in bars 29 – 34 shows an awareness of the capabilities of the piano of the day. A remarkable harmonic approach mirrors the line 'Die Sonne sinkt' [The sun sets] (bars 50–51) as the dominant seventh chord at the beginning of bar 51 resolves in an unconventional way as it proceeds to a diminished seventh chord in c minor. The final cries 'O wärst du da!' [Would that you were here!], which already commence with the line 'du bist mir nah!' [You are close to me!] (bars 47–49), are stated three times in order to close the poem. This longing call reminds one of a cantilena sustained with chromatic descents in the bass line. Again Tomášek uses 'his' leap of a minor sixth (a1 to f2, bars 54–55) carried by four diminished fifth chords descending by step (bars 55 and 56). Subsequently, bar 57 offers an expressive leap of a falling seventh, echoed from bars 31–32, which corresponds with the text. Held disrupts the sequence of the last stanza when jumping from the third line back to the first (see table below). By doing so he changes the rhyme-scheme from an alternating quatrain (abab) to a double couplet (aabb). His coloratura passage (bars 38–39), followed by a cadence (bars 43–44), points towards Italian song and opera.

While Tomášek's highly lyrical setting used harmonic changes to express the atmosphere of the poem, the dynamic aspect played an important role in creating the mood in Held's composition. Tomášek merely places *piano* marks at times, but Held repeatedly uses the whole range. Both settings by Held which were introduced in this chapter confirm his position among the more enlightened and educated personas of his time. Unsurprisingly, his compositional activities inevitably possess aspects which prove that he derived inspiration from the contemporary musical culture of Prague at the beginning of the century.



**Table 3.4: Rhyme-scheme of Held's 'Nähe des Geliebten', stanza 4**

Rhyme	Goethe's original	Rhyme	Held's adaptation
a	Ich bin bei dir, du seist auch noch so ferne.	a	Ich bin bei dir, du seist auch noch so ferne.
b	Du bist mir nah!	b	Du bist mir nah!
a	Die Sonne sinkt, bald leuchten mir die Sterne.	a	Die Sonne sinkt, bald leuchten mir die Sterne.
b	O wärst du da!	a	du seist auch noch so ferne.
		b	Du bist, du bist mir nah!
		b	O wärst du da, O wärst du da!

**Table 3.5: Tonal and formal structure of Held's 'Nähe des Geliebten'**

Bars	Form	Stanza; Line(s)	Tonality
/1-4	a	1; 1-2	A major
/5-8	a1	1; 3-4	A major
/9-13	b	2; 1-2	E major
/14-17	a2	2; 3-4	a minor
17-20	interlude		a minor
/21-25	c	3; 1-2	F major
/26-29	d	3; 3-4	d minor, a minor
/31-34	a3	4; 1-2	A major
35-38	e	4; 3	A major
/39-44	f	4; 1, 2, 4	A major
44-48	coda		A major

### 3.6 The infancy of the lied: An analysis of selected Tomášek settings to Goethe's poetry

Various songs composed and subsequently published c.1815–1820 were selected and studied to delineate numerous facets. To introduce Tomášek's compositional language in some detail is one aspect. For whom Tomášek set these songs and whether they fit in the musical atmosphere or express the musical thinking of the time is another point. The simple but attractive melodies of Tomášek's Goethe settings attempt to convey the meaning of the words. In terms of the form and piano accompaniment Tomášek's Goethe lieder correspond to a post-classical compositional style. An admiration for Mozart's music accompanied Tomášek for the whole of his adult life, and the Austrian composer's impact is obvious in some of Tomášek's songs. Similarities can be traced in the songs 'Heidenröslein', 'An Linna' and 'Mailed', particularly in the piano accompaniments and in the melodic approach. Classical idioms as such permeate Tomášek's lieder. The majority of his songs are set in strophic or ternary aba form, but through-composed patterns can occasionally be found, too. The piano parts lack virtuosic elements, as they are often derived from the standard layout of a chordal accompaniment and decorative figurations. In full accordance with Goethe's aesthetic the music never overpowers the

words. Nonetheless, Tomášek's proficiency as a piano player is obvious from the logical structure of the piano parts. By his unconditional acceptance of the text in his settings he confirmed its superiority over the music, a paradigm which is weakened on occasion and blurred in the encounters of the younger composers of the time, namely Beethoven and Schubert. An important part of Tomášek's songs rests on the harmonic language which is primarily grounded in the classical style but is imbued with progressive elements which recreate the atmosphere of the poems. Furthermore, Schubert's conception of keys and their meaning in terms of mood is echoed with a high intensity.

Tomášek's songs have been subjected to a number of analytical approaches with the most detailed of these written after 2000.<sup>395</sup> Therefore this subchapter will only briefly introduce a selection of songs to demonstrate his artistic response in general and his compositional language in particular.

### 3.6.1 'Mignons Sehnsucht'

Goethe incorporated the poem 'Kennst du das Land?' [Do you know the land?] in his *Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre* novel. Mignon, the young creation of an unidentified sex, sings the song to Wilhelm while reminiscing Mignon's blurred yet painful past and home. The text became one of the most popular among composers. Tomášek placed his setting in the second book of his Goethe songs (op. 54/1) and, according to his autobiography, he performed it to the composer during their first meeting. Goethe appreciated the simplicity of the song, as he was convinced that Mignon's character could not sing arias but simple songs.<sup>396</sup> Goethe with this claim referred to the through-composed settings of the poem by Beethoven and Spohr.<sup>397</sup>

Tomášek's song is anchored in the key of A flat major and framed by a dream-like four-bar piano introduction which closes the song in a partly modified variant. Corresponding with Mignon's simplicity, Tomášek used a strophic form. The composer

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<sup>395</sup> Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, *Gedichte von Goethe: für den Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, ed. by Ildikó Raimondi (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003) and Wolfgang Antensberger, *Die Deutschsprachigen Lieder Für Pianoforte von Johann Wenzel Tomaschek* (EOS 2017).

<sup>396</sup> 'I cannot comprehend how Beethoven and Spohr could have completely misunderstood the song in through-composing it. I would have thought that the distinguishing features that occur in the same place in every strophe would be enough to mark out to the composer that I simply expected a type of folk song from him. It is in Mignon's nature to sing a song, not an aria', in Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 259, translated from *Zu Tomášek über Mignons Lied, Kennst du das Land*, 6 August 1822, *Goethes Gespräche*, ed. by F. von Biedermann, II (Leipzig, 1909–11), p. 592.

<sup>397</sup> The progress in seeing Mignon's character as it appeared in music later in the century is demonstrated, for instance, by Ambrois Thomas's opera *Mignon* (1866).



uses irregular phrases, but the overall structure is symmetrical, comprising two 11-bar sentences. The aspect of regularity is supported through ostinato figuration in the piano part. Mignon opens her singing with the initial question ‘Kennst du das Land?’ [Do you know the land?] to which Tomášek responded with an initial melodic ascent (bars 5–6). A gentle symbolism reveals a wave-like melody on the words ‘Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht’ [A soft wind falls from the blue sky] (bars 10–12).

**Example 3.11: Tomášek’s ‘Mignons Sehnsucht’, bars 1–10**

Andante espressivo Mälzl ♩ = 60

Kennst du das Land? Wo die Ci  
Kennst du das Haus? Auf Säulen  
Kennst du den Berg und seinen

tro - nen blühn, im dun - keln Laub die Gold O - ran - gen glühn  
ruht sein Dach, es glänzt der Saal, es schim - mert das Ge - mach  
Wol - ken steg? Das Maul - thier sucht im Ne - bel seinen Weg

*fp*

As suggested above, in correspondence with the form of the text Tomášek clearly distinguished the refrain from the verse. Mignon’s questioning opens on the dominant seventh chord (bar 16). Her offbeat exclamation ‘Kennst du es wohl?’ [do you know it?] waits for an answer which is not to come. The piano parodies the enquiry while the voice is silent. The question, repeated a second higher, leads to a climax in the vocal part (f2, bar 19) and subsequently in the piano (db3, bar 20). The dramatic moment is intensified by the alternating phrases between the voice and piano as well as by the fermata above the supertonic B flat minor chord in bar 20. Mignon’s questioning is part of a transformation. The description about the dreamland ends, and the intensity of Mignon’s

longing for her homeland is depicted through a change in the accompaniment to urgent repeated quavers in *non-legato* effect oscillating between the dominant seventh and tonic chords (bars 21–24). The piano has a supportive function to the vocal line, and its harmonic language is conceived in order to articulate Mignon’s changing inner state. Her singing is enriched with felicitous ornamentation which enhances its appeal, obliquely recalling the Italian belcanto tradition. Tomášek underlines Mignon’s affiliation to the land and suggests that only through music is Mignon able to identify herself and to give voice to her emotions. For Tomášek, the practice of Italian music, and especially opera, was a natural source to draw on, principally due to its high popularity in Prague at the time.

**Example 3.12: Tomášek’s ‘Mignon’s Sehnsucht’, bars 16–26**

16

Kennst du es wohl? Kennst du es wohl? Da - hin! da  
 Kennst du es wohl? Kennst du es wohl? Da - hin! da  
 Kennst du ihn wohl? Kennst du ihn wohl? Da - hin! da

22

hin! möcht ich mit dir, o mein Ge lieb - ter, ziehn.  
 hin! möcht ich mit dir, o mein Be schü - tzer, ziehn.  
 hin! geht un-ser Weg! o Va - ter, laßst uns, ziehn.

**Table 3.6: Goethe's 'Mignon's Sehnsucht' with English translation**

Stanza 1	'Mignon's Sehnsucht'	Rhyme	Mignon's longing <sup>398</sup>
a	Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn, Im dunkeln Laub die Gold-Orangen glühn, Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht, Die Myrte still und hoch der Lorbeer steht?	a a b b	Do you know the land where the lemons blossom, Where oranges grow golden among dark leaves, A gentle wind drifts from the blue sky,
refrain b	Kennst du es wohl? Dahin! Dahin Möcht' ich mit dir, o mein Geliebter, zieh'n.	c d d	The myrtle stands silent, the laurel tall, Do you know it? It is there, it is there I long to go with you, my love.
<b>Stanza 2</b>			
a	Kennst du das Haus? Auf Säulen ruht sein Dach; Es glänzt der Saal, es schimmert das Gemach, Und Marmorbilder stehn und sehn mich an: Was hat man dir, du armes Kind, getan?	e e f f	Do you know the house? Columns support its roof; Its great hall gleams, its apartments shimmer, And marble statues stand and stare at me:
refrain b	Kennst du es wohl? Dahin! Dahin Möcht' ich mit dir, o mein Beschützer, zieh'n.	c d d	What have they done to you, poor child? Do you know it? It is there, it is there I long to go with you, my protector.
<b>Stanza 3</b>			
a	Kennst du den Berg und seinen Wolkensteg? Das Maultier sucht im Nebel seinen Weg; In Höhlen wohnt der Drachen alte Brut; Es stürzt der Fels und über ihn die Flut!	g g h h	Do you know the mountain and its cloudy path? The mule seeks its way through the mist, Caverns house the dragons' ancient brood;
refrain b	Kennst du ihn wohl? Dahin! dahin Geht unser Weg! O Vater, laß uns ziehn!	c d d	The rock falls sheer, the torrent over it! Do you know it? It is there, it is there Our pathway lies! O father, let us go!

### 3.6.2 'An den Mond'

For his first poem Goethe was inspired by Heinrich Leopold Wagner's musical parody 'An den Mond', which was published in the *Almanach der deutschen Musen* in 1776. Goethe engaged with the piece during the winter of 1777/78 and sent his version of the words with original music by Philipp Christoph Kayser<sup>399</sup> to Charlotte von Stein. Ten

<sup>398</sup> Translation by Richard Stokes online in <https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/song/610> [accessed 22/10/2022].

<sup>399</sup> The musician Philipp Christoph Kayser (1755–1823) set to music and published Wagner's 'An den Mond' in his *Gesänge mit Begleitung des Klaviers* in 1777.

years later, during Goethe's stay in Italy, a grieving Charlotte parodied Goethe's rhymes which she subsequently sent to the poet. The final version of the poem includes Charlotte's verses and was published in Goethe's *Schriften* in 1789.<sup>400</sup>

The poem represents the moon as a symbol of peace and enlightenment within the human heart. 'Through this association of the moon with his beloved, Goethe suggests regeneration is discovered in nature and in love'. The river 'as a metaphor for life' outlines the passing of time and reveals the inevitable fact that life must move forward.<sup>401</sup> The poem seals Goethe's inner recognition, the acceptance of life with calmness.<sup>402</sup>

The difficulty in setting Goethe's 'An den Mond' is widely known for the absolute musicality of the verses.<sup>403</sup> Tomášek's song is part of the fourth book of his *Gedichte von Goethe* (op. 56/4). 'An den Mond' is the fourth song in the book alongside the settings of 'Schäfers Klage' [Shepherd's Lament], 'Selbstbetrug' [Self-deception], 'Erster Verlust' [First Loss], and 'Hochzeitslied' [Wedding Song].

The musical organization of the setting corresponds with the form of the poem. Tomášek arranges Goethe's 36 lines in 9 strophes into 3 stanzas, each consisting of 12 lines in 3 strophes,<sup>404</sup> and follows the trochaic rhythm of the poem. The entire structure of the setting appears as a ternary form aba' for each of the three stanzas. The musical elements of the literal model, its trochaic rhyme-scheme, the formal features and stanzaic structure, are reflected in the extremely regular shape of the setting in terms of periodicity and phrasing. Each poetic line is represented by a four-bar musical phrase. The strophic form in Tomášek's setting serves as a unifying device. A diatonic treatment of the text is framed by harmonically more interesting music.

Tomášek's conception of the melody in the song is close to a folk tune with its melodically and rhythmically simple structure, however set in a rather unusual 4/8 metre. The *Andantino* tempo and *piano* dynamic underline the mood of a bright and calm night. A potential disruption of the peace is already briefly hinted at by the chromatic bass line in the four-bar prelude. At the same time the falling chromatic bass line in bars 1–2 (ab-g-gb-f) is inverted in bar 3 (db-d-eb), and this produces a symmetrical element in the introduction. While the main key is A flat major, incidentally corresponding with

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<sup>400</sup> Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings* (Dublin: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 113–14.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>402</sup> Theodora Straková, 'Tomáškovy písně na Goethovy texty', *Časopis Moravského Muzea*, XL, 1955 p. 233.

<sup>403</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 116.

<sup>404</sup> Straková, 'Tomáškovy písně na Goethovy texty', p. 233.

Schubert's second version of 'An den Mond' (D. 296), a contrast underlining the sadness, loneliness and inevitable fate is created by using the relative f minor key (bar 14) in the middle part. The return of the 'a' part opens in the bassline on the dominant E flat instead of the tonic (bar 21), and the last four-bar phrase (bars 25–28) passes briefly through the supertonic, B flat minor (bars 26–27), before returning to the tonic. By using contrasted tonalities Tomášek reacts to the meaning of the lyrics. While the key of A flat major in bars 9–12 induces hope for a new life in future, the same motive in B flat minor (bars 25–28) denotes a discontentment with itself and portrays a straying at night. The words in this passage – 'Freud', 'Schmerz', 'Einsamkeit' ['happiness', 'pain', 'loneliness'] in stanza one, 'meinem Sang Melodien zu' ['whispering melodies to my song'] in the second stanza and 'der Brust Wandelt in der Nacht' ['wanders by night through the labyrinth of the heart'] in stanza three – are reflected through the dominant seventh chord in B flat minor and supported with a *forte* marking, the only change of dynamic expression in the entire setting. This leads to a sequence of diminished seventh chords in a circle of fifths, possibly a reference to 'the labyrinth of the heart' (bars 29–30). Structurally the most significant aspect of the harmonically rich epilogue is its six-bar length, in contrast to the four-bar units in the remainder of the song. Tomášek frequently chose to surprise the listener in the piano epilogue, perhaps for two reasons: firstly to amplify the emotions of the poem (for instance in his setting of 'Der Erlkönig'), and secondly to prove his compositional abilities.

Example 3.13: Tomášek's 'An den Mond', bars 21–34

21

Je - den Nach klang fühlt mein Herz froh und trü - ber Zeit,  
 Rau - sche, Fluß, das Thal ent - lang, oh - ne Rast und Ruh',  
 Was von Men - schen nicht ge - wußt, o - der nicht be - dacht,

25

wand - le zwi - schen Freud' und Schmerz in der Ein - sam - keit.  
 rau - sche, flis - tre mei - nem Sang Me - lo - di - en zu!  
 durch das La - by - rinth der Brust wan - delt in der Nacht.

30

**Table 3.7: J. W. Goethe: ‘An den Mond’ (1778) with translation**

Stanza	‘An den Mond’	Rhyme	‘To the Moon’ <sup>405</sup>
<b>1</b>			
<b>a</b>	Füllest wieder Busch und Thall Still mit Nebelglanz, Lösest endlich auch einmal Meine Seele ganz;	a b a b	Once more you silently fill wood and vale With your hazy gleam And at last
<b>b</b>	Breitest über mein Gefild Lindernd deinen Blick, Wie des Freundes Auge mild Über mein Geschick. Jeden Nachklang fühlt mein Herz	c d c d e	Set my soul quite free You cast your soothing gaze over my fields; with a friend’s gentle eye you watch over my fate.
<b>a’</b>	Froh- und trüber Zeit, Wandle zwischen Freud’ und Schmerz In der Einsamkeit.	f  e f	My heart feels every echo of times both glad and gloomy. I hover between joy and sorrow in my solitude.
<b>Stanza 2</b>			
<b>a</b>	Fließe, fließe, lieber Fluß! Nimmer werd’ ich froh; So verrauschte Scherz und Kuß Und die Treue so.	g h g h	Flow on, beloved river! I shall never be happy: thus have laughter and kisses rippled away,
<b>b</b>	Ich besaß es doch einmal, was so köstlich ist! Daß man doch zu seiner Qual Nimmer es vergißt!	a k a k	and with them constancy. I possessed once something so precious that, to my torment,
<b>a’</b>	Rausche, Fluß, das Tal entlang, Ohne Rast und Ruh, Rausche, flüstre meinem Sang Melodien zu!	l m l m	it can never now be forgotten. Murmur on, river, through the valley, without ceasing, murmur on, whispering melodies to my song!
<b>Stanza 3</b>			
<b>a</b>	Wenn du in der Winternacht Wütend überschwillst Oder um die Frühlingspracht Junger Knospen quillst.	n k n k	When on winter nights you angrily overflow, or when you bathe the springtime splendour
<b>b</b>	Selig, wer sich vor der Welt Ohne Haß verschließt, Einen Freund am Busen hält Und mit dem genießt,	o k o k	of the young buds. Happy he who, without hatred, shuts himself off from the world, holds one friend to his heart,
<b>a’</b>	Was, von Menschen nicht gewußt Oder nicht bedacht, Durch das Labyrinth der Brust Wandelt in der Nacht.	p n p n	and with him enjoys That which, unknown to and undreamt of by men, wanders by night through the labyrinth of the heart.

### 3.6.3 ‘Das Veilchen’

This poem was written by Goethe in 1774 and became a part of the singspiel *Erwin und Elmire* which was completed a year later in 1775. Goethe was inspired by the ballad of

<sup>405</sup> Translation by Richard Wigmore, Oxford Lieder Online <<https://oxfordsong.org/song/an-den-mond-5>> [accessed 19 September 2023].



Edwin and Angelina in Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*.<sup>406</sup> In the singspiel, the song 'Das Veilchen' [The Violet] is recited by Elmire after the departure of her beloved Erwin, who used to sing about a violet's misfortune to die by being stepped on by a shepherdess whom the flower admires. The song contains typical features of pastoral scenes known in the German singspiel tradition. The ostensibly peaceful poem dramatically changes its attitude when the violet is destroyed by the careless shepherdess.<sup>407</sup> In the poem two characters are distinguished – the narrator and the thinking-aloud violet. The image of the broken flower carries a double meaning: Elmire associates herself with the shepherdess while Erwin's hurt feelings are symbolised by the violet. The loss of innocence is a metaphorical meaning of the poem.<sup>408</sup> The poem is composed in accentual-syllabic verse in iambic tetrameters (lines 1, 2, 4, 5) and iambic metre with three accented syllables (lines 3, 6 and 7)<sup>409</sup>, and its form consists of three stanzas of seven lines: a couplet, a single line, and two couplets representing the refrains.

Tomášek's setting is part of the fifth book of songs (op. 57/1), where it is followed by 'Geistesgruß' [The Ghost's Greeting], 'Auf dem See' [On the Lake], Sorge [Worry] and 'Jägers Abendlied' [Hunter's Evening Song]. 'Das Veilchen' possesses a musically adventurous treatment. The form with its arc-like abca' arrangement is closer to the through-composed model than to the strophic. The setting musically corresponds with the structure, phrasing and rhyme-scheme of the poem. The unifying couplets of lines six and seven in each strophe give the impression of a refrain and in the setting are musically varied each time a third higher in the vocal line (bars /23–26, /40–43 and /60–64). Aspects such as the arched form, 3/4 metre and slow tempo are shared with Tomášek's setting of 'Nähe des Geliebten'.

The song opens with A major chords in a simple manner, mirroring the naivety of young lovers and the beauty of nature. The musical substance includes changes of major and minor tonalities which develop according to the plot and graduate towards the dramatic climax which celebrates self-sacrifice for love at the end of the song. The fundamental A major key depicts the violet and also corresponds with innocent love,<sup>410</sup> while the shepherdess is associated with the parallel keys of E major and g sharp minor

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<sup>406</sup> John Arthur, Carl Schachter, 'Mozart's "Das Veilchen"', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 130, No. 1753, 1989, p. 149.

<sup>407</sup> Brigitte Bark, *Musical Dilettante? Anna Amalia of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1739–1807). Composer at the Weimar Court*, unpublished master's thesis (Maynooth: NUIM, 2012), p. 59.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>410</sup> See Schubart, p. 263.



(bars 20–21 and 26). Through the use of distant tonalities Tomášek illustrates the disparity of both characters. The shepherdess, seen as an emotionally unstable character, is expressed with key changes (bars 19–30, E–g♯–E) while the loving violet resonates with the key of A major (e.g. bars 1–18). Occasionally, the melody is shaped to create a more complete portrait of both figures. For example the words ‘Ein herzig’s Veilchen’ [a dear sweet violet] portray the beauty of nature embodied in the flower (bars 16–18).

**Example 3.14: Tomášek’s ‘Das Veilchen’, bars 15-18**



Later on, the leap of a minor sixth for the word ‘Veilchen’ anticipates the crushing of the violet by the careless shepherdess (bar 48). The rhythmical aspect plays another important role in the setting. To support the change of mood at the moment of the shepherdess’ entrance (bars 19–21), Tomášek disrupts the momentum which imaginatively affects the tempo. From the dream-like waltz pace we suddenly hear a march tempo associated with the resolute arrival of the shepherdess (bars 19–21). The step-like quaver motive of the syllabic vocal line is supported by a *staccato* accompaniment on the words ‘Mit leichten Schritt’ [light of step]. And while the last step is deadly for the violet, Tomášek implements a tonal change to G sharp minor (bar 21).

**Example 3.15: Tomášek’s ‘Das Veilchen’, bars 18–22**



Her destiny, fulfilled through the action of the shepherdess, is indicated by the relatively remote key of G sharp minor at the closure of the stanza (bar 26) while the violet’s wish to be ‘the loveliest flower in all nature’, articulated at the beginning of the second strophe, oscillates between E major and its dominant B major (from bar 28). Tomášek musically grasps the sudden switch from the portrayal of the beauty of nature to the tragic end of

the love story at the beginning of stanza three at the words ‘Ach! aber ach!’ [Ah! but alas!] (bars 44–45). The diminished seventh chord on the word ‘Ach’ followed by the piano’s momentary silence prepares the violet’s forthcoming fate. The words ‘aber ach!’ [but alas!] are set by Tomášek as the chromatic step b1-cn2-b1 (bars 44–45). The chord of F major in first inversion in bar 46, although it is the Neapolitan sixth of E major, is used unconventionally here to leave E major and to travel to C major (bars 47–48). Both the diminished seventh chord and chromatic inflection leading to the Neapolitan sixth are characteristic features for Tomášek’s dramatic musical language. In order to support the emotional expression, he places the word ‘ach’ on the first beat of the bar and ‘aber’, as the less significant word in the phrase, in quavers on the weaker third beat. The drama continues with the third line in music enriched with an augmented German sixth chord in the key of A minor (bar 50). The melody descends (bars 50–51) with the ‘trampled violet’, and a fermata above the last syllable gives both performers and audience breathing space to digest the incident. The second half of stanza three brings back the musical material from the beginning of stanza one in the modal opposite, A minor, which underlies the unfulfilled love and shattered life of the violet (from bar 52). With the flower’s last words – ‘Und sterb ich denn, so sterb’ ich doch, Durch sie, durch sie’ [And if I die, at least I die, through her, through her] (bars /56–61) – beginning in B flat major, the song reaches towards its literal and musical climax on the repeated words ‘durch sie’ [through her]. This peak is emotionally pinpointed by a chromatic ascent in the vocal part (bars /56–61), and the unexpected change of gear to a faster tempo (from 66 beats per quaver to 160 beats per quaver at bar 55) captures the last moments of the violet. This climactic passage is the most interesting point in the song in terms of tonality. The flower begins her last words in B flat major (bar /56) and by adopting a rising sequence (bars 56–61) travels through C major on the words ‘so sterb ich doch’ [at least I die] (bars /58–59), d minor (bars 59–60), E major (bars 60–61) and conclude in the original tonality of A major in the last line, ‘ihren Füßen doch’ [at her feet] (bars 61–64). The mollifying conclusion, fulfilled by the return of ‘tempo primo’, initial tonality of A major and melodically embellished final line, expresses the violet’s happiness from the fulfilment of love in death. A short but harmonically rich coda launched by a forte dynamic closes the song. The end of the flower is dramatically tinted by chords of a diminished seventh (bar 65) and more striking German sixth in an alternative position to that in bar 50 (bar 66). By spacing out the last five piano chords (one per bar in bars 65–69) the composer prolongs

the end of the song, perhaps to give time for the impact of the tale to settle before the closing appeasement but at the same moment makes the closure of the song very clear.

**Example 3.16: Václav Jan Tomášek, 'Das Veilchen', bars 55-69**

55  $\text{♩} = 160$   
Und sterb' ich denn, so sterb' ich doch Durch

60 *tempo primo*  
sie, durch sie, zu ih - ren Fü - ßen

64  
doch.

*f* *p* *pp*

**Table 3.8: J. W. Goethe: ‘Das Veilchen’ (1774) with translation**

	<b>Das Veilchen</b>	Rhyme	<b>The Violet</b> <sup>411</sup>	Tomášek's version
<i>Stanza 1</i>	Ein Veilchen auf der Wiese stand Gebückt in sich und unbekannt; Es war ein herziges Veilchen. Da kam eine junge Schäferin, Mit leichtem Schritt und munterm Sinn,	a a b c c	A violet was growing in the meadow, Unnoticed and with bowed head; It was a dear sweet violet.	<b>a</b>
<i>Refrain</i>	Daher, daher Die Wiese her, und sang	c d e	Along came a young shepherdess, Light of step and happy of heart, Along, along Through the meadow, and sang.	<b>Refrain</b>
<i>Stanza 2</i>	Ach! Denkt das Veilchen, wär' ich nur Die schönste Blume der Natur, Ach! Nur ein kleines Veilchen! Bis mich das Liebchen abgepflückt, und an dem Busen matt gedrückt!	f f b g g f e	Ah! thinks the violet, if I were only The loveliest flower in all Nature, Ah! for only a little while, Till my darling had picked me And crushed me against her bosom! Ah only, ah only For a single quarter hour!	<b>b</b>
<i>Refrain</i>	Ach nur, ach nur Ein Viertelstündchen lang!			<b>Refrain</b>
<i>Stanza 3</i>	Ach! aber ach! das Mädchen kam Und nicht in Acht das Veilchen nahm, Ertrat das arme Veilchen. Es sank und starb und freut' sich noch: 'Und sterb ich denn, so sterb ich doch	i i b j j k j	But alas, alas, the girl drew near And took no heed of the violet Trampled the poor violet. It sank and died, yet still rejoiced: And if I die, at least I die Through her, through her And at her feet.	<b>c</b>
<i>Refrain</i>	Durch sie, durch sie, Zu ihren Füßen doch.'			<b>a'</b> <b>Refrain</b>

### 3.6.4 ‘Geistesgruß’

The text of the poem ‘Ghost greetings’ dates back to July 1774 when Goethe, accompanied by a group of friends including the Swiss pastor and scientist Lavater, made a trip from Ems down the Lahn towards the Rhine. The words came to the poet while on board, and he dictated them to Lavater as they passed the dramatically situated ruins of Castle Lahneck on the way to Coblenz.<sup>412</sup>

The poem is a popular choice among composers. While Reichardt (1794), Zelter (1810) and Wolf (1876) set the text only once, Schubert created no less than six versions (the first version dates from 1815, the sixth from 1828), a practice not at all unusual for

<sup>411</sup> Translation by Richard Stokes online in <https://oxfordsong.org/song/das-veilchen-2> [accessed on 11/7/2023].

<sup>412</sup> Johnson, Graham: *A Goethe Schubertiad* (booklet), Hyperion 1995.

Schubert. Revisions were a part of Schubert’s creative compositional process but six versions demonstrate both Schubert’s precision in text setting also how Goethe’s lyrics stimulated the composer’s imagination.<sup>413</sup> Tomášek, by contrast, published his single setting of ‘Geistesgruß’ in the fifth book of his songs to Goethe (op. 57/2).

**Example 3.17: Tomášek’s ‘Geistesgruß’, bars 1–5**

**Allegretto Mälzel** ♩ = 126

Hoch auf dem al - ten Thur - mesteht des Hel - den ed - ler Geist,

Three stanzas of the poem are set in abca’ form, with the first stanza recalled at the end. By framing the song in this way Tomášek achieves a structural unity. In accordance with the ghost’s singing in the second and third stanzas, Tomášek added a recommendation for a bass voice at the top of the song. The opening strophe brings an image of a fanfare or the rhythmical singing of paddling sailors. The ghost’s singing in a recitative manner stresses the words. His narration features a syncopated line in the piano part moving in octaves (bars 12–26). The dark accompaniment, in contrast to the ‘a’ part, plays the principal role here in terms of creating the change in the atmosphere. Especially dramatic here are the upward leaps of a seventh (c# to b) in bars 14 and 18. The piano part is equally remarkable. The deliberate misalignment between hands demonstrates the element of the unrestrained and restless sea. As the boat on the sea is symbolic of the voyage through life described by the ghost in strophes two and three, the unifying final stanza with its static accompaniment, in fact an identical return of stanza one, refers to one’s end (bars 30–39). At the same time, the ostinato pattern in the recalled strophe refers to the inevitable cycle of the course of life. Tomášek’s choice of keys is once again in harmony with eighteenth-century tonal aesthetic as described by Christian Schubart. The music modulates from the initial B major to its relative g sharp minor (bar 10). While the second strophe oscillates between g sharp minor and its dominant d sharp minor (bars 12–19),

<sup>413</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings*, p. 428.

the third strophe proceeds through major and minor tonalities (i.e. A, E and g sharp minor, bars 20–27) before a return to the original B major (bar 28).

**Example 3.18: Tomášek 'Geistesgruß', bars 12–27**

12  
"Sieh', die-se Sen - ne war so stark, dies Herz so fest und wild, die

*mf*

16  
Kno - chen voll von Rit - ter mark, der Be - cher an - ge - füllt; mein

20  
hal - bes Le - ben stürmt' ich fort, ver - dehnt' die Hälft' in Ruh', und

24  
du, du Men - schen - schif - flein dort, fahr' im - mer im - mer zu."



**Table 3.9: The tonal and formal structure of Tomášek's 'Geistesgruß'**

Bar	Form	Strophe	Tonality
1	introduction		B major
2-9	a	1	B major
10-11	interlude		g# minor
12-19	b	2	g# minor-d# minor-g# minor-d# minor-g# minor
20-27	c	3	g# minor-chord of A major-E major-g# minor
28-29	interlude		B major
30-39	a	1	B major
40-42	postlude		B major

**Table 3.10: Translation of Goethe's 'Geistesgruß'**

Geistesgruß	Rhyme	Ghost greetings <sup>414</sup>
Hoch auf dem alten Turme steht Des Helden edler Geist, Der, wie das Schiff vorübergeht, Es wohl zu fahren heißt.	a b a b	High on the ancient tower stands the hero's noble spirit; as the ship passes he bids it a safe voyage.
"Sieh, diese Senne war so stark, Dies Herz so fest und wild, Die Knochen voll von Rittermark, Der Becher angefüllt;	c d c d	'See, these sinews were so strong, this heart so steadfast and bold, these bones full of knightly valour; my cup was overflowing.
Mein halbes Leben stürmt' ich fort, Verdehnt' die Hälft' in Ruh' Und Du, Du Menschen-Schifflein dort, Fahr immer, immer zu!"	e f e f	'Half my life I sallied forth, half I spent in tranquillity; and you, little boat of mankind, sail ever onward!'

### 3.7 Conclusion: Goethe's poetry and the popular songs of everyday life

This dissertation reveals the first complete list of composers from the Czech lands who have musically tackled Goethe's words. Chapter three certifies that Goethe's literature strongly resonated within Czech society in general and native musicians in particular. At the time of a nascent national revival, which searched for national roots in terms of all cultural domains including music and literature and – at least partly – resisted German connections, Goethe's poetry held a strong position, one which is mirrored by a total of 59 musical settings by 8 composers up to 1850. Of this amount thirteen songs have been introduced and discussed in this chapter.

A new perspective on aspects of Tomášek's relationship to Goethe shone light on the importance of count Buquoy. Tomášek's employer played a key role in the first of the composer's encounters with the poet, which Tomášek did not mention in his memoirs. Furthermore, the discussion of Tomášek's Goethe settings was considered for two reasons: i) the artists' mutual acquaintance and ii) that Tomášek is responsible for the largest amount of settings to texts by Goethe by any composer from the Czech lands. For

<sup>414</sup> Translation by Richard Wigmore online in <https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/song/3093> [accessed on 18/1/2023].

Tomášek, as for the surrounding generations, Goethe was a key figure in the cultural life of the era. The friendship between count Buquoy and Goethe, Tomášek's exclusive position in Buquoy's service as well as the reception of Goethe's texts account for half of Tomášek's songs being settings of Goethe. His Goethe songs oscillate between a classical approach to formal structure and a romantic predilection for melodiousness. Rather short in length, they are written in strophic, ternary and occasionally through-composed forms. Based on a knowledge of the historical circumstances one could argue that Tomášek, when composing these songs, primarily had in mind the amateur musician and the domestic and salon environments. Tomášek, when writing these pieces, was employed full-time by count Buquoy at his residence in Prague, and the composer occasionally taught music to other aristocratic families in the city. Perhaps Tomášek intended to serve two distinct markets in his settings: on the one hand widely popular songs of a good range in terms of diverse themes, tempos and moods, and on the other hand educational material of diverse levels suitable for a broad spectrum of performers. From the perspective of the applied arts, the strength of these settings lay in their charming melodies and pianistically conceived accompaniments which are often elevated by their appropriate figurations. The illustration of certain symbols and the indication of the mood of individual verses through the medium of music are likewise aspects belonging to Tomášek's *Goethe lieder*. Last but not least, these settings declare the popularity of everyday music-making in the 1810s and 1820s in Prague.

While the settings of Štěpán, Rösler and Doležálek clearly attest a Classical treatment – and especially Štěpán's concerto aria 'Das Veilchen', which was intended for trained voices –, those by Tomášek and Held sense incoming Romantic features: easily remembered vocal melodies without many embellishments but supported with colourful harmonies which help to shape the expression. The songs of both these more or less self-educated musicians encompassed the musical trends of early nineteenth-century Prague. From the perspective of a person who was deeply acknowledged in the Czech lands for the last decades of the eighteenth century and beyond, Mozart's melodic invention is also detectable in these songs. Beethoven's mark is likewise traceable, as well as French and Italian music. In correspondence with the Enlightenment and Rousseau's Preromanticism, words are never covered by music, and accompanying instruments are far from being independent of the voice. On the other hand, the effort to musically grasp the emotional character of a poem by using diverse compositional tools is an inherent feature of these settings, reflective of text-setting practices of the time. As chapter three



suggested, a justification for the interrelationship of Goethe's poetry with music by composers in the Czech lands was prompted by a gradual neglect of these settings over time. Songs to Goethe's texts were rarely if ever re-published and thus virtually dismissed from the public space. The results of the present study represent an attempt to reinstate this music to its rightful place in the broader narrative of the lied in a Czech as well as European context.

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## CHAPTER 4

### COMPOSERS AND GOETHE DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY IN THE CZECH LANDS

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Marie Tarantová claimed that Václav Jan Tomášek was the founder of the art song in the Czech lands for two reasons: his broad song repertoire and his impact as a music teacher to the following generations of composers. Around the mid-century, songs by Jan Bedřich Kittl (1806–1868) and František Max Kníže (1784–1840) contributed to native musical life. The first-mentioned of these composers set to music over fifty German and eight Czech songs which he published in Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, while the latter is worth noting for his sociable songs exclusively written with guitar accompaniment.<sup>415</sup> The compositional activities of Pavel Křížkovský (1820–1885) reflect the growing interest in choral music. Křížkovský, an Augustinian priest and teacher in Brno, set to music primarily Czech texts, often based on František Sušil's collection of folk songs. A prolific song and choral writer of a popular reputation, Karel Bendl (1838–1897), created a large number of vocal compositions to Czech words at the second half of the century. His production mirrors the needs of the era and society, thus only a small amount has remained in the musical repertoire up to the present time.<sup>416</sup> However, these composers, who certainly contributed to the development of the nineteenth-century art song in the Czech lands, did not work with Goethe's texts. Similarly, the most popular nineteenth-century composers, i.e. Smetana, Dvořák and Janáček, did not respond to Goethe's poetry in their song settings. By contrast, Zdeněk Fibich did tackle the writer's poems, but only in his youth. Eighteen compositions to Goethe's texts place Fibich, in terms of quantity of settings, behind Tomášek. Two sections of this chapter are dedicated to Goethe's influence. The first part deals with the works of Zdeněk Fibich, while the second follows up those settings by Josefina Brdlíková – the only Czech woman composer whose settings of Goethe have survived –, Josef Bohuslav Foerster, Otakar Ostrčil and Bohuslav Martinů.

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<sup>415</sup> Jarmila Gabrielová, *Vilém Blodek, Johann Friedrich Kittl Songs on German Texts* (Praha, 1999), CD booklet p. 18.

<sup>416</sup> Poledňák, 'Hudba v Českých zemích/Česká hudba', p. 427.

#### 4.1 *Lehrjahre or Liederjahre?* The formative years of Zdeněk Fibich

Fibich's songs are in musical circles discussed almost exclusively in relation to the awakening national revival, which firstly crystalized in the vocal genre, leaving compositions based on non-Czech texts marginalized. Fibich's affinity with opera and melodrama is emphasized more often, even though he set songs throughout his career. Fibich set to music more than two hundred German and Czech texts with absolute prevalence of the first mentioned. From the first phase of his creative output, songs to poetry by Heinrich Heine and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe occupy the forefront position in terms of quantity. The choice of texts gradually changed to the Czech language from 1850s and 1860s onwards, although to compose German poetry was likewise a common practice. By his choice of literature, Fibich proves his European, supra-national dimension beyond Czech territory. Despite its large production, very little attention is paid to Fibich's songs based on German poetry. Songs to Heine's texts still remain in autograph, while the Goethe settings were only published for the first time in 2018.<sup>417</sup>

##### 4.1.1 Fibich's engagement with literature

Fibich's early interest in literature springs from private home study. Fibich's mother Marie (1823–1891), who was the first educator of her children, maintained a generous library in the house.<sup>418</sup> In her memoirs Anežka Schulzová, Fibich's pupil and intimate friend, narrates Fibich's preference for German and English classical literature. To stimulate his imagination before composing, he repeatedly read E. T. A. Hoffman's writings. Fibich's feeling for language was proven at an early age when on a journey to Vienna, Graz and Terst the eleven-year-old sketched a diary of thirty-one pages gratefully dedicated to his father.<sup>419</sup> Schulzová also recalled Fibich's inclination towards poetry and his joy in creating verses to everything that surrounded him for hours, an intellectual pastime to entertain society.<sup>420</sup> Fibich's literary talent, attested by his ability to improvise in rhymes with ease in both Czech and German, and if necessary even to invent his own words, helps to give a complete picture of the sensitivity that he brought to the issues at hand when combining music and text. His extensive knowledge of classical literature in

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<sup>417</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Fibich. Písně na texty Johanna Wolfganga von Goethe*, ed. by Barbora Kubečková (Praha: Editio Bärenreiter, 2018).

<sup>418</sup> For more information see Vladimír Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich* (Praha, 1971), p. 9.

<sup>419</sup> *Zdeněk Fibich – Sborník dokumentů a studií o jeho životě a díle*, díl druhý, ed. by Artuš Rektorys (Praha: Orbis 1952), pp. 107–10.

<sup>420</sup> Schulzová, pp. 17–8.

particular is evidenced by the broad range of textual selections, including the poetry of Heinrich Heine, Joseph von Eichendorff, Adelbert Chamisso and of course Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In 1863 Fibich began to compose his first opera *Medea*, Hud. 501 to his own libretto, followed by *Kappelmeister in Venedig*, Hud. 72 (1866)<sup>421</sup> and *Gutta von Guttenfels*, Hud. 864 (1868), also to his own libretti. As far as is known, Fibich only composed one song to a text of his own: ‘Am Meeresstrande’, Hud. 122 was created in Mannheim in autumn 1869 but was subsequently lost. It is likely that Fibich came into closer contact with Czech literature as late as in 1871, after the conclusion of his musical studies abroad and when relocating to Prague.<sup>422</sup> His awareness of contemporary literature is represented in settings of poems by Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853–1912) and Josef Václav Sládek (1845–1912).

#### 4.1.2 Fibich as a song composer

‘I emphasised Fibich’s songs for good reasons. Their emotionality, their correct declamation – in particular the older ones which emerged during studies in Leipzig and Mannheim were obviously German – and their delicately arranged accompaniment were to me a certain foretaste of his dramatic vocation. [...]. I was absolutely convinced that the author of those beautiful black songs<sup>423</sup> needs to use knowledge gained from composing *Bukovín* as well as larger orchestral compositions while setting [to music] new operatic texts with the same love and respect for the poetic word which he had shown earlier in his German lyrical songs’.<sup>424</sup> This is one of the rare commentaries written about Fibich’s song production and lieder to German texts. More than two decades later, Fibich’s student Zdeněk Nejedlý calls him a ‘musical poet’ ‘a musician [who] is at his

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<sup>421</sup> In Moser’s catalogue this work is entitled in German *Kappelmeister in Venedig* with Czech subscription [sic] „Komická opera na vlastní text dle francouzského. Provozována v Libáni 6[.] ledna 1868 s orchestrem“. [Comical opera to the composer’s own text according to the French [original]. Performed in Libáň on 6 January 1868 with orchestra], p. 35.

<sup>422</sup> Otakar Hostinský, *Vzpomínky na Fibicha*, appendix (Praha, n. publ., 1909), no pagination. Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich*, p. 21.

<sup>423</sup> Hostinský with the indication ‘black songs’ meant the colour of the half-cloth binding of the manuscript.

<sup>424</sup> ‘Na písně Fibichovy kladl jsem velkou váhu z dobrých důvodů. Jejich procítěnost, jejich správná deklamace – starší z nich, hlavně ty, které vznikly za studií v Lipsku a v Mannheimě, byly ovšem německé – a jejich delikátně pracovaný původ byly mi jistou předzvěstí jeho poslání dramatického [...] Měl jsem nezvratné přesvědčení, že autor oněch černých krásných písní má jen zapotřebí, aby zkušenosti nabytých “Bukovínem” a ovšem také většími orchestrálními skladbami, [...], užil při kompozici nového operního textu českého s toutéž láskou a pietou k slovu básnickému, kterou byl osvědčil dávno ve svých německých písních lyrických’ in Hostinský, *Vzpomínky na Fibicha*, p. 7.

happiest [in those forms] where he can express his poetic images'.<sup>425</sup> In 1966 Vladimír Hudec expressed his astonishment over the failure in the available musical literature to even acknowledge the existence of Fibich's early songs.<sup>426</sup> Almost sixty years later, Fibich's name continues to remain most strongly associated with opera and melodrama. His songs find only occasional recognition through the most popular two-volume edition *Jarní paprsky* [Spring Rays], Hud. 300.<sup>427</sup>

Fibich's lieder cover a wide range of poets with lyrical themes, primarily those including love and nature. From 1863 to 1900, Fibich wrote compositions for various combinations of voice and piano to almost two hundred German and Czech texts by nearly sixty different poets.<sup>428</sup> In terms of quantity, Heinrich Heine takes pride of place as his poetry inspired Fibich to compose 51 songs excluding five duets and two choral settings. The early attempts at short strophic songs were set to texts by various German poets. Although growing up in a bilingual environment, Fibich's first language was German through his mother who was his first educator. She emphasised the importance of a general education for her children as well as the development of their artistic talents.<sup>429</sup> Perhaps at his mother's library Fibich had his first encounter with German poetry. A child prodigy, he set his first song 'Das Hüttental wird stiller', Hud. 806 to a text by Christoph Tiedge at the age of 13. Moser's catalogue, the first list of Fibich's compositions which emerged between 1862 and 1885, places five choruses to liturgical texts, a piano march and a fragment of a singspiel *Medea*, in front of his Tiedge setting.<sup>430</sup> Yet, apart from a short example these compositions remain unknown. In the same way Moser's catalogue lists three German song titles from 1864 but with the exception of Eichendorf's 'Nachtlied' (Vergangen ist der lichte Tag), Hud. 93 the names of the authors are not stated. Some verses might have been written by the composer himself, alternatively by people from his surroundings or taken elsewhere (e.g. contemporary newspapers and journals). Perhaps Fibich, at the age of fourteen, did not consider it important enough to state the authors of texts for his early 'music exercises'. The

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<sup>425</sup> Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Zdenka Fibicha milostný deník. Nálady dojmů a upomínky* (Praha: Hudební matice Umělecké besedy, 1925), pp. 40–1.

<sup>426</sup> Vladimír Hudec, *Fibichovo skladatelské mládí. Doba příprav* (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1966), pp. 39–40.

<sup>427</sup> Each volume in the edition consists of seven songs.

<sup>428</sup> Only 10 poets were Czech. Poetry by other than German-speaking writers was set in its German adaptation.

<sup>429</sup> Fibich had an older sister Marie (1844–1893); two other siblings died at an early age.

<sup>430</sup> Viktor Moser, *Thematický seznam veškerých skladeb Zdeňka Fibicha od r. 1862. do 31. května 1885*, unpublished autograph, pp. 8–9.

inception of the song corresponds with the composer's first encounter with Prague in 1863. While being enrolled in the grammar school of Prague's Lesser Town, Fibich became devoted to music and began to think of his career as a music composer. Interest in the German lied reached its peak in 1871 and 1872 and was intertwined with his personal life, namely courting his first wife Růžena Hanušová (1851–1874). The first lieder preserved in Fibich's book of songs and originating from the period between 1865 and 1871 were set to texts by Eichendorf, Saphir (1795–1858), Rückert and especially Heine and Goethe.<sup>431</sup> For Fibich, the choice of German poets was natural. Educated in German language and literature, and following Lieder composers such as Schubert, Schumann and Mendelssohn led him directly to the great German authors. In his own way Fibich continues the lied tradition established by Václav Jan Tomášek and carried on by Eugen Leopold Měchura (1804–1870), Jan Bedřich Kittl (1806–1868), Václav Jindřich Veit and others while searching for compositional idols beyond the area of the Czech lands. The cultural and political situation in Prague changed after 1860 from a predominantly German-speaking city into one in which Czech became more and more common. For instance, Bedřich Smetana, who concentrated on large-scale compositions, namely Czech opera and symphonic poems with national themes, set *Večerní písně* [Evening Songs] to texts by Vítězslav Hálek (1835–1874).<sup>432</sup> Although Smetana had already sketched three songs to Czech texts around 1848, these five Hálek songs were the first and only finished settings composed in a cycle as late as 1879.<sup>433</sup> Also, Antonín Dvořák, nine years Fibich's senior, as well as Smetana were not inspired by German poetry. In 1888 Dvořák set to music four German texts by Otilie-Malybrok-Stieler; however, being the only one from the triumvirate of composers whose mother tongue was purely Czech, he naturally inclined to texts in his native language.<sup>434</sup> The popular song cycle *Cypresses* (B. 11) to words by Gustav Pflieger Moravský (1833–1875) was composed in 1865, two years after Fibich's first attempts at song. Prague in Fibich's early years did not offer many lied composers to whom he could look up. Tomášek was already dead and his songs were slowly falling into oblivion, shadowed by more progressive and gifted song writers outside Bohemia including the above-mentioned German lied

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<sup>431</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Písně*, sig. S80/433 MČH HHO Praha.

<sup>432</sup> Hálek was a Czech writer, known as one of the founders of Czech modern poetry.

<sup>433</sup> List of works by Bedřich Smetana available online on IMSLP,

<[http://imslp.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_works\\_by\\_Bedřich\\_Smetana](http://imslp.org/wiki/List_of_works_by_Bedřich_Smetana)> [accessed 22/11/2016].

<sup>434</sup> Dvořák for his *Čtyři písně*, op. 82 [Four Songs] chose four poems from Malybrok-Stieler's collection *Lyrische Gedichte und Übertragungen nach böhmischer Kunst- und Volks-Poesie*.

composers. The upcoming generations with Smetana and Dvořák to the forefront had their central focus on the development of the Czech musical tradition. The Czech public and critics pressurised composers with demands for an exclusive Czech music which would, at the same time, affirm international artistic standard. Opera was seen as the representative genre for this task. Thus Smetana aimed to create compositions which would form the national music of his country through opera. On the other hand, Dvořák focused his interest on Moravian and Slavic inspirations and on other genres such as symphony, concert, chamber music, cantata and song.<sup>435</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, who was raised in a middle-class German-speaking family, initially did not feel a strong urge to express the patriotism of the land in his work. His setting entitled ‘V ruce proutek’ [The Twig in the Hand], Hud. 811 from 1865 is the rare exception of a documented song to a Czech text before the early 1870s. At the same time, we cannot exclude the possibility that Fibich set more Czech texts, perhaps for the needs of a strongly Czech-speaking community in Jilemnice, but no evidence of such activity was found. Settings to the words of his land of origin began to appear in larger quantities much later. After Fibich’s return from studies abroad and following the relocation to Prague in May 1871, he decided to make his name as a composer in the Bohemian capital. Being surrounded by Czech literature within the national society he was aware that the only way to success in Prague was by composing Czech texts.<sup>436</sup> Composers who decided to establish their positions in the Czech lands knew that they had to serve the culture which they chose in order to be accepted. That also meant to compose in the manner required by Czech society and to suppress elements seen as foreign. The lied, a form highly popular at the time, provided Fibich with the unnecessary intermediate step on his journey to more extensive vocal compositions. He was aware of the need to compose large-scale compositions on Bohemian themes and in the original language with the twin aim of establishing Prague as a veritable musical centre and more importantly of defining his identity as a Czech composer. Therefore, he made a conscious attempt to compose texts in their original Czech as well as in translations from German. In fact, the earliest public interest in Fibich’s work was connected with the first collection of Czech songs *Patero písní*<sup>437</sup> [Five Songs], Hud. 148, issued in 1872 and based on Vítězslav Hálek’s *Večerní písně*. Of the triumvirate Smetana

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<sup>435</sup> Kopecký, *Přehled dějin hudby 19. století*, pp. 75–81.

<sup>436</sup> ‘... od svého přesídlení do Prahy [v květnu 1871] skládal I hojně písní českých.’ [...since his relocation to Prague (in May 1871), [Fibich] also composed many Czech songs]. in Hostinský, *Vzpomínky na Fibicha*, p. 7.

<sup>437</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Patero písní* (Praha: Wetzler a vdova 1872).

– Dvořák – Fibich, the latter, also the youngest, became the first to tackle the collection of poems.<sup>438</sup> The first review was published in *Hudební listy*<sup>439</sup> [Musical Sheets] and even other journals perceived the songs as a milestone among Fibich's vocal compositions, leaving settings to German texts aside.<sup>440</sup> Fibich's settings of Hálek's verses were published in the original Czech with German translations, a custom not at all unusual for the composer. Bilingualism was a frequent practice across Fibich's compositional career, and a common marketing ploy at the time. For instance, songs in both collections of *Jarní paprsky*, containing selected items from the years 1870 to 1891, included both language versions. The second edition entitled *Čtyři balady* [Four Ballads] was presented in the same way.<sup>441</sup>

Despite this awakening interest in Czech literature, the years 1871 and 1872 marked the pinnacle of Fibich's German lieder. Twenty-five songs were composed in 1871, while the following *liederjahr* brought forth 34 songs and 8 duets.<sup>442</sup> By comparison, 14 songs, 1 choral setting and 1 canon were set to Czech texts during this two-year period.<sup>443</sup> The increase of song settings in these years mirrored Fibich's happy private and social life, especially his close connection to the Hanuš family.

#### 4.1.3 Songs from the Prague period (1862–June 1865)

The first composition of Fibich's recorded in Moser's catalogue and the only one from the year 1862, *Pange Lingua*, Hud. 1 for four voices, marks the short period of the composer's stay in Prague. Although Vladimír Hudec claims that Fibich entered the grammar school as late as 1863, Prague is the place of origin of the first composition.<sup>444</sup> In October 1864 Fibich became a pupil at the music school of Zikmund Kolečovský (1817–1868).<sup>445</sup> The strengthening enthusiasm towards musical composition was

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<sup>438</sup> Dvořák set the texts in 1876 and Smetana in 1879.

<sup>439</sup> See *Hudební listy*, vol. II., no. 19, p. 159; no. 28, p. 236; no. 30, p. 254; no. 32, p. 271, etc.

<sup>440</sup> 'Jsou to práce staršího data, z dob, kdy nepodléhal ještě duch jeho různým vlivům, které později svedly jej s cesty národní melodiky.' [These are works of an older time, when [Fibich's] soul did not succumb to various influences which deflected him from the path of national melodiousness later on]', *Dalibor* XXIV., nos. 45/46 (22/11/1902), p. 367.

<sup>441</sup> The songs were composed in 1872 and 1873 and first published by the Lichtenberg firm in Leipzig in ca1875. The second edition from Prague also included the Czech texts. Zdeněk Fibich, *4 Balady/4 Balladen* (Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek, 1896). Authors of the texts: A. Chamisoo, H. Lingg, H. Heine; translations: O. Kučera.

<sup>442</sup> The duets were in all cases transcribed in both languages.

<sup>443</sup> According to Moser's catalogue.

<sup>444</sup> Hudec, *Fibichovo skladatelské mládí. Doba příprav*, p. 17.

<sup>445</sup> A former director of the singing and music society Žofínská akademie [Sophie's Academy], Kolečovský established his music school in 1860.



accompanied by a rapid decline of Fibich's progress as a student at the grammar school on the one hand and his determined decision to study music professionally on the other.<sup>446</sup> The first regular musical education with Kolečovský, the first of its kind, helped to develop Fibich's talent and became an important landmark for his further studies. The exceptional aspect of Fibich's education in comparison to his counterparts was his decision to leave Prague and undergo musical studies abroad. Musical life in Prague was below the standard of that in other European centres, the result of unsatisfactory local conditions. The Czech part of the Provincial Theatre did not have a satisfactory stage, nor the requisite quantity of singers and musicians. The repertoire, however, incorporated Italian, French and German operas including Wagner's works which undoubtedly had an impact on Fibich's work. The anniversary celebration of Shakespeare's birth in 1864 left a wide mark in Prague. On 23 April, Bedřich Smetana conducted Hector Berlioz's symphony *Roméo et Juliette*. Two instrumental pieces for Shakespeare's tragedy composed by Fibich in 1865 refer to the commemorative celebration of the birth of the British writer in the Bohemian capital the previous year. During Fibich's first year in the grammar school in 1863, Prague's Provisional Theatre staged Goethe's play *Clavigo*, which was translated into Czech by Budislav Třemšinský (1841–1883)<sup>447</sup> and to which Fibich wrote incidental music three years later in Leipzig.<sup>448</sup> Up to the time of his relocation to this north-west German cultural mecca in October 1865, the young student set to music a total of twenty-nine songs to the texts of Tiedge, Eichendorf, Redwitz, Rückert, Heine, Lingg, Geibel and Köchlin, as well as a duet, 'Gefunden', Hud. 816, to Goethe. Out of these songs only four manuscripts have survived: Rückert's 'Wunsch', Hud. 15 and three Heine settings, i.e. 'König Wiswamitra', Hud. 18 'Ende', Hud. 22 and 'Ich will Seele tauchen, Hud. 77, the only setting published so far.<sup>449</sup>

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<sup>446</sup> Moser's catalogue mentions eight various pieces including one song dated 1863, three out of four compositions from 1864 were songs and eight opuses including two songs up to June 1865 in Moser, pp. 8–16.

<sup>447</sup> Ljuba Klosová, Adolf Scherl, *Česká divadelní encyklopedie*, Prozatimní divadlo, <[http://encyklopedie.idu.cz/index.php/Prozat%C3%ADmn%C3%AD\\_divadlo](http://encyklopedie.idu.cz/index.php/Prozat%C3%ADmn%C3%AD_divadlo)> [accessed 2/10/2018].

<sup>448</sup> *Incidental Music to the Drama Clavigo by J. W. Goethe*, Hud. 829, composed on 24 November 1866 in Leipzig.

<sup>449</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Zwei Gesänge*, Leipzig: A. G. Lichtenberger, s. a. (undated). and *Dvě zpěvů* (Praha: F. A. Urbánek, 1901).

#### 4.1.4 International experience: songs composed abroad

The milestone in Fibich's compositional progress was achieved during his musical education at the Leipzig Conservatoire between 1865 and 1866. Supported by his uncle, a composer and teacher at the conservatoire, Raymond Dreyschock (1824–1869), Fibich came to the cultural centre of German romanticism to fully develop his own potential. The young student attended the music theory lessons of Ernst F. E. Richter (1808–1879) and piano lessons at the class of Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870), a native of Prague. Nevertheless, he left school prematurely during his third semester, deciding to stay in the city and study music privately with Salomon Jadassohn (1831–1902).<sup>450</sup> It is believed that Jadassohn introduced the young student to the work of J. S. Bach which resulted in a number of contrapuntal pieces in the forms of preludes, canons and fugues. Performances of compositions by Beethoven, Schumann and Mendelssohn featured regularly in the centre of the rich but traditional musical life in Leipzig. Even the conservatoire, a centre closely associated with the music of Schumann and Mendelssohn, was imbued with the ever-present atmosphere of its founders. On the other hand, works by Liszt and Wagner were seldom staged.<sup>451</sup> The Leipzig period crucially broadens Fibich's awareness of German contemporary music as well as the work of J. S. Bach. He studied in depth those compositions which were performed at concerts. The music of Schumann and especially Mendelssohn had an indisputable impact on Fibich's lieder during this period.<sup>452</sup> The content of his library reveals that the composer was also acquainted with settings by authors from the turn of the eighteenth century.<sup>453</sup> A hundred years ago, musicologist Jaroslav Tomášek even held the view that the strong inspiration by foreign authors influenced Fibich's decision not to publish his early songs.<sup>454</sup> Two other reasons may be advanced to explain why Fibich published only a few of his early songs (e.g. Mignon's song). Firstly, he perceived these settings – especially those rejected during his revision

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<sup>450</sup> Jiří Kopecký, 'Zdeněk Fibich', in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*, <[https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com\\_mdictionary&task=record.record\\_detail&id=7521](https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&task=record.record_detail&id=7521)>. [accessed 27/10/2015].

<sup>451</sup> Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich*, p. 12.

<sup>452</sup> Fibich's library contained an impressive amount of musical scores of these authors as well as their biographical books: *Briefe* (R. Schumann, Leipzig, 1885), *Schumanns Leben und Werke* (R. Heinrich, Lipsko 1887) and *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy* (A. Reissmann, Berlin 1872). In Vlasta Reittererová, *Zpracování a charakteristika osobní knihovny Zdeňka Fibicha*, <<http://www.osobniknihovny.cz>> [accessed 28/5/2019].

<sup>453</sup> J. R. Zumsteeg: *Kleine Balladen und Lieder* (Leipzig 1802), J. F. Reichardt: *Göthes Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen* (Leipzig 1809), C. F. Zelter: *Sämtliche Lieder, Balladen, Romanzen*, Z. 124 (Berlin after 1810), etc.

<sup>454</sup> Jaroslav Tomášek, 'Písňová tvorba Zd. Fibicha' *Hudební rozhledy* II (1925–1926), nos. 3–4, pp. 91–96.

of his work – as compositional exercises. Secondly, he maybe intended to revise some other early songs but was not granted enough time to do so.

Fibich's musical studies abroad (between 1865 and 1870) mirror a prolific period in terms of the amount of songs composed. During these years 79 songs were set, with peaks in 1865 (29 songs) and 1868 (20 songs). A large volume of these settings were composed during Fibich's holiday at his parents' home in Libáň, and a handful of songs emerged in Prague.

In September 1868, after a short period spent at his parents' new home in Žáky, Fibich left for Paris with the idea of becoming a piano teacher and a concert virtuoso. Paris, however, did not offer the young musician what he had hoped for. The illusion of a highly cultural centre soon dissolved when Fibich tasted the conventional and backward aspect of a musical fashion which was shaped by amateurs from the aristocratic circles which surrounded him.<sup>455</sup> Eight months in Paris did not arouse his compositional activities in the genre of song. Up to his return to Žáky in May 1869, Fibich set to music only four German texts, none of which was by Goethe.<sup>456</sup>

Disappointed with cultural life in Paris, Fibich decided to broaden his musical knowledge in Mannheim (1869–1870). The local theatre paid for a progressive German cultural centre presenting contemporary operatic works. Here Fibich became acquainted with Wagner's music, and in particular the production of *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg* pointed the young composer in the direction of his future dramaticism. Perhaps his frequent visits to musical events restrained Fibich from creative activity. Out of a total of eight compositions there are six songs to German poets.<sup>457</sup>

## 4.2 Zdeněk Fibich's Goethe Lieder

The poetry of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe stimulated countless young composers at the beginning of their compositional career before and after Fibich, Franz Schubert, Carl Loewe and Richard Wagner to name but a few. Goethe himself encouraged composers to

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<sup>455</sup> Vladimír Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich. Tematický katalog* (Praha: Editio Bärenreiter, 2001), p. 14.

<sup>456</sup> Settings to German texts according to Moser's catalogue: 'Loreley' (Heine), dated 12/10/1869; 'Ave Maria' (unidentified author, no date), probably December 1868; 'Altes Lied' (unidentified author), dated 21/2/1869; 'Frage' (Chamisso), dated 28/4/1869 in Moser, pp. 49–53.

<sup>457</sup> 'Abend wird es' (unidentified author, melody by A. Knapp) set in Autumn 1869; 'Abend am Meere' (Fibich), Autumn 1869; 'Wie ist doch die welt (Reinecke), Winter 1870; 'Wohl auf es ruft der Sonnenschein' (Tieck), Winter 1870; 'Des Vonster in das Morgenssträus' (unidentified author), Winter 1870 in Moser, pp. 57–60.

musically set his poetry when he described a poem as being incomplete without music.<sup>458</sup> The poet possessed a unique aura which influenced his ‘contemporaries and generations of artists who came after him’.<sup>459</sup> His thoughtful and varied poetry and the melodiousness of his verses fascinated composers. The internationally educated Fibich identified with Goethe’s view on life, death and arts in terms of the antique philosophy. More specifically the composer resonated with antique ideals; a sense of harmony in life and in the world and aesthetic values were placed above morals. Therefore Fibich criticised Christianity for its violation of naturality and its excessive ascetism which led to a subtraction of joy in life.<sup>460</sup> Altogether a total of twenty-one vocal settings is the logical outcome which ensued from Fibich’s inspiration in Goethe’s poetry. Fifteen solo songs, three duets, two choruses and an incidental piece were composed over a period of eight years, from 1865 to 1873. Furthermore, there is a transcription of the song ‘Kennst du das Land?’, Hud. 524 for harp,<sup>461</sup> without the lyrics.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> Seelig, ‘The Literary Context: Goethe as Source and Catalyst’, *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 4

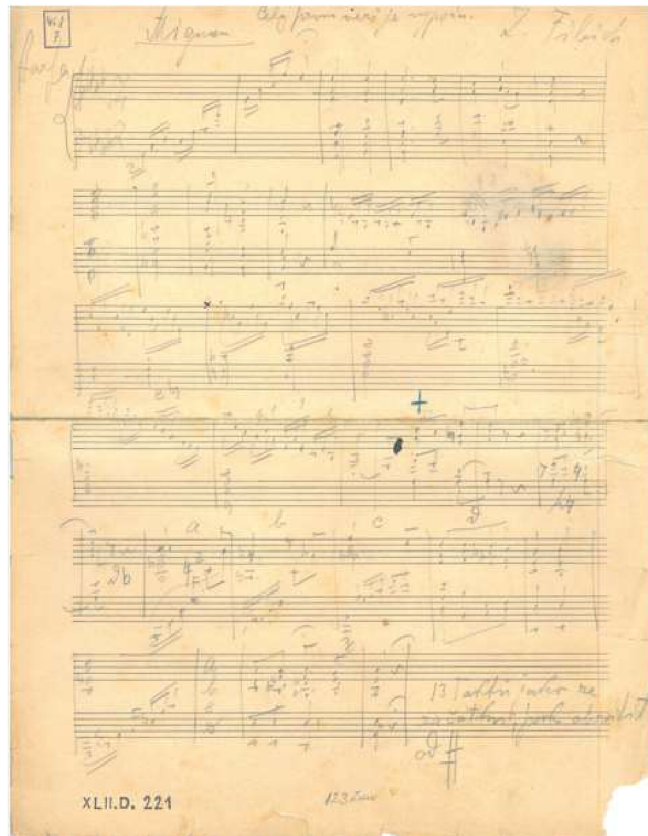
<sup>459</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings*, p. xvi.

<sup>460</sup> Schulzová, *Zdenko Fibich, hrstka upomínek a intimních rysů*, p. 19.

<sup>461</sup> Archived at The National Museum – Czech Museum of Music in Prague, sig. XLII-D-221.

<sup>462</sup> Hudec claims that it is a sketch to an intended melodrama dated around 1900. A comparison of the sketch proves that it is a transcription of the song. The date stated by Hudec has not been confirmed; see Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich. Tematický katalog*, p. 633. The sketch could be Fibich’s later transcription inspired by the marriage of Anežka Schulzová’s brother Ivan, who married a harpist at the Prague National Theatre, Jiřina Mařáková.

**Figure 4.1: A transcription of Fibich's 'Kennst du das Land?' for harp**



The duet 'Gefunden', Hud. 816, the first of Fibich's settings to a text by Goethe, corresponds with his final decision to study music. The beginning of his systematic education in music is connected with Leipzig (1865–1867), the city renowned for its popularity of song concerts, which undoubtedly ignited Fibich's interest in vocal composition.<sup>463</sup> In the course of a short period of study at the Leipzig conservatoire, which Fibich prematurely concluded in the spring of 1867, three vocal compositions were set to texts by Goethe: the duet for soprano and tenor 'Lebt wohl, geliebte Bäume' Hud. 820, 'Verflüßet vielgeliebte Lieder', Hud. 838 and 'Es ist ein Schnee gefallen' Hud. 839. In the same period, Fibich composed the *Incidental Music to the Drama Clavigo by J. W. Goethe*, Hud. 829. During the composer's short stay at his parent's house in Libáň, he set to music *The Faust Parody for tenor, bass and piano*, Hud. 833. Whether the duet was to Goethe's text cannot be proven as none of these pieces from the Leipzig years has been handed down to us. Fibich's library included two compositions, each drawing inspiration from a different literary source. Schumann's version is based on Goethe's novel, while

<sup>463</sup> Hudec, *Fibichovo skladatelské mládí. Doba příprav*, pp. 32, 41.

Spohr's work adapted a libretto by Joseph Carl Bernard (1780–1850).<sup>464</sup> Whether a text in one of these settings was influential for his music adaptation cannot be proved.

Fibich's stay in Paris at the turn of 1868 did not prompt a single Goethe setting.<sup>465</sup> A renewed interest appeared in the summer months of 1869 during the composer's holidays at his parents' house in Žáky<sup>466</sup> and with the Hanuš family in Jilemnice, a village located at the foot of the Krkonoše Mountains. These two locations called forth four songs for voice and piano: 'Zigeunerlied', Hud. 115 from the play *Götz von Berlichingen*,<sup>467</sup> 'An den Mond', Hud. 116, 'Nachtlied',<sup>468</sup> Hud. 887 and 'Von den Bergen',<sup>469</sup> Hud. 119. The vocal compositions from this period, with the exception of the song 'An den Mond', were most likely destroyed during Fibich's revision of his work in 1897.<sup>470</sup> The stay in Jilemnice surely offered numerous opportunities for domestic music. For instance, a trumpet player and singer Jan Laušmann, father of soprano singer Marie Laušmannová (1858–1933), lived near the Hanuš family. All three Hanuš sisters were trained in opera singing, and two of them, both later Fibich's wives, were publicly praised for their singing qualities. Betty (1846–1901) was established as the famous alto singer, while the amateur singer Růžena (1851–1874) was a mezzosoprano.<sup>471</sup> Both sisters had lower voices, and the melodic span of Fibich's Goethe settings never reaches beyond note f2. It is my belief that Fibich intentionally composed the songs for lower voices, having in mind both Hanuš sisters, and by doing this at the same time extended the potential circle of interpreters for

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<sup>464</sup> Robert Schumann, *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* (C. F. Peters, Leipzig, 1865); Louis Spohr, *Faust*, op. 60 (Leipzig, 1856).

<sup>465</sup> Only four songs from the Paris period are known: 'Loreley' (Heine), 'Ave Maria', 'Altes Lied' and 'Trage' (A. Chamisso).

<sup>466</sup> At the turn of the 1860s and 1870s, Fibich's parents relocated numerous times.

<sup>467</sup> Vladimír Hudec presents the setting as a work for voice and choir. Most probably it is a mistake as the incipit shows a song for voice and piano (compare Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich. Tematický katalog*, p. 169 and Kamenický, Stanislav, *Přehled themat veškerých skladeb Zdeňka Fibicha*, unpublished autograph, p. 11).

<sup>468</sup> Perhaps inspired by one of two poems titled as 'Wandrer's Nachtlied'. The song was composed in Jilemnice alongside setting to Heine 'Leise zieht, Hud. 118 and a cappella trio 'Zastaveničko' [A Short Stay] for soprano, tenor and bass, Hud. 816 (author of the text unknown).

<sup>469</sup> According to the note incipit, it is a setting of Goethe's poem 'Wanderlied' from his novel *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, book 3, chapter 1. Compare with Moser, p. 56.

<sup>470</sup> Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich*, p. 19.

<sup>471</sup> 'Na koncertě, jenž byl 15/12 [1972] p. Rozkošným pořádn, na místě ochraptělé sl. Betty Hanušové zpívala její sestra, sl. Růžena některé písně od Fibicha. Lahodný a znělý její mezzosoprán zjednal mladistvé debutantce (zpívala poprvé samostatně u veřejnosti) všeho uznání.' [Miss Růžena Hanuš sang at the concert organised by Mr. Rozkošný on 15/12/1972 some songs by Fibich instead of her sister Betty who had become hoarse. Her delicious and resonant mezzosoprano brought recognition to the young debutante (she sang publicly on her own for the first time)]. [Anon.], *Hudební listy*, vol. III., no. 51 (19/12/1872), p. 419, section: Zprávy, etc.

the music. Moreover, both women performed the songs in autumn 1872.<sup>472</sup> This culturally rich environment stimulated Fibich's compositional activities and at the same time demanded musical performances.<sup>473</sup> Apart from the already mentioned vocal pieces, the surroundings inspired the piano *Bagatelles*, *Serenade* and *Overture* to name but a few works. All of the compositions are believed to have followed the destiny of the above-mentioned Goethe settings.

The third and largest wave of Fibich's interest in Goethe's literary work corresponds with the end of the composer's studies and intended relocation to Prague in spring 1871. Fibich's motivation was to return to Prague as a composer with a broader knowledge of music, which he had gained during his studies abroad.<sup>474</sup> Nine songs based on texts from the book *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* were set only a few weeks before Fibich's arrival in Prague in June 1871. The setting of Goethe's poems, which coincided with the beginning of Fibich's musical studies in 1865, symbolically closes this period six years later. '[Fibich's output] encompassed 80 song titles up to then and the young composer demonstrated – even though often led only by his poetic and musical instinct and primarily by his great idols Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann – an extraordinary ability to express immediately and directly the poetic atmosphere of verses, which he chose primarily from the work of German poets.'<sup>475</sup> In fact, Hudec was mistaken on this point. Fibich set to music 105 songs to German and 2 songs to Czech texts from the beginning of his compositional activity in 1862 until the end of May 1871.<sup>476</sup> This amount clearly reveals that Fibich was, at this early stage in his career, already a prolific composer of German songs, even though a good amount of his instrumental pieces bear Czech titles.

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<sup>472</sup> Betty performed the songs at a concert on 22/11/1872. Due to Betty's illness, Růžena represented her sister at a concert on 15/12/1872 (see note above). See *Hudební listy*, vol. III., no. 48 (28/11/1872), p. 395 and no. 51 (19/12/1872), p. 419, section: Zprávy, etc.

<sup>473</sup> Thanks to PaedDr. Jan Luštinec from Krkonoše Museum in Jilemnice for this information.

<sup>474</sup> Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich*, p. 13.

<sup>475</sup> '[Fibichova písňová tvorba] do té doby obsáhla na osmdesát titulů a mladý skladatel v ní prokázal – i když tehdy veden mnohdy pouze svým poetickým a hudebním instinktem a především svými velkými vzory, Franzem Schubertem a Robertem Schumannem – pozoruhodnou schopnost bezprostředního vyjádření poetické atmosféry básnických předloh, které vybíral především z tvorby německých básníků.' in Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich. Tematický katalog*, p. 15; and *Zdeněk Fibich*, pp. 13–4. A list of Fibich's songs for a voice and piano, released in *Zdeněk Fibich – Sborník dokumentů a studií II.*, likewise reveals 105 pieces (pp. 347–54).

<sup>476</sup> The number of songs composed in each year is as follows: 1862: 0, 1863: 1, 1864: 3, 1865: 30 (1 Czech), 1866: 14, 1867: 13 (1 Czech), 1868: 9, 1869: 11, 1870: 6, by May 1871: 20. See Moser's catalogue, pp. 5–73.



Figure 4.2: The autograph of Fibich's *Aus Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre*<sup>477</sup>



Fibich's Goethe lieder cover predominantly intimate lyrical texts, many of which were a frequent choice of composers (e.g. 'Erste Verlust', 'An den Mond', 'Nähe des Geliebten' as well as the Mignon and Harper songs). For instance, 14 out of 21 vocal compositions to Goethe were set by Schubert and 11 by Schumann. Hudec claimed that Fibich was for his early songs inspired predominantly by Schubert, Mendelssohn and Schumann.<sup>478</sup> Nonetheless Fibich's library – which remains fragmented – contained song collections by various composers, for instance Reichardt, Zelter, Zumsteeg and Jensen. According to literature, Fibich's rich library contained, beside music works and scores, travelogues, scientific and philosophical treatise also belles lettres.<sup>479</sup> This means that Fibich could take poems for his settings from collections of his predecessors or from collections of poetry.

Fibich very often chose poems with natural images. His enduring love for nature, which was nurtured from his boyhood as the son of a forester living in a close conjunction with nature, is reflected in his choice of texts. For instance, 'Von den Bergen' was composed under the immediate impression of the Krkonoše Mountains. Besides poems celebrating nature, Fibich selected intimate lyrical and love themes, many of which

<sup>477</sup> This is an excerpt from the manuscript, the song 'An die Thüren will ich schleichen', p. 31. A photograph of the manuscript is from the personal archive of Barbora Cupáková.

<sup>478</sup> Hudec, *Fibichovo skladatelské mládí*, pp. 32–43.

<sup>479</sup> According to Helfert, there were 1306 items at Fibich's personal library. Vladimír Helfert, 'Z Fibichovy knihovny', *Dalibor*, 1910, vol. 32, pp. 329–32.



emerged in the early 1870s and are associated with his first wife Růžena (e.g. ‘Nähe des Geliebten’). In fact, most of these songs from the 1860s include unfulfilled love stories and are often based in nature (‘Gefunden’, ‘Am Flusse’, ‘März’, ‘An den Mond’). Poems related to folk motives are also present (e.g. ‘März’). ‘Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh’ by Goethe and ‘Sterne mit den goldnen füßchen’ by Heine were the last compositions written in Prague before his departure to Vilnius. Both his happy personal life and the excitement of a new environment are mirrored in these settings. Initially Fibich chose poems with regular strophic patterns to refine his early compositional approach. The wide range of poems by diverse authors that Fibich worked with offered him a good ground for musical differentiation between diverse structures of texts, contents and poetic styles. Throughout the song settings Fibich broadened his melodic invention and imaginative thinking, alongside his understanding of the need for unity between words and music. Like his predecessors, Fibich strove to express melodically the fundamental poetic meanings, and he set out to capture the essence of the mood and poetic atmosphere. According to Fibich himself this was ‘the highest task of a modern composition in the genre of song’.<sup>480</sup>

**Table 4.1: A list of Fibich’s settings to Goethe’s poetry**

<b>Title of the composition</b>	<b>Title of the literary work</b>	<b>catalogue no., date, genre</b>
Gefunden	Gefunden	Hud. 816, 1865, duet
Lebt wohl, geliebte Bäume	Lebet wohl, geliebte Bäume	Hud. 820, 1866, duet
Verfließet vielgeliebte Lieder	Am Flusse	Hud. 838, 1866, song
Es ist ein Schnee gefallen	März	Hud. 839, 1866, song
Ach, wer bringt	Erster Verlust	Hud. 846, 1866, song
<i>Incidental Music to the Drama Clavigo by J. W. Goethe</i>	<i>Clavigo</i>	Hud. 829, 1866, instrumental
<i>Duet z Parodie na Fausta pro tenor, bas a klavír</i> <sup>481</sup>	<i>Faust</i>	Hud. 833, 1867, duet
Zigeunerlied	Zigeunerlied ( <i>Götz von Berlichingen</i> )	Hud. 115, 1869, song
An den Mond	An den Mond	Hud. 116, 1869, song
Nachtlid	Nachtlid	Hud. 887, 1869, song
Von den Bergen	Wanderlied ( <i>Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre</i> )	Hud. 119, 1869, song
<b><i>Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre</i></b>		Hud. 134, 1871, songs
Lied der Mignon. Heiß mich nicht reden		
Mignon. Kennst du das Land?		
Lied der Mignon. Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt		
Lied des Harfners. An die Türen will ich schleichen		
Lied des Harfners. Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen aß		
Philinens Lied. Singet nicht in Trauertönen		
Lied der Mignon. So lasst mich scheinen		
Des Harfners Ballade. Was hör ich draußen vor dem Tor?		
Lied des Harfners. Wer sich der Einsamkeit ergibt		

<sup>480</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, ‘V Přírodě’, *Dalibor* III., no. 16, pp. 123-4 and Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich*, p. 41.

<sup>481</sup> As this is a lost composition, Goethe’s authorship cannot be verified.

O tobě sním (Ich denke dein)	Nähe des Geliebten	Hud. 172/7, 1872, duet
Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh	Wandrer's Nachtlid (Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh)	Hud. 185, 1873, men's or mixed choir

#### 4.2.1 *Aus Goethes Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahren* (1871): an analytical approach

In the year when Fibich concluded his studies in Mannheim and relocated perhaps partly with his family to Prague,<sup>482</sup> where the young composer aimed to break through with his work, he set to music thirty-eight poems. In a short span of time between April 15 and May 1, dwelling still in his parents' house in Žáký, Fibich exclusively composed songs to German poetry.

The following settings to texts from *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* hold a distinctive position among Fibich's vocal compositions as he chose Goethe's poems from the *Bildungsroman* to shape his first and only German song set, a unique musical form among Fibich's vocal output. His decision to first set a unified group of songs to Goethe's poetry was not at all unusual among composers in the nineteenth century.<sup>483</sup> Like Schumann more than two decades earlier,<sup>484</sup> Fibich selected the same poems for his series and omitted 'Spottlied'. The settings, with the exception of the two Mignon songs, were never published before or after the composer's death nor were any audio recordings of the settings made. Only the transcript handwritten by Fibich leaves us with the hope that these songs might have been performed publicly, perhaps by the alto singer Betty Hanušová Fibichová, the composer's second wife, and the bass singer Karel Čech.<sup>485</sup>

Nine thematically-connected songs reveal some early attempts of through-composed and ballad featured settings. The diverse range of emotions, contained in the poems, provided Fibich with an ideal ground for his own invention, from a simple strophic setting to a through composed ballad, from a single song to an assembled and motivically connected song set. The privileged position is affirmed by the fact that Fibich decided to keep the songs, although with the comment 'Not suitable for print',<sup>486</sup> when intensively revisiting his early work three years before his death. Perhaps the fact that

<sup>482</sup> Hana Sedláčková states that Fibich's parents relocated to a summer house in Adamov near Brno where Jan Fibich dies in december 1882. Whether the composers parents spent part of a year in Prague is not clear. See 'K osudům knížecího lesníka', *Sborník Muzea Brněnska* 2017, pp. 33–43.

<sup>483</sup> For instance Schubert and Wagner composed their opus 1 works to texts by Goethe. Furthermore, Schubert set to music 5 Mignon and 4 Harper poems between 1815 and 1826. For more information on settings of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre* see Dougherty, William P., 'Mignon in Nineteenth-Century Song. Text, Context and Intertext', *Word and Music Studies*, ed. by Suzanne M. Lodato, Suzanne Aspden, Walter Bernhart (Amsterdam–New York, NY: Rodopi 2002), pp. 123–42.

<sup>484</sup> Robert Schumann published his *Lieder und Gesänge aus ,Wilhelm Meister'* (op. 98a) in 1851.

<sup>485</sup> Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich*, p. 39.

<sup>486</sup> 'Nehodí se pro tisk'.

these songs emerged at the time when Fibich was courting his first wife Růžena explains Fibich's decision to keep them, or as interesting examples of his compositional development for his archive and posterity. It is my belief that Fibich intended to rework these songs, but his life was too short to fulfil this aspiration. Apart from the *Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre* song set, only 'An den Mond' survived the composer's revision of his oeuvre and was thus handed down to us. Throughout his life, Fibich only published two songs from this set: Mignon's songs 'Kennst du das Land?', Hud. 300<sup>487</sup> and 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', Hud. 134.<sup>488</sup> The only publication of Fibich's Goethe settings was transcribed by hand and prepared for publication (however never released) by Stanislav Kamenický as *Fibichovy rukopisné písně v opisech* [Fibich's handwritten songs in transcriptions].<sup>489</sup> Kamenický based his edition on autographs and transcriptions of the songs. More than a hundred years after Fibich's death, the scores of all ten surviving songs to Goethe's texts were critically edited and published for the first time<sup>490</sup> and accompanied with the audio recording on CD.<sup>491</sup> The song 'An den Mond', Hud. 116 (1869) is the only setting outside the *Wilhelm Meister* song set. Unlike characters from his operas, which were often written for particular performers, none of these settings contain a dedication or a comment suggesting an intended performer. Furthermore, the composer never endorsed this work. In fact, to publish or compose at any cost was a feature truly foreign to Fibich who believed that quality would reveal itself.<sup>492</sup> His aforementioned comment, 'unsuitable for print', from the transcript of his collection of *Songs*, does not suggest any intentions to widely perform or distribute these settings even in his later days.

The first question to be raised in relation to the *Wilhelm Meister* settings is whether Fibich meant to create a song cycle as claimed by the Czech musicologist Vladimír Hudec (1929–2003) or if it was intended as a song set? The timeline of the creation of these settings does not follow the order of the poems in the book. At first, all Mignon's songs were set followed by the four settings of Harper. The 'Philines Lied' was placed between

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<sup>487</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Jarní paprsky* (Praha: František Urbánek, 1894), book 1, song no. 4.

<sup>488</sup> Zdeněk Fibich (ed.), *Hudební album. Sborník skladatelův československých* (Praha: František Urbánek, 1893), no. 1/2, pp. 9–15.

<sup>489</sup> Stanislav Kamenický, *Fibichovy rukopisné písně v opisech*, autograph (Příbram, 1952).

<sup>490</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Písně na texty Johanna Wolfganga von Goethe*, ed. by Barbora Kubečková (Praha: Editio Bärenreiter, 2018).

<sup>491</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Fibich Goethe Lieder*, ed. by Barbora Kubečková (Olomouc: VFF UP Olomouc 2018).

<sup>492</sup> Kopecký, 'Zdeněk Fibich', *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*

<[http://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com\\_mdictionary&action=record\\_detail&id=7521](http://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&action=record_detail&id=7521)> [accessed 20/10/2015].

the four Harper's settings. Additionally, for 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', written as a duet sung by Mignon and Harper in the novel, Fibich set it for solo voice and piano as with the rest of the songs. In the 1890s, when preparing a selection of songs *The Spring Rays*, the only one to be chosen from the *Wilhelm Meister* song set was Mignon's lied 'Kennst du das Land'. By publishing this song outside the cycle Fibich made clear that he valued Mignon's setting more than the others and that he did not intend to rework the series in order to publish it as a song cycle. However, it was not at all unusual for composers of the time to keep settings of 'Kennst du das Land' – as well as Harper's 'Der Sänger' – separately.<sup>493</sup> A certain analogy brings the work near to Dvořák's early cycle *Cypresses* (1865) and perhaps also to Schubert's *Winterreise* and Schumann's *Dichterliebe*. At the same time, an assumption that Fibich reworked the setting cannot be excluded, as the original autograph contains only the last 43 out of 113 bars. Also, the published setting includes the Czech translation as well as its German original.

On the other hand, Fibich's series is unified by the Bb major key employed for the initial and final songs. Fibich composed the three Harper songs, which speak about the subject's sorrow and guilt, with minor keys, while his female counterpart Mignon is represented in major tonalities as a means of creating contrast between both characters. Two of the Harper songs are set in F# minor, a key in the nineteenth century described by Friedrich Wilhelm Schütz as 'Ein sinisterer ton' [A sinister tone].<sup>494</sup> Susan Youens associated the tonality with death and the afterlife,<sup>495</sup> as 'peace in a silent grave' is what Harper wishes for in 'Wer sich des Einsamkeit'. Fibich employs an ostinato accompaniment to show Harper's constant rumination from which he cannot escape. In a similar manner a repetitive pattern recurs in the piano accompaniment in Mignon's song 'So lasst mich scheinen'. The song set in the key of G major pinpoints Mignon's reconciliation when she speaks of leaving all her toil and sorrow behind. As a mantra is repeated, the ostinato pattern carries Mignon's hope to be as untroubled as a child again once her life's pilgrimage reaches its end. The broken semiquaver chord refers to the flow of time and *Con moto* tempo signals Mignon's upcoming death. The tonal oscillation in

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<sup>493</sup> Apart from the poem's appearance at the beginning of Book Three of the *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* novel, it was published independently with the poet's ballads in 1815. Among composers who set these was Carl F. Zelter, who issued two versions of his setting separately as *Mignon's Lied: Kennst du das Land*, etc. (Berlin: T. Trautwein, n.d.[1828]).

<sup>494</sup> 'Ein sinisterer ton', 'Groll und Missvergnügen' [A sinister tone, resentment and displeasure] in Friedrich W. Schütze, *Praktisch-theoretisches Lehrbuch der Musikalischen Composition* (Dresden und Leipzig, 1841), p. 115.

<sup>495</sup> Susan Youens, 'Mendelssohn's Songs' in *The Cambridge Companion to Mendelssohn*, 2011, pp. 189-205.

the song accentuates Mignon's transformation between a human being and an angel, between life and death. Mignon's desire for Wilhelm is reflected through a *stringendo*, while Mignon whispers (in *piano* and *pianissimo* dynamics) her inner state 'Es schwindelt mir, es brennt, mein Engeweide' [My head reels, my body blazes]. Her trembling voice is echoed in the piano right hand (bars 27–34).

In terms of form, the strophic settings are uncomplicated throughout. Vocal lines are anticipated in the piano prelude (Mignon's song 'Heiß mich nicht reden') or underscored in the piano right hand (Harper's song 'An die Türen will ich schleichen'). Likewise, the setting of 'An den Mond' is characteristic for its simple melody, doubled in the piano line, a feature typical for Fibich's early compositions. Three out of the nine strophes which the composer chose to tackle are melodically, rhythmically and tonally varied. In the setting, Fibich proved his ability in declamation. Overall the song is plain (see e.g. the unimaginative opening dominant chord, simple doubled melody and uncomplicated harmony oscillating between C and G major tonalities), and its character and expression are based only on dynamic changes. To present the requisite tension is all the more difficult when the song is written in a slow *tranquillo assai* tempo. An attempt to lead the vocal and piano parts independently as well as the disruption of the strophicity are traceable in the middle section of Philine's lied. It is the setting of 'Kennst du das Land' that best illustrates the autonomous roles of both musical parts.

#### 4.2.1.1 Lied of Mignon– 'Kennst du das Land'

Both Mignon and Harper are identified with exile, involuntary abandonment of a sense of safety in the novel.<sup>496</sup> Equally the characters expose their inner emotions through the interpretation of songs.<sup>497</sup> A certain aura of mystery, which surrounds both characters, plays an important role when considering the popularity of the poems among music composers. Mignon is incapable of characterising herself which is sometimes mirrored by a description of herself in the first person and at other times in the third person. Furthermore, she appears as androgynous to Wilhelm when he encounters her for the first time.<sup>498</sup> Ambiguity and instability are marked, for instance, by changing A major and A

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<sup>496</sup> The loss of an idyllic world was one of the central points for nineteenth-century writers. For more information see Marjorie W. Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1–32.

<sup>497</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, pp. 246–52.

<sup>498</sup> William P. Dougherty, 'Mignon in Nineteenth-Century Song Text, Context and Intertext', *Word and Music Studies* 4, p. 128.

minor tonalities and by abrupt changes of intensity – dramatic moments such as when Mignon’s singing suddenly softens (bars 88–91). The mid-register span of the vocal line allows the singer to employ various colours in order to grasp the evolution of Mignon’s condition. To see how Fibich responded to the drama of the poem is a remarkable spectacle. The mood of the initial two stanzas is outlined by the major key of Ab (bars 1–70). The broken piano chord at the commencement (bars 1–2) induces an impression of a dream which takes Mignon back to her childhood. Sweet memories briefly suggest bitterness with the sudden switch to minor chords on the word ‘dunkeln’ [dark] in bar 7, an anticipation of Mignon’s grief. The tension softens on the repetitive questioning ‘Kennst du es wohl?’ [Do you know it?] (bars 19–22) so it can find its apex on the words ‘Dahin! Dahin Möcht’ ich mit dir, o mein Geliebter, ziehn. ’ [There! There I would like to go with you, my beloved] (bars 23–29). To emphasise Mignon’s urgency and expectation for an answer which does not come, Fibich repeats both lines. The poem finds its pinnacle in the third stanza. As a contrast, the last stanza is placed in the parallel Ab minor key (from bar 71) which corresponds with the growing darkness of the poem. The unhappy Mignon recalls her journey from Italy and pleads with Wilhelm to take her there. In a contrasting way to previous settings Fibich proves his ability to lead the piano independently in order to create the exalted atmosphere of the poem. The patterns in the accompaniment change throughout the setting to mirror Mignon’s confusion as she fluctuates between the past and present. The piano also melodically paints some phrases such as ‘Auf Säulen ruht sein Dach. Es glänzt der Saal, es schimmert das Gemach’ [Columns support its roof, its great hall gleams, its apartments shimmer] in bars 39–45. Marked ‘con orrore’ [with horror], bar 81, the third stanza brings darkness on the second line which recalls a mysterious but surely painful reminiscence from Mignon’s past. Above the distressed piano figure of demisemiquavers, the tension culminates at the melodic apex on a fortissimo Eb prolonged for two and half bars above the word ‘Fluth’ [torrent], bars 88–90. Then the appeasement follows for the repeated question ‘Kennst du ihn wohl?’ [Do you know it, indeed?], bars 91–96 for the last time. Concurrently, Fibich makes use of silence as a dramatic means of expression (bars 91 and 94) which he places in contrast to the previous exposed passage. The final two lines return to the key of Ab major (from bar 97) and by recalling the material from the previous stanzas unify the poem in accordance with the text.

Fibich most likely studied settings of ‘Kennst du das Land’ by his predecessors before he tackled the poem himself. The rhythmical motive of the opening line ‘Kennst

du das Land' and tempo changes dividing stanzas and refrains are identical with Beethoven's version. The arpeggio chords at the beginning of each stanza in Fibich's song recalls Schumann's rendering. Furthermore, rhythmical arrangements of triads (Beethoven and Schumann) and demisemiquavers (Beethoven) in the piano part at the same moments in Fibich's setting cannot be accidental. Perhaps even the decision to set the song in an AAVersion form, where the third stanza turns to minor, is derived from the settings of Fibich's earlier German counterparts.

**Table 4.2: The tonal plan of Fibich's 'Kennst du das Land'**

<b>Bars</b>	<b>Line of poetry</b>	<b>Key</b>
1–2	piano introduction	Ab major
3–18	stanza 1	Ab major, C minor (b. 7), Ab major
19–35	refrain	Ab major
36–37	interlude	Ab major
38–53	stanza 2	Ab major
54–70	refrain	Ab major
71–72	interlude	Ab minor
73–93	stanza 3	Ab minor
94–108	refrain	Ab minor, Ab major (b. 97)
109–113	Coda/epilogue	Ab major

Example 4.1: Fibich's 'Kennst du das Land', bars 68–113

68 *Tempo I* *solenne mf*  
 dir, o mein Be - schüt - zer, ziehn. Kennst du den

74 *p* *con orrore*  
 Berg und sei-nen Wol - ken - steg? Das Maul - tier... sucht im Ne - bel sei-nen Weg, in

81  
 Höh - - len wohnt der Dra - chen al - te

84  
 Brut, es stürzt der Fels und

87 *ff*  
 ü - - ber ihn die Flut.

The musical score is presented in five systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is G minor (three flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Tempo I'. The dynamics are indicated by *mf*, *p*, *con orrore*, and *ff*. The piano accompaniment features a consistent eighth-note rhythmic pattern in the right hand, often with a melodic line, and a more active bass line. The vocal line is in a high register and carries the lyrics. The score includes various performance markings such as *mf*, *p*, *con orrore*, and *ff*, as well as tempo markings like *Tempo I*. There are also some editorial markings like *m.s.* and *ff* in the piano part.



Example 4.1: continued

89 *pp misterioso*  
 Kennst du ihn wohl?

93 *p* *Poco più mosso* *p desiderioso*  
 Kennst du ihn wohl? Da - hin! Da - hin!

99  
 Geht un - ser Weg! O Va - ter, lass uns ziehn! Da - hin! Da -

104  
 - hin! Geht un - ser Weg! O Va - ter, lass uns

### Example 4.1: continued

108  
ziehn!  
mf  
p  
pp  
2da \*

#### 4.2.1.2 The Harper's Ballad– 'Der Sänger'

On 21 April 1871 Fibich set the last setting to Wilhelm Meister. This is the poem in Goethe's collected poetry known as 'Der Sänger' which Schumann entitled 'Ballade des Harfners', a title taken over by Fibich for his setting. The balladic poem by its character calls for a through-composed form, and the young composer decided to take on a challenge and close the song set in this way, for Fibich an unexplored form even outside this cycle. Perhaps not as confident with his own compositional skills or resonating with Schubert's and Schumann's versions, Fibich in his adaptation alters the setting of his predecessors to create his own version. Schumann's setting is in Bb major key, 4/4 metre and employs a harp-like arpeggio effect, which in Fibich's version frames the song and returns throughout the setting. The page's run is depicted in a semiquaver pattern in the piano interlude (bars 14–15). Similar to Schubert,<sup>499</sup> Fibich breaks the song into sections, changes the tempo and differentiates the moods of all three figures appearing in the poem. Fibich musically depicts each of these in a different manner. The king's question as to who is playing the music outside, here depicted by the arpeggio piano introduction in *piano pianissimo*, is underscored by a tacet direction in the piano part to mirror the sudden silence in the chamber (bars 5–7). This dramatic use of the piano's silence, which appears also in Schubert's version, returns in Fibich's setting on numerous occasions (e.g. bars 5–8, 31–37, 53–54, 59–60, 65–66, 68–69, etc.).

<sup>499</sup> For more information about Schubert's setting see Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise*, pp. 184–86.

Example 4.2: Fibich's 'Der Sänger', bars /1–13

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system (bars 1-4) is marked **Maestoso**. The vocal line begins with the word "Was". The piano accompaniment is marked *ppp* and *una corda*. The second system (bars 5-8) is marked **Allegro**. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: "hör ich drau-ßen vor dem Tor? Was auf der Brü-cke schal-len? Lasst den Ge - sang vor un-serm Ohr im". The piano accompaniment includes markings for *mf* and *tutte le corde*. The third system (bars 10-13) is marked **Andante** and **Allegretto**. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: "Saa - le wie-der - hal - len! Der Kö-nig sprach's, der Pa-ge lief,". The piano accompaniment includes markings for *mf* and *p*.

Throughout the setting the vocal line oscillates between the repeating intervals forming short rhythmical motifs of the narrator who guides us through the tale and cantabile singing and playing of the Harper. His entrance before the king in the dominant tonality is accompanied by a trumpet-like fanfare (bars 19–21) combining a semiquaver and a crotchet recurring three times each a third higher. The alteration of the pattern to a dotted quaver and semiquaver motif reappears above the word 'Rittern' [knights] in stanza four (bar 60) and again in the interlude which connects the fifth and sixth stanzas describing the Harper's reward for his musical entertainment (bars 84–87). A similar rhythmical pattern is to be found in the second stanza of Schubert's version.

Example 4.3: Fibich's 'Der Sänger', a fanfare motive, bars 18–21, 60–61 and 81–87

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the song 'Der Sänger' by Leoš Janáček. Each system includes a vocal line and a piano accompaniment.

- System 1 (Bars 18-21):** The tempo is marked *Più moto*. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "rief: Lasst mir her-ein den Al-ten." The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic fanfare motive in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand. Dynamics include *f* and *mf*. A *Red.* (reduction) symbol is present at the end of the system.
- System 2 (Bars 60-61):** The tempo changes to *Presto* and then *Tempo vivace*. The vocal line continues with "Rit - tern, vor de-ren küh - nem". The piano accompaniment is more active, with a *ff* dynamic marking. A *Red.* symbol is at the end.
- System 3 (Bars 81-87):** The vocal line has the lyrics "bes - ten Be - cher Weins in pu-rem Gol - de rei - chen." The piano accompaniment is marked *sfz* and *f festivo*. A *Red.* symbol is at the end.
- System 4 (Bars 85-87):** The vocal line has the word "Er". The piano accompaniment is marked *ff*. A *Red.* symbol is at the end.

The memento of the Viennese composer also contains an interlude, symbolizing the Harper's music, logically integrated in the middle of the third stanza. The difference in Harper's character from courtly hierarchies and traditions, which he asserts to the king, is reflected by the modulation to the parallel G minor tonality (bars 27 and 33–34). The

tonic returns with the narrator in stanza three (bar 38). The tonal instability is apparent when Harper refuses any profane honours in the fourth stanza. Furthermore, Fibich's inspiration from Schumann's and Schubert's settings is mirrored in the constant change of the accompaniment similar to the one we have seen in the setting of 'Kennst du das Land' where it was used to distinguish the refrain and highlight textual drama. Here arpeggios alternate with block chords or broken chords in recitativo passages. Meanwhile Harper's singing is underpinned with a lucid melodic accompaniment, typical for Fibich. The third and sixth stanzas present sextuplets running through both piano hands underscoring the harper's performance (bars 38–51 and 89–102). This figuration was a commonly used feature in settings of this poem by diverse composers. For instance, Schumann combined semiquavers and quintuplets, which subsequently transform to triplets. Schubert, on the other hand, set semiquavers in a dance-like 6/8 metre. By transforming the accompaniment, the differentiation of the characters is underscored in the setting. Elements such as the independent piano part, rich melody and contrasts between personas and happenings uncover a more mature Fibich than we might suspect in his previous settings to Goethe. Nevertheless, a strong inspiration by Schubert's version in particular needs to be taken into account.

#### 4.2.2 Farewell to Goethe and the early performances of Fibich's songs

The large amount of songs set to music in 1871 and 1872<sup>500</sup> finds its muse in the romantic feelings of the young composer towards his future wife Růžena Hanušová, as is proven by the dedication of the setting 'Es haben uns're Herzen',<sup>501</sup> Hud. 160 to Heine's text. Seventeen settings to Heine's words from the same year demonstrates that Fibich found in the poet's rhymes the right ground for expressing his feelings. The genesis of eight duets for soprano and alto, prevalently including the text in both languages, undoubtedly points in the direction of both Hanuš sisters, who were well-known for their vocal abilities. In June 1872, already after Fibich's wedding, he penned the only rendering of Goethe's text from this year, the duet for soprano and alto 'Nähe des Geliebten', Hud. 172/7. In the literature of Fibich's compositions this is known better under the titles 'Ich denke dein' or the Czech version 'O tobě sním' [I dream about you].<sup>502</sup> The song was

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<sup>500</sup> 59 songs and 8 duets to German texts and 14 songs, 1 chorus and 1 canon to Czech texts.

<sup>501</sup> The song was set on 8 June 1872 in Prague.

<sup>502</sup> Hudec entitled the song 'Ich denke dein', which is the first line of the poem 'Nähe des Geliebten'. See Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich. Tematický katalog*, p. 220.

published with both the German original and Czech translation by Josef Srb-Debrnov (1836–1904) in a collection entitled *Osm dvojzpěvů* [Eight duets], Hud. 172.<sup>503</sup> Lastly, the second *Wandrer's Nachtlied* of Goethe's two settings, 'Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh', Hud. 185, is the final Goethe song by Fibich. This composition for men's voices or mixed chorus dates from the year of Fibich's marriage to Růžena Hanušová.<sup>504</sup> In this way Fibich marked his definitive farewell to Goethe's texts on the threshold of his mature artistic life.

Otakar Hostinský recalls his interest in Fibich's songs which was provoked during their early musical encounters in 1871. At these performances, songs and excerpts from the opera *Bukovín* were presented by the barytonist Vojtěch Šebesta (1842–1880).<sup>505</sup> A more important position in terms of recitals of Fibich's work was represented by the regular gatherings at the salon of Jan Ludevít Procházka (1837–1888). The music critic provided a great hinterland for presentations of new works by contemporary composers in Prague, namely Dvořák, Fibich, Bendl and Šebor, at the threshold of 1870s. Procházka himself was a good pianist, and his wife Marta a renowned singer. Music performed by composers themselves or by the married couple in the salon, or even work in progress, would be immediately reflected in *Hudební listy* and *Dalibor* journals which Procházka edited.<sup>506</sup> Hostinský informed us that Fibich's songs were performed at Procházka's 'Volné hudební zábavy' [Free music entertainments]<sup>507</sup> by Emílie Bubeníčková (1844–1920), Betty Hanušová Fibichová and Karel Čech (1844–1913).<sup>508</sup> The first document testifying to the performance of an unspecified song from the cycle is the programme from Fibich's concert on 3 January 1878.<sup>509</sup>

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<sup>503</sup> Zdeněk Fibich, *Osm dvojzpěvů* (Prague: Emanuel Starý, ca1900), song no. 7.

<sup>504</sup> The last composition before the newly-wed couple's departure to Vilnius in August 1873 is a chorus to Heine's words, the very last Goethe setting by Fibich, composed in Prague.

<sup>505</sup> Hostinský, p. 6.

<sup>506</sup> Vlasta Reittererová, 'Jan Ludevít Procházka', in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí* [accessed <[http://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com\\_mdictionary&task=record.record\\_detail&id=1345](http://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&task=record.record_detail&id=1345)> [13/10/2018].

<sup>507</sup> In November and December 1871 excerpts from *Bukovín* and the song 'Přilítlo jaro zdaleka' from the cycle *Patěro zpěvů* [Five Songs], Hud. 148 are documented to be performed in the salon, and thus Procházka helped Fibich to enter Prague's cultural life.

<sup>508</sup> Hostinský, p. 17.

<sup>509</sup> The concert comprising works exclusively by Fibich was organised by the Rakovník Choral-Musical Society. The composition, fourth in order in the programme, is listed as *Piseň z Viléma Mistra od Goetha* [The Song of Wilhelm Meister by Goethe]. The programme is housed in the private archive of Fibich's family.

Figure 4.3: The concert programme of a Fibich evening



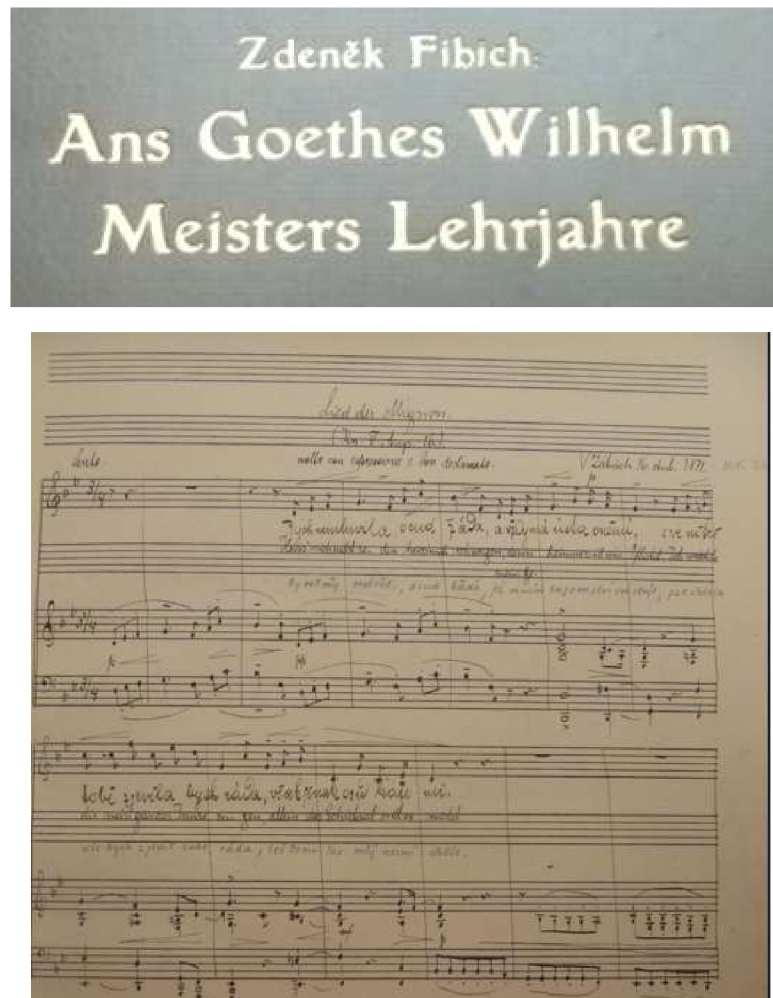
Performance needs were what most likely gave rise to the undated manuscript copy of six of the nine songs from *Ans [sic] Goethes Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, which includes both the German lyrics and two versions of Czech translations by two different unknown hands.<sup>510</sup> In reference to the deposition of the score, it is likely that it was written for the purpose of recitals by Betty Hanušová Fibichová and Zdeněk Fibich. Also at least one of the translations might be written by Betty, as her Czech adaptations of Fibich's songs are already traceable in 1872.<sup>511</sup>

<sup>510</sup> The manuscript is also housed in the private archive of Fibich's family.

<sup>511</sup> See a concert review in *Hudební listy* vol. III., no. 48 (28/11/1872), p. 395, section: Zprávy, etc.



Figure 4.4: A manuscript copy of Fibich's *Ans Goethes Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*



A review in *Dalibor* journal appraises a performance of a Mignon song in the Rudolfinum concert hall sung by Dadla Škardová. František K. Hejda wrote about a successful lyrical song.<sup>512</sup> The last documented interpretation is from a Fibich evening held in Trutnov town on 28 September 1913. Songs from the cycle were performed by the alto singer of the National Theatre, Olga Valoušková (1886–1975), and the pianist Jan Heřman (1886–1946).<sup>513</sup>

Fibich's early songs partly uncover his initial journey towards larger vocal-instrumental pieces from his later years. On this voyage, Fibich acquired compositional certainty when tackling strophic and subsequently through-composed settings. Logically he chose German classical poetry, including Goethe's texts which had been verified by composers so many times before. His pupil Otakar Ostrčil set out on the same journey

<sup>512</sup> The song was interpreted on 28 March 1894. See František K. Hejda, 'Z koncertní síně', *Dalibor* XVI, nos. 22/23 (31/3/1894), p. 170.

<sup>513</sup> Zdeněk Nejedlý, 'Fibichův večer', *Smetana* IV (10/10/1913), p. 42.



some decades later. In the 1870s exclusively German songs were complemented by those to Czech texts. Hand in hand with social, political and cultural developments the latter were placed at the forefront to reflect the interest of the musical public. Fibich's German settings largely remained in autographs or were published with Czech translations. His initial Goethe settings reveal aspects of the student's attempts but at the same time they demonstrate the origins of his personal compositional language. The choice of lyrical and lyrical-epical themes and poems with regular, strophic structures provided Fibich with a suitable foundation for his first attempts in the genre of song. 'The young composer built in the genre of a song groundings of his poetic style, permeated by the principles of a syncretism of word and music, which matured to a distinctive melodic expression'.<sup>514</sup> Furthermore he evolved an effective independence between a vocal melodic line and the piano accompaniment. These songs most probably served as study material, mainly for three reasons: (i) Fibich destroyed a large amount of his early vocal compositions; (ii) the non-publication of an important part of the preserved settings, and (iii) the complete lack of evidence of any reworking of these settings. The creation of some of Fibich's early songs was also connected with the Hanuš sisters (both later his wives). These little pieces were produced for informal music-making in Jilemnice and in the form of gifts expressing the composer's emotional affection to both women.

### 4.3 Towards the end of the century

The Goethe songs of Josef Bohuslav Foerster (1859–1951) and Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949) appeared more than a decade after Fibich's engagement with the German writer's poetry. Thus, it is evident that the poet's literary legacy had an impact on the incoming generation of so-called modernist composers. Above all, Goethe's poetry still resonated among young composers at the end of the nineteenth century. Goethe remained the iconic poet among both – Czech and German – nationalities living in the Czech lands, whose rhymes resonated among the young and broadly educated generation. For decades his texts proved to be well-suited to musical settings. As such his poetry provided a great space for the measurement of one's compositional skills against those settings already written. Furthermore, the cultural regard for Goethe in the multinational environment was an important aspect for the further acceptance of a musical composition in the Czech

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<sup>514</sup> 'Právě v písňovém žánru si mladý skladatel budoval základy svého poetického stylu, pronikal do základů synkrece slova a hudby a dospíval k osobitému melodickému výrazu'. In Hudec, *Fibichovo skladatelské mládí. Doba příprav*, p. 39.

lands. Last but not least, to set Goethe included the possibility to expand one's own music beyond the Czech lands. Before we introduce those settings of Goethe's poems from the final years of the century – in which a female composer is represented for the first time – we shall briefly mention a song by the music publicist Jan Ludevít Procházka (1837–1888) which is only distantly connected to Goethe's work. Procházka's untitled setting, which has remained in manuscript, begins with the words 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', the same opening line as Goethe's poem which was printed in his novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*. However, the rest of the poem is an imitation of Goethe's verse. Procházka, who according to the date inscribed in the music score wrote the song while living in Dresden in 1882, borrowed the verses from the work of a German composer, Carl Nicola (1797–1875), and recast them with a stylisation of a Czech folk tune 'Ach není tu není' [Oh, there is nothing that would please me].<sup>515</sup>

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, two other composers employed their compositional skills in the service of Goethe's poetry. Otakar Ostrčil (1879–1935) and Bohuslav Martinů (1890–1959), like Fibich and Foerster, set Goethe's texts on the threshold of their maturity. Their handful of settings conclude the list of songs to Goethe's texts in the long nineteenth century. Although the scope of this thesis is limited to the 'romantic era', it has to be emphasised that the following century brought more musical treatments by Czechoslovak composers who were inspired by the German poet despite its major political, geographical and cultural changes.

#### 4.3.1 Josef Bohuslav Foerster: 'Pastýřova píseň' [Schäfers Klagelied]

Novák, like Fibich and many others, composed 'Rybář' [Der Fischer], no. 2 and 'Die Rastlose Liebe', no. 3 (1886) in his youth. However, the destiny of both settings remains unclear as the scores are lost, in contrast with Foerster's song 'Pastýřova píseň' (1887) which was published some decades later (but before 1930).<sup>516</sup> Even though Foerster set the poem in his late twenties it belongs among one of his early works.<sup>517</sup> The song, dedicated to Marie Wiesnerová, contains only a Czech translation of the original poem,

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<sup>515</sup> The handwritten copy is placed at the Národní muzeum – České muzeum hudby, sig. XXIX-E-109.

<sup>516</sup> Josef Bohuslav Foerster, *Pastýřova píseň. Pro střední hlas s průvodem klavíru na slova J. W. Goethe*, (Kutná Hora: Edice „Česká hudba“ [before 1930]).

<sup>517</sup> The list of works with opus numbers reveals only nine pieces composed by 1888. Mojmír Sobotka, 'Josef Bohuslav Foerster', in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*. [https://slovník.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/component/mdictionary/?task=record.record\\_detail&id=6881](https://slovník.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/component/mdictionary/?task=record.record_detail&id=6881) [accessed online 18/4/2024].

but the author remains unknown. As is characteristic of Foerster, the lyrics adhere to the rules of perfect declamation.

**Example 4.4: Foerster's 'Pastýřova píseň', bars /1–4**

**Moderato, na non tanto**

*p* Tu na str-mé hor-ské strá - ni, tu stál jsem sto-krát již;  
**Moderato, na non tanto**

After an introductory note on the piano the song opens with an appealing 8-bar melody which returns with the fifth stanza (bar /40). The periodicity in the song is disrupted in the closing stanza as, against the original poem, the last line in the setting 'Váš pán tady má jen žal' [Your shepherd is so wretched] is repeated. The setting specifically expresses certain images by sounds (e. g. walking motive and motive of the shepherd, bars 9–12; beautiful flowers, bars 16–27, storm, bars 28–29). The composer's pianistic training is obvious in the layout of the piano part (bars 34–37). This passage is the peak of the song. The last line from the fourth stanza 'to vše patří v říši jen snů!' [for, alas, it is all a dream] is framed by Bb minor and G minor chords (bars 34–36). The apex is unusual in its *pianissimo* dynamics which correspond to the text. Also the transience of the dream is supported by the indication *zefyroso* (like a breeze) in bar 36. The 6/8 metre refers to the original folk song, which stimulated Goethe for his parody, as published in J. F. Reichardt's *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* of 1782.<sup>518</sup> The melodiousness of the happy early days alternates with the sad consciousness of change in the present time as depicted by the key of B flat minor (from bar 22) – perhaps the most interesting tonal and harmonic feature of the setting – and chromatic movement (bars 24–25 and 32–33). As is typical for Foerster, the tonality is fluid – a feature underscored by dissonant notes and occasional thickened chords (e.g. bar 45, 57). This feature reflects the figure of the wanderer and his constant motion in both his physical and mental states, which is personified by the shepherd in the poem.

<sup>518</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, pp. 178–9.

**Example 4.5: Foerster's 'Pastýřova píseň', bars 23–33**

23  
jich na-tr-hám sám však já ne-vím, ko-mu bych měl je  
*p*

27  
dát. A při-val, bou-ří i vi-chr já  
*f*

30  
přeč-kám pod stro-mem tu, však dvě-ře jsou zav-ře-ny stá-le,  
*p dim. pp*

Foerster returned to Goethe's poetry in the 1940s with two more settings: 'Píseň Mignony' [Mignon's Song] and 'Z poslední scény "Fausta"' [From the last scene of "Faust"] published in the collection entitled *Šest zpěvů pro sólový hlas a klavír*, op. 142 [Six songs for solo voice and piano].<sup>519</sup> As the composition of these songs dates from the twentieth century, they lie outside the scope of this thesis.

<sup>519</sup> Josef Bohuslav Foerster, *Šest zpěvů pro sólový hlas a klavír* (Praha: Foerstrova společnost, Melantrich, 1943). The other four songs in the collection were set to texts by F. Hölderlin ('V půli života', 'Prosba za odpuštění') and M. Pujmanová ('F.P.', 'Svatý Jan').

**Table 4.3: The tonal plan of Foerster's Pastýřova píseň**

Poetry	Bars	Keys
Verse 1	/1–8	G minor
Verse 2	/9–16	G minor, B flat (bar 10)
Interlude	17	B flat
Verse 3	/18–27 (4 + 2 + 4)	B flat, B flat minor (bar 22)
Verse 4	/28–37 (6 + 1 + 3)	B flat minor, G minor (bar 35)
Interlude	38–39	G minor
Verse 5	/40–47	G minor
Verse 6	/48–58 (8 + 3)	G minor (C minor bars 55–56)
Coda/Epilogue	59	G minor

#### 4.3.2 Josefína Brdlíková: ‘Rybák’ [Der Fischer]

Josefína Brdlíková (1843–1910) was the sole female composer known to set and publish Goethe’s poems in the Czech lands. Musically educated by renowned music pedagogues of Prague at the time – including Fibich’s early teacher Zikmund Kolečovský – she continued to develop her singing and compositional abilities in Paris and London. Her minor piano compositions and songs to Czech lyrics (by e.g. Eliška Krásnohorská, Jaroslav Vrchlický and Julius Zeyer) as well as her texts in translations (by e.g. Michail J. Lermontov and Heinrich Heine) were published in the journal *Česká hudba* and at the František Urbánek publishing house.<sup>520</sup> Despite her active musical and compositional work, Brdlíková’s name dismissed from the music history.

Her fifth book of *Songs* published by Urbánek (U. 761, 1894) included four settings: ‘Modlitba’ [The Prayer] and ‘Anděl’ [The Angel] by Lermontov, ‘Rybák’ [The Fisherman] by Goethe and ‘Valkyry’ [The Valkyrie] by Zeyer. All poems were set in Czech language, and in the case of ‘The Fisherman’ the translator remains unknown.

<sup>520</sup> *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*, ‘Brdlíková, Josefína’, Klára Kolofíková, online 2/8/2022 [https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com\\_mdictionary&task=record.record\\_detail&id=5393](https://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&task=record.record_detail&id=5393)

### Example 4.6: Brdlíková's 'Rybák', bars 1–6

*Allegro moderato*

Šum vo - dy zněl, proud

k vý ši vřel, tam ry - bák so - bě sed,

Brdlíková's 'Rybák' mirrors the formal structure of the poem with her ABCA scheme. An attempt to create an impression of the plot is already apparent in the short introduction. The surface of the swelling water and its changing character permeate the setting in both the rhythm of the vocal line and the fluctuating chordal accompaniment. The straightforward vocal line offers proof of Brdlíková's practical knowledge of singing. However, the vocal line transgresses correct declamation (e. g. in bars 5, 9, 12, 50), a feature in music to Czech texts already stressed and heavily discussed two decades earlier<sup>521</sup> and from then continuously highlighted.<sup>522</sup> One possible explanation for the incorrect accentuation could arise from the possibility that the music was originally composed to the German text. In the manner of a musical parody, the Czech translation was underlaid to the music for the purpose of publication. This was also the case of Káan's 'Rybák' (publ. 1890), where we can clearly see how a natural German declamation does not fit Czech words (see music example 4.7).<sup>523</sup>

<sup>521</sup> See Otakar Hostinský's article 'Wagnerianismus a česká národní opera' [Wagnerianism and Czech national opera] in *Hudební listy*, vol. I. (1870), pp. 34, 51, 60, 83, 89. and Eliška Krásnohorská's article 'O české deklamaci hudební' [About Czech music declamation], *Hudební listy*, vol. II. (1871), pp. 1–4, 9–13, 17–19.

<sup>522</sup> E. g. Leoš Janáček's polemic against Hostinský's declamation and his own unique approach to declamation which already appears in his first operatic work *Šárka* (1887, 1888).

<sup>523</sup> Hynek Palla, 'Kritika', *Dalibor. Hudební listy*, vol. 14, no. 23/1892, p. 174.



#### Example 4.7: Káan's 'Rybák', bars 59–67

59

Ne - lá - ká tvo - je vlast - ní líc tě v ro - sy vě - čný sen?  
Lockt dich dein ei - gen An - ge-sicht nicht her in ew - gen Thau?

63 *f*

Ne - lá - ká tvo - je vlast - ní líc tě v ro - sy vě - čný sen?  
Lockt dich dein ei - gen An - ge-sicht, nicht her in ei - gen Thau? *ff*

Contrary to the vocal line the piano part of Brdlíková's song reveals some difficult passages such as arpeggios of a two-octave span (bars 10–17 and 66–73), chords whose span exceeds the octave (e. g. bars 32, 40–43) and the rhythmical duality combining semiquavers (right hand) and sextuplets (left hand) towards the end of the song (bars 69–73). From the harmonic perspective, Brdlíková's 'Rybák' does not show any progressions of an unconventional nature. The setting is composed in C minor with modulations to a series of major and minor keys (see the table below). The print reveals some mistakes (bar 18, piano left hand, beat 3: e2 sharp–e2; bar 23, vocal line: ab1–a1; bar 28, vocal line: eb2–e2, bar 31, piano left hand, tenor line: f1–f1 sharp). A strongpoint of this setting remains its musical picturesqueness which distantly brings to mind an impressionistic character (e. g. bars 37–39).

Example 4.8: Brdliková's 'Rybák', bars 36–46

36 *p*  
Zda ne - - - kou - pá se slum - ce

39 *pp* *p*  
zář, zda mě - - sic ve - mo - ři? Zda

42  
vl - - - no - dchnou - ci jich se

44  
tvář zeň kras - ši ne - - no - ři?



**Table 4.4: The schematic structure of Brdlíková's 'Rybák'**

Poetry	Bars	Keys
Introduction	1–2	C minor
Verse 1	/3–10	C minor
Verse 2	/11–18	C minor, G minor (bar 12), E minor (bar 16), A minor (bar 17), diminished 7th chords (bar 18)
Interlude	19–20	F (bar 20)
Verse 3	/21–28	F, G minor (bar 23), D minor (bar 25), C (bar 27)
Verse 4	/29–36	F (bar 29), G minor (bar 31), D minor (bar 33), C (bar 35)
Verse 5	/37–46 (5 + 5)	A flat (bar 37), F minor (bar 40), A flat (bar 42), C (bar 44),
Verse 6	/47–54	F (bar 47), G minor (bar 49), D minor (bar 51), F (bar 53), C minor (bar 54)
Interlude	55–58	C minor
Verse 7	/59–66	C minor
Verse 8	/67–74	C minor, G minor (bar 68), C minor (bar 72)
Coda/Epilogue	75	C minor

### 4.3.3 Otakar Ostrčil: *Songs to German Poems*

In the case of Otakar Ostrčil the decision to set songs seems to have been straightforward. Ostrčil studied composition privately with Zdeněk Fibich, who likewise began his career with songs. Fibich knew that a simple formal structure would provide the young student with a fair starting-point before approaching larger compositions. The nineteen-year-old student of German philology at Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague set three songs from German poetry during the summer of 1898 and by doing so united his two main interests at the time, German language and music. His settings 'Heidenröslein' and 'Gefunden' to texts by Goethe along with a setting of Schiller's 'Amalia' were followed by a rendering of Heine's 'Die Nacht' the following year. These were the only Ostrčil settings composed to texts other than Czech, although some of his songs to the work of contemporary Czech poets were translated into German.<sup>524</sup> In a letter to his friend and musicologist Zdeněk Nejedlý (1878–1962), the composer informs us about Mojmír Urbánek (1876–1919), a leading publisher, and his interest in Ostrčil's early songs with a vision to print them in his publishing house in Prague. The fair copy of the German settings provided with Czech translations suggests that Ostrčil himself thought of publishing these vocal compositions. The intention to issue Ostrčil's songs was, however, only fulfilled more than a hundred years later in 2015 thanks to the musicologist Markéta Kratochvílová.<sup>525</sup> Like Fibich's Goethe settings, these by Ostrčil do not specify a voice

<sup>524</sup> These settings included poetry by Josef Václav Sládek and Vítězslav Hálek.

<sup>525</sup> Otakar Ostrčil, *Pisně na texty německých básníků – Songs to German Poems*, ed. by Markéta Kratochvílová (Praha: Academus Edition, 2015).

or a persona for whom the songs were written.<sup>526</sup> The first and only known public performances are dated to 24<sup>th</sup> February and 7<sup>th</sup> March 1939<sup>527</sup> at concerts in commemoration of Ostrčil's posthumous 60<sup>th</sup> birthday.<sup>528</sup> Although the titles of the songs were announced in Czech in the programmes, Kratochvílová assumes that they were sung with German lyrics.<sup>529</sup>

#### 4.3.3.1 'Heidenröslein'

The poem 'Heidenröslein' attracted the attention of countless composers for its folk motives combined with the melodiousness of the verses. A beloved maiden is compared to a flower, whose beauty charms a boy. The boy's eagerness leads to the loss of emotional and sexual innocence. The bilateral damage is depicted by a picked flower on the one hand and by the pricking by thorns on the other. Ostrčil's conception responds to the textual clarity, and unlike Fibich he did not attempt to amend the literary content of his settings but respected the original source. The G major tonality of 'Heidenröslein' and the four-times repeated quaver on B above the initial words 'Sah ein Knab ein' (bar 3), reveal Ostrčil's ostensible tribute to Schubert's setting.

#### Example 4.9: Ostrčil's 'Heidenröslein', bars 1–4

Similar to his Austrian predecessor he conceived the vocal line in a simple manner. In contrary to the uncomplicated syllabic vocal line, the piano part, while implying an ostinato rhythm, is more adventurous in terms of the harmonic language. Ostrčil was not

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. VII.–IX.

<sup>527</sup> Should the concerts have been organised only a few days later, it is likely that the programme would have been altered in favour of a Czech theme because of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia later in March 1939.

<sup>528</sup> *Výročí šedesátých narozenin Otakara Ostrčila*, ed. by A. J. Patzáková and A. Waisar (Praha: Společnost Otakara Ostrčila, 1932), pp. 11–15.

<sup>529</sup> Kratochvílová, Markéta, 'Ostrčilovy rané písně na německé texty', *Clavibus Unitis* 2016, no. 5, pp. 1–13.

afraid to implement various harmonic colours. The oscillation between major and minor, and between flat and sharp tonalities, reflects the switch between the young lovers and their despair which followed (see the tonal table below). The G minor key in bars 9 and 10 with the change of mood in the piano in bar 11 foreshadows the tragedy. The three-time repeated cheerful refrain (bars 13–16, 29–32 and 45–48) is meant to provide contrast with the more serious and less melodic stanzas. Its narrative form reminds us of a folk-like retelling. The arpeggio effect, often presented in salon music, is enhanced with the second interval. The ostinato figure in the piano left hand with its undulating tune, which accompanies the entire song, suggests the naivety and light-heartedness of the couple. At the same time, it moves the plot forward to fulfil the inevitable destiny. With an overall pattern melodically and poetically similar to an arc the song reaches its peak in the middle of stanza two (bar 24). From bar 19 onwards the rising melody is revealed to pinpoint the boy's resolute voice as he threatens to pluck the flower. Then the rose's last cry of defiance 'Ich steche dich' breaks the one-beat silence in the accompaniment, the only such interruption in the song. The destiny of the couple is fulfilled on the appearance of the tonic in the score (bar 28). Rhythmical alteration appears in stanza three at the words 'Röslein wehrte sich und stach' (bars 39–40) to pinpoint the consequences of the boy's actions. Schubert in his strictly strophic setting employs the dominant key of D major for the words 'Freuden' and 'leiden', the final text of each stanza, while Ostrčil unifies the stanzas by applying the dominant seventh chord in the key of G major (bars 12, 28 and 44). The accompaniment in bars 19 and 21 and from bar 45 onward is unusual for the piano. The trills in the right-hand point more towards a possible intention to practise orchestration rather than stylistic piano writing. Ostrčil's 'Heidenröslein' was a study attempt to compose a lied. Traditional elements (e.g. arpeggio, conventional tonal system) are enriched by special effects (e.g. ninths and chromatic steps). The sensitivity for musical colour is characteristic of this song.

**Example 4.10: Ostrčil's 'Heidenröslein', bars 19–28**

Kna-be sprach: Ich bre-che dich, Rös-lein auf der

Hei-den! Rös-lein sprach: Ich ste-che dich,

dass du e-wig denkst an mich, und ich will's nicht lei-den.

**Table 4.5: The tonal scheme of Ostrčil's 'Heidenröslein'**

Bars	Line of poetry	Key; comment
1–2	[Piano introduction]	G
3–16	Stanza 1, lines 1–7	G (bars 3–6) – B flat (bars 7–8) – G minor (bars 9–10) – B flat (bar 11) – G (bars 12–16)
17–18	Interlude	G
19–32	Stanza 2, lines 1–7	B flat (bars 19–20) – D minor (bars 21–22) – F (bars 23–25) – D minor (bars 25–26) – G (bars 27–32)
33–34	Interlude	G
35–48	Stanza 3, lines 1–7	G (bars 35–38) – B minor (bars 39–40) – G minor (bars 41–42) – B flat (bar 43) – G (bars 44–48)
49–52	Coda/epilogue	G

**4.3.3.2 'Gefunden'**

A few months after 'Heidenröslein' Ostrčil composed his second setting to Goethe's poetry. 'Gefunden' also presents a story through nature to reflect transitions in life. In contrast with 'Heidenröslein', 'Gefunden' did not find such a strong response among

composers. With the exception of Zelter's version from 1814 entitled 'Auch mein Sinn', the poem was ignored by such song composers as Reichardt, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms and Wolf. Zdeněk Fibich was the first Bohemian composer to set the poem, in 1865. As his song remains lost (or more likely destroyed by the composer), it is not clear whether, and if so to what extent, Ostrčil was influenced by the early setting of his teacher.

The song begins with a repeated-note d in both piano hands and continues in a standard four-voiced choral texture. The syllabic procedure and repetition of the same pitch are reminiscent of a Czech folk song.<sup>530</sup> The simple quaver pattern anticipates 'the walking in the wood'. In the second bar the G major tonality is confirmed. As in the first song to Goethe, Ostrčil follows the synoptic arrangement of the poem and employs a simple chordal accompaniment which rhythmically corresponds with the vocal line. The poem consists of five strophes and finds its turning-point in the middle verse (bars 8–13). Ostrčil, responding to the text, sets stanzas one, two, four and five in a strophic manner and between them distinguishes the third verse by disruptive recurring rhythmical and melodic motives with digressions to C and E minor tonalities (bars 8–9). The change of mood begins in bar 8. The piano refers to the beautiful flower (bar 8) and its fragility (bar 9), and the noisy continuation foreshadows the tragedy. Similar to 'Heidenröslein', the vocal line in the middle section consists of rising and falling second steps which lead us to the key question and concurrently the only direct speech of the flower: 'Soll ich zum Welken Gebrochen sein?' [Must I be picked to wilt and die?] (bars 10–11). The first query begins on a diminished seventh chord, and the piano part increases the momentum with oscillating semiquaver triplets in the right hand which proceed in contrary motion to the descending melody which doubles the vocal line in the left hand. The question is subsequently repeated but the music offers something new (bars 12–13). Changes in the plot are immediately echoed in the piano accompaniment which generates palpable tension. The change of atmosphere in relation to the text and sensitivity for musical colour prove to be important in both of Ostrčil's Goethe settings. Subtle and sometimes unusual music elements are experienced, and these brighten up the song (e.g. the altered ninth chord A – C# – Eb – G – Bb in bar 13 and the last chord of fourth G – A – D, bar 21). Both songs reveal on the one hand inspiration taken from other sources but on the other

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<sup>530</sup> A song with a choral texture in the piano part is also shown by Fibich in his early song 'Opuščená' from his *Písně z Rukopisu královédvorského* (Hud. 155, 1871). With such a texture he fulfilled a contemporary request for a versatile use of the setting.

hand show Ostrčil's sensibility for drama and musical detail and reflect his intention to try infrequent compositional progressions.

**Example 4.11: Ostrčil's 'Gefunden', bars 1–4**

Ich ging im Wal - de so für mich  
hin, und nichts zu su - chen, das war mein Sinn.

**Example 4.12: Ostrčil's 'Gefunden', bars 8–13**

Ich wollt' es bre - chen da sagt' es fein:  
Soll ich zum Wel - ken ge - bro - chen sein,  
soll ich zum Wel - ken ge - bro - chen sein? Ich'

Contrary to the first and second lines of each stanza with their ascending melody, the third and fourth lines descend with a rising leap at the end of the query. The last stanza marked *animato* (bar 14) brings back the initial stability and unifies the setting through the strophic repetition of stanza one.

Both of Ostrčil's Goethe settings follow the form of a varied strophic song and likewise reflect the key points in the narrative by establishing harmonic instability, a change of rhythm and raising the vocal line or pausing the music. The modesty of the musical language in the songs does not reflect Ostrčil's lack of compositional knowledge but reveals his coherent intention to capture the poetry in the original manner.

**Table 4.6: The tonal scheme of Ostrčil's 'Gefunden'**

Bars	Line of poetry	Key; comment
1	[Piano introduction]	G
2–8	Lines 1–4	G; The voice and piano bassline proceed in parallel 3 <sup>rds</sup> in bars 2–3, 4, 5–6 and 7; see also bars 14–19
8–13	Lines 5–7	C minor – E flat (bar 9) – G minor (bars 10–13); The voice is doubled at the 8 <sup>ve</sup> below by the piano bassline in bars 10–11; Cycle of 5 <sup>ths</sup> in bars 12–14 (bass notes E flat-A-D-G)
14–20	Lines 8–11	G
21	Coda/epilogue	G

#### 4.3.4 Bohuslav Martinů's *Čtyři malé písně na Goethův text* [Four little songs to Goethe's texts], H. 94

Bohuslav Martinů's long-forgotten settings, entitled *Čtyři malé písně na Goethův text* [Four little songs to Goethe's texts] (H. 94) from the war years 1914–1915, were set by the nascent composer as a resonance of the still present nineteenth-century mood. Martinů chose Goethe's poetry for his only song set composed to German texts which was, however, never published.<sup>531</sup> Moreover, the manuscript deposited in the Bohuslav Martinů Centre in Polička (sig. 094/D) consists of only three songs: 'Glückliche Fahrt', 'Elfenliedchen' and 'Liebesglück'. The fourth was found not so long ago. Another unpublished song cycle *Měsíce* [Months] (H. 135), composed in 1922 to Czech texts by Karel Toman (1918) and housed in the Czech Museum of Music in Prague (sig. TrB 316),

<sup>531</sup> More songs inspired by poetry in languages other than Czech were composed in the period between 1912 and 1915 (e.g. *Nipponari*, H. 68 to Japanese poetry; 'Píseň na starošpanělský text' [Song to an Old Spanish Text], H. 87 and *Tři písně na francouzské texty* [Three Songs to French Texts], H. 88).



consists of two settings characteristically called ‘January’ and ‘September’ and a song in Czech entitled ‘Ty, jenž sídlíš v nebesích’ [You, that in the heavens sit]. As the title suggests, the last of these songs does not correspond to the theme of the cycle, and moreover it has not been confirmed as a poem by Toman. The heading, however, responds to the first verse of Goethe’s ‘Wandrer’s Nachtlid’, ‘Der du von dem Himmel bist’, and after comparing the texts Goethe’s authorship is indisputable. Neither poet nor translator was specified in the score which – perhaps not at all accidentally – appeared in the cycle *Months*. Consequently, the translation masked Goethe’s authorship which remained veiled for all these years until recently. As in the settings of Foerster and Brdlíková, the text of Martinů’s ‘Wandrer’s Nachtlid’ in his score was only in Czech.

*Měsíce* and the song are connected by the theme of Saint Wenceslas. The patron saint of the Czech nation has been widely commemorated in September, as is also proven by the text in Toman’s poem ‘Svatý Václave, nedej zahynouti nám ni budoucím’<sup>532</sup> [Saint Wenceslas, do not let either us or the unborn perish]. Martinů in ‘Ty, jenž sídlíš v nebesích’ quotes the medieval *Saint Wenceslas Chorale*, which was so important during the period of World War One and its aftermath, in the process of the (re)establishment of the Czech nation. Whoever the translator of Goethe’s poem was is unknown. Perhaps Martinů himself translated the verses for his setting. Likewise, whether a revised version of a song, which adapts the original poem and is now lost, was deposited within the cycle remains unclear. However, these facts serve to make a convincing case that this song is the long-lost setting from Martinů’s Goethe cycle, even though a probable original version to the German text remains missing.

The poetry chosen by the young Martinů for his cycle belongs among a category of short poems consisting of one or two stanzas. Using these short literary models Martinů attempted to grasp the art of the song he tackled. The composer was certainly aware that Goethe’s verses would provide him with a great guide on the way to set German texts at this early stage in his career. The character of all four songs indicates similarities to one another such as the independent leading of the piano part which underlines the mood, key modulations from minor to major and from flat to sharp tonalities, and an austere melodiousness which often emanates from second steps and chromatic movement.

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<sup>532</sup> <https://www.ceskaliteratura.cz/texty/toman.htm> [accessed 14/4/2023].



#### 4.3.4.1 'Glückliche Fahrt'

The poem was inspired by Goethe's first Italian journey (1786–1788). Besides 'Glückliche Fahrt', this exceptional experience of a sea voyage is recorded in its (first) companion poem entitled 'Meerestille'. Both short lyric poems were published together in Schiller's *Musen Almanach* in 1796.<sup>533</sup>

Martinů's setting of the the second of these companion poems is unusual for its uncommonly long piano prelude of 18 bars. Beginning the song with alternating notes g and d, the tonality of G minor is confirmed in bar 5. There are three possible sections (bars 1–26, 27–38, 39–60) which shape the song. The first part tackles the initial four lines of the poem, and both the *andante* mark and swinging legato rhythm consisting of a gentle crotchet and quaver motion in 3/8 metre suggest the monotonous cruise. The onset of the interlude (bars 27–33) breaks the ostinato accompaniment with a syncopation in the bassline in bar 27. The following six-bar-long *moderato* passage (bars 33–38) is a transformation as the poem develops and the journey reaches its happy landing. Dynamics are intensified towards the peak, and the vocal line changes its mood from a recitativo character consisting of second steps to leaps as the sailors call for action (bars 39ff). As the voyage continues, Martinů passes through various tonalities from the initial G minor to Gb major (bar 29), Eb minor (bar 39) and settles in the tonality of Eb major. The major chord of Eb suddenly appears with the view of the shore (bar 51). The happy revelation is supported with a *fortissimo* dynamic while the music slows down to express the relief from the safe landing. The song mirrors the nineteenth-century atmosphere with its simple ideas, onomatopoeia and even the powerful conclusion with its amplified spacious chords. The harmonic language occasionally tends towards modern combinations, for instance the altered seventh chord (bars 6–7) which returns after the voice joins in (bars 20, 22); another such progression occurs in bars 14–15. The eleventh chord in the final cadence hints at bitonality with its combinations of F minor and Eb major triads (bar 59).

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<sup>533</sup> Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 144.

Example 4.13: Martinů's 'Glückliche Fahrt', bars. 1–6

Musical score for Example 4.13, bars 1–6. The score is in 3/8 time and B-flat major. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The piano part features a melodic line in the bass clef and chords in the treble clef.

Example 4.14: Martinů's 'Glückliche Fahrt', bars /39–56

Musical score for Example 4.14, bars 39–56. The score is in 3/8 time and B-flat major. The tempo is marked **Allegro**. The lyrics are: "Ge - schwin - de! Ge - schwin - de! Es teilt sich die Wel - le, es naht sich die Fer - ne, schon seh' ich das Land!". The score includes a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment in the bass clef and chords in the treble clef.

**Table 4.7: The tonal scheme of Martinů's 'Glückliche Fahrt'**

Bars	Line of poetry	Key; comment
1–10	[Piano introduction]	G minor
/11–14	[Piano introduction]	E flat minor
15–18	[Piano introduction]	G minor
/19–24	Lines 1–3	G minor
/25–26	Line 4	A flat minor
27–28	Interlude	A flat minor; Piano R.H. echo of bars 25–26 in the vocal line
29–33	Interlude	G flat: 1 <sup>st</sup> major key; Near-canonic imitation between R.H. and L.H. one bar later: Bb-Ab-Db-F(b)
/34–38	Lines 5–6	G flat
/39–50	Lines 7–9	E flat minor; /43–54 = threefold variant of the same vocal phrase of 6 notes
/51–56	Line 10	E flat
57–60	Coda/epilogue	E flat

#### 4.3.4.2 'Elfenliedchen'

This poem consists of two stanzas, each comprising five lines. The second stanza repeats the first only with slight changes. The poem with its uniformity leads towards strophic form which Martinů broadly respected in his setting. The shining moon and the star in the second and third lines are pictured with arpeggio chords (in the left hand) and a constant tremolo effect with second steps above (in the right hand, bars 5–6). An analogous pattern is to be found at stanza two, line two (bars 15–16). Earlier, the second stanza, echoing the opening words, also repeats the first three bars (bars 12–14). Martinů captured the singing and dancing as described in the fourth and fifth lines of stanza one with a powerful dotted rhythm enunciation in the vocal line (bars 7–9). Its return in stanza two appears in a varied form with subtle changes in the rhythm and pitch (from bar 18), while the climax coincides with the three-time repeated line five (bars 19–23).

**Example 4.15: Martinů's 'Elfenliedchen', bars 5–6**

The musical score for Example 4.15 shows two systems of music. The top system is the vocal line, starting at bar 5. The lyrics are: "schei-net uns der Mond, dann leuch-tet uns der Stern, Wir". The bottom system is the piano accompaniment, also starting at bar 5. It features arpeggio chords in the left hand and a constant tremolo effect with second steps above in the right hand. A "simile" marking is present in the piano part.

As in the previous setting, Martinů opens his ‘Elfenliedchen’ in the key of G minor and modulates to E major for the fourth and fifth lines in both stanzas (bars 7 and 18). Harmonically interesting are bars 15–17. Here Martinů proceeds in root-position chords in G minor (i–iv–V–VI) and through an enharmonic change (from E flat to D sharp in bars 16–17) and step-movement to B major as the dominant of E major.

**Example 4.16: Martinů’s ‘Elfenliedchen’, bars 15–17**

The musical score for Example 4.16 consists of two systems. The first system covers bars 15 and 16. The vocal line (treble clef) begins at bar 15 with the lyrics "Wie - sen, an den Er - len Wir su - chen un - sem". The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features root-position chords in G minor. The second system covers bar 17. The vocal line has the lyric "Raum,". The piano accompaniment shows an enharmonic change from E flat to D sharp in bars 16-17, moving to B major. The dynamic marking is *mf*.

The short and repetitive character of the poem provided Martinů with a good foundation for a simple song, allowing the young composer to interface his compositional knowledge with specific intentions and ideas. The undemanding but sonically grateful piano stylisation creates a piece which is by accident or design suitable for a chamber environment.

**Table 4.8: Goethe’s ‘Elfenliedchen’**

Stropha	Line	Goethe’s original
1	1	Um Mitternacht, wenn die Menschen erst schlafen,
	2	Dann scheint uns der Mond,
	3	Dann leuchtet uns der Stern,
	4	Wir wandeln und singen,
	5	Und tanzen erst gern.
2	1	Um Mitternacht, wenn die Menschen erst schlafen,
	2	Auf Wiesen an den Erlen
	3	Wir suchen unsern Raum,
	4	Und wandeln und singen
	5	Und tanzen einen Traum.

**Table 4.9: The tonal scheme of Martinů's 'Elfenliedchen'**

Bars	Line of poetry	Key; comment
1–2	[Piano introduction]	G minor
/3–5	Lines 1–2	G minor
5–6	Line 3	B flat minor; sequence up a 3 <sup>rd</sup> in the vocal line
/7–9	Lines 4–5	E; bar 9 = sequence of bar 8 up a 3 <sup>rd</sup> in the vocal line
10–12	Interlude	G (bar 10), G minor; bar 10 in the piano part = sequence of bar 9 down a 6 <sup>th</sup>
/13–15	Lines 6–7	G minor; line 6 = reprise of line 1, with bar 14 = bar 4 moved up a step
/16–17	Line 8	G minor (bar 16), E; bars 16–17 in the vocal line = variant of bar 15
/18–23	Lines 9–10	E; in the vocal line, lines 9–10 of the poem = reprise of lines 4–5, then line 10 is repeated in a variant in augmentation (compare bars 21–22 with bar 20). The singer's final 2 notes are harmonised with a combination of perfect + plagal cadence (bars 22–23)
24	Coda/epilogue	E

#### 4.3.4.3 'Liebesglück'

This short poem entitled 'Bleibe, bleibe bei mir'<sup>534</sup> does not belong among the most often musically tackled texts by Goethe. Hence, its eight verses fit in Martinů's conception of brief songs. In accordance with the structure of the text, Martinů divided the song into two parts, each dealing with four verses. Martinů's fondness for a full chordal sound, reflected in both previous settings, is employed again here to support the vocal line. But in contrast with the other two settings, the piano stylisation in 'Liebesglück' shows dense chords in a narrow harmonic range combining the two sharp keys A major and F sharp minor. The waltz-like rhythm, initiating the song, is soon enriched by a unique melody passing through the piano left hand (bars 8–12), recalled at the end of the song (bars 29–30). As in 'Glückliche Fahrt', a syncopated accompaniment is employed in the second part of the song (bars 17–21). Despite its brevity consisting of only 32 bars, dynamic and tempo changes are engaged with a greater intensity across the whole setting. Yet again the tonal structure reintroduces the A key (bars 17 to 24 and B minor in bars 25 and 26) which transcends and concludes in the key of F sharp major.

<sup>534</sup> It is not clear where from the title 'Liebesglück' comes; however, there is a later setting of Goethe's verses by Wilhelm Killmayer from 1962, which also uses this heading.

Example 4.17: Martinů's 'Liebesglück', bars 1–10

Moderato

Moderato

Blei-be, blei-be bei mir, hol-der Fremd-ling, sü-sse

*p*

6

*f espress.*

Lie-be, hol - de sü - sse Lie - be,

*mf*

All these three Martinů miniatures are characteristic in a few aspects: (i) a perfect German declamation, (ii) simple concepts which are naturally developed and approachable for a wide range of interpreters, (iii) from time to time adopting patterns which create grandioso effects (e.g. as in the conclusions of the songs 'Glückliche Fahrt' and 'Elfendliedchen'). The interpretative openness places the songs in the realm of salon literature and ranks them among ideals of sophisticated domestic music-making.

Table 4.10: The tonal structure of Martinů's 'Liebesglück'

Bars	Line of poetry	Key; comment
1–2	[Piano introduction]	A
/3–6	Lines 1–2	A; Line 2 = line 1
6–7	Interlude	F sharp; New idea in piano L.H.
8–10	Line 3	F sharp; contrasted in contour with lines 1, 2 and 4
11	Interlude	F sharp minor
/12–13	Line 4	F sharp minor – F sharp; line 4 begins like lines 1–2; new idea in piano L.H. in bar 13
14–16	Interlude	F sharp – F sharp minor; a continuation from bar 13
/17–20	Lines 5–6	A; lines 5–6 = lines 1–2 in bars /3–5
21	Interlude	A
/22–26	Lines 7–8	A – B minor (bars 25–26);

		bars 20–24 contain an alternation of two melodic cells, i.e. d <sup>2</sup> -a <sup>1</sup> (see bars 20, 21 [piano], 22 and 23) and b <sup>1</sup> -d <sup>2</sup> (see bars 21–22, 23 and 24)
27–28	Interlude	F sharp minor
/29–31	Line 8 repeated	F sharp; bars 29–30 are virtually identical to line 3 in bars 8–9
32	Coda/epilogue	F sharp; half of this setting features the keys of F sharp and F sharp minor in juxtaposition, i.e. bars 6–16 and 27–32

#### 4.3.4.4 Wandrers Nachtlied I. ‘Der du von dem Himmel bist’

Opening with the piano introduction in the key of Gb major, Martinů refers to Schubert’s setting of the same text. With the treatment of the melody and oscillating between tonality and modality, the young musician takes inspiration from his Viennese counterpart in song. However, more than one influence traceable is in the setting. The composer and son-in-law of Antonín Dvořák, Josef Suk (1874–1935), provided Martinů with occasional consultations from 1911. At the commencement of World War One, Suk composed a string quartet, *Meditation on the Old Czech Chorale Saint Wenceslas*. By interpreting the theme from the medieval song, which was recognised like a national hymn at the time, he built a counterpoint to the ever-present Habsburg anthem and expressed encouragement and unity with the Czech nation while at the same time he evaded the censorship of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>535</sup> The poem with its spiritual connotation provided Martinů a cradle in which to set a song. Thus he refers to the sorrow that veiled the nation during the war and at the same time allows himself, in the form of a personal prayer, to express a cry for comfort.<sup>536</sup>

<sup>535</sup> If we consider that Martinů was in fact aware of Goethe’s authorship of the poem, he would have also known that through the author the text would provide him with a suitable and safe coverage.

<sup>536</sup> In 1914 Martinů was exempted from enlisting in the army.



**Example 4.18: Autograph of Martinů's song 'Ty, jenž sídlíš v nebesích'**



Martinů's setting indicates a religious song or chant by its *Lento* indication, here set in 6/4 metre (or rather 3/2 metre), while the chordal ostinato accompaniment with its rhythm duplicating the vocal line refers to the form of a chorale or passacaglia. As with Suk, Martinů in his setting employs the Dorian mode (bars 12, 23). The *forte espressivo* introduction turns into a more intimate *mezzoforte* with the entry of the first stanza in C sharp minor. Following the plea for heavenly peace, which is intensified in stanza five, Martinů again employs *forte* and gradually increases the tension to the first highlighted moment on the word 'vírem' [whirl] on F sharp and E (bar 19). The key question 'What is happiness and sorrow for?' (from bar 21) underscored by the direction *Sehnsucht* in the score, refers to the initial four bars of stanza one (bars 9–12). The rising melody consisting



of increasing leaps of the fourth, sixth and octave with prolonged notes on the words ‘come’ and ‘breast’ (bars 24–26) express the intensifying cry for peace and prepares for the upcoming climax in the last line which was added to the original by Martinů. Goethe closes the poem with the words ‘Komm, ach komm in meine Brust!’ [Come, oh come to my breast] – in the song stated as ‘pojď, ach pojď na moji hrud’’, bars 23–25 – but Martinů extended the tension by the addition of the line ‘a pojď jen v náruč moji’ [and come into my arms] (bars 26 and 27) while the vocal line ascends in a C sharp minor triad. Piano chords, stressed *grave* and with fermatas, slowly descend in steps to the tonic.

**Table 4.11: The tonal structure of Martinů’s ‘Der du von dem Himmel bist’**

Bar numbers	Line of poetry	Key; comment
1–8	[Piano introduction]	B flat minor (bars 1–7) – C sharp minor (bar 8); Bars 3–4 = sequence of bars 1–2 up a 5 <sup>th</sup> ; Bars 7–8 are the only bars in a 6/4 metre – the remainder of the setting conforms to 3/2 metre
9–16	Lines 1–4	C sharp minor
17–19	Line 5	G sharp minor; The vocal line is derived from bars 1–2
20	interlude	G sharp minor; Bars 19–20 are derived from bars 3–4
21–24	Lines 6–8	C sharp minor (bars 21–23) – C (bar 24); Bars 21–22 are related to bars 9–10; Bar 23 is related to bar 12; Bar 24 is a variant of bar 23
/25–27	Line 9 (Martinů’s appendix)	C sharp minor
28–29	coda/epilogue	C sharp minor

#### 4.4 Musical reflections of Goethe’s work between the wars: a brief survey

In the first half of the twentieth century over a dozen composers were attracted to Goethe’s literary legacy. His poetry inspired other genres such as scenic music, (incidental) music to dramas and operas in higher numbers than we see in the previous century. The texts mostly appeared in their Czech translations, which corresponded with the strengthening position of the Czech language. The growing Czech-speaking population brought about the language regulations from 1897 which officially made Czech and German equal languages in the Czech lands.

The ongoing interest in Goethe’s literary work reveals the exceptional position of the poet within Czech cultural life which transformed from the nineteenth-century Habsburg-ruled Czech lands to the independent country Czechoslovakia, established in 1918. Despite political changes after the First World War and the continuing endeavour to establish the new independent state, Goethe’s work remained a magnet in artistic

circles. Pro-European writers celebrated Goethe as their own.<sup>537</sup> In terms of quantity his poetry was predominantly mined by musicians around the centenary of his death in 1932 as is declared by the settings listed in the table below. More fascinating, however, is the interest in Goethe's texts subsequently realised in musical settings composed and performed during the Nazis' occupation in the late 1930s and early 1940s. For instance, *Dvě balady a píseň* [Two ballades and a song], op. 26 (1932) by Boleslav Vomáčka (1887–1965) contains the settings 'Král v Thule' [The King in Thule], 'Poutníkova noční píseň' [The Wanderer's Night Song], known as the second Wanderers Nachtlied 'Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh', and 'Nevěrník' [The Infidel]. Although the settings were composed under the aegis of the Goethe celebrations, their orchestral version was premiered by the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra on 8 March 1939<sup>538</sup> and the first publication of the songs emerged as late as 1943. Bořkovec's songs attest the wide acceptance of Goethe's poetry in Czechoslovakia even during the war years. The following compositions will also prove that his literary works strongly resonated in the society of the 1930s and 1940s and were chosen to demonstrate social apprehensions.

Otakar Jeremiáš (1892–1962) paid tribute to Goethe with his 'Mahomets Gesang' for soprano, mixed choir and orchestra (1932) set in the Czech translation of Otokar Fischer.<sup>539</sup> Jeremiáš's fascination for Goethe's masterpiece brought forth incidental music to *Faust* in 1938, and this was performed at the National Opera from 1939 to 1941.<sup>540</sup> The battle of good and evil, and the image of egoism reflected in the story, mirror the strengthening Nazi regime. While this message was clear to the Czechoslovakian people, Goethe's authorship provided a shield against the Nazis' censorship. Around the same time Bohuslav Foerster set to music a selected part from the last scene of *Faust*. Another of Goethe's plays, *Satyros*, in Fischer's translation provided an apt theme for Pavel Bořkovec (1894–1972) to reflect the fatal political happenings in central Europe in late 1930s. The opera entitled *Satyr* (1937)<sup>541</sup> about a hypothetical demagogue makes a clear

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<sup>537</sup> Paul Michael Lützel, 'Goethe und Europa – Europa und Goethe. Goethe a Evropa – Evropa a Goethe', in *Goethe dnes. Goethe Heute*, ed. By Milan Tvrđík, Alice Stašková (Goethova společnost v České republice, Pavel Mervart, 2008), p. 48.

<sup>538</sup> Hubert Doležil, *Boleslav Vomáčka. Pohled na dílo a život* (Praha: Hudební matice Umělecké Besedy, 1941), pp. 56–59.

<sup>539</sup> Otakar Jeremiáš, *Tvůrci Fausta* [To the creator of Faust] (Praha: Panton 1932). Jeremiáš orchestrated the song most probably for Československý rozhlas (Czechoslovak Radio). Archived in ČRO, sig. Rkp382.

<sup>540</sup> <http://archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz/inscenace/1463> [accessed 14/10/2023].

<sup>541</sup> The five-act opera was premiered in Prague in 1942.

parallel to Hitler.<sup>542</sup> A year later Bořkovec concluded his musical responses to Goethe's texts with his setting of 'Krysař' [The Rat Catcher] for baryton and piano.<sup>543</sup>

The reaction to the war and fear of the future is also reflected in the setting 'Soumrak shůry sesouvá se' [Dusk has fallen from on high] by Gideon Klein (1919–1945).<sup>544</sup> The Jewish composer set Jan Dostal's translation of Goethe's poem 'Dämmrung senkte sich von oben' on 30 June 1940 in Prague, before his deportation to the concentration camp in Terezín (Theresienstadt) in December 1941. Klein placed the setting among his *Tři písně pro vyšší hlas a klavír*, op. 1 [Three songs for a higher voice and piano] with the songs 'Springsbrunnen' (J. Klaj) and 'Hälfte des Lebens' (F. Hölderlin) created under the impact of his expulsion from Prague's Conservatory in spring 1940. All three poems connect the natural imagery and ambiguity, the image of life, peace and serenity turns to uncertainty and fear of the future.<sup>545</sup> Beside his *Second String Quartet*, the song set is the only composition with an assigned opus number.

Klein's is the last known Czech setting of Goethe's words composed in the first half of the twentieth century. The strengthening animosity against the Germans which culminated in the Second World War caused an attenuation of interest in Goethe's literature among Czechoslovakian composers after 1945, even though unique musical renderings are still to be found in the following decades.<sup>546</sup> In the world of literature, Goethe was still presented as a supra-national idol and placed in opposition to Hitler's regime as is proven by a tendentious and pro-Russian epilogue by Louis Fűrberg in the edition of *Faust* from 1955.<sup>547</sup>

This thesis, however, does not primarily aim to investigate Goethe's name in the musical culture of the twentieth century. This brief overview simply reveals possible paths which have not yet been investigated.

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<sup>542</sup> Three settings to Goethe by Boleslav Vomáčka (1887–1978) entitled *Dvě balady a písně* [Two ballads and a song] were also published during World War II in 1943.

<sup>543</sup> Published in the collection of songs *Rozmarné písně pro baryton a klavír (nebo malý orchestr)* [Capricious songs for baritone and piano (or a small orchestra)] in 1938.

<sup>544</sup> Gideon Klein, *Tři písně pro vyšší hlas a klavír* [Three songs for a higher voice and piano], op. 1 (1940) (Praha: Helvetica & Tempora, spol. s r.o., 2006).

<sup>545</sup> More information and the analysis of the songs by Galit Gertsenzon are to be found online at <https://holocaustmusic.org/places/theresienstadt/klein-gideon/gideon-kleins-songs/> [accessed 23/8/2023].

<sup>546</sup> For instance *Incidental Music to the Drama Faust by J. W. Goethe* (1976) composed by Petr Eben (1929–2007).

<sup>547</sup> Johann Wolfgang Goethe – Eugène Delacroix, *Faust*, transl. by Otokar Fischer, ed. by Louis Fűrberg (Praha: SNKLHU, 1955), pp. 281–91.

All song settings mentioned in the chapter have one aspect in common: they remain on the periphery of interest by musicologists and interpreters. The lack of attention devoted to settings of German texts by Czech composers may form an incorrect impression that Czech song overshadowed the German Lied composed in this country at that time. The quantity of settings to Goethe's texts presented here proves that this claim is not as unambiguous as it first appears.

**Table 4.12: A list of composers setting Goethe's poetry to music up to 1945**

No.	Name of composer	Title of the work	Title of the poem(s)	Musical genre	Date / opus number
1	Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949)	Rybář	Der Fischer	song	no. 2 (1886)
		Die Rastlose Liebe	Die Rastlose Liebe	song	no. 3 (1886)
2	Josef Bohuslav Foerster (1859–1951)	Pastýřova píseň	Schäfers Klage lied	song for the middle range	1887
		Píseň Mignony (Znáš onu zem?)	Kennst du das Land?	song	1932–1940 / op. 142a
		Z poslední scény Fausta (Pro to místo třikrát svaté)	<i>Faust</i> (from the Part 2, Act 5: Mountain Gorges)	song	
3	Jindřich Káan z Albestů (1852–1926)	Rybák	Der Fischer	song	publ. 1890, op. 10, before 1884[?]
		Pěvec	Der Sänger	melodrama	op. 13, before 1889[?]
4	Josefína Brdliková (1843–1910)	Rybák	Der Fischer	song	publ. 1894
5	Bohdan Palice (1868–1916)	Tři písně	unknown	solo songs	1910[?]
6	Ladislav Vycpálek (1882–1969)	Svůj chléb kdo jídal	<i>Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre</i> (Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen aß)	mixed choir	1912 / op. 6
7	Milan Balcar (1886–1954)	Svatební píseň	Hochzeitlied	song	1923 / op. 23
8	František Škvor (1898–1970)	Doktor Faust	<i>Faust</i>	balet	1926
9	Boleslav Vomáčka (1887–1965)	Dvě balady a píseň na slova J. W. Goetheho	Der König von Thule, Wanderers Nachtlied, Es war ein Knabe frech genug ( <i>Claudia von Villa Bella</i> )	for a lower voice and orchestra	1932
10	Felix Zrno (1890–1981)	Milý na blízku	Nähe des Geliebten	song	1933[?]

11	Otakar Jeremiáš (1892–1962)	Tvůrci Fausta	Mahomets Gesang	soprano, mixed choir and orchestra	1932
		Faust	<i>Faust</i>	incidental music	1938
12	František Pícha (1893–1964)	Noční píseň poutníkova	Wandrer's Nachtlid	symphonic poem	1926 / op. 7
		Noční píseň poutníkova	Wandrer's Nachtlid	women's choir	1926 / op. 11
13	Pavel Bořkovec (1894–1972)	Krysař	Rattenfänger	song	1931–1932
		Satyr	<i>Satyrus</i>	opera	1937–1938
14	Vladimír Polívka (1896–1948)	Benátské písně	<i>Venezianische Epigramme (?)</i>	songs	1924
		Faust	<i>Faust</i>	music to a drama	1932
15	Gideon Klein (1919–1945)	Tři písně op. 1 (Soumrak shůry sesouvá se)	Dämmerung senkte sich von oben	song	1940

#### 4.5 Conclusion: Songs to Goethe's poetry and the Czech identity

In the conclusion of chapter three Goethe's steadfast position is expressed within the culture of the Czech lands in the first half of the nineteenth century. At the completion of chapter four, we can articulate that the poet's legacy resonated across the public space in the following decades and far beyond, despite the immense global changes of the twentieth century. The settings of Fibich, Martinů and Ostrčil share a connection in that these composers tackled Goethe's verses in their early years. If we admit that youth usually goes for the best that is on offer, there is no doubt that Goethe played a unique role in the increasingly independent Czech lands in terms of the territory's cultural and political life. If Schiller was gradually rejected by Czech society as the 'German poet', the persona of Goethe was accepted as a supra-national fount of inspiration. According to contemporary demand his verses were translated to Czech and appeared in musical settings alongside the German original. Composers created music to both versions, the German as is evidenced by Fibich's Goethe songs, and the Czech in such examples as Foertster's 'Pastýřova píseň', Brdlíková's 'Rybák' and Martinů's 'Ty, jenž sídlíš v nebesích'. In other words, Goethe was chosen by composers not only for his unique contribution to the German language but also for the adaptability of his work in Czech translation. This case is furthermore demonstrated by Vítězslav Novák, Jindřich Káan and Bohuslav Martinů. Novák initially set the first song in Czech and the other in German. Three of Martinů's songs to Goethe's texts are in the original – the only settings to German texts which he composed – and the fourth is in a Czech translation. Thanks to these

translations, Goethe's literature remained present in Czech culture of the twentieth century.

Goethe's poetry continued to be set to music after 1900, predominantly in the form of individual songs. If some, primarily young, composers decided to measure their capabilities with Goethe's words, others emerged as a reaction to political happenings of their day. In fact, Martinů's 'Der du von dem Himmel bist' is connected with the fear engendered by World War I. Decades later, Bořkovec's opera *Satyr* and Klein's song 'Dämmerung senkte sich von oben' directly resulted from the incoming Nazi totality. Besides the apparent symbolism in these two compositions, Goethe on account of his work was conceived as the ultimate European unifier who espoused the highest spiritual and humanistic values.

At the conclusion of this chapter, we need to ask the following questions: Why were settings to Goethe by composers of the Czech lands from the second half of the nineteenth century not published (with the exception of three Fibich settings which were published by the composer in later years), in stark contrast to songs from the previous decades? Did the position of Goethe's poetry within society and among composers change? Was it because of a waning interest in German-language sources on the part of publishers and the public? Or did the reluctance to publish happen because of insufficient courage by stakeholders to compare their own settings with those set by prolific and reputable song writers outside Bohemia? Either way, social and political changes in the twentieth century allowed these settings to be partially or completely forgotten. Emerging from this background, the newly-established field of musicology in Czechoslovakia intentionally decided not to reflect German themes in the production of its own composers.

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## CONCLUSION

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Song in the nineteenth-century Czech lands is a colourful palette, a multifaceted picture. One of the aims of contemporary musicology is to reconstruct the multi-layered lied tradition in the Czech lands. In keeping with the national revival, which dynamically evolved throughout the nineteenth century, the first decades are already marked by an increasing interest in settings to Czech texts. However, the initial unsettled concept of Czech prosody and experiments with the language, including the employment of Indian and antique metres, led to difficulties which produced an unnatural and incorrect accentuation in performance. As the language developed, these songs lost their validity. Only very few songs of this kind are to be heard today, such as František Škroup's 'Kde domov můj', the national anthem of the Czech Republic, Alois Jelen's funeral song 'Zasvit' mi ty slunko zlaté', Josef Krov's 'Těšme se blahou nadějí', Leopold Zvonař's 'Čechy krásné' and Ryba's pieces with Christmas themes. The exploration and revival of this corpus of music remains an objective of Czech musicology.

### **(German) song in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Czech lands: rehabilitation of a neglected musical genre**

The initial lack of viable Czech texts prompted publishers and music critics to promote litterateurs to write lyrical texts. In the meantime, translations of renowned German-language poets provided a rich reservoir of good quality renderings into Czech, translations and musical settings of Goethe's poems representing the best examples. The German poet was acknowledged as the literary idol to follow and remained an icon to aspire to even in the final decades of the nineteenth century which were marked by an increasing sense of national independence. The outcome of the above-mentioned national tendencies is intensified in texts by Jaroslav Vrchlický and Julius Zeyer, to name but two, in the 1870s. Hand in hand with the solid background and foundation of superior-quality texts, the demand changed to musical settings which explicitly invoked Czech traits (folk-like melody, reminiscences of old chants, etc.). Arrangements or 'composed folk songs' offered one of a few potential pathways which were explored by composers. A transparent 'Czechness' in the lyrics, as is attested for instance by Tomášek's compositions from the 1830s and 1840s, did not meet the escalating requirements of translators and composers after the October diploma (1860). An important role in the song genre was played by the

so-called *Manuscripts* (1814), the most translatable Czech texts of the nineteenth century. Poetry written in the manner of medieval scripts by Václav Hanka was largely set to music from the 1820s (the first six songs were composed by Tomášek in 1823) up to as late as the mid-1870s (e.g. settings by Fibich, Dvořák and Bendl). The manuscripts continued to be a popular source, despite an increasing suspicion regarding their authenticity.

The second, no less important task for the musicologist is to chart songs written in the trail of the Austria-German lied tradition by composers from the Czech lands. The musical literature does not sufficiently articulate, and often omits the fact altogether, that German texts predominantly appeared in musical settings from the beginning of the century up to the 1870s. In other words, the local song writers set to music texts in both languages, very often with German in the more prevalent position. As Czechs and Czech Germans lived side by side, their cultures naturally influenced one another and resulted in a multicultural environment. German musical culture in Prague evolved primarily, but not only, by German-speaking inhabitants and created a strongly enthusiastic reception of composers such as Loewe, Schubert and Schumann. However, no composer was able to build on and continue the lied tradition in Prague to the same extent as was established in Vienna and some German cities (e.g. Berlin and Leipzig). The reason for this was already indicated above: the strengthening feeling of nationalism in the arts and culture – including language and music – did not provide a suitable base for the development of the German lied in the Czech lands in terms of the indigenous output. Even though the reception of Austria-German lied was intensive in the Czech lands, no native composer succeeded in matching the quality or lasting legacy of Schubert and Schumann to name but two in the evolving history of the German lied.

### **Production of songs to Goethe's texts in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Czech lands: rediscovery of a (semi-)forgotten composers and settings**

Until now, the subject of settings to Goethe in the nineteenth-century Czech lands has been closely associated with the lack of available contemporary literary sources. There is some awareness within musically educated society of over forty settings by Václav Jan Tomášek. Thanks to the composer's autobiography, anecdotes of his brief acquaintance with Goethe remains alive in Czech musical history. On the other, and much less familiar, side stands a group of composers who also paid tribute to Goethe, albeit to a lesser extent than Tomášek, but their legacy remains veiled in the past. Both 'Werther fever', the enormous interest in the novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows of Young



Werther, 1774), and the singspiel *Erwin und Elmire* (1775), which seized Vienna after their publication, found musical responses in the work of Josef Antonín Štěpán (1726–1797) and Jan Emanuel Doležálek (1780–1858), both born in Bohemia but dwelling in the Habsburg capital. Goethe's increasing renown led Pavel Vranický (1736–1808), the director of the Viennese theatre with roots in the Czech realm, to engage with the work of Goethe by requesting permission to set his *Die Zauberflöte* II, Goethe's sequel libretto to Mozart's opera. Despite the author's seeming 'approval' – requesting an astronomical fee – this work was never staged. In Berlin, Goethe's poetry was set by Bohemian emigrant Antonín Felix Bečvářovský (1754–1823). In Prague, his texts were for the first time musically realized by Jan Josef Rösler (1771–1813) and Jan Theobald Held (1770–1851) so that their compositions appeared a full twenty-five years after the pioneering settings of Štěpán in Vienna. This handful of songs, which were subsequently published in local journals, emerged a few years before the better-known Goethe lieder by Tomášek from 1815 to 1818 followed by a pair of settings from the 1830s. Several poems set to music by Václav Jindřich Veit (1806–1864) in the 1840s and 1850s are further examples of settings in the first half of the century. In this era, composers and musical dilettantes turned to the poetry of Goethe, who belonged among the important figures in the musical culture of the Czech lands. In keeping with the age, including the Biedermeier era, and cultural hinterland, their works to a large extent included short forms for salon and domestic music-making. Piano pieces, chamber music and of course songs were extensively published and performed. Nevertheless, large pieces including operas and orchestral pieces were also representative of the compositional output of the above-mentioned musicians.

The second half of the nineteenth century opened new perspectives. Czech poetry began to blossom alongside the ever-present German literature. Despite an escalating interest in national literature, Goethe's poetry (among the work of other non-native writers) still resonated in the musical world of Prague. Zdeněk Fibich engaged with Goethe's words during his study years in the 1860s and early 1870s. Unfortunately, not all of his settings were handed down to us, but ten of the preserved songs were critically edited, published as well as recorded in 2018 for the first time. Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre* inspired Fibich to create a loose collection of songs and a through-composed song for the first time. Although there is no testimony by Fibich in which he describes his attraction to Goethe's poetry, it is evident that the young composer found in the poet's words a muse, a great pillar on the way to higher vocal forms. On the other

hand, to learn that the two great composers of nineteenth-century Bohemia and Fibich's main counterparts, Smetana and Dvořák, never composed a song to Goethe's poetry might at first seem striking. Smetana's interest in so-called national music led him to follow a path in the instrumental and operatic musical genres rather than in vocal music. The only example of Goethe's presence in Smetana's work is in the tableau vivant entitled *Rybář* to the poet's 'Der Fischer'. Dvořák, whose song production is much larger than Smetana's, turned his interest to folk and national inspiration rather than to German romantic literature. Nevertheless, the influence of the central European lied tradition, and of Schubert in particular, is traceable in his vocal music. Another possible reason for the reluctance of these composers to turn to Goethe was the October diploma (1860) which caused a demarcation against German culture within society. The way to incorporate foreign litterateurs into Czech culture was through linguistic adaptations. Therefore we encounter settings to Goethe more often in translations. While the young student Fibich could afford to practise his compositional skills freely on themes of his choice, the compositional paths of Smetana and Dvořák were determined by various aspects including the fundamental desire to make a living as composers.

The turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed a handful of Goethe songs. His poetry resonated amongst a new generation of well-educated composers, sometimes referred to as modernists. The poet's legacy vibrated so strongly in the public space that it created a need to respond to it. Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949), similar to Fibich, musically tackled Goethe's poetry at the age of sixteen. Josef Bohuslav Foerster (1859–1951) likewise composed music to the German writer's text at the early stage of his compositional career (1887) and was the only one from the above-mentioned figures to return to Goethe's work in his later days (during the 1930s). Even his early setting of 'Pastýřova píseň' reveals a sensitivity for the correct declamation of the Czech text. Goethe's literary bequest also caught the attention of Josefina Brdliková (1843–1910). Brdliková, although long forgotten by music history, was the first and only female Czech composer who measured her strength with Goethe's poetry against her male compatriots. Her international study experiences, great knowledge in various disciplines and linguistic abilities prove Brdliková to be an exceptional woman of her time. In a wider context, her setting of Goethe reveals numerous impulses to reflect firstly the position of women in the male world of musical composition in nineteenth-century Prague and secondly the resonance of musical settings inspired by Goethe among women and their active approach to the genesis of these songs (translations of the poems, performances and reception).

Towards the end of the ‘long nineteenth century’ the tradition of indigenous songs to Goethe texts was taken up by Otakar Ostrčil (1879–1935) and Bohuslav Martinů (1890–1959). Both composers measured their abilities with Goethe’s poetry in their youth: Ostrčil as a student-to-be of German language chose four poems – two by Heine and two by Goethe, and Martinů, who in the 1910s set a number of foreign poems. Although neither of these two returned to German texts in their professional lives, there was a certain urgency in the atmosphere of the time to overcome national boundaries and deal with the international cultural legacy. This is a mutual aspect for all the above-mentioned composers during the second half of the nineteenth century in the Czech lands.

All the settings introduced in the dissertation have a particular feature in common: they stand on the margins of interest by both musicologists and interpreters. This peripheral phenomenon testifies to a weakness in Czech musical art: its incapacity to appreciate a neighbouring culture which used to be a part of its own. Perhaps a fear from the inability to defend and preserve its national legacy in the turbulent happenings at the outset of the twentieth century led to this position. One aim of this dissertation is to present the opportunity for a new multicultural and international discussion of this subgenre.

The lack of interest by Czechs in the German lied intensified after World War II with the expulsion of Czech Germans from Czechoslovakia, and this factor undoubtedly contributed to the impression that Czech song was strongly prioritized over the German lied in the Czech lands during the nineteenth century. The number of songs to Goethe’s texts written by a high number of composers proves otherwise. It is fascinating to realise that the creations of the German poet had been addressed by composers throughout the entire century with an overlap into the following era despite its radical – and even in some cases fatal – nature of its cultural, social and political changes (one thinks, for instance, of Gideon Klein’s ‘Soumrak shůry sesouvá se’ which he set to music in June 1940 after his expulsion from Prague’s Conservatory for being a Jew and with a sense of a constant apprehension from being sent to a concentration camp subsequently fulfilled in December 1841).

### **Goethe’s legacy, the art song and translations into Czech**

Goethe’s genius was well-known as well as popular in a society whose education emanated from German foundations and their seminal influence. Moreover, Goethe’s seventeen visits to Bohemian spas over a long period of 38 years (from 1785 to 1823) and

his broad connections to the locally-based aristocracy and scholars, established during these stays, only served to increase his popularity in the homeland. Goethe was positively perceived by all ethnic groups, even after the split between Czech and German sympathisers in the cultural life of Prague in the 1880s (and definitively around the establishment and opening of both the Czech National Theatre and the New German Theatre). To set Goethe's poetry was regarded as a measure of the quality of a composer. At the same time, Goethe's texts would ensure the popularity of the settings among performers. To set and perform Goethe was seen as highly fashionable, especially in the first half of the century. Goethe's genius, which was acknowledged for many decades after his death, caused the bar to be raised, especially in settings of native composers who understood the need to set his poetry.

Czech translations are a unique aspect of settings in the second part of the century. For a growing Czech-speaking population which attained its official equality in 1897, translations were an integral part of the literature. To translate Goethe meant to adopt his persona into a cultural inheritance which was defined by the Czech language. Goethe's literature played an important role in the building of the personality of the Czech nation. His acceptance in an era when 'all German' was denied proves his recognition among the general public. Goethe's spiritual values were perceived as worthy to adopt, embrace and follow. Despite the fact that he was placed in opposition to Hitler's regime after World War II, a partial oblivion crystallised when the communist regime prioritized Czech indigenous culture which strongly highlighted Slavic roots and displaced other influences as 'foreign'.

It is now time for the cultural inheritance which resulted from the development of the song tradition in the Czech lands to demonstrate and reinforce the significance of these settings. Compositions to German texts have formed an inevitable part of the unique and multinational art-song tradition in the Czech lands. Their intertwined relationship undoubtedly enriched the emergent production of song in the region and proved its integral and exceptional position within the wider context of European song.

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