



Title	モダニズムと中東欧の藝術 ・ 文化
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第Ⅱ部
流動化にあらがう
——モダニズムとのせめぎあい

国民文学史のはざま

〈ブラハのドイツ語文学〉研究史をめぐる

三谷研爾

カフカ研究者はいつのころからか、論文の冒頭でかならず、研究状況の見通しがたさを嘆くのが習慣となってしまった。じっさい、作家が没して半世紀後の1974年にはすでに、浩瀚な研究史研究が刊行されている[*1]。本格的な作家受容が始まったのは第二次世界大戦後であることを考えると、わずか30年あまりのうちにカフカ研究は巨樹にまで成長し、その全体像をつかむことが容易ではなくなってしまったわけである。しかし、個別のテクストをどう解釈するかはさておき、カフカ文学全体をいかに評価するかという巨視的な観点から作家受容の歴史を振り返るならば、1963年に当時のチェコスロヴァキアで開かれた、いわゆる「カフカ会議」の歴史的意義は今なお薄らいでいない。それは、「ブルジョワ的デカダンス」を体現する作家という、公式的なカフカ評価を覆すことによって、社会主義ブロックにおけるモダニズム文学全般の位置づけの転換を企図した、きわめて野心的な会議であった。じじつ会場には、「雪どけ」から「ブラハの春」へと向かう60年代の熱気がみなぎり、実存主義的作家像とマルクス主義的文学観との調停の可能性をめぐる、緊迫した議論がくりひろげられた。カフカ会議は、冷戦下の東西ヨーロッパでそれぞれに進められたカフカ研究の重要な輻輳点をなすとともに、東側における政治と文化の関連を浮き彫りにした、象徴的な出来事だったのである[*2]。

カフカ会議の背景となったコンテキストのうちのあるものは、現在ではもはや過去の事柄に属するといつてよい。たとえば、実存主義とマルクス主義の対立の止揚という課題は、20世紀思想史のひとつの局面としてのみ、意味をもちうるだろう。はたして社会主義世界には、カフカの描いたような人間疎外はあるのかというテーマも、今となっては問題設定じたい歴史的なものになってしまった感が深い。とはいえ、60年代の知的風景

1——— Vgl. Beicken, Peter U.: *Franz Kafka. Eine kritische Einführung in die Forschung*. Frankfurt a.M. 1974.

2——— Vgl. Goldstücker, Eduard (Hg.): *Franz Kafka aus Prager Sicht*. Prag 1965.

を色濃く反映するこれらのコンテクストとは別種のコンテクストもまた、たしかに存在している。それは、カフカ会議の実質上の主宰者ゴルトシュテュカー Eduard Goldstückerが2年後の1965年に開いた、いわゆる「世界の友」会議によって、いっそうはっきりと浮かび上がるようになった。すなわち、プラハという多民族都市のローカリティと緊密に結びついたドイツ語作家たちの文学活動全体へのまなざしである[*3]。

19世紀末から20世紀初めのプラハを舞台に展開されたドイツ語作家たちの活動は、いわゆる国民文学史のプログラムからすれば、およそ光の当たりにくい部分に属する。彼らの文学は、ドイツ語で書かれている点からすればチェコ文学史に安住の地を見いだすのはむずかしい。さりとてドイツ文学史は、スラヴ語圏にあって孤絶している都市プラハをその主要なストーリーのうちに取り込もうとはしない。ドイツ文学史は、まず彼らをその背景となっているプラハから切り離し、象徴主義や表現主義といった文芸思潮の交替の歴史のうちに位置づけ、さらに伝統的なジャンル論的区分にしたがって作品評価を与えることで、ようやく文学史的登録を完成させる。この切り離し作業が困難な、プラハ的ローカリティにより密着した作家たちは忘却の彼方にとどめおかれ、普遍的で抽象的な高いタームで語りうる存在——リルケやカフカやヴェルフェルなど——だけがドイツ文学史に拘いとられていったわけである。これにたいしてゴルトシュテュカーの問題提起は、国民文学史によるそうした操作を知悉したうえで、文学とローカリティの相関にあらためて注目するものと、さしあたりは言えよう。だが、そこにはまた当然、カフカ会議を開かざるをえなかったのと同じコンテクストが深く影を落としていて、彼の研究プログラムに独特の方向性を与える結果となった。ここでは、ゴルトシュテュカーによって発見されたといって過言ではない〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉という研究主題の生成の場をあらためて検証し、あわせてその射程をも再考してみたい。

1

「世界の友」会議で提出された〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉の研究プログラムは、それに先行するカフカ会議での議論に多くを負っている。そしてカフカ会議の眼目が、一方では実

3———— Vgl. Goldstücker (Hg.): *Weltfreunde. Konferenz über die Prager deutsche Literatur*. Prag 1967.

存主義的作家像を批判しつつ、他方では教条的な社会主義文学論にもとづく理解からカフカ文学を救出することにあった点は、すでにふれたとおりである。とりわけ後者の側面は、ひとりカフカにとどまらず、19世紀末から1930年代にいたるモダニズム文学全体の評価にかかわるがゆえに、社会主義諸国における文化政策と密接に連動せざるをえない、すぐれてイデオロギー的な次元を含んでいた。

そこにいたるまでの議論の道程で、重要なモメントはふたつある。そのひとつは1930年代後半におこなわれたいわゆる表現主義論争であり、もうひとつはそれとほぼ同じ時期にすすめられた、社会主義リアリズムにもとづく形式主義批判であった。この両者が合流したとき、モダニズム文学は民衆の社会的現実から遊離したブチブル知識人による非合理的で退行的な反抗の表現にすぎず、ファシズムの到来にたいして無力であるどころか、その前駆的役割すら果たしてきた、という決定的にネガティブな評価がかたちづくられた[4]。こうした発想はやがて、第二次世界大戦後に成立した東側ブロックの公式的見解となり、各国の文化政策を支えることになった。そのさい、モダニズム文学のシンボルとみなされたのが、ハイデガー流の存在論的な文学の旗手として西側諸国で大流行をみていた、「不安」と「不条理」の作家カフカにほかならなかったのである。表現主義論争以来、モダニズム批判の領袖となったルカーチが、『批判的リアリズムの現代的意義』のなかに「フランツ・カフカとトマス・マンか」という章を設けたのは、きわめて象徴的といわねばならない。ルカーチは、社会的・歴史的諸関係をすべて捨象し、時間を超越した次元で人間存在をとらえようとする傾向を主観主義的な病理現象とみなし、カフカに代表されるそうした「ブルジョワ的デカダンス」を克服するものとして、マンの「批判的リアリズム」を称賛したのだった[5]。かくてカフカは、東側におけるモダニズム文学評価のありようを示すバロメーター的作家となったのである。

このような公式的なカフカ理解を覆すために、ゴルトシュテユカーが選びとった方法は、彼の文学に特徴的な孤独、不安、疎外といったテーマ群を、存在論的カテゴリーとしてではなく、歴史的・社会的カテゴリーとして読み直すことだった。それはこの場合、大きくみればブルジョワ資本主義の帝国主義段階への移行を参照する作業だが、より具体

4——— こうした経緯については、池田浩士編訳『表現主義論争』れんが書房新社1988年、および船戸満之『表現主義論争とユートピア』情況出版2002年を参照。

5——— Vgl. Lukacs, Georg: *Probleme der Realismus I*. Neuwied u. Berlin 1971, S.500f.

的にはオーストリア＝ハンガリー二重帝国の崩壊現象、さらに絞り込むなら多民族都市プラハにおいて劣勢になっていたドイツ系マイノリティ社会の状況との関連が、解き明かされなければならないのである。ゴルトシュテュカーの基調報告の表題「1963年のプラハの視点からみたフランツ・カフカ」は、こうした問題意識の端的な表明にほかならない[*6]。特殊プラハ的な状況に強く規定されているがゆえに、きわめて普遍的な意義を獲得するというカフカ文学の逆説は、いったいどのように説明されるのか。ゴルトシュテュカー自身は、世紀転換期プラハに固有の社会的・文化的状況をより深くとらえる作業によって、カフカの文学がその歴史的條件に拘束されている事態をまず見きわめようとしている。そうしたアプローチをすすめるとき、「カフカとプラハ」に向けられた彼の視線はおのずと、プラハを舞台にしたドイツ語作家たちの文学活動全体へ広がっていかねばならない。つまり、カフカ会議から「世界の友」会議への流れは、ゴルトシュテュカーの問題意識からすれば、まさしく不可逆的な展開だったのである。

じっさいカフカ会議全体を振り返ってみると、各報告の焦点もまたもっぱら、ルカーチ的なカフカ批判の文脈をふまえながら新しい作家像を開示できるかどうかに集まっている印象が強く、あとは社会主義諸国におけるカフカ受容が紹介されているのが目を惹く。ゴルトシュテュカーの問題提起を受けた具体的な研究の進展はやはり、「世界の友」会議を待たねばならなかったのである。

2

「世界の友」会議でのゴルトシュテュカーの報告「歴史的現象としてのプラハのドイツ文学」は、「1963年のプラハの視点からみたフランツ・カフカ」を敷衍し、より包括的な研究プログラムとして提示するものである。その主要論点を、以後の研究の蓄積をふまえた補足的説明もくわえつつ、あらためて整理しておこう[*7]。

第1の論点は、議論の対象をモダニズムの芸術思潮につらなる文学者に限定することである。プラハは都市建設まもない10世紀前後から、すでにチェコ人とドイツ人がともに

6——— Vgl. Goldstücker: *Über Franz Kafka aus der Prager Perspektive 1963*. In: Ders (Hg.): *Franz Kafka aus Prager Sicht*, S.23-43.

7——— Goldstücker: *Die Prager deutsche Literatur als historisches Phänomen*. In: Ders (Hg.): *Weltfreunde*. S.21-45.

住む多民族都市であり、そこでのドイツ文化の伝統じたいはきわめて長い。しかし、この多民族都市という社会的・文化的環境に強く規定されたドイツ語作家たちが輩出するのは1890年代半ば以降であり、それは中欧におけるモダニズム芸術の出現と軌を一にしている。プラハのみならずボヘミア、モラヴィア各地に生まれ育った、主としてユダヤ系の若い知識人が相次いでプラハに集結して文学活動を開始し、やがてウィーンやミュンヘン、ベルリンやパリ、さらには北米へと離散していく。ハプスブルク帝国末期から第一次世界大戦をはさんで1920年代にかけてが、彼らの主たる活動時期である。これにたいし、1930年代に入ってドイツにナチズム政権が誕生すると、プラハは一転してドイツから亡命作家たちを受け入れることになった。だが、1939年にナチス・ドイツ軍がチェコ全土を占領した時点で、〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉の命脈は最終的に断たれてしまったのである。ゴルトシュテュカーはこの約40年間の作家たちの活動を、ドイツ文学史のみならず世界文学史のなかで「独立したひとつの章」をなすものと位置づける。

第2の論点はこの40年間、ことに開始から1920年代半ばにいたる時期を特徴づける、多民族都市プラハの社会環境にかかわる。それはひとことでは、ブルジョワ文化の解体であった。ドイツ語圏でみるなら、1860年代に急速な上昇局面にあったブルジョワの社会的優位は、しかし多民族国家ハプスブルクにあっては、1880年代に入るとはっきり退潮を示しはじめる。帝国主義段階に達した資本主義のもと、労働運動もまた広範に展開されていったが、それに各民族の政治的自立の要求が結びついたハプスブルク帝国は、社会全体にさまざまな遠心力が働いている状態であった。きわめて深刻な民族対立で知られたボヘミアの中心都市プラハでは、成員の9割がブルジョワ階層に属するドイツ社会じたい、もはや地域における政治的発言力を喪失し、自閉的なアソシエーション生活にのみ慰めを見いだす逼塞状況に陥っていたのである。大半が1880年代から1890年代にかけて生れた〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉の作家たちをみると、その父親はおおむね1850年代前後に生まれた世代、つまり絶頂期のブルジョワの世界観や価値観をわがものとしていた世代にあたる。これにたいして息子たちは、父親たちの価値観や社会認識が、多民族都市の社会的現実を前にみるみる基盤を失っていくのを目の当たりにした世代であった。つまり、プラハ・ドイツ社会はやがて戦争と革命、そして大衆社会の到来によって決定的となるブルジョワの社会的・文化的支配の崩壊が、いちはやく感知された場所だったのである。

第3の論点は、プラハ的社会環境と文学作品との照応である。ゴルトシュテュカーのみるところ、カフカ文学に顕著な疎外や孤独といったテーマの系列は、多かれ少なかれ〈ブ

ラハのドイツ語文学〉の作家たちに共有されているものであり、いずれもブルジョワ文化の危機の深まりを受けとめた結果にはかならない。技術文明の肥大化や自然からの疎隔もまた、そのような危機意識に随伴するものとして、彼らの作品のうちにしばしば主題化されている。こうした作品の解説は、しかし、社会主義リアリズムが批判する「デカダンス」を初期マルクスの「人間」の概念に転換することで、それまでの位置づけを反転させた印象が強く、芸術表現と社会環境とのあいだの相互作用の分析としては、単純なものにとどまるといわねばなるまい。〈ブラハのドイツ語文学〉を総体としてポジティブに評価しなければならないというゴルトシュテュカーの意志が前面に出すぎて、多様な文学テキストが織りなす空間の厚みを平板化してしまっている。結論を先取りするならば、ドイツ語作家たちの作品の読み直しの座標となる「ブラハの視点」は、ブルジョワ文化の危機という汎ヨーロッパ的スケールをもった、だがそれだけに織り目の粗い物語のみに還元されるべきではなく、都市ブラハの社会生活の文脈にいつそう寄りそった、丁寧なテキスト解説で裏づけられねばならないのである。

とはいえゴルトシュテュカーにとっては、ブラハでの文学現象を汎ヨーロッパ的な次元に接続することが焦眉の急であったと思われる。そこには、東西のイデオロギー対立によって分断された中欧、とりわけその中心にあつて「ヨーロッパの心臓」と呼ばれてきたチェコの文化史的位置を再確認したいという、強い願望が託されていたと推測されるからだ。そうした位置の実質は、ゲルマン文化圏とスラヴ文化圏が踵を接する地政学的条件を引き受け、ヨーロッパ東西の異なる文化を媒介することじたいをみずからの伝統としてきたという点に存する。第4の論点となるこの文化的媒介の伝統こそが、ゴルトシュテュカーの説く「ブラハの視点」のもっとも積極的な側面をかたちづくる。〈ブラハのドイツ語文学〉にかんしていえば、それはドイツ文化とチェコ文化のあいだの媒介作業、すなわちチェコの文学、音楽、美術をドイツ語圏全体に向けて翻訳・紹介することであった。ドイツ文化の優越性と普遍性を確信し、チェコ文化をほぼ完全に無視していた父親世代とは対照的に、息子世代にはチェコ語とその文化に深い愛着を示す知識人が少なくなかったのである。ゴルトシュテュカーは、こうした文化的媒介を支える精神を「ヒューマニズム」と呼ぶ。この場合のヒューマニズムが、晩期資本主義がもたらす疎外によって解体の危機にさらされている「人間」の概念と表裏一体をなしており、さらには彼自身もその指導者のひとりを務めることになる「ブラハの春」改革運動の有名なスローガン「人間の顔をした社会主義」につらなるものであったこともまた、容易に理解されよう。カフカ会議と「世

界の友」会議を底流しているのはまぎれもなく、ソ連型マルクス主義に抗する西欧マルクス主義の思考にはかならなかつたのである。

3

カフカ受容史においては、ゴルトシュテユカーに先行して同種の議論を展開したのとして、アイスナー Pavel Eisner の『カフカとプラハ』(1950) がある[*8]。1889年プラハに生れた著者自身、ドイツ語で生活しながらチェコへの帰属意識を有するユダヤ系の家庭に育ったところから、両言語による著作・翻訳活動を展開した知識人だった。その彼は、世紀転換期のプラハ・ドイツ社会が、宗教的にはユダヤ教優位ながら、ナショナルにはドイツに帰属し、階層的には大半がブルジョワという障壁によって周囲のチェコ社会から隔離されている、すなわち「三重のゲッター」と化している状況を看破したのである。アイスナーのみるところ、カフカをはじめとするプラハのドイツ語作家たちの社会心理と創作活動は、まさにこの根無し草的なゲッター生活に規定されているのだった。ゴルトシュテユカーはアイスナーの指摘を高く評価し、自分の〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉研究プログラムの起点となる業績と位置づけている。

だが、アイスナーの議論を注意深く読むならばそこには、「きわめて健全で、首都と地方および農民階層との間には豊かな生物学的コミュニケーションが保たれており、そこから若返りの泉がプラハへ向けて湧き出て」くるチェコ社会と、「有機的でも正常でもなく、「根本的に病的」なドイツ社会とを描き分けるレトリックが、周到にはりめぐらされていることを見すごしてはいけない。「民族が存在しなければ、人は生きていけない」という命題に照らして一種の逸脱論的モデルを提示しているアイスナーの議論は、さらに先行する言語思想家マウトナー Fritz Mauthner のプラハ・ドイツ語にかんする洞察に支えられていると同時に、カフカに代表される〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉の特性を逆説的に説明する論理にもなっているのである。マウトナーはその自伝『プラハの青春』(1918) のなかで、主たるドイツ語地域から孤立したプラハのドイツ語は、豊かな方言や音楽性といった、言語本来の生命力が横溢する音声的側面が衰えて、貧困な「紙のうへのドイツ語」と

8——— アイスナー『カフカとプラハ』金井裕ほか訳、審美社 1975年。

なつたと指摘した^[*9]。言語生活じたいが土着性を喪失し、虚弱な人工性を帯びていることほど、プラハ・ドイツ社会の特殊性ないし逸脱性を雄弁に証明するものはないとすれば、そうした言語を表現手段にするほかない文学者たちは、自分たちに刻印されている言語的・社会的な負性を徹底的に意識し、かつそこからの脱出を企図せざるをえないよう宿命づけられているわけだ。しかもこのような逸脱論的思考は、一方では都市（文化）と農村（自然）を対立的にとらえたうえで後者に価値的優位を与えるロマン主義的ナショナリズムと重なり、他方では社会主義リアリズムとのあいだに奇妙な親和関係を形成したのである。じっさいプラハ・ドイツ社会にたいし、本来あるべき農民や労働者の世界との関係を失ったまま、言語的にも社会的にも閉ざされた不自然な世界、いいかえれば没落過程にあるブルジョワジーの精神的頹廢が典型的にあらわれた異常社会という烙印を押すことは、いとも容易であつたにちがいない。

ゴルトシュテュカーは、アイスナーの「三重のゲッター」説を大きく受け入れながらも、当然その逸脱論的思考には与さない。そのために彼は、アイスナーが「精神的ゲッターからの逃亡」とのみ述べている作家たちの動き——ベルリンやウィーンへの移住、シオニズムや社会主義への傾倒、チェコ知識人との接触——をきわめて積極的に評価し、とりわけチェコ・ドイツ間の文化的媒介の意義を強調して、〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉をゲッター化克服をめざす越境的な文学現象と位置づけたのだつた。そのうえでさらに、チェコの地政学的条件とも関連させながら、中欧における都市プラハの文化史的な存在意義にまで議論の射程を広げようとしたのである。だが、こうしたゴルトシュテュカーのもくろみは、1960年代後半の政治的現実のまゑに潰えてしまう。「プラハの春」の進展に重大な危惧の念をいだいたソ連指導部は、ワルシャワ条約機構軍を動員して改革運動を押しつぶしてしまった。ゴルトシュテュカーはイギリスへの亡命を余儀なくされ、プラハ・カレル大学で彼のもとに集まっていた研究者たちも、ビロード革命までの長い冬を送ることになる。

しかしその間、ゴルトシュテュカーの蒔いた種は世界各地で芽吹いていった。1950年代後半以降、プロートやハース、ウルツィデールやミュールベルガーなど第二次世界大戦を生きのびた、当時を知る文学者たちの自伝的エッセイや回想録や批評が断続的に発表されていたことも、大きな追い風になった。はっきりマルクス主義に共鳴したキッシュやヴァイスコプフなどは著作集が東ドイツで出版されたが、それ以外の忘れ去られた作家

9—— Vgl. Mauthner, Fritz: *Prager Jugendjahre*. Frankfurt a.M. 1969, S.49.

たちについては、作品発掘と作家像の確認という基礎的な作業から出発しなければならなかった。カフカの盛名の陰にひっそり隠れていたレップン、ウンガー、ヴァイス、ヴィンダー、グラープなどが一定の再評価を受け、その作品のあるものが再刊にいたったのは、1970年代から80年代にかけての地道な研究があつてのことである。それとは別に、ヴァーゲンバハにはじまるカフカの伝記的研究が、イディッシュ演劇との邂逅を重視するベック、ボヘミア・ユダヤ人の社会史を試みるシュテルツルをへて、ロバートソンやパウエル の重厚な記述を生み出していった展開も忘れてはならない。こうした蓄積がやがて、ヴァーパターナル大学プラハ・ドイツ文学研究センターを率いるボルンを中心としたシンポジウム「カフカ時代のプラハのドイツ語文学」やゼールケのジャーナリスティックな大著『ボヘミアの村々』など80年代後半の成果を生み、さらにはビロード革命後の研究の活発化をも準備したのである[*10]。

4

ゴルトシュテユカーの研究プログラムのもっとも根本的な問いは、「プラハから短期間にこれほど多くのすぐれた作家が輩出したのはなぜか」という点にあった。この問いは、しかし、ユダヤ系ドイツ語作家たちを培った特殊プラハ的な歴史的・社会的条件の考察に結びついて、彼らの表現行為の内実はまだ踏み込んだ探求にはいたっていない。じっさい、40年におよぶ〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉の歴史をつぶさに検討すると、世代間の違いはもちろん、作家どうしの社会観・芸術観の差異も小さくなく、彼らに共通の表現特性や創作原理をとりだすのはむずかしいのである。文学史的には、ドイツ語圏全体を席捲した表現主義的な傾向がいちはやくプラハに出現したとみて、表現主義文学の初期段階と位置づける議論がおこなわれているが、そこにおのずと限界があることは、すでに最初に述べたとおりだ。その点、いまなお示唆に富んでいると思われるのは、『オーストリア文学とハプスブルク神話』の著者として知られるマグリスの指導のもとに、1970年代後半のトリエステで取り組まれた共同研究の成果報告『撞着語法としてのプラハ』であろう[*11]。

10—— Vgl. *Prager deutschsprachige Literatur zur Zeit Kafkas*. Schriftenreihe der Österreichischen Franz-Kafka-Gesellschaft 3 u. 4. Wien 1989-91. Serke, Jürgen: *Böhmische Dörfer. Wandlungen durch eine verlassene literarische Landschaft*. Wien u. Hamburg 1987.

11—— Vgl. Magris, Claudio u. a.: *Prag als Oxymoron*. In: *Neohelicon*. 7/2(1980), S.11-65.

多岐にわたるマグリスたちの議論を、本稿の関心に即して思い切って整理するならば、重要な論点はふたつに絞られる。ポイントのひとつは、ドイツ語作家の手によって神話的な都市プラハの形象が生み出され、やがてチェコ語作家にも共有されるようになって、周期的に回帰してくるという指摘だ。神話化されたプラハ像とは、博物館とも骨董品屋ともつかぬ蒼古たる街並み、そこで奇妙に閉ざされた生活を送る風変わりな人物、人間の制御を脱して勝手気ままに振る舞う事物たちといったイメージの系列をいい、それが歴史の有為転変を超えた恒常的性格としてこの街に刻印されているとみる思考じたいをも指す。こうしたイメージ群は、20世紀初頭に形成され、ドイツ語作家の大半が亡命の途についた1938年以降の時代、さらには60年代後半の民主化運動の昂揚と挫折の時期にも、まともって出現しているというのである。つまりマグリスたちの着眼は、ドイツ文学史とチェコ文学史という枠組から離れ、むしろ両者を横断して出現するイメージ表現の由来を問うことにあった。それは、文学的なプラハ神話を脱神話化する企図という点で、ハプスブルク神話にたいする批判と同質の操作といえる。

この問いにたいする解答、すなわちプラハの社会環境を境界都市のそれととらえ、そうした環境に規定された文学を境界文学としてみるという視座が、もうひとつのポイントをなす。マグリスたちのいう境界とは「歴史的、文化的、社会的な諸力の接触」する場所であり、それらの相互作用から生じる葛藤や軋轢じたいが、そこに住まう人びとの「生の実質」になっている世界である。複数の言語が飛び交う生活が当たり前であり、さらに階層や政治や民族や宗教の対立のうちに社会的ヘゲモニーが追求されているのが常態の、いつも微妙なバランスのうえにのった不安定な生活世界。これらの「アンチノミー」じたいをアイデンティティとする境界都市生活者にとって、対立からの離脱や対立の喪失は、皮肉にも、もっとも深刻な危機の到来を意味するだろう。そうなったとき、アイデンティティの確認と回復のために、一連の境界的表象を参照するテキスト、つまりマグリスたちのいう境界文学が書かれなければならないのだ。都市プラハでの文学活動を「撞着語法」という修辞学上のタームで把握しようとする彼らの標的は、まさしくこの脱中心化された文化的アイデンティティの実態にほかならない。

ところで、みずから小説やエッセイの書き手でもあるマグリスの著作活動は、その出身地トリエステと密接結びついている。14世紀から第一次世界大戦終結にいたるまで、ハプスブルク家領の海の玄関口となったこのアドリア海の港湾都市もまた、少数のドイツ人支配層のもと、イタリア人とスロヴェニア人がそれぞれのナショナリズム的要求を掲げて

対立する不安定な多民族社会であった。そこでは、ハプスブルク帝国との結びつきのなかで中欧の文化的ネットワークに一角を占めるトリエステの位置が主張される一方、そうしたネットワークから離脱することで社会的解放と政治的自立を獲得しようというベクトルもまた強く働いていたのだ。だがトリエステは、ハプスブルク帝国崩壊後はイタリア領に編入され、緊張関係をはらんだ文化的アイデンティティそのものを喪失してしまった。1939年生まれのマグリスが、みずからの生まれ育った都市の過去を尋ねる研究に着手したとき、中欧国家オーストリアとの社会的・文化的関連を論じることになったのは、きわめて自然な流れであったにちがいない。彼の主著『オーストリア文学とハプスブルク神話』は、このような著者自身の背景を視野に収めて読むとき、ひときわ深い奥行きを覗かせるのである[*12]。

マグリスが指導したプラハ研究は、プラハ的特殊性の検証を前面に押しだすゴルトシュテュカーの研究プログラムと比較してみると、むしろ中欧文化論の色彩が濃い。ハプスブルク帝国全域でみた場合、コスモポリタニズム的性格を特権的に主張するウィーンとそのドイツ語文化にたいし、それ以外の都市はウィーン的な中心性や普遍性との関連を保持すると同時に、それぞれに固有のローカリティも主張しなければならなかった。だがこの相反するベクトルは、とりわけ19世紀後半の社会的対立の深化とともに、周縁諸地域の言語的・文化的アイデンティティを分裂させ、かつ多層化していく。かくて中欧には、各地域の地政学的条件や歴史的背景に強く依存した、広大な境界の世界が形成されていったのである。この点を見据えたマグリスたちの共同研究は、中欧各地に散開する多様な境界都市とその文化を並行的にとらえようとした、いわばトリエステの視点からの〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉研究の試みといえることができるだろう。

このように考えてくれば、〈プラハのドイツ語文学〉の研究課題が、特殊プラハ的な社会的・文化的環境の解明をすすめると同時に、それを再び大きなコンテクストへと接続していくことにあるのは明らかだ。ここでのいう大きなコンテクストとはむろん、特定の言語ごとに、芸術思潮の交代の歴史として記述される国民文学史ではもはやありえない。それはさしあたり、マグリスが構想した境界都市の社会空間によって規定される文化現象の探求ということになるだろう。だが近代都市におけるマイノリティ集団の社会生活

12———この点については、マグリス『オーストリア文学とハプスブルク神話』鈴木隆雄ほか訳（書肆風の薔薇 1990年）の充実した「訳者あとがき」に啓発されるところが大きい。

は、それがいかにゲッター化していようと、周囲のマジョリティ集団との経済関係のうちに組み込まれているはずだし、また情報ネットワークを介して後背地と複雑に結びついていたにちがいないのだ。だとすれば、都市に着目する研究は、水平的な移動現象をも含めた、より広範囲な地域をターゲットにしていかなければなるまい。ブラハの場合、それはまず広い意味でのボヘミア全域との関連ということになるし、さらには隣接していながら、いっそう複雑な歴史的背景を有するシレジアやガリチアとの比較検討もまた、遠からず日程に上ってくるものと思われる。

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話し言葉の「音楽的側面」の記述法を求めて

レオシュ・ヤナーチェクのモラヴィア民謡研究における「発話旋律」の意義

中村 真

序：「話し言葉の旋律」の「大コンテキスト」と「小コンテキスト」

時代や地域そして音楽のジャンルを問わず、歌の旋律は日常の話し言葉と密接な関係にある———ということは、言語芸術や音楽に携わる者たちがさまざまな角度から論じてきた。本稿で取り上げるチェコ人の作曲家レオシュ・ヤナーチェク Leoš Janáček (1854-1928) もまた、この問題に取り憑かれていた。彼は、日常生活の場で交わされる話し言葉のリズムや抑揚を「話し言葉の旋律 *nápěvky mluvy* [speech melody]」と命名し、五線記譜法を用いて記譜した話し言葉を自らの作曲や民謡研究に役立てていた^[*1]。ヤナーチェクが1890年代頃から提唱し始めた「話し言葉の旋律」という概念は「言語」と「音楽」の双方の領域にまたがる根源的な問題を内包しているために、さまざまな立場からの解釈を誘発して来た。とは言え、彼自身もしばしば公言してきたことながら、ある民族集団が作り出す音楽の旋律は彼らが話す言語の音韻論上の性質によってある程度のところまで決定されるという「ローカル」な側面と、所属する民族集団や社会階層とは関係なく話し言葉が持つイントネーションやアクセントが話される内容を雄弁に物語るという「普遍的」な側面に関する証言として言及されがちである。例えば、作曲家スティーヴ・ライヒもまた、あたかもこうした視点を追認するかのように、話し言葉をさまざまな方法で自作において用いてきたことを語る際には「話し言葉の旋律」が持つこの二つの性質を重視してヤナーチェクの証言を引用している (Reich 2002)。

だが、ヤナーチェク《自身は》いかなる脈絡の下で「話し言葉の旋律」を収集し、研究し

1——— “*nápěvky mluvy*” は「発話旋律」あるいは「旋律曲線」などとしばしば訳されてきたが、原語には日本語訳のような生硬な語感はない。そのため、本稿では一貫して「話し言葉の旋律」と訳すことにした。なお、チェコ語の語句へ添えた英訳は、特に断りがない場合はすべて筆者が行ったものである。

続けていたのだろうか。むしろ、チェコ音楽史の研究者たちもこの問題に取り組んできたが、おおむね19世紀のチェコ人の民族運動における言語ナショナリズムとの関連を重視したものと、ヤナーチェクの音楽実践と関連付けて捉えようとするものの二つが主流となってきた。前者へ着目した研究においては、ヤナーチェクが「話し言葉の旋律」へ付与してきたナショナリスティックな意義を整合性をもって理解しようと試みられてきた(e.g. Štědrň 1968)。後者の例としては、ヤナーチェクにおける「レチタティーヴォ」概念と「話し言葉の旋律」概念との間の関連性を論じたティレルの研究が挙げられる。ヤナーチェクが「レチタティーヴォ」と指示した箇所はチェコ語が本来持つ韻律に忠実である上に厳密な演奏指示がなされており、楽曲のモチーフにもなっている。これをヤナーチェクがあえて「アリア」とは呼ばないのは、このような「レチタティーヴォ」こそが現実の話し言葉に近い、グルックの時代のセッコ・レチタティーヴォ *secco recitativo* の最も発展した形態であり、オペラの理想である——と考えていたからだ。そして、このような「レチタティーヴォ」概念は「話し言葉の旋律」概念の前身に相当するものだ、という(Tyrrell 1995)。前者を重視した研究では、なぜ彼は日常生活の場で発せられる言葉のイントネーションへ「話し言葉の《旋律》」という《音楽的》な含意を持つ名称を与え、研究し続けていたのか——つまり、作曲や音楽批評、そして音楽理論の構築といった彼の音楽的思考と「話し言葉の旋律」との関連性はいかなるものだったのか——という問題は不明瞭のままだ。一方の後者へ着目した研究においては、「話し言葉の旋律」とヤナーチェクの音楽的思考との関連性は浮き彫りになるものの歴史的な脈絡が明らかにならない。

こうした音楽学者たちとは異なった観点から「話し言葉の旋律」の解釈を行ったものとしては、小説家ミラン・クンデラが『裏切られた遺言』(1994)で彼のオペラ美学と関連付けて論じたものが挙げられる。クンデラは、20世紀のヨーロッパのモダニズム芸術においてヤナーチェクのオペラ美学が持つ意義とはオペラというジャンルで「現実の一つの顔、現実の日常的、具体的、一時的な顔であり、神話の対極にある顔」を具えた、フロベールの「散文の世界」を発見したところにある、と強調する(クンデラ 1994: 152)。ヤナーチェクにとっては、人生において一瞬にして過ぎ去ってしまう「現在」という場に相反する「平凡なもの」と「劇的なもの」がつねに共存している状況を音楽において厳密に表現することこそが問題だったからだ。「話し言葉の旋律」の研究もこうした問題意識の下で行われた。その結果、従来の芸術音楽とは異なる旋律的想像力の源泉を見出し、実作において独自の旋律法を案出するに至る(クンデラ 1994: 150-159)。だが、ヤナーチェクのオペ

ラ美学は、ヨーロッパの同時代の者に理解されなかった。チェコ語という言語の特殊性のためではなく、むしろチェコ人という「小国民」が「国民という家族写真のうえに」彼の芸術を「張りつけて、そこから外に出ること」を許さず（クンデラ 1994：220）、「彼を近代音楽のコンテクストから引き離し、民謡にたいする情熱、モラヴィアの愛国主義、〈女性〉、〈ロシア〉、〈スラヴ性〉崇拜その他の戯言といった、もっぱらローカルな問題」といった、「小コンテクスト」へ彼の芸術を押し込めたからだ（クンデラ 1994：222-223）。

クンデラの議論は、ヤナーチェクの作品に限らず、近代のヨーロッパにおいて政治的・経済的・文化的な面で「辺境」として位置付けられてきた地域を出自とする作り手が生み出した作品をヨーロッパの芸術という「大コンテクスト」との関係という視点から捉え直すようにするには重要なヒントとなろう。とは言え、クンデラの見解を額面通りに受け取るべきではない。ヤナーチェクの作品や「話し言葉の旋律」の研究に関する彼の解釈が自身の小説美学を披瀝するための構成要素として機能していることに関しては贅言を要しないが、クンデラはヤナーチェクの美学が持つ「普遍的」な側面を強調しようとするあまり、この作曲家の美学が19世紀の後半から20世紀前半にかけてのモラヴィア——あるいは、オーストリア・ハンガリー帝国、のちにはチェコスロヴァキア共和国を構成する一地方——という地域で生み出されたものであるという事実が持つ意味を黙殺しているからだ。確かに、ヤナーチェク自身が1880年代後半に「話し言葉の旋律」とも関連する問題について公の場で論じ始めた際の立脚点は、チェコ人による「民族的な národní [national]」芸術音楽の創出と民謡研究とのあるべき関係という、「民族復興運動 Národní obrození [The National Revival]」期のチェコ人知識層の間で継承されてきた問題意識に根差すものである。この点では、彼の発想は明らかに「小コンテクスト」に属するものであったと言える。だが、彼のこうした議論の背景には反ワグナー主義的な立場が影響していたことを無視することはできない[*2]。また、「話し言葉の旋律」の収集と研究も、彼自身が1880年代後半以降から本格的に行うようになったモラヴィア民謡の研究や1900年代に着手され始めることになるリズムの一般理論の構築などとも深い関係があったのだ。言わば、わたしたちが考察すべきなのは、「話し言葉の旋律」にまつわる、一見すると「小コンテクス

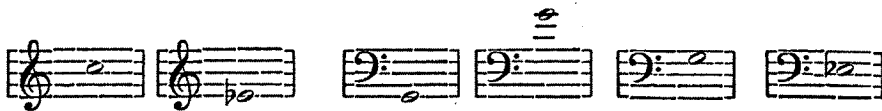
2——— ヤナーチェクは、「リヒャルト・ワグナー作曲 トリスタンとイゾルデ」という反ワグナー主義的な立場を標榜する記事を『音楽通報』誌に発表した。ここでは、劇作家としてのワグナーの才能を評価する一方で、彼が開発した半音階和声を音楽をあらゆる伝統的な形式を破壊する誤謬に満ちたものであると非難し、作曲家は警戒心をもってワグナーの楽劇を研究する必要性を説いている（Janáček 1884）。

ト」に属するものでしかないと思われがちな諸々の事実の中に当時の中央ヨーロッパの芸術音楽という「大コンテキスト」と関連する要素がいかにして潜んでいたのかという問題なのである。そこで、第1節では、ヤナーチェクが1880年代に行い始めた芸術音楽における「民族性」と民謡研究とのあるべき関係という問題を扱った「地方的local」な論考を「言葉」と「音楽」という観点から読み直すことを通して、当時の芸術音楽の根幹に関わる「普遍的universal」な問題意識の存在をまず明らかにする。第2節では、オペラ『イエヌーファ』の作曲(1891-1903)と平行して行っていたモラヴィア民謡研究の総決算とも言える「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」(1901)という論考において、第1節で明らかにした問題をヤナーチェクはいかにして「話し言葉の旋律」という概念を通して深めていったのかを検証する。なお、この論考は、モラヴィア地方の方言や習俗の研究をしていた民俗学者フランチシェク・バルトシュ František Bartoš (1837-1906) と共編し、約2000曲の民謡や器楽曲が収められている『新撰モラヴィア民謡集』(Bartoš and Janáček 1901)の巻頭論文として書かれたものである[*3]。

1 話し言葉が持つ「音楽的側面」の発見

ヤナーチェクが話し言葉のリズムと抑揚の形態を譜面で記譜し始めた正確な年代については一次資料の保存状況や自身が行った数々の証言が混乱しているために、今日においてもいまだに統一的な見解は得られていない。だが、チェコ語の話し言葉に関する見解を譜例を添えて最初に公表したのは、彼自身が編集長を務めていた『音楽通報 Hudební listy』誌の1885年3月12日号に掲載した劇評記事「オセロ」でのことである。ここで彼は、女優や俳優の台詞の「声域」(左の2つの音が女優、右の4つの音が俳優の声域をそれぞれ記譜したものである)と演劇的な迫真性との間に相関関係が認められたことを指摘する (Janáček 1885)。

3——— 以下で「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」からの出典頁を示す際にはOHS、『新撰モラヴィア民謡集』からの出典頁を示す際にはB IIIとそれぞれ略記することにする。



[譜例1]

チェコ語と音楽の旋律との関係についての彼の見解は、1886年から1887年にかけて同じ『音楽通報』誌に連載した「賛美歌集」(Janáček 1887a) という論考において具体性を帯びてくる。ここでの議論の主眼は、同時代の賛美歌集の編者の多くが近代以前のボヘミアやモラヴィアで作られた賛美歌が元来具えていた旋法や非拍節的なリズム構造を理解せずに、規則的な拍節構造を持つ調性音楽に合致させるよう改竄していたことに対する批判にある。だが、この論考で興味深いのは、近代以前のチェコ人の賛美歌に見られる自由な付曲法 word-setting / Vertonung を称賛しながら、オタカル・ホスチンスキー Otakar Hostinský (1847-1910) の理論書『チェコ語の音楽的デクラメーションについて』(Hostinský 1886) で議論を話し言葉の音節の長短と強弱の形態へ歌の旋律に従属させるものとして批判している点だ (Janáček 1887a : 9)。プラハ大学のチェコ語部門で美学を講じていたホスチンスキーは、スメタナを支持する代表的な論客の一人であり、「民族的」なオペラ národní opera [national opera] (いわゆる「国民オペラ」) を作ることの意義を1860年代末から説き続けていた人物である。彼は、美学史上の必然的な帰結としての「民族的」な芸術の姿をワーグナーが楽劇において開発したライトモティーフ法、半音階和声そしてデクラメーション様式の中に見出し、こうした技法を駆使したオペラを作ることによってチェコ人の芸術がヨーロッパの芸術へ寄与し得ることをつねに強調する。「デクラメーション様式」を実現させるためにホスチンスキーが取り組んだのは、標準的なチェコ語の正音法 orthoepy に基づいた「強勢詩法 přízvukný verš [accentual verse]」を樹立することであった。19世紀後半においてもチェコ語においてはつねに第一音節にアクセントがあり、音節の長短と強弱は互いに独立した関係にある———ということに関してもコンセンサスが得られていなかった^[4]。その上、チェコ語による作詩法も混乱した状態にあった。その結果、不自然なアクセントを持った歌の旋律がまかり通ることとなっていた。ホスチンスキーは母語の響きによって

4——— 例えば、歴史家のフランチšek・パラツキー František Palacký (1798-1876) は、接頭辞が付く語においては接頭辞の第一音節ではなく語根に強勢が置かれると考えていた、という (Tyrrell 1988: 264)。

「民族性」が正しく表現されると考えていたので、こうした状況を厳しく批判していたのである (Hostinský 1886: 5-7) [*5]。

さて、「賛美歌集」で示唆された言葉と音楽との関係に関する見解は、「歌に見るスラヴ精神」(Janáček 1887b) という論考において深化することになる。この論考は、スラヴ諸地域の民謡を独力で収集し続けていた画家ルドヴィーク・クバ Ludvík Kuba (1863-1956) による民謡集『歌に見るスラヴ精神』の第2巻「モラヴィア民謡篇」(1886) とホスチンスキーの『チェコ語の音楽的デクラメーションについて』に関する書評論文として書かれたものである。ヤナーチェクのこの文章はチェコ音楽史の研究者の間では民謡に関する自身の見解が初めて公の場で示されたものとして重視されてきたが (e.g. Tyrrell 1988: 246-247)、民謡に関する彼の見解は真に「民族的」な芸術音楽を実現させるための方法と関連付けられて論じられている点にも注目しておくべきであろう。というのも、民謡や民俗舞踊の旋律やリズムを作品内で引用あるいは示唆したり、スメタナのように (そして、ホスチンスキーが唱導するように) ワーグナーやリストの交響詩の様式を基盤としつつ母語のリズムと抑揚を様式化した旋律を作品内で実現させてゆく——という、当時のチェコ人の楽壇において「民族的」な芸術音楽を実現させるために提唱され、しばしば論争の火種ともなった二つの路線をいずれも否定しながら、民謡を参照点としながら「民族的」な芸術音楽を作り上げてゆく必要性を説いているからだ。だが、ここで疑問も生じよう。ヤナーチェクはこの文章を発表するまでもモラヴィアの民謡に題材を求めた合唱作品をすでにいくつも発表していた。また、後年のオペラでは、話し言葉のリズムや抑揚を高度に様式化したデクラメーションを駆使した旋律を多数書くことになる。にもかかわらず、彼は作品内で民俗音楽を示唆もしくは引用する路線に対しては「『民族的な音楽』なることばによって『民謡』を何らかのかたちで模倣することを想定しているわけでもない」と述べた上に、ホスチンスキーが提唱する理論については「本質的には、話し言葉のリズムとメロディの抑揚によって民族の言葉が分けられることなどない」[*6]とさえ断言する (Janáček 1887b: 77)。それでは、なぜ彼は当時の楽壇で提唱されていた二つの路線とともに真に「民族的」なものではないと否定したのだろうか。この疑問に答えるには、ホスチンスキーがチェコ

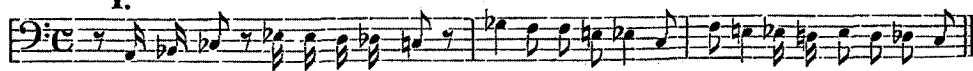
5——— 19世紀のチェコ語による作詩法の混乱やホスチンスキーの「民族性」や「民族オペラ」やデクラメーションに関する理念が内包する美学的な意義の詳細に関しては、拙稿 (2006) を参照されたい。

6——— 以下では、チェコ語の原文において隔字体によって強調されている箇所を太字を用いて訳出することとする。

語による声楽作品における付曲法の理論を自ら「実践」して見せた例（〔譜例2a〕）を批判したのちに、ヤナーチェクがクパの民謡集に収められているモラヴィアやスロヴァキアの民謡（〔譜例2b〕）に見られる音楽的な自律性を称賛しているくだり（Janáček 1887b：76-77）に着目する必要がある。

〔譜例2a〕は、登場人物の心理状態を劇的に表現した「きわめてゆったりとしたレクタティーヴォ」(Hostinský 1886：40)の「実践例」として提示されたものである。この旋律は、「slunce（太陽）」という語が意味上最も強調されるような理想的な朗誦を踏襲しつつ規則的な拍節構造に当てはまるように書かれており、音節の強弱の配列は旋律の強拍・弱拍の配列と合致している。さらに、ホスチンスキーは、この旋律を引き立てるような和声付けを器楽声部において行う方法を提示する（Hostinský 1886：44）〔*7〕。

1.



V těch pak dnech po sou-že-ní tom, slunce se za-tmí a mě-síc ne-dá svě-tla své-ho.

〔譜例2a〕

これに対してヤナーチェクがモラヴィア民謡の例として示しているのが、〔譜例2b〕だ〔*8〕。

7——— このレクタティーヴォの音節の強弱と長短の形態の組み合わせと大意は、それぞれ次の通り。

「V těch pak dnech, po sou-že- ní tom, slun-ce se za- tmí a mě- síc ne-dá svě-tla své-ho

(〵 〵 ↓ ↓ — 〵 — 〵 〵 ↓ 〵 〵 ↓ — 〵 ↓ ↓ ↓ 〵 ↓ 〵)

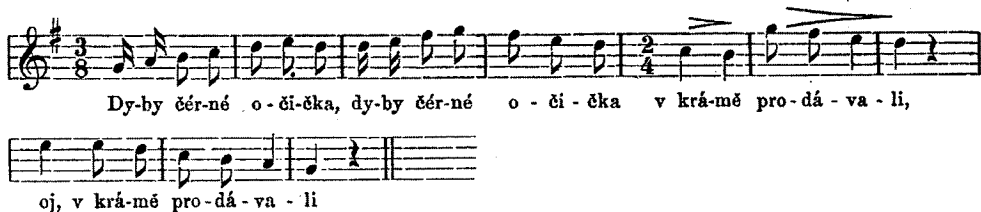
(そして、かの災厄ののちには、陽は翳り、月は光を発さなくなるであろう)」。

8——— この民謡の歌詞の音節の形態と大意は、それぞれ次の通り。

「Dy-by čer-né o-či-čka, / Dy-by čer-né o-či-čka, / v krá-mě pro-dá-va-li, / Oj, v krá-mě pro-dá-va-li.

(↓ 〵 ↓ — ↓ 〵 〵 ↓ 〵 ↓ — ↓ 〵 〵 ↓ 〵 ↓ — 〵 〵 ↓ 〵 — 〵)

(もしも黒い目が、／もしも黒い目が、／あの店に売ってさえいればなあ、／ああ、あの店に売ってさえいればなあ)」。



[譜例 2b]

ヤナーチェクは「譜例 2a」を「歌詞の音節の強弱と長短へ旋律における音のそれを完全かつ絶対的に一致させる」よう作曲家に対して要求するものと批判する一方で、[譜例 2b]の旋律にはホスチンスキーが説くような音節の長短と強弱の一致もある程度は認められるものの「この旋律から鳴り響いて来るのは、他ならぬ音楽的な自律性なのだ。メロディの抑揚における余すところなき一致など起きてはいない。紛れもなくこれこそが、この素敵な歌の美点なのだ」(Janáček 1887: 77) と称賛する。だが、ヤナーチェク自身は「譜例 2b」が内包する「音楽的な自律性」に関する具体的な説明は行っていない。とは言え、彼が想定していた音楽的な自律性の内実は、歌詞の音節の形態と歌の旋律の形態との関係を比較すると容易に推測することができる。

この歌は、A (第1-4小節)、B (第4-10小節) という二つの楽節へ、さらに両者はそれぞれ a1 (第1-2小節)、a2 (第3-4小節)、b1 (第5-7小節)、b2 (第8-10小節) の4つの半楽節へ分けることができる。a1 での「g-a-h-c-d-e」と上行する順次進行と「e-d」と下降する順次進行の双方が a2 ではほぼそのまま反復されたのちに、b1 と b2 では歌い手の詠嘆を表現するために、A では目立たなかった下降する順次進行と a1 で提示されたリズムパターンを想起させる音価の組み合わせを利用した、よりゆったりとした旋律へ変化する。ここで全曲の旋律の形態と歌詞の音節の形態との関係に注目すると、両者がほぼ一致している箇所は A のみで、B では両者は大きく食い違ってくる。ここからは、全曲の旋律の形態は歌詞の音節の形態よりもむしろ a1 で提示された「Dy-by čer-né o-či-čka」という7つの音節へ当てがわれた音価と音高の組み合わせに決定付けられているのであって、この音の連なりには全曲を構成するモチーフとしての機能が見出される——ということが窺える。

この歌の「音楽的な自律性」を概観すると、ヤナーチェクがホスチンスキーの理論を批判したことの意味が明らかになる。朗誦(すなわち、話し言葉に由来するもの)における

リズムと抑揚の形態を歌の旋律において精巧に模倣する一方で、旋律の《形態》と楽曲の構成原理——すなわち、楽曲の《構造》——との関係が不問に附せられていたことを批判していたのである。「民族性」を表現するために作中で民俗音楽に由来する素材を引用するもう一方の路線を批判したこともまたこの意味においてのことだ、と考えることができる。いずれの路線に則るのであれ、当時の中欧の芸術音楽において規範として広く流通していた構成原理に依存しているという点において、両者の間に本質的な違いは存在しないからだ。つまり、ヤナーチェクは、スラヴ諸地域の作曲家が芸術音楽において「民族性」を正しく表現するには、当時の中央ヨーロッパの芸術音楽の規範的な構成原理に毒されていないスラヴ諸地域の民謡の構成原理を参照点としながら、一つの民族集団に独自の構成原理を作り上げるという、《第三の道》を歩む必要性を説いていた——ということだ。

「歌に見るスラヴ精神」からは、ヤナーチェクが民謡の構造へ多大な影響を及ぼす話し言葉の「音楽的」な側面の存在について意識的に考え始めた痕跡を読み取ることができる。だが、単に[譜例2a]を提示して曖昧な文言を提示するに過ぎなかったところからも、この論考を発表した頃にはモラヴィアやスロヴァキアの民謡に見られるという、言葉の音節の形態を巧みに利用した独自の音楽的自律性を十全に記述するに足る言葉を見出せていなかった様子が窺える。こうした言葉は、1890年代から1900年代にかけて行われていたモラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面に関する研究において徐々に作り上げられることになる。そこで、次節では「話し言葉の旋律」と民謡の構成原理との関係に関する問題を軸に据えて「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」を読み解いてゆこう。

2 「話し言葉」と「歌の言葉」との連続性の記述

第1節でも述べたように、芸術音楽の尺度から見るとモラヴィア民謡においては不規則な拍節構造を持つことが常態となっていた。そして、ヤナーチェクがその原因を求めた先は、歌詞の音節に潜む音楽性を巧みに利用する独特の構成原理であった。モラヴィア民謡におけるこうした構成原理を「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」で論じる際には、歌は話し言葉から生まれてきたものだからこそ「民衆の歌の旋律を何らかの目的を具えた旋律全体から分け隔ててしまうことなど、不可能だ」と緒言において強調する(OHS: i)。つまり、話し言葉と民謡という二つの領域が連続した関係にあることを議論の大前提

としているのだ。両者が連続した領域であると認識し得る理由を説明する際には、言葉が持つ複数の音節が作り出す「スチャソフカ *sčasovka*」——すなわち、「リズム *rytmus*」の形態[*9]——を重視する。話し言葉が持つ意志伝達の機能から抑揚とリズムの形態へ注意の向きを変えてみると、「話し言葉の旋律」にも漫吟 *zpěv* [*hum / chant*] のような性質があることが分かるからだ (OHS : i-ii)。(彼の用語法においては、「漫吟」とは「歌 *píseň* [*song*]」と呼ぶには音楽的な自律性が十全に発達していない、「美しい話し言葉の旋律」を意味する (OHS: xli)。) また、「漫吟は、とりわけ聴覚的もしくは美的な影響 *vliv estetický* [*aesthetic influence*] の下に置かれるといともたやすく磨き上げられ、歌 *píseň* [*song*] へと姿を変えてゆく」ことがごく普通に見られるからでもある (OHS: i-ii)。こうした認識があるからこそ、彼は民謡の構成原理を記述する際には自らが採譜した「話し言葉の旋律」が持つリズムと抑揚の形態への言及を過剰なまでに行い (民謡の音楽的自律性を論じる際に「話し言葉の旋律」を多数引用したのは、この論考が最初のことだ)、話し言葉が歌へ与える影響力のありようを確認しようとするのだ。そこで、以下では、ヤナーチェクは「話し言葉の旋律」が民謡の旋律の形態と構造の両者へいかなる影響を及ぼすものとして考えていたのかをそれぞれ検証することにしよう。

9——「スチャソフカ *sčasovka*」という語はヤナーチェクによる造語であり、「リズム *rytmus* [*rhythm*]」という語釈は彼が緒言において行っているものである (OHS: ii (fn*))。「リズムの形態」と付言したのは、筆者による。

なお、この造語の含意の変遷については注意が必要である。「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」では、「スチャソフカ」という用語へは単に話し言葉や楽曲の旋律が持つ「リズム」あるいは「リズムの形態」という意味しか与えられていない。言わば、この頃の「スチャソフカ」や「スチャソヴァーニー *sčasování* [*rhythmicizing*]」(ともに、ヤナーチェク自身の造語である動詞 *sčasovat* [*rhythmicize*] から派生したもので、この動詞は彼の文章の中では「リズムを形成する」という意味でしばしば用いられている。なお、この二つの語へ添えた英訳はベッカーマンが提案した訳語である (Beckerman 1994)) という語は、「čas [*time*]」(時) というスラヴ諸語で共通する語根を用いて西欧諸語に由来する音楽用語を言い換えたに過ぎなかった。彼は1880年代から西欧諸語を起源とする音楽用語をスラヴ諸語に由来する語根を使って「翻訳」することを提案していたので、この頃の「スチャソフカ」もその一環として捉えられよう (例えば、自身の文章では「*kontrapunkt* [*counterpoint*]」(対位法) というラテン語を起源とする語根に由来する語の代わりに「*opora* [*buttressing*]」(支え) というスラヴ諸語に共通する語根に基づく訳語を採用していた)。だが、「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面」以降の諸論考での「スチャソフカ」という語は、単にスラヴ風の語彙へ「翻訳」しただけのものではなくなる。例えば、「スチャソヴァーニー (リズム) に関する我が見解」(Janáček 1907) では楽曲のある部分において特定の特徴を持つリズムや和声を生み出す「動機」としての意味をも帯びるに至るからだ。

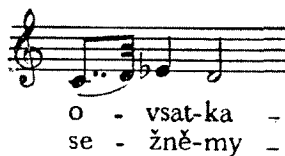
2.1 話し言葉が民謡の旋律の形態へ及ぼす影響

日常生活の場で発せられる話し言葉の形態がモラヴィア民謡の旋律の形態へ及ぼす影響についてヤナーチェクが論じる際には、地域ごとの方言に見られる正音法との異同とその原因にそれぞれ着目している。

方言における正音法に由来する特徴が民謡の旋律においても踏襲されている様子に関しては、東モラヴィアに位置するラシススコ Lašsko 地方——彼の出身地方である——の民謡の旋律が多数例示しながら説明を行っている。ラシススコ地方で話されている方言では、前節で概観した標準的なチェコ語における正音法とは違って、最後から二つ目の音節にアクセントが置かれて、標準的な発音では長母音として発せられるべき音節がしばしば短母音として発せられる。一方、とりわけ三音節から成る語においては最後から二つ目の音節がしばしば他の音節よりも高い目に発音される。その結果、この地方での日常の話し言葉においては「děv-čát-ka (女の子)」、「chce-tě-li (もし欲しいんだったら)」、「ov-sát-ka (子羊)」、「se-žně-my (刈り取ろう)」などといった語はそれぞれ次のように発せられる (OHS : xlvii)。



[譜例 3a]



そして、ラシススコ地方の方言に見られるこうした特徴は、歌詞に三音節の語が多く含まれる民謡の旋律のリズムと抑揚の形態へも影響を与えることになる (OHS : xlvii) [*10]。



[譜例 3b]

10——ヤナーチェクが引用しているのは、フランチシェク・スシルの『モラヴィア民謡集』に1471番(番号は、第5版に基づく)として収録されている民謡の一節である (Sušil⁵1998: 467)。

だが、言うまでもなく、話し言葉が民謡の旋律の形態へ及ぼしている影響を説明するには方言における正音法との共通性を論じるだけでは不十分だ。民謡の旋律のみならず話し言葉においてもまた、正音法からの逸脱は往々にして起きるからだ。同じ言葉がある特定の心理状況が卓越した場合に話し言葉の音節の形態を正音法とは関係なく自在に変化させてゆく過程が緒言で言及していた「美的な影響 *vliv estetický*」であり、ヤナーチェクは「話し言葉の旋律」の形態と歌の旋律との関係を論じるに当たってはこの過程を最も重視している。その端的な例として、彼は「譜例4」を提示する（OHS：xvi-xvii）。これは、収穫祭の日に戸外で鳴り響く楽隊の演奏を聴きに連れて欲しいと幼い息子が両親にせがむ際に口にした一連の言葉を採譜したものだ。ここでは、幼い息子が両親にはただ「がくたい Na muziku」あるいは「がくたい、ききにいこうよ *Puděme na muziku*」という言葉しか用いない一方で、この子の心理状態の推移に従って同じ言葉のリズムと抑揚とがそれぞれ変化を遂げてゆく過程に注目してみよう。



〔譜例 4a〕



〔譜例 4b〕



〔譜例 4c〕



〔譜例 4d〕



〔譜例 4e〕

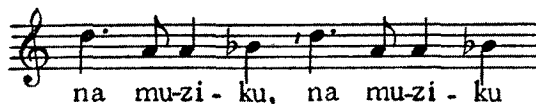


〔譜例 4f〕

楽隊の音楽を耳にして、息子は「興奮した様子で」両親に次のようにせがむ〔譜例 4a〕。だが、両親は息子を連れて行きたがらない。すると、男の子は「べそをかきつつ」同じ言葉を口にし〔譜例 4b〕、「その後もなお懇願し続ける」〔譜例 4c, 4d〕。再度「懇願するような口調で」言ったかと思うと〔譜例 4e〕、「嘆き口調」へ一変する〔譜例 4f〕。だが、次はうって変わって「強硬な」口調になる〔譜例 4g〕。ついに両親は根負けし、息子を楽隊を聴きに連れて行くと約束する。すると、同じ言葉を「嬉しそうに」口ずさみ始める〔譜例 4h〕。



〔譜例 4g〕



〔譜例 4h〕

それでは、ヤナーチェクがこうした「話し言葉の旋律」を「歌 píseň」や「漫吟 zpěv」の旋律の近くにあるものとして聞き做した根拠は何なのだろうか。彼自身は上記の譜例と状況説明しか提示しておらず、分析的な説明は一切行っていない。とは言え、〔譜例 4b〕から〔譜例 4h〕の旋律からは、等しい拍からなる冒頭の3つの音節「na mu-zi-」（以下では「音型 x」と呼ぶ）、二分音符からなる最後の音節「-ku」（以下では「音型 y」と呼ぶ）の二つがそれぞれ反復、変形されてできたものと見做すことができる。音型 x で提示されるリズムは、抑揚の形態を変えつつも〔譜例 4f〕までそのまま保持される。その一方で、音型 y は〔譜例 4b〕で一つの二分音符から上向する四分音符と八分音符の組み合わせへと変化し、〔譜例 4c〕から〔譜例 4e〕では二つの四分音符へ姿を変えつつも上向するイントネーションを繰り返す。だが、〔譜例 4f〕では、音型 y は〔譜例 4a〕でのように再び一つの音符へと戻り、単一の四分音符へ圧縮される。それに続く〔譜例 4g〕では、新たに加わった「pu-dě-me（行こうよ）」という三音節から成る語へ〔譜例 4a〕で提示された音型 x に由来する3つの等しい拍からなる音型が、「na mu-zi-ku!」へは〔譜例 4f〕に由来する等しい4つの拍から成る音

型がそれぞれ当てがわれる。しかも、この音型の前半2つの音に見られる抑揚は〔譜例4f〕の後半2音節のものに由来していると見做し得る。最後の〔譜例4h〕では、再び「na mu-zi-ku」という言葉のみが二度発せられる。〔譜例4h〕で注目すべきは、〔譜例4g〕の後半の4つの音節の旋律が持つ抑揚とリズムの双方に由来する音型が二度反復されることを通して初めて規則的な拍子が成立するに至る点である。

〔譜例4a〕から〔譜例4h〕として掲げられた旋律のリズムと抑揚の形態を子細に検証してみると、ヤナーチェクがこの実例を通して「美的な影響」の下にある「話し言葉の旋律」と「歌」や「漫吟」の旋律との間に共通する要素として何を見出していたのかが明らかになる。〔譜例4b〕から〔譜例4h〕において記譜された「話し言葉の旋律」は、単に地域の方言の「正音法」に忠実に従った結果ではなく、あたかも〔譜例4a〕で提示された「na muziku」という4つの音節に当てがわれた4つの音符が織り成すリズムと抑揚の形態が一連の話し言葉の「モチーフ」としての役割を果たしている様子を彼は見出したのだ。

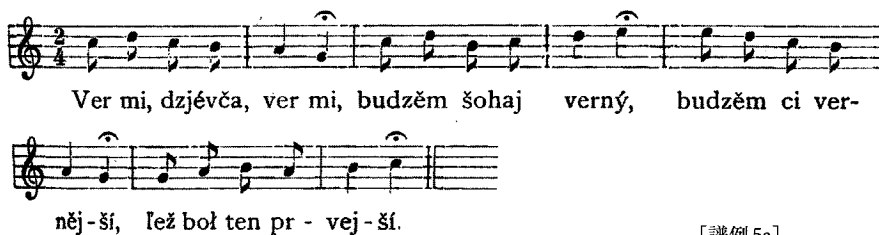
2.2 話し言葉が民謡の旋律の構造へ及ぼす影響

本節では、「話し言葉の旋律」がモラヴィア民謡の旋律の《構造》——すなわち、民謡の旋律という《形態》を生み出す基盤——へはいかなる影響を与えているものとして彼は認識しているのかという問題を検証しよう。

ヤナーチェクが話し言葉の旋律が民謡の構造へ及ぼしている影響を考察するに当たっては、緒言において「旋律確定音 *nápěvně jisté tóny*」なる概念を提唱し、本文においてもこれに基づいた議論を行っている。「旋律確定音」とは原則的に冒頭の半楽節を形成する歌詞の音節へ当てがわれた音から成り、全曲のリズムや抑揚の形態の基盤となるものである。民衆はこの「旋律確定音」に基づいて即興的に歌を作ってゆく。また、歌を作ってゆく際に冒頭の旋律の形態を忘れてしまった場合にも、この「旋律確定音」を何度も口ずさみつつ歌を作り続ける (OHS: xxxiv)。例えば、『新撰モラヴィア民謡集』本篇に456番 b) (B III: 257) として収められている民謡 ([譜例5a]) は、四つの八分音符と二つの四分音符という組み合わせが4回反復されることで全曲が構成されている [*11]。ここからは、冒頭の「Ver

11——— この歌の歌詞の大意は、次の通り。「俺を信じてくれよ、可愛い子ちゃん、俺を信じてくれよ、／裏切らないから、／前の男なんかよりもお前に尽くすからさ」。

mi, djév-ča, ver mi (俺を信じてくれよ、可愛い子ちゃん、俺を信じてくれよ)」という6つの音節へそれぞれ当てがわれた(譜面の上方へ書き込まれた、八分音符のような記号で示された)6つの音を作るリズムと抑揚の形態([譜例5b])を全曲の「旋律確定音」として全曲を作り上げるのに利用していたことが分かる、という訳だ。ただし、[譜例5b]でのd、h、aといった音が示すように、「旋律確定音」は必ずしも協和音を構成する音である必要はない。また、歌詞に挿入される間投詞へ付けられた音やメリスマを構成する音は、「旋律確定音」の一つから派生したものと見做し得るのでここからは除外される(OHS: xxxi-xxxiv)。



[譜例 5a]



[譜例 5b]

民衆は「旋律確定音」を基準としながら一まとまりの歌詞へさまざまなリズムの形態を当てはめてゆくことで、変化に富むリズムの形態を有する半楽節ひいては一つの楽節を作てゆく。ただし、これらは歌詞の音節の形態との整合性や旋律の美しさのみを目的として機械的に組み合わせられた結果ではない(OHS: xxxv-xxxix)。むしろ、きわめて類型的な楽式を具えた民謡においてさえも、民衆が「旋律確定音」に依拠しながら歌詞の内容に則して「話し言葉の旋律」のような劇的で真実味に溢れた旋律を作り上げていった過程を読み取り得る。こうした点から、芸術音楽の作曲家が前提としている規則的な拍節構造に基づいた場合にはモラヴィア民謡の音楽的自律性を正しく解釈し得なくなるということを強調する(OHS: ii, xxxi)。

その中でも、相反する内容を持つ詩句へ相反する性質を帯びた旋律を作りやすい楽式として彼が着目するのは、三部形式 (A-B-A') だ。楽節 A と楽節 A' に囲まれた楽節 B において全く異なった性格を持つ旋律を作り出せると同時に、楽節 A に基づいた旋律に回帰させることによって全曲にわたって和声とリズムの統一性をも実現させ得るからである (OHS: cix-cx)。三部形式の歌においてこの種の《多様性の中の統一》を実現させた端的な例として、ヤナーチェクは『新撰モラヴィア民謡集』本篇に 365 番 (B III: 209) として収録されている民謡 ([譜例 6]) を称賛する[*12]。この歌の中間部において「少女の特徴が簡潔なスチャソフカによって巧みに示されている」様子を見出しているのだ (OHS: cix)。それでは、彼はこの歌のいかなる点に《多様性の中の統一》を可能としている原理を見出しているのだろうか。以下では、この歌の構造と歌詞の内容との関係を彼の用語法に従って考察することを通してこの問題を明らかにしよう。

Z Velké.

Míruě a táhle. *Zdlouhavěji.*

Vím já o děv-či - ně Veľickěj do - li - ně, ona nic

ne-ro - bí, moje po - tě - še - ní, len si pěkně cho - dí.

[譜例 6]

この歌は A (第1-第4小節) -B (第5-第8小節) -A' (第9-10小節) の三部形式を具えており、A と B はそれぞれさらに2つの半楽節 a1 (第1-2小節)、a2 (第3-4小節)、b1 (第5-6小節)、b2 (第7-8小節) から成るが、A' は単一の半楽節 a1 から成立している。A と A' の旋律はともに a1 の6つの音節から成る「Vím já o děv-či-ně (あの娘のことを知っている)」という詩句へ

12 ——— この歌の歌詞の大意は、次の通り。「あの娘のことを知っている、／ヴェリツカー・ドリナの。／あの娘は何もしない。／でも嬉しい、／ただきれいに着飾って歩くだけで」。

当てがわれた「旋律確定音」をもとにしたものとして把握できる。AとA'で歌われる旋律は、音節の長短と強弱の形態という点では歌詞と一致した関係にはない。しかし、Aにおいては「おだやかに、かつ引き伸ばされた感じ *Mírně a táhle*」のテンポだったのがBでは「さらに引き伸ばされた *Zdlouhavěji*」ものになり、旋律のリズムの形態や楽節全体の拍子までもが変化することになる。Bの旋律が持つリズムの形態もまた、Aと同様に6つの音節から成る「o-na nic ne-ro-bí (彼女は何もしない)」というb1での詩句へ付せられた「旋律確定音」に基づいている。とは言え、旋律の性格はAのものとは大きく異なる。少女の特徴を描写するために、詩句の音節の長短と強弱の形態(↓ ー ー |↓ ー ー)をほぼ忠実に再現した旋律が当てがわれているからだ。Bに関してさらに注目すべきなのは、b2における旋律の形態とこの半楽節が楽曲全体で果たしている機能についてだ。b2のリズムの形態は、「*moje potěšení* (私の喜び)」と少女に対する歌い手の心情を吐露していることとも相俟って、b1で提示された「旋律確定音」に基づきつつも最も強調されるべき「*po-tě-še-ní* (喜び)」という語の最初の2音節が引き伸ばされてメリスマとしての様相を帯びる。一方、この半楽節の抑揚の形態はa2で提示されたものに由来する。ここからは、b2の旋律には、この旋律がa2の旋律を基盤とするA'への回帰を円滑なものにすることによって、「*len si pěk-ně cho-dí* (ただきれいに着飾って歩くだけ)」という、b1から引き続き行なわれる少女の特徴の描写を続けながら全曲を終結に導く機能が付与されている——ということが明らかにになる。

つまり、この歌にヤナーチェクが「少女の特徴が簡潔なスチャソフカによって巧みに示されている」様子を見出した先とはBとA'における旋律の様態であったことが考えられる。そして、このような様態を可能としていたのは、各楽節の「旋律確定音」で提示されたりズムの枠組は守りつつも、あたかも話し言葉のように歌詞の内容の推移に合わせて旋律の形態を自在に変化させてゆく作曲方法だったのだ。

* * *

本節では「旋律確定音」がいかにして民謡の旋律を形作っているのかということに関するヤナーチェクの議論を検証してきた。ここからは、前節で提示した「美的な影響」下にある「話し言葉の旋律」([譜例4])もまた[譜例4a]の4つの音節へ当てがわれた「旋律確定音」が[譜例4b]から[譜例4h]の旋律の母胎となっている——と見做し得る。つまり、「美的な影響」の下に置かれた一まとまりの「話し言葉の旋律」であれ歌の旋律であれ、いずれ

も「旋律確定音」に基づいて構築されていることが明らかになる。まさしくこの点においてこそ、ヤナーチェクはモラヴィア民謡においては話し言葉と歌の両者は《形態》のみならず《構造》のレベルにおいても連続した関係にあるものとして捉えていた、と言える。

結語：話し言葉の「音楽的側面」の記述法の探究が持つ意義

本稿での議論を終えるに当たって、以下では話し言葉が持つ「音楽的」側面の記述法をヤナーチェクが1880年代から1900年代初頭にかけて模索していた過程を振り返ったのちに、この過程が持つ意義について考察しよう。

「歌に見るスラヴ精神」での議論は、ヤナーチェクが話し言葉が民謡の構成原理へ及ぼしている影響力を論じる嚆矢となる。とは言え、ここでは話し言葉に潜む音楽的な要素を民衆は適宜利用するといった曖昧な見解しか示せなかった。だが、「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」においては、全曲の旋律を構築する基盤を「旋律確定音」として定式化し、これを軸に据えた楽曲の形式の記述を展開するに至る。ここでは、「話し言葉の旋律」のリズムと抑揚の形態の記述が、民謡の旋律の形態と構造を明らかにするに際しての「触媒」としての役割を果たしていたのだ。だが、話し言葉と民謡の構造との関係を記述し得る言葉をこのように案出した背景に単に「地方的」な意義のみを見出すだけでは、不十分である。第1節で明らかにしたように、ヤナーチェクが「歌に見るスラヴ精神」においてモラヴィアやスロヴァキアの民謡の構成原理を称賛したことの背景には、当時のチェコ人楽壇において大勢を占めていた「民族的な」芸術音楽に関する二つの路線を批判し、第三の道を歩む際の参照点にするという意図があった。「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」において強調されていた、「旋律確定音」は芸術音楽が前提とする拍節構造とは相容れないものであるという議論にもまた、こうした批判的な立場が継承されている——と言えよう[*13]。つまるところ、ヤナーチェクがチェコ語の話し言葉の音節の強弱や長短そ

13——— なお、同時代の芸術音楽に対する彼の批判的な見解は、「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」よりも少し後に発表された「スチャソヴァーニー」に関する一連の論考においてより鋭さを増す。例えば、「スチャソヴァーニー（リズム）に関する我が見解」（1907）では、「モラヴィア民謡の音楽的側面について」での「話し言葉の旋律」と民謡の構成原理との関係についての知見が芸術音楽におけるリズム構造や和声を論じる際にも援用され、同時代の芸術音楽の構造を認識し批判する際の基盤となる。

して抑揚の様態を「話し言葉の旋律」として概念化し、自らが目指していた「民族的」な芸術音楽の参照点として見做していた民謡の構成原理の記述法を構築する際に最大限に利用していたところには、「地方的」な問題系と「普遍的」な問題系——クンデラが謂う「小コンテクスト」と「大コンテクスト」——とが交錯する場を見出し得るのだ。

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Jewish Avant-garde art in Poland

Yung Yiddish (Young Yiddish) group

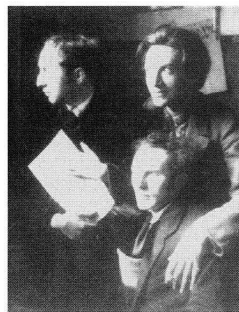
Jerzy Malinowski

The traditions of the modern Jewish artistic environment in Poland and Central-Eastern Europe date back to the second half of the 19th century and are linked with the names of Maurycy Gottlieb and Mark Antokolski. At the turn of the 19th century, artists of Jewish descent in Poland (despite a partial distinctness in the themes of their works) were intimately connected with Polish artistic life. Nonetheless, they maintained close social ties with each other. Yet it was not until just before World War I that it was possible to organize in 1913 the first 'Exhibition of Jewish Artists' in Warsaw.

A further attempt at creating a separate milieu of Jewish artists in Poland was made during the war. The exhibition organized in Warsaw in 1916 was officially a charity event for the 'Society of Orphanages for Children of the Mosaic Persuasion'.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the considerable growth of the Jewish artistic milieu in Poland and Central-Eastern Europe gave rise to questions concerning the specificity and stylistic character of national art. Discussions on the topic were conducted particularly by young Jewish artists who worked in Paris before World War I, including Osip Zadkine, Natan Altman, and Josif Tchaikov, Icchak Lichtentein, Leo Kenig and Marek Szwarc. They published the periodical *Makhmadim*. Already at that time attention was turned to the works of Marc Chagall in whose case inspiration by the new French art (Van Gogh, cubism and Delaunay) was connected with a fascination for the visual aspects of Hasidic folklore and Jewish folk art.

In the course of the First World War these controversies, and some of the artists themselves, moved to Russia. Separate Jewish ar-



[fig.1] Marek Szwarc, Moshe Broderson and Jankel Adler with volume 2/3 of *Jung Yiddish*, 1919



[fig.2] Marek Szwarc: Crucifixion, 1919



[fig.3] Jankel Adler: The Last Hour of Rabbi Eliesar, c. 1918

tistic institutions were formed such as the Jewish Society for the Development of Art, which organized a large exhibition in Moscow in 1917, and the Central Committee of the League for Jewish Culture (the *Kultur-Lige*). The *Kultur-Lige* was established in Kiev in 1918 and combined support for the Revolution with a program of revival of Jewish culture. Its members included Lasar (El) Lissitzky, Issachar Ber Riback and Boris Aronson. A tendency towards formulating principles of a new Jewish art was a force which in 1919 gathered in the State Jewish Theatre in Moscow the most outstanding Jewish painters working at the time in Russia - Altman, Chagall, Lissitzky and Riback. They created an informal group with a distinct artistic expression, described as the 'Jewish expressionist' style, and they opposed nineteenth-century realism, which, in the case of Jewish painters, introduced national motifs but did not strive towards introducing a separate artistic language. Impressionism was regarded as the art of the assimilated Jews.

The idea of the revival of Jewish culture quickly reached Poland, where it became linked with local traditions. The *Yung Yiddish* group was founded in Lodz at the end of 1918 as the outcome of two exhibitions - 'Spring' (held in April) and 'Winter' (held in December), organized by the Association of Artists and Adherents of the Fine Arts in Lodz. This association, established in 1917, was dominated by Jewish artists, who constituted the majority of the Lodz artistic environment. For the first time works of the future members of the group were shown, such as those by Barcinski, Brauner, Dina Matus and Szwarc at the first exhibition, and by Adler, Barcinski, Brauner and Matus at the second.

In his review of the first exhibition, Bernard Singer wrote in the daily *Folksblat* that Jewish artists should not represent Polish art. He appealed to them to reject motifs of Polish origin in favor of those taken from their own history, literature and mythology which revealed the 'Jewish spirit'. The exhibition was supposed to be 'the first step taken by the Lodz artists'. Hershele, poet and co-worker of the group, stated in *Lodzer Togblat* that all nations, regardless of their size and prosperity, try to develop their own national art and support their own artists. Art, he wrote, is 'the mirror of the soul' of every nation. Despite the popularity of several Jewish artists, such as Antokolski, Izaak Levitan, or Ilia Ginzburg, the Jewish Society, Hershele added, had a 'cold and indifferent' attitude towards art. He criticized it for the absence of institutions (exhibitions, museums, artistic periodicals) which would assist Jewish art. The repercussions of these two exhibitions made the Lodz artists aware of the necessity to choose a path different from the one pursued by Polish painters.

The oldest member of the *Yung Yiddish* group was Wincenty (Icchak) Brauner, born in Lodz in 1887. After studying at the Hochschule für die bildenden Künste in Berlin (1908-1911), he returned to Lodz and formed a group of artists and authors of the young generation, who met in his studio or in the house of his parents to discuss the newest trends in art and the problems of national art. Brauner's paintings were influenced by post-impressionism, especially Van Gogh, in whose honor he even changed his name ("Landscape", 1915). Around 1916 his 'Nude' already revealed a sharp deformation of shapes.

The people who visited Brauner included the above-mentioned sculptor and graphic artist Marek Szwarc (born in 1892 in Zgierz), who in 1910 left for the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and there joined a group of Jewish artists living in La Ruche. After returning to Lodz in 1914, Szwarc spent the war there and in Odessa where, under the influence of the literary works of Mendel Moikher Sforim, Nakhman Bialik, and Akhad Ha'am, he attempted to create themes from the classics of Jewish literature. During his stay in Kiev in 1918, Szwarc probably became acquainted with the activity of the *Kultur-Lige*. His sculptures, such as 'Eve', shown at the Autumn Salon in Paris in 1914, indicate that at this time the artist was closest to the classical trend. In 1915 the first individual exhibition of Szwarc's works was shown in Brauner's 'Salon of Art'. The wartime compositions reveal a 'biological' deformation which affects the proportion of the body and face. During the 'Spring Exhibition', Singer for the first time described Szwarc as an expressionist. The linocut 'Crucifixion', which applied a deformation of the *Die Brücke* type, was regarded as a breakthrough.

At the end of 1918 Jankel/Jakub/Adler returned to Lodz. Born in 1895 in Tuszyń near Lodz, from 1912 he studied in Belgrade and then in Bremen where during the years 1916-1918 he attended the *Kunstgewerbeschule*, coming into contact with the German artistic milieu (inter alia with Franz Wilhelm Seiwert from the *Die Aktion* circle). Already at that time, Adler painted expressionistic works devoted to Baal-Shem-Tov, the founder of Hasidism, which were acclaimed a sensation at the 'Winter Exhibition' in Lodz - 'The Last Hour of Rabbi Elieser', 'True Christianity and the Victim of Pogrom', and 'Baal-Shem and Buddha'. Although the influence of El Greco has been perceived in these works, they seem to be closest to Ludwig Meidner, Jacob Steinhardt, Joseph Eberz, and Cesar Klein. Similar thematic analogies link Adler's paintings with those by Lasar Segall (born in Vilna). Adler was also fascinated during this period by the works of Chagall, and he immediately became a leading figure among the group of Lodz artists.

It appears, however, that the founder of the *Yung Yiddish* group was the poet and graphic artist, Moshe Broderson. He was born in Moscow in 1890, but spent his childhood in Lodz. In 1914 Broderson moved to Moscow, where in 1917 he organized the *Shamir* circle of Jewish "national aesthetics" and published the "Prague legend" *Sikhes Kholin* (*Small Talk*) with Lissitzky's illustrations. At the beginning of 1919 Broderson returned to Lodz, bringing information about the new Russian and Jewish literature and art in Russia.

The remaining members of the group included Henryk (Hench) Barcinski (Barczyński), born in Lodz in 1896 and in the years 1916-1917 a pupil of renowned Jewish sculptor Henryk Glicenstein in Warsaw, where he also made his debut at the 'Spring Salon' of the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in 1917. His early portraits and studies of heads ("Self-Portraits", 1919) resemble the war-time works by Szwarc and, above all, those of Oscar Kokoschka. In 1918 Barcinski left to study at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Dresden.

Not much is known, on the other hand, about the works of the female members of the group: Dina Matus (born in 1895 in Lodz), Ida Brauner, the sister of Wincenty (born in 1891 in Lodz), Pola Lindenfeld (born in 1900 in Lodz), Zofia Gutentag (born in 1893 in Lodz) or about the graphic artist Salomon Blat. Around 1920 these



[fig.4] Pola Lindenfeld: Landscape, 1919

artists painted, and pursued the graphic arts. Later, Lindenfeld became a sculptor, Matus a scenographer, while Ida Brauner devoted herself to the applied arts.

Members of the group also included the well-known poet Yitshak Katzenelson (born in 1886 in Korelicze near Nowogrodek, now Belarus) and the journalist Yekheskel Moshe Neuman (born in 1893 near Warsaw).

The group ultimately took shape probably in February 1919. Tradition has it that the author of its name was Broderson. The name of group probably harked back to the *Jung Jüdischer Klub* in Vienna, set up early in the century by renowned Jewish writers, artists and critics: philosopher Martin Buber, draughtsman-illustrator Ephraim Moses Lilien, writer Stefan Zweig, critics Berthold Feiwel and Anzelm Lutwak. It appears to have been also derived from the name of the New York literary group *Di Yunge*, active in the years 1907-1919, and was supposed to refer to the term 'Young Poland' (name of important period of modern Polish art and literature). It seems worthwhile to recall that at that time in Germany there appeared a group known as *Das Junge Rheinland* with whose members Adler was in contact. The name *Yung Yiddish*, which emphasized the element of a change in generation and world outlook, suited well the ideology of the revival of Jewish art. The second component of the name -Yiddish - showed that it referred to the local traditions of Jewish culture in Central-Eastern Europe, whose distinctness was accented during a conference held in Czernowitz in 1908 which acknowledged Yiddish as a fully-developed literary language.

In 1919 the group published three issues of a periodical with the same name, and in 1919-1921 several volumes of literary works by Broderson, Katzenelson, and Khaim Krol with covers and illustrations designed by members of the group. It also organized artistic evening sessions and discussions on new art, and established lively contact with the younger generation in Warsaw, whose most outstanding personalities were the painters Stanislaw Centnerszwer, Henryk Gotlieb, and Henryk Berlewi. In 1919 they participated in the three exhibitions organized by the ephemeral *Muza* (Muse) Association, later known as the 'Warsaw Artistic Circle', in the center of the Union of Jewish Authors at Tlomackie street.

A closer contact with *Yung Yiddish* was established by Berlewi (born in 1894 in Warsaw), who studied in Warsaw and Antwerp and in the years 1909-1912 worked in Paris. Berlewi, originally a realist ("Glazier", 1918), under the impact of *Yung Yiddish* evolved towards expressionism ('Jewish Wedding', 1921, "Khonon and Lea", 1921), and at the end of 1921, thanks to contacts with Lissitz-



[fig.5] Henryk Berlewski: Khonon and Lea
from Salomon An-ski "Dibbuk",
lithography, 1921



[fig.6] Jankel Adler: The Blessing of
Baal-Shem Tov, 1919

ky, who was in Warsaw at the time, became the most outstanding representative of the early stage of Constructivism. Soon, this circle was joined by the painter and scenographer Wladyslaw Weintraub (born in 1891 in Lowicz), a pupil of Leon Bakst, who returned from Switzerland and France.

The most important encounter of the two milieus proved to have been the First Exhibition of Jewish Painting and Sculpture in Bialystok, organized in September 1919 by Adler and Berlewski, in which works of the *Yung Yiddish* group were assigned a separate place. However, the 'Exhibition of Paintings by Futurists, Expressionists and Eternists', announced for the beginning of 1920, was never held in Lodz. Only in April 1921 did the Lodz-based publishing house *Tel-Aviv* hold a large all-Polish exhibition of Jewish art, of which a modified version was shown in Warsaw in June. The concept of the exhibition, whose authors were probably Broderson and Brauner, resulted in the consolidation of the Jewish artistic environment in Poland and the establishment of a Committee for Jewish Art in Warsaw, with Berlewski and Weintraub. In 1921 and 1922 the Committee held five exhibitions, and in May 1923 it changed into the Jewish Society for the Propagation of the Fine Arts. The emergence of this organization ended the ten-year-long period of the formation of an independent artistic environment in Poland. Members of *Yung Yiddish*, together with Berlewski and Weintraub, participated actively in all these initiatives. The *Yung Yiddish* group existed up to 1921 and was disbanded after most of its members left Poland - Szwarc to Paris, Adler, Barcinski, Pola Lindenfeld, Ida Brauner, and Berlewski to Germany. Abroad, they joined the so-called 'Progressive Artists' move-

ment whose most important achievements were the organization of exhibitions and a congress held in Düsseldorf in May 1921. Together with Margarete and Stanislaw Kubicki, members of the Poznan *Bunt* (Revolt) group of expressionists, they formed a Polish section of the congress.

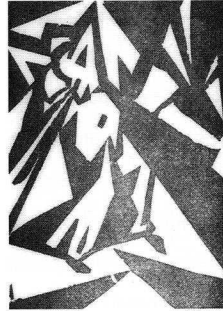
Broderson, Brauner, Weintraub, and Berlewi, who remained in Poland, joined the new expressionistic-futuristic *Khaliastre* (Gang) group, whose members included the poets Uri Zwi Grinberg, Peretz Markish, Melekh Ravitsh, Joshua Singer, Israel Stern and Eser Warshavsky. They published the almanachs *Khaliastre* and *Albatros* and worked with the literary periodical *Ringin*.

The *Yung Yiddish* group presents a type of art which could be generally described as 'late expressionism'. Its distinctness is determined by the specific formal and iconographic features which together formed the so-called 'Jewish expressionism'.

The origin of 'Jewish expressionism' is indubitably rooted in the paintings of Chagall and in the 'apocalyptic' works of the Berlin-based *Die Pathetiker*, a group founded in 1912 by Ludwig Meidner and Jacob Steinhardt, Jewish artists from Silesia and Great (i.e. Western) Poland. Members of the group absorbed the experiences of various artistic milieus — Paris, Berlin, the Rhineland, Moscow, and Kiev. Nonetheless, they were capable of creating stylistically uniform works. Sharp biological deformations, flowing nervous contours, convulsive movements of the body and gestures as well as color dissonances were characteristic for the *Yung Yiddish* group from 1919 on. These measures served to present extreme psychological states and ecstasy. In painting, this trend is illustrated in the "Blessing of Baal-Shem Tov", the founder of Hasidism (1919) and in twelve works by Adler which, as photographic reproductions, were used in Abraham Zak's book entitled 'Unter di fligl fun toyt' (Under the wings of Death), (Warsaw, 1921). In the graphic arts their counterparts were the 'Ecstasy' by Adler, the "Deposition from the Cross" by Szwarc, as well as the "Ecstasy" and 'Dancing Devil' by Brauner. At the same time, there appeared works of a lyrical, sentimental nature — landscapes, at times close to the works of Chagall, for example a 'Belarus Landscape' by Szwarc as well as portraits, nudes, animals, and liturgical objects, who retained the stylistic convention of *Die Brücke*, made by Adler (the linocut "Portrait of Broderson"), Barcinski (the linocut 'Concert', painting "Water-carrier"), Brauner (the painting "Dreamers", the linocut "Jews at the Table") and Dina Matus (illustrations for Rachel Lipstein's „Zwischen dem Abend und Morgenrot").



[fig.7] Wincenty Brauner:
Dancing Devil, 1919



[fig.8] Wincenty Brauner: Illustration II
for Moshe Broderson's "Tkhas hameysim"
(Lodz, 1920)

Works by several members of the group dating from the 1920-1922 period disclose an evolution towards abstract art. The cover to "Ibergang" by Broderson (Lodz, 1921) executed by Szwarc and a cycle of six illustrations to David Zytman's 'Oyf vaytkaytn kraynzde fal ich' (Lodz, 1921) by Ida Brauner, were inspired by the lyrical compositions of Kandinsky and Jerzy Hulewicz (member of the *Bunt* group). On the other hand, the linocuts by Brauner to 'Tkhas hameysim' by Broderson (Lodz, 1920) and those by Broderson to his own "Di Malke Shvo" (Lodz, 1921) and 'Shvartz Shabes' (Lodz, 1921) are closer to geometric abstraction with a strong futuristic influence. Also certain works by Berlewi (the cover to 'Di kupe' by Markish, Warsaw, 1922) and by Weintraub (the cover to *Albatros*, 1922) are of distinctly abstract-futuristic nature.

After 1921 the members of *Yung Yiddish* turned away from expressionism. Their paintings now began to resemble so-called post-expressionistic realism, in which elements of a moderate deformation, darkened colors and, at times, "primitive" interpretation, permeated realistic presentation. Good examples is Adler's well-known painting 'My Parents' (1920-1921). The sculptures by Szwarc and Pola Lindenfeld revealed classical tendencies. After the liquidation of the publishing house, interest in the graphic arts and illustrations began to wane. On the other hand, there appeared in copper (Szwarc and Brauner) and, among the female members of the group, the applied arts (batik, jewelry and ceramics).

Yung Yiddish published in its own periodical two manifestos on art formulated by Broderson. The other official statements included the manifesto entitled 'Expressionism' (1919) and an article

on Chagall by Adler (published in *Yung Yiddish*) as well as the article 'Art and the Jews' (1919), written by Szwarc. These manifestos and articles combined two factors which shaped the ideology of the young Jewish artistic milieu around 1920. On the one hand, they embarked upon an attempted verification of the cultural tradition, both Jewish and European, Christian. On the other hand, by liberating themselves from the limitations imposed by Jewish religious orthodoxy and life in the ghetto, they accepted a vision of the modern world, and wished to join the current of the transformations taking place in order to equal the cultural achievements of the other nations of Europe.

In the iconography of the *Yung Yiddish* group, and in the works of Berlewi, the Jewish motifs appear to be characteristic. In the case of Brauner and Berlewi the presentation is 'ethnographic' and the manner of constructing the picture, borrowed from Chagall or Riback, the mood or, as renowned art critic Stefania Zahorska wrote, its 'mystical tension', distinguished those works from the realistic paintings. In the works of Adler and Segall, the Jewish themes, according to the interpretation proposed by art critic Debora Vogel, became the metaphor of human fate, while the characteristic for 'Jewish expressionism' though difficult to define had its 'irrational moment', (concealed not essentially in the topic but in the movement of the line and intensification of the color) and was to constitute the expression of Hasidism.

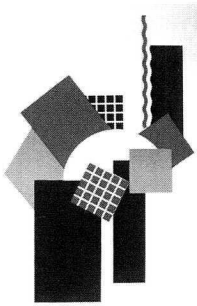
Considering that themes from the Old Testament were used rarely, the frequent depiction of Christ, the saints, and scenes from the New Testament is noteworthy. Representatives of the late stage of expressionism recognized Christ as the prefiguration of a 'New Man' (Adler's "Resurrection", Barcinski's "Saint John the Baptist"). For members of *Yung Yiddish* an additional and important symbolic factor was the emphasis on the fact that Christ was a Jew. In this way the conception of a 'New Man', launched by the expressionists, contained the symbolism of Jewish national revival and the acceptance of Christian tradition, evident even in the references to medieval Christian mystics, Gothic art, and El Greco, made in the group's second manifesto. Members of *Yung Yiddish* kept at a certain distance from the reality which surrounded them. A negation of bourgeois culture was often connected with the undertaking of fantastic or nostalgic themes or motifs. The artists tried to over-



[fig.9] Henryk Barciński: Saint John the Baptist, 1919

come the feeling of isolation in society by cultivating group ties and a Bohemian lifestyle. Hence the epithet *Khaliastre* (Gang), given to the young artists by popular writer Hillel Tsaytlin and with time adopted as a name for a succeeding group. The artists were fascinated by the atmosphere of large towns and modern culture. Pessimism was accompanied by a belief in the spirit. Although slogans of revolutionary change did appear (as in the case of Brauner), the attitude towards revolution, for instance the Russian one, was negative. A considerable influence upon the *Yung Yiddish* group was exerted by the activist ideologies of late expressionism in Germany and Poland (the *Bunt* group), which propagated a spiritual renewal of making that would precede social revolution. Let us recall that during the twenties Adler, Barcinski, Berlewi, Pola Lindenfeld and Szwarc were connected with the European movement of 'Progressive Artists'.

In their views on the world and art, members of *Yung Yiddish* observed the principle of the evolution of form, taken from Kandinsky. They particularly sharply opposed a 'chronicle naturalism' which was unable to explain the fundamental ideas of God, man, and nature. Only the tradition of symbolic art appeared to be important. The new art of the 20th century, wrote Adler, describing it as expressionism, is essentially of a symbolic and mystical nature. According to Broderson, new trends in art revealed different possibilities of symbolizing, and contributed to the revival of artistic forms. He defined this new art as futurism, which in this case signified predominantly the art of the future and of the approaching revolution of the spirit.



[fig.10] Henryk Berlewi:
Mechano- Faktur (-Texture), 1924

At that moment there emerged (as the case of Berlewi) doubts as to the whole conception of Jewish national art. Is there a place in modern civilization — which should create a universal cultural community — for the cultivation of distinctness? Barcinski, connected with the leftist movement, resigned from Jewish themes. On the other hand, Szwarc, who, after conversion described himself as a 'Jew-Catholic', wished to combine in art both Jewish and Christian traditions ("Crucifiction"). Broderson and Brauner supported adherence to tradition, while Adler, connected with the anarchist ideology, transformed this tradition symbolically.

Berlewi, like Lissitzky, answered in the negative and opted for international abstract art. Berlewi's contact with Lissitzky, who was in Warsaw in 1921, brought him close to Constructivism ("Sitting Woman", 1922). In

his “Mechano-Faktur” (Mechano-Texture) theory, published in 1924, which consisted in search for equivalents of the texture of painting using the mechanistic method of the “textural transformation of objects”, he defied the view that decisive in a work of art was the artist’s genetically conditioned individuality (“Mechano-Faktur”, 1924). Following the abandonment of the concept of the “national style”, Jewish artists of the next generation, though not oblivious of their roots, tackled issues characteristic of art trends throughout Europe.

For the Jewish artistic milieu in Poland the activity of the *Yung Yiddish* group were of breakthrough significance. For the first time, in the hitherto disintegrated milieu, there appeared an organizational structure which, by concentrating on the younger generation, created a separate artistic life. The group was able to inject new art and world outlook ideas into the previously conservative environment. Finally, *Yung Yiddish* was the only one important avant-garde Jewish artistic group in inter-war Poland. Its activity filled the most interesting years of modern Jewish art in that country, a time which art critic Leo Kenig described as the *Yung Yiddish* period.

[イエジー・マリノフスキ／ニコラウス・コペルニクス大学、トルン（ポーランド）]

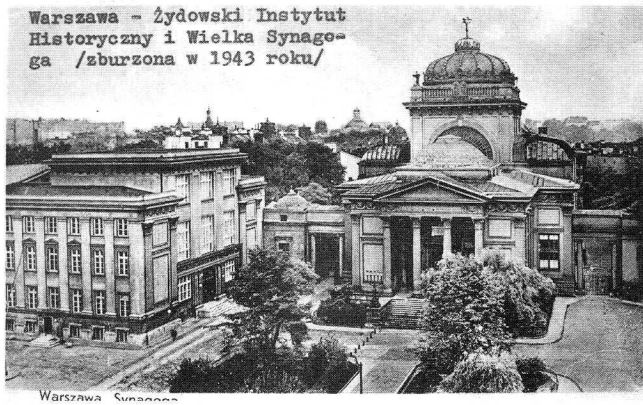
[Jerzy Malinowski, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Torun]

Architecture of Warsaw Synagogues

Eleonora Bergman

In the traditional structure of a Jewish community, especially in small communities, a synagogue is a focal point of life. Traditional Judaism requires participation in common worship three times a day, and Warsaw Jews, whose number rose from 6,000 in 1795 to almost 350,000 before 1939, with very few exceptions were faithful to tradition. A place of worship should not be too distant from the place of dwelling and work. Services in synagogues are not repeated as masses in churches. There is a religious law which does not allow in time of Jewish holidays to walk more than 2000 elbows (about 1200 meters) beyond the borders of a neighborhood or settlement. All told, and taking into account the dispersed areas of Jewish settlement in Warsaw, keeping in mind all the internal divisions within the Jewish population, administrative changes and permits required in some neighborhoods, the increase in the number of houses of prayer and their diversification were fully understandable. Although the culture of Ashkenazi Jews belongs to the European culture, it preserved some traces leading back to its Near Eastern sources. Not surprisingly, the religious practice of Jews is similar to that of the countries of Islam, where in towns there are usually several big mosques and a much bigger number of small prayer rooms. In Warsaw, however, despite the aspirations of the most enlightened part of the society, there were only a few relatively bigger synagogues in town. They never dominated the Jewish space of Warsaw.

It is not my purpose here to achieve any synthesis for which we do not have sufficient material. Even if several dozen Warsaw houses of prayer are identifiable to us a little more than by their address alone, it does not mean that we know what were they like. It is a paradox that buildings which have never been built are the best documented of all. Among the Warsaw synagogues, only the Great Synagogue on Tlomackie Street (fig.1) was included in two classical books on European synagogue architecture, by Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Architecture of the European Synagogues* and Carol H. Krinsky, *The Synagogues of Europe*. Krinsky gave also some attention to the Nozyk Synagogue (fig.2),



1. Great Synagogue on Tłomackie Street (built 1798) and its new Library (built 1936).
Postcard, 1936 [?], from the JHI collection

the only one remaining in Warsaw after the Second World War. However, also the other structures known to us at least to some extent, including those unrealized designs, can be included in the general 19th and 20th centuries' architectural trends.



2. The Nozyk Family synagogue (built 1902), from north-west. Photo by Jan Jagielski, 1995, from the JHI collection

I feel almost obliged to start by discussing structures in the Moorish style. It was so frequently used for synagogues' design in Europe starting from the 1830s until the early 20th century that to many, both Jews and non-Jews, it was almost a synonym of a „Jewish style.” We may ascribe to it several non-implemented buildings, of them two designed by Henryk Marconi (I will keep using his first name in order not to confuse him with his son Leandro, whose design we will discuss later), two competition designs for the Tlomackie synagogue, by Voelck and Heurich, which we have only written information about, and two rather small synagogues of which very scarce photographic records are known – but the buildings existed, at least... Oriental motifs in all these structures were of various provenance.

During the years 1828-1842 (?) Henryk Marconi designed five or six synagogues, all of them orientalized to a smaller or greater extent (none was eventually built). It is thus clear that he did it consciously in order to make these buildings distinctive in their environment and to show their function. He might have known the newest trends in European synagogal architecture, nevertheless, his solutions were rather parallel and not secondary to the Western examples, which became widely known only in 1847. It has to be added that at the same time he designed other buildings in the Moorish style (apartments for two palaces, garden architecture), and thus we may also assume that he had a „Moorish era” in his career.

Two synagogues designed by him for Warsaw belong to the widest stream of synagogal architecture encompassing various oriental influences. The time span between the two designs is probably not bigger than four years, but it made a difference. While designing the synagogue in Franciszkanska Street in 1838, Henryk Marconi used mostly oriental motifs of Turkish provenance, codified still at the early 19th century by two Polish architects, Sierakowski and Idzkowski, who in fact confirmed this way the popularity of Turkish motifs in Poland, dating from the 16th-17th centuries. However, the synagogue on Danilowiczowska, designed most probably in or shortly after 1842 was to be completely Moorish – in other words, using forms and details patterned on the Alhambra. We cannot exclude the influence of the Dresden synagogue designed by Gottfried Semper (1838), however, we know that Semper's design was published only in 1847, and according to the sources known thus far Henryk Marconi traveled to Saxony only in the years 1850-1851.

But Classical style was much more characteristic of Warsaw. It was also reflected in synagogues' design. The synagogue at Praga (a right-bank Vistula River part of Warsaw), built by Jozef Lessel in

the years 1835-1836, belonged to the avant-garde version of Classical style, without any architectural order. It was one of a few European synagogues using a circular plan. Chronologically it might have been the second after the synagogue at Woerlitz, Saxony (1789-1790). We might consider the conscious reference to the Temple of Jerusalem, which was often presented, paradoxically, in the form of the Dome of the Rock, however, we do not know if the association occurred to the architect or to the founder, Gabriel Bergson. It has to be recalled here that at that time two sacral buildings in the form of rotunda existed in Warsaw, one of them was the main Lutheran church built in 1781 (by Szymon Bogumil Zug), and the other a Catholic church built in 1825 (by Chrystian Piotr Aigner). It seems clear that Lessel was not aware to what extent his creation was unusual when compared to other Jewish places of worship. On the other hand, he was certainly sure of his affiliation with the leading Warsaw structures. It should not be excluded that he patterned his design on the Lutheran church, knowing that it was so deeply associated with the idea of the Temple of Solomon.[*1]

The interior of the Praga synagogue for its users was probably a source for similar associations as in the case of the Tempel of Lvov, whose prayer hall was also circular: „Our synagogue is round, enclosed in itself and forming a unity [...] In these walls we are the Jewry, we are a non-divisible unity, and our work is devoted to God and humanity.”[*2] On the same basis, some forty years later this form seemed the most appropriate to one of the participants (whose name we do not know) of the highly emotional discussion published in „Izraelita”, concerning the then planned synagogue on Tlomackie Street: „Why it can't it be a rotunda [...] not with a small, flattened, shapeless cupola as seen on a drawing, but rather a big, pronounced cupola, encompassing the whole house? Isn't the main idea of the Praga synagogue to be considered?”[*3]

It is worth mentioning that the Tlomackie Street synagogue was conceived in 1859, by the congregation from Danilowiczowska Street. The architectural competition was organized in 1872; none of the entries was fully accepted. The design was eventually commissioned to Leandro Marconi in

1 — Robert M. Kunkel, *Planu miasta Warszawy punkt centralny* [Central point of the Warsaw city map], in: *Historyczne centrum Warszawy. Urbanistyka, architektura, problemy konserwatorskie. Materiały sesji naukowej* [Historical center of Warsaw. Town planning, architecture, conservation. Conference papers], *Warszawa 23-24 maja 1996*, pod red. Bożeny Wierzbickiej, Warszawa 1998, pp. 100-106

2 — M. Bałaban, *Historia lwowskiej synagogi postępowej* [History of the Lvov progressive synagogue], Lwów 1937, p. 249

3 — *Korrespondencja, Kalisz, w Maju 1876 r.* [Correspondence, Kalisz, May 1876], „Izraelita”, 1876, No. 20, p. 158

1875, the synagogue was built in the years 1876-1878 (inaugurated on September 26, 1878, the day of Jewish New Year). It stood 65 years and was completely destroyed by the Nazis in 1943.

Now before we discuss the Tlomackie Synagogue as it was eventually built, we will recall here the design whose author was Stanisław Adamczewski. This structure was to be a rotunda covered with a huge cupola. However, the entire symbolism referred to the time of the slavery in Egypt, which most probably was not found appropriate by the jury. On the other hand, we should not forget that one of the designs was in the Moorish style, and it was much praised by the jury members, however, the estimated costs were found to be too high.

There was another centralised structure among the competition designs. Some individual who claimed himself „not able to evaluate those designs from the technical point of view”, stated briefly: „The second plan presents something unusual, that is a rotunda surrounded with a colonnade – reminding one rather of a reservoir, and not of a House of God. Nevertheless, the overall effect is positive. The interior of the men’s prayer hall is oval, that of the women’s gallery is circular...”^[*4] Unfortunately, this unusual design has not survived even on paper. The oval interior of the main prayer hall recalls immediately the Viennese synagogue on Seitenstettengasse, designed by Josef Kornhausel^[*5] and built in 1826 r., with which the Warsaw architects might have been familiar.

Although the style of the synagogue on Tlomackie Street was usually defined as Classical, it was not always interpreted in the same way. The main reason for that was mainly the cupola which made the whole structure somewhat exotic, perhaps for the purely decorative character of this crowning, and also thanks to the Star of David exposed on top. Its use as a Jewish symbol was not so obvious or popular until the second half of the 19th century, when synagogues started to look like two-tower churches. Without such symbols (including the Ten Commandments) the identification of the buildings’ function would not be sometimes possible at the first sight.

The interpretations of the appearance of the Tlomackie synagogue expressed by the late 19th century critics and public were far from unanimity. Here are some opinions voiced:

4 ——— *Plany na nową synagogę* [Plans for a new synagogue], „Izraelita” 1873, nr. 15, s. 116

5 ——— Josef Kornhausel (1782-1860), Viennese architect, whose design style was mainly Empire – Biedermeier; in 1847 he built a theater in Cieszyn [German: Teschin]. Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe. Architecture. History. Meaning*. New York, MIT Mass., London 1985, p. 188; Stanisław Łoza, *Architekci i budowniczowie w Polsce* [Architects and builders in Poland], Warszawa 1954, p. 153

- „The facade of the synagogue, especially in its upper parts looks somewhat foreign, and strangely heavy, with its exaggerated simplicity...”
- „Our new synagogue, beside having adopted modern requirements, contains many Arabic-Moorish elements...”
- „The style of the whole building is half-Eastern, half-Gothic...”
- „Classical style is not appropriate for a synagogue. It brings associations with ancient [pagan - EB] Greece, and not with the East.”
- „The building’s Classical style, in its upper part passes into fine Byzantine-Moorish structure.”

The first four phrases are taken from letters sent to Warsaw weeklies: „Izraelita” and „Nowiny” [News] in the 1870s. The last one belongs to the *Illustrated Guidebook to Warsaw*, of 1893, by Gomulicki and Szmideberg. Beside several curiosities, it seems that some interpreters were happy with the alienated, perhaps exotic – as they understood it – character of the building’s architecture, searched for it and stressed the existence of its traces, while the others disapproved its lack of differentiation, or lack of its legibility.

According to C.H. Krinsky, in Warsaw „...a classicizing style was associated with the imperial government in Moscow.”^[*6] Ewa Malkowska wrote that the Classical portico of the synagogue belongs to the standard decorative elements of Polish building tradition.^[*7] Marek Kwiatkowski stated that the synagogue’s style was German Renaissance... By the way, he was the only one who found the building a strange and aggressive intrusion, colliding with the original plan of the square.^[*8] Much more often, it was admitted that the synagogue’s outline was in perfect harmony with the nearby office complex built by Antonio Corrazzi in the 1820s.^[*9]

It is worth recalling that the synagogue had several references to Warsaw architecture. First of all, the Classical four-column portico was typical for palaces built in the town since Stanislaus Augustus’ reign (1764-1795). Secondly, the synagogue was connected with its immediate environment

6 — C.H. Krinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 231

7 — Ewa Małkowska, *Synagoga na Tłomackiem* [Synagogue on Tłomackie], Warszawa 1991, p. 60

8 — Marek Kwiatkowski, *Tłomackie*, „Rocznik Warszawski” 1964, t. V, p. 67

9 — E. Małkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 6

through the arcades and symmetrical side pavilions in a manner similar to the Neo-Renaissance church at Grzybow. It suggests that the author of the urban concept could have been still Henryk Marconi, Leandro's father (who died in 1863), or that Leandro followed his father's design.

The synagogue's exterior costume was certainly inspired by the 18th century Palace-on-the-Water in the Warsaw Lazienki Park. Leandro Marconi had already used it as a pattern for his another design, a palace in Waka near Vilna for the Polish aristocratic Tyszkiewicz family. There was a significant similarity – and weakness, in my opinion – in both Marconi's buildings: no relation of the elevated part (or belvedere) to their interiors. On the other hand, windows in the palace's facade were, so to speak, replaced by blind panneaux in the synagogue, for purely composition, not for functional reasons. By the way, it is worth noting here that the same approach was taken by Edward Zachariasz Eber, designer of the synagogue's library (1928-1936) whose facade reflected that of the synagogue, with no reference to the library's interior space divisions (this building survived the war; it is now the Jewish Historical Institute, in which I have the honor to work).

Up to the mid-1870s, Leandro Marconi did not have many opportunities yet to find examples of many new synagogues, and he certainly could not find much published material on the subject. It was only several years later that it became readily available, and therefore he had to solve the problem himself. It is most likely that he visited the new synagogue in Berlin on Oranienburgerstrasse, opened in 1866, strongly promoted by „Izraelita” (perhaps by the sponsors of the Tlomackie Synagogue) and the geographically closest of the other ones mentioned there, in Hanover, Turin and Paris. Marconi might have known a beautiful book of 1867, publicizing the detailed design of the Berlin synagogue.[*10]

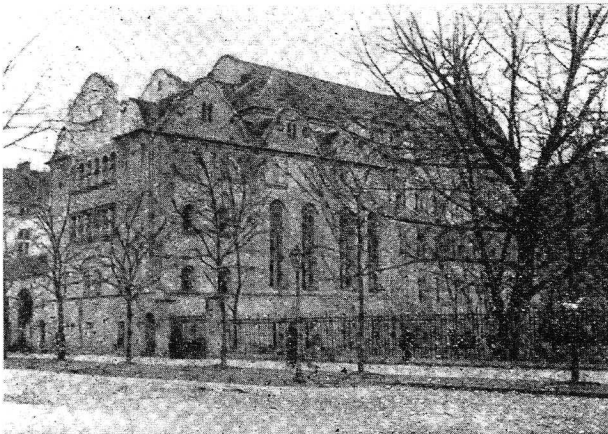
C.H. Krinsky, who has already pointed out the relation between the two buildings, focused on similarities of the front parts of both of them, resulting from the inconvenient location, and the subsequent role of the superimposed cupolas, in both cases. Krinsky said that these cupolas had more to do with the crowning of the Paris Opera, finished in 1874, by Charles Garnier, than with anything Eastern (to be understood as exotic).[*11] In the case of Berlin, however, it is only true in the sense

10 ——— It was reprinted at the beginning of the partial reconstruction of the synagogue which was destroyed during the so-called "Kristallnacht" on November 9-10, 1938: *Die Neue Synagoge in Berlin entworfen und ausgeführt von Eduard Knoblauch, volendet von August Stüler, herausgegeben von G. Knoblauch und F. Hollin*, Berlin 1867; reprint Berlin 1992

11 ——— C.H. Krinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 231

of the idea of placing a prominent cupola, or even three cupolas, which are in fact good examples of the Moorish style. But on the Tlomackie synagogue, it was almost a copy of the Paris cupola, certainly not considered exotic by the Warsaw architect. In addition, although Leandro Marconi almost copied the internal structure of the apsis from the Berlin building, he did not adopt its whole interior decoration with Moorish elements. In Warsaw, Marconi introduced the Classical repertoire, as in his other works. It seems that the selection of style for the Tlomackie Synagogue design was a result of Marconi's professional preferences.

The only remaining synagogue in Warsaw (Nożyk shul), built in 1902, is Neo-Romanesque, with elements of Byzantine style. This mixture was rather used at that time and place in Russian Orthodox churches. However, synagogues in these styles or their combination were not unusual in Paris. It can only be explained if we take into account that for French architects the Byzantine was Eastern enough to make people associate it with the origins of Jewish people. We may then assume that the author of this synagogue's design was trained in France or used as patterns professional publications presenting synagogues on Paris streets: Buffault (1877), de la Victoire (1874), de Tournelles (1876).[*12]



3. Synagogue in the complex of the Educational Institution, designed by S. Weiss and H. Stifelman. „Ilustrierte Woch,” 1923, No. 1

On the other hand, the synagogue designed ten years later by Hector Guimard for East European Jews in Paris, on rue Pavée was in Modern style, unique in France.[*13] In Poland, this style was not frequently used in synagogal architecture, either. One of the few exceptions was the synagogue incorporated in the complex of the Educational Institution built in the years 1911-1914 by Stanislaw Weiss and Henryk Stifelman (fig.3).

12 ——— Dominique Jarassé, *L'âge d'or des synagogues*, Paris 1991, pp. 100-101

13 ——— D. Jarassé, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 154

However, we can only discuss its exterior, as no interior arrangement nor any records of it are preserved. Again, as in the case of the Tlomackie synagogue, we are amazed by strange interpretations of the style. One of the authors wrote: „This early Modernist structure presents forms of Polish Renaissance architecture, with oriental traces, characteristic for Jewish buildings on the Polish lands.”[*14] According to another one, „The early Modernist structure is decorated with motifs taken from the Polish Baroque and Renaissance, characteristic for the synagogue architecture of the old (i.e. pre-partition) Polish Republic, and floral and animal motifs, typical of Jewish art.”[*15]

It is true that forms of the numerous gables of this building can be associated with the Renaissance, however, these forms have been rarely used in Polish synagogues, but rather in dwelling houses or granaries, for the most part. These forms have been used here as a result of the designer's search for Polish national style. It was not at all unusual also for synagogues! A few years later, Stifelman would cover his new synagogue at Ostroleka with the traditional Polish-type three-tiered roof (in which all the tiers are inclined under the same angle; the typical Polish roof is two-tiered.) On the east facade of Stifelman's synagogue at Praga, there are much transformed floral motifs intertwined with deer and five branch candelabra on both sides of the Ten Commandments (now covered with plaster or taken away). They are, however, so modernist in character that they hardly retain any „oriental traces.” It is also important to recall that the deer, when placed on Jewish cemetery headstones, are meaningful, while at this gable they remain pure decoration.

In general, among Polish architects of the 20th century, the Neo-Renaissance forms were far less popular than Neo-Baroque ones, whose structures served as points of reference until the late 1930s. The patterns were of the early Baroque, considered native, as well as of the late Baroque, from the time of the Saxon reign in Poland, which was considered imported or foreign.[*16] It is not clear why in 1924 Kazimierz Gadowski chose this second style for the design of a synagogue which was to be built in a quite remote working class neighborhood. It would look strange there, with its palace-like facade, Mansard-type roof, round and elongated half-round topped windows. Perhaps the architect

14 ——— Karol Móraski, *Warszawskie judaica. Przewodnik* [Warsaw Judaica. A Guide], Warszawa 1997, pp. 36-39

15 ——— Jarosław Zieliński, *Atlas dawnej architektury Warszawy* [Atlas of old Warsaw architecture], t. 5, pp. 54-58, phot. 19

16 ——— Tadeusz S. Jaroszewski, *Architektura neobarokowa w Polsce* [Neo-Baroque architecture in Poland], in: *Od klasycyzmu do nowoczesności. O architekturze polskiej XVIII, XIX i XX wieku* [From Classicism to modernity. About Polish architecture of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries], Warszawa 1996, p. 90

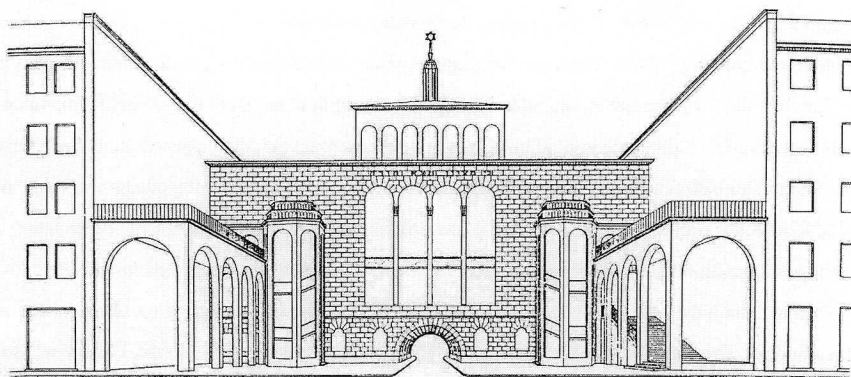
– or maybe the sponsor – decided that a synagogue should be distinctive among the surrounding buildings? Such an approach was characteristic about the mid-19th century resulting in the popularity of the Oriental styles. We do not know, however, what was this synagogue's built environment, or what it was supposed to be. Gadowski started his career in the 1870s, and therefore he must have been familiar with all styles, as any architect of that time. Unfortunately, any houses which he built in Warsaw do not exist, nor is there any documentation preserved, either. A sponsor here is particularly important because this synagogue was to be built on the parcel belonging to the Jewish community. It has to be recalled that the only communal synagogue, which was built as such, was the round one in Praga. All the other synagogues in Warsaw were private, or belonged to specific congregations, like the Great Synagogue on Tlomackie Street.

The idea of building another big synagogue in Warsaw, stemmed from a need of the Orthodox (Misnagdic) part of the town's Jewish population (whose great majority was Hasidic) and was meant to be a counterpoint to the Tlomackie Synagogue. The Association *Moriah* was established and publicly expressed this idea in 1902. However, they have never succeeded in fully implementing it. They purchased a lot at 7, Dzielna Street a year later, and most probably remodelled the existing building. Despite that effort, they did not abandon the idea of a new big synagogue (for about 1000 worshippers), but they probably resumed the project only after the First World War. They hired Marcin Weinfeld, one of the best Warsaw architects, to design it. At that time, in the late 1920s, it was for him a turning point in his professional life. He had already abandoned the historicising urban villas and palaces, and had not yet adhered to Functionalism, the example of which was to become his *Prudential* insurance company building (1931-1933), damaged during the Second World War and afterwards transformed in the socialist-realist style.

The *Moriah* synagogue, designed by Weinfeld in 1928[*17] had a modern construction and almost no decorative details (fig.4). The composition of solids constituting the synagogue's building reminds one of the most interesting sacral buildings of that time, the church of St. Roch designed by Oskar Sosnowski and built in 1927 in Białystok. Adam Milobedzki defined its style as „national ex-

17 — Arch. Marcin Weinfeld (Warszawa). *Synagoga T-wa "Moriah" przy ul. Dzielnej w Warszawie* [Synagogue of the „Moriah” Association on Dzielna Street in Warsaw], *„Architektura i Budownictwo”* 1934, No. 9, pp. 291-292; Marta Leśniakowska, *Architektura w Warszawie* [Architecture in Warsaw], Warszawa 1998, p. 252

pressionism”[*18] and the term seems appropriate also for Weinfeld’s building, even if it was to serve another people and another religion.



4. Facade of the „Moriah” Synagogue, designed by M. Weinfeld in 1928. It has never been built.
 "Architektura i Budownictwo" [Architecture and Civil Engineering] 1934, No. 9

The octagonal low towers of staircases flanking the entrance porches bring to our minds the image of the Jerusalem Temple with its columns Jachin and Boaz, which gave inspiration to so many various artistic creations through the ages. On the other hand, as Weinfeld designed towers on the four corners of the main prayer hall, it made possible a similar view on the parallel facade, seen from the inner courtyard, and thus the towers did not serve only the main entrance. In fact, they strengthened the impression of the strict symmetry which made the building look monumental. The interior recalled of Semper’s synagogue in Dresden, built almost a hundred years earlier, with its Byzantine structure; however, in Weinfeld’s building there were to be reinforced concrete grills as a replacement, so to speak, for spatial vaultings. It is also interesting that Weinfeld elevated the ceiling over the central part of the main hall, in order to provide daylight which was otherwise impossible in the

18 ——— Adam Miłobędzki, *Architektura ziem Polski / The Architecture of Poland*, Kraków 1994, p. 112

given situation, which resulted in a non-typical basilica-type structure.

The architect described his design himself: „The program requires 800 seats for men and approximately 400 in the women’s gallery. In addition, there is a need for a small synagogue in the high basement [in fact, it was on street level - EB] and auxiliary rooms. The lot is a typical deep Warsaw parcel, surrounded on three sides by walls of apartment houses. Taking into account the required Eastward orientation, and with the purpose of providing daylight in the interior, the synagogue is situated across the lot, with the side entrance up the wide scale inside the porch. The building is appropriately recessed from the street, which is separated with a fence from the courtyard in front of the synagogue. The construction is of brick and reinforced concrete, with exterior sandstone finishing. The interior pillars are to be covered with marble or dark granite.”[*19] The design was published in 1934, with the remark that at that time it has not yet been implemented. On the other hand, we have the information that the synagogue located on the same site was renovated in the late 1930s., and thus it must have referred to the remodeled part of the existing apartment building, which was probably done already in 1908. There are a few photos preserved from 1940 which show windows behind the Ark in the characteristic Art Deco style – certainly more characteristic for the 1920s, but we do not know when they were introduced, and even if only during the late 1930s renovation, we have to state that belatedness was as frequent a phenomenon in synagogue architecture as was the avant-garde.

The spatial solution of Weinfeld’s design for the Moriah synagogue recalls both the Warsaw „U” shape type apartment houses, still to be found in the town center, as well as street palaces, also popular in Warsaw. However, the idea of passing to the inner courtyard through the vaulted tunnel under the synagogue was a new invention, both from technical and traffic points of view, avoiding collisions (not a new solution in itself, just that no synagogue was ever passed under for these reasons). The synagogue was to be introduced between the surrounding structures in the same way as parallel outbuildings on neighboring lots. If only this synagogue had been built, it would be one of the most interesting of its kind at that time, and certainly it would have become a landmark in Warsaw.

We are still far from having full knowledge of Warsaw synagogues, even of those which once existed. In the already mentioned Polish-Jewish weekly titled „Izraelita”, in one of the issues of

19 ——— M. Weinfeld, *op. cit.*, illustrations: ground floor plan, perspective view from the street, interior, pp. 291-292

1902 we read the following report: „Recently I got, by chance, to the courtyard of one of houses in the neighborhood mainly populated by people of our faith. I have noticed from afar, above the open door leading to a small vestibule, at the ground floor of a house in a back yard, a white marble plaque with several lines of big carved Hebrew characters. For curiosity raised by the inscription, mentioning the first name and family name of the house owner as a founder of the synagogue, to which this door was leading, I entered the interior. [...] The room destined for a synagogue is a spacious, bright, very high hall, with columns and stucco decorations, with an upper gallery for women. The Ark, the bimah, candlesticks and other accessories are new, carefully made and rather costly. It is apparent that the founder was generous and wanted to leave this solid memorial for the glory of God.”[*20]

As was already mentioned, most of Warsaw's synagogues were prayer rooms in private apartments, transformed to various extent and equipped with ritual objects in various ways. But we are not able to trace the synagogue described above, so we may only assume that there might have been more looking like this one, maybe with significant architectural values, at least in their interiors, at that time hidden from accidental visitors, and now impossible to determine.

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20 ——— *W sprawie bóżnic* [About synagogues], "Izraelita" 1902 nr. 37, p. 434

Reciprocity and Mysticism: a new model for art in State Socialism

Rachel Beckles Willson

In recent years research strategies for East Central Europe have become more self reflexive, benefiting from the challenge of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* by attempting to overcome simplistic dualisms of 'East' and 'West', and taking note of the relationship between knowledge and power. Larry Wolff's *Inventing Eastern Europe* (1996) and Maria Todorova's *Imagining the Balkans* (1997) in particular offer insights into ways that the West has appropriated its geo-political 'other', and more recent work has expanded on their research, seeking to create less static, more interactional theoretical frameworks, as well as more nuanced and variegated images of both 'East' and 'West'.^[*1]

Notwithstanding these developments, there is still a bald binarism at play in writing on music under communism. Richard Taruskin, for instance, constructs Soviet composer Alfred Schnittke's work entitled *Pianissimo* (1969) as pure and simple opposition: 'Soviet composers were expected to make affirmative public statements, *fortissimo*', he writes, '[t]o speak in atonal whispers was *genuinely countercultural*'.^[*2] Elsewhere writers speculate vaguely: Paul Griffiths writes of Schnittke's restoration of Orthodox music into his symphonic work in 1979 that '[p]art of the point may have been to make a protest against the persecution of religion in the Soviet Union, but equally the music laments the loss of divine community, of the social order that sustained the individuality which all Schnittke's music pursues'.^[*3] Griffiths' idealisation of oppressed religiosity is frustratingly romantic.

1 ——— Two research projects in particular illustrate this new approach. Wendy Bracewell led 'East Looks West: East European Travel Writing on European Identities and Divisions, 1600-2000' at the Centre for South-East European Studies at London's School for Slavonic and East European Studies (www.ssees.ac.uk/seecent.htm); György Péteri led 'Imagining the West: Perceptions of the Western Other in Modern and Contemporary Eastern Europe' at the Program for East European Cultures and Societies at Trondheim's Norwegian University for Science and Technology (<http://www.hf.ntnu.no/peecs>).

2 ——— Taruskin 2004: 464. My italics.

3 ——— Griffiths 1995: 254.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the context for Eastern Europe's artistic production in the 1960s and beyond in order that we gain a richer and securer texture in which to position apparently oppositional and/or religious musical statements. Within that broad sweep, my focus will be on how individual artists may become the focus of oppositional longing and quasi-religious worship. As Taruskin has observed, there was a 'romantic aura of martyrdom' surrounding commentary about Schnittke, and this is congruent with the 'mythification of the artist' that is widely recognised as a phenomenon in Eastern Europe. Indeed I will be presenting a parallel case from Hungary in this article. But here I will examine how this mythification coexisted with the apparently conflicting demands of the regime. Mystic aura, surely, was out of line with government policy?

In the first part of the article I present three oppositions in order to explore their shifting relations during the 1960s and beyond: the state versus the church, the state versus the western avant-garde, and the state-sponsored discourse versus silence. I then offer readings of works by composer György Kurtág (b.1926), positioning them within the shifting discourses and suggesting the ways in which the works could contribute to precisely those discourses. As I hope to make clear, it is a model of reciprocity, rather than suppression and resistance, which is appropriate for this time and place.

1. Shifting positions and negotiations of power

1.1. The state and the Catholic Church

The uprising and its bloody repression in October 1956 was a profoundly destructive and dispiriting event for the Hungarian nation. It proved the ruthlessness of the Soviet Union despite de-Stalinization, the unwillingness of Western powers to intercede, and the apparently hopeless national cause. One voice from the West made a notable protest nonetheless, namely the Vatican, which condemned the brutal Soviet tactics.

The Catholic church inside Hungary had attempted to oppose the communist takeover after World War II, but its most vociferous campaigner, Primate of Hungary and Archbishop of Esztergom (the seat of the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary) Cardinal Mindszenty, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1948 on charges of conspiracy and treason. All the churches were

forced to give way in the ensuing years: Calvinist and Lutheran Bishops succumbed to pressure and took an oath of loyalty to the new People's Republic and constitution in 1950, and, after Archbishop Grösz was imprisoned in 1951, Catholic prelates did the same.[*4]

The thaw led to reform in many areas, and very briefly in 1956, to restoration of multi-party politics. Cardinal Mindszenty was released from prison on October 31. However, his public activity was short-lived. When in November the Soviets entered the country to reverse the political process and also stamp out the uprising, Mindszenty took political asylum in the U.S. Embassy where he remained for fifteen years, opposed to any form of dialogue with the new government and refusing to leave the country until his conviction was revoked. Only in 1971 did the government revoke his conviction, but he fought against the appointment of his successor until his death in 1975 even from outside the country. Finally a successor was appointed in 1976. After nearly thirty years without a participating leader, the Hungarian Catholic Church was then newly intact.

While on a symbolic level Mindszenty's resistance was forceful, directly after 1956 the new government leader, János Kádár, entered a dialogue with the operative members of the Catholic Church, striving to disperse their hostility. He succeeded in engineering a tense but ultimately productive relationship. The state was to provide the church's main income and support religious instruction in schools, and an agreement with the Vatican in 1959 ensured that priests newly-appointed by Rome swore allegiance to the Hungarian constitution. Kádár's strategy was guarded watchfulness and forceful penetration: as recent research has revealed, many priests (and bishops too) would be coerced into becoming secret agents.

This snapshot of negotiations makes clear that the period following 1956 allows no clean separation between the institutions of the church and the government. It also offers a way of grasping some of the cultural formations that may otherwise seem bafflingly paradoxical. Whereas in 1948 the study of church music had been abolished, during the late 1960s the Catholic church began to expand its use of music in services, and seminarists were able to study plainchant at a summer school set up in 1967. This event recurred annually and led subsequently to the establishment of parish scholas and choirs; by 1972, the study of plainchant had been introduced to the curriculum

4 ——— Romsics 1999: 257-259 and 281-283. *Hungary's religious communities suffered less than those in other Soviet satellites: although their outreach activities were curtailed, they were able to conduct services throughout the regime.*

at the Liszt Academy of Music.[*5] Even more obviously, from 1957 onwards, the Catholic Church was allowed to publish its own periodical, *Új Ember* (New Man). Acknowledging such reciprocal acknowledgments emerging between church and state begins to shift our perspective on the work of one regular contributor to *Új Ember*, religious metaphysical poet János Pilinszky. It is generally argued that the publication of his book *Harmadnapon* (On the Third Day) in 1959 was an anomalous event, because writers who were understood as subversive were denied opportunities to publish their work until the mid-1960s or beyond. But in fact this publication was in line with the government's policy of rapprochement.

1.2. *The state and the Western avant-garde*

Although Kádár's initial task following 1956 was to take vicious retribution against those who had been part of the political reforms and the uprising, he counterpointed terror action with enticements. He arranged pay rises and tax cuts, for example, and made promises that his government would make no return to Stalinism. Taming the intelligentsia with new journals and Kossuth Prizes, with the help of György Aczél, Deputy Minister for Cultural Affairs 1957-67 in particular, he also established a new arts policy which stated that cultural diversity was a crucial part of socialism. Although the government would still favour the category of 'socialist realism', it would, from then on, also tolerate other arts so long as they did not undermine party principles. Two well-known catchphrases sum up this new situation. First, Kádár's remark that 'Those who are not against us are with us' (a reversal of the slogan of the pre-1956 regime), and second, the categorization of art into what was to be 'boosted', 'bearable' or 'banned' (támogatott, tűrt, and tiltott – the 'Three Ts').[*6]

From this perspective the 1960s emerge as years of experiment, for as new works of art emerged, criteria for categorizing them and mechanisms for banning them were less than clear or

5 ——— Dobszay 1998: 4, 7-8. It will be another stage when the circumstances of this new movement can be fully weighed up and contextualised within the shifting relations between the USSR and the Vatican. Dobszay, who led it, plays down the explicitly political problems he encountered in his publications, arguing that there were plenty of other ones to deal with first.

6 ——— See Ignóty 1972: 263-64 and Romsics 1999: 389. Révész argues in more detail that the boosted category was reserved for socialist realism (understood as the most 'modern' art), the bearable was 'humanist' and non-oppositional, while the banned was art that was understood to be damaging to the People's Democracy. Révész 1997: 101-02.

efficient. In the musical sphere the polity that embraced 'diversity' paved the way for even apparently provocatively 'Western' avant-gardist music to be tolerated in concert. When a work that blatantly drew on the Western modernist style of musical pointillism was premièred in January 1960 – Endre Szervánszky's *Six Orchestral Pieces* – nobody in the press denied that it deserved to be heard (once) and considered along with everything else.[*7] The "Three Ts" allowed for works to be claimed for their 'humanist' qualities where justification on the grounds of socialist realism would have been impossible. One writer attempted to legitimate the *Six Orchestral Pieces* in just such terms: in spite of the work's unmelodic, splintery and fractured character (it could easily have been categorised as 'formalist'), he contrived to attribute its style to the composer's 'inner voice'.[*8]

Notwithstanding the discourses of legitimization, events such as this première were eruptive for some years. In 1961 György Kurtág's String Quartet Op.1, a work that had previously been banned from public performance, finally saw the light of day in an exceptional concert organized by Kurtág's former Professor Ferenc Farkas. The single reviewer complained that the concert had become a political event that created what he sourly called a 'sensation'. Indeed it transformed the hitherto unremarkable Kurtág into a symbol: for those daring to desire an end to the regime he was a vessel of forbidden fruits, while for official rhetoricians he was irritatingly incendiary. Even one year later in 1962 writers claimed that his music was both dated and socially irresponsible. Kurtág's Eight Piano Pieces Op.3 succeeded in portraying only loneliness and despair, they wrote. Kurtág neglected his duty to make the world a better place: he was stuck in darkness, unable to move to the light.[*9]

But the rules were changing by that time, and the framework for this performance was a state-sponsored series of modern chamber music called 'Chamber Music of Our Time' that had programmed several modernist works from the West. Indeed the tone taken by critics had shifted substantially in the series' second year in 1963. Writers accounted for Kurtág's Wind Quintet Op.2 and

7——— Kovács 1960; Jemnitz 1960; Pernye 1960.

8——— This is particularly clear in Jemnitz 1960: 34; but see also Kovács 1960 and Pernye 1960.

9——— Breuer 1962; Pernye 1962. The fact that the work in question, Eight Piano Pieces Op.3, had already been performed at the avant-garde Mecca, *Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik* in Darmstadt, surely heightened its political significance. According to Kurtág's recollections in April 1998 (private conversation with the author), when dissident Andor Losonczy performed these pieces there, the organisers requested more of his scores. The Ministry in Hungary refused to allow scores to be sent; and they called Kurtág up for two months' military service that effectively prevented him from going to Darmstadt that year. Documentation to confirm this has not been traced.

Eight Duos for violin and cimbalom Op.4 by arguing that the composer was now evoking not only suffering but also joy, and demonstrating a desire to reach out to people.[*10]

Their shift reflected a broad trend towards tacit reconciliation between the government position and the activities of composers. Increasingly, music that had been understood as oppositional was subsumed into justification of the post-Stalin (Kádár) regime. Thus the fact that Kurtág's Opus 1 was so different from his earlier work was no longer constructed as a problem, but as a metaphor for the broad political change. Rather as the Kádár regime was justified as a crucial rejection of Stalinism, Kurtág's new style emerged from an uncontrollable 'inner need' to make a radical break from his earlier path.[*11] Kurtág was appropriated for this discourse but he was not the only one: all music that could be absorbed into it was defined in terms of the progressive humanism that was ostensibly a principle of the new 'diversified' regime.[*12] The emerging 'corpus' of works that were celebrated in this way was increasingly defined in terms of its relation to the Hungarian nation, and it was not long before composers themselves participated overtly in the same project. Zsolt Durkó's work, for instance, drawing explicitly on Hungarian styles in *Una rhapsodia ungherese* for two clarinets and orchestra (1965) and *Fioriture ungherese* for chamber choir and orchestra (1966), emblematises the resurging national tolerance of (and even confidence under) the new government.

Once the national project began to solidify in this way, what had been eruptive was absorbed into myth. Thus in 1968 a constellation of events that would have been explosive ten years earlier (indeed they would not have been allowed to occur) was grasped as a milestone in the history of Hungarian music. The year saw the formation of a new music group (the Budapest Chamber Ensemble), the first new work by Kurtág for some years (*The Sayings of Péter Bornemisza* Op.7), the new ensemble's visit to the *Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik* in Darmstadt in Germany for a concert at which *The Sayings* was premièred, and a repeat concert in Budapest. A substantial num-

10 ——— Pernye 1963a; Breuer 1963. Pernye 1963b.

11 ——— Pernye 1963b.

12 ——— Thus, in a free variation on progressive humanism, Rudolf Maros was soon acknowledged for drawing techniques learned from Polish sonorists (revealed in his *Euphonia I-III*), and celebrated because his 'striving for sonorous beauty speaks of the desire for the *psyche's deep and honest* statements'. Raics 1966. My italics. Zsolt Durkó (1934-1997) made a particular impact with his Violin Concerto *Organismi* (1964) that was regarded as path-breaking but also – in the words of one leading establishment critic János Breuer – 'filling apparently speculative forms with *true emotions and content*'. Breuer 1965: 6. My italics.

ber of critics regarded the Budapest concert not only as a turning point, but also as a moment of redemption for the nation. Kurtág's *The Sayings of Bornemisza* was understood as metonymic of that redemption, either because of its reported success in Darmstadt, or because of its extension of the musical tradition from Schütz to Bartók.^[*13] Just as Kurtág's composition represented a rough ride into light (the programme note for the concert described it with the Latin motto 'per aspera ad astra'), so too could both Kurtág's own development, and the development of the nation, be understood as such.^[*14] Most importantly, *The Sayings* was grasped as a herald of Hungary's re-integration with the western world. As one writer expressed it, *The Sayings* contained a quality that since Homer, had been known as 'European'.^[*15]

Clearly the establishment of such an ensemble was only possible because the state supported it, just as its trip to Darmstadt reveals the state's permission to travel out to the avant-garde hub of the West. Six years later in 1974 when the government established an annual festival for contemporary music, the tension between Soviet-style aesthetic dogma and Western-style avant-gardism had effectively imploded. The 'Music of our Time' festival (Korunk zenéje) can be understood as neither 'East' nor 'West'.

1.3. *The power of speech, and the power of silence*

One off-shoot of the recovery in national self-esteem during the latter half of the 1960s was a book of interviews conducted with composers. Almost all the composers interviewed were born in the 1930s, and each gave an account of his compositional history and aspirations. This was a significant moment not only for the discursive construction of a generation, of course, for it marked a moment in which composers could construct themselves as individuals. But perhaps the most significant aspect of the volume is that although Kurtág did not take part, he was nonetheless brought within its pages. Indeed from the tone taken by the performers interviewed in his place, he was patently unexcludable: he was simply '*our* composer of the time'.^[*16]

At core this notion stemmed from his stylistic change after 1956: one pianist proposed that

13 ——— See Beckles Willson 2004a: 129-146.

14 ——— Várnai 1968: 21.

15 ——— Homolya 1968: 22.

16 ——— Ádám Fellegi. Földes 1969: 193. Italics original.

Kurtág had practised the 'strictest honesty' and a 'self-reproaching statement of truth', and the interviewer suggested that because Kurtág had such a 'responsible' attitude to musical materials and a 'merciless search for truth', he spoke directly to 'the Hungarian person today'.^[*17] And that he chose not to take part in a public interview actually fed precisely this sentiment: within a few years a journalist would explain that Kurtág could not introduce audiences to his music because of 'an ethical stance that makes it imperative for [him] to communicate everything that can be said in music, and only that when he has found the appropriate form for it'.^[*18] In other words, the idea that he had rejected public success in favour of inner truth after 1956 had been mapped right on to his unwillingness to speak publicly. His refusal to build conceptual bridges between music and the outside world was emblematic of his ethical superiority.

It is not difficult to detect a deeply romantic view of artistic loftiness emerging in this discourse. Kurtág apparently occupied a space – and had recourse to messages – that would be reduced, perhaps even besmirched, by concepts. But in order to grasp how this eminence had developed, it is instructive to look beyond discourses and view Kurtág's position sociologically. Three factors seem particularly significant, namely timing, networking, and use of language. And the first is relatively straightforward. Kurtág's change of compositional style and his symbolic gesture of writing an Opus.1 coincided with a moment in which people were eager for both musical and political change. He 'came of age' at an opportune moment: Opus.1 was banned, but then rescued and performed, in an environment of exceptionally overheated political dissatisfaction.

17——— Ádám Fellegi. Imre Földes. Földes 1969: 194. It is not actually clear that Kurtág would have had a blossoming public career had he continued to write in the styles of his *Korean Cantata* (1954) and *Viola Concerto* (1954), but he was indeed sidelined by official organisations subsequently: his music was never featured in a 'composer portrait', for instance. It might be argued that he had not composed enough to warrant such exposure, and that there was no reason for his exclusion from the series other than that. Many such portraits were divided between several composers, however, and whether or not people ever stood in its way, the very fact that such a composer portrait never did take place is representative of Kurtág's situation on the edge. In other words, he was not celebrated 'as Kurtág' – unlike older composers such as Farkas, Kadosa and Ránki, or the younger ones such as Bozay and Durkó. It was not until 1978 that he would have a LP recording dedicated to his works, whereas Balassa, Bozay, Durkó, Petrovics and Láng each did rather earlier on.

18——— According to a concert review of an event in the bi-annual series of 'composer audience encounters', László Somfai announced this about Kurtág, and proceeded to introduce the composer's music himself. It is revealing to note that after the performance, Kurtág was available for informal discussion with those who wished, and was rapidly surrounded by people talking to him. Székely 1975: 15–16.

The second factor is more complicated to establish, for the society was not one in which people developed documentary records of their activities – far from it. There is nonetheless ample evidence to argue that Kurtág had three types of influential contacts. One is symbolic: his association with figures of artistic importance such as poet János Pilinszky and painter Lili Ország endowed him with cultural respect in intellectual and artistic circles.^[*19] Another group of contacts was professional, of whom the most important was composer and 'cellist András Mihály. Mihály had several guises: illegal communist during World War II, defender of Bartók in 1949, apparatchik on trial in 1951, instrumental coach of players for the première of Kurtág's String Quartet Op.1 in 1961, Hungarian symphonist in 1962, founder of the Budapest Chamber Ensemble in 1968, and organiser of the Darmstadt concert programme that presented Kurtág's *The Sayings of Péter Bornemisza*. Given how the reception of his String Quartet and *The Sayings* shaped Kurtág's reputation, it is transparently clear that he benefited considerably from Mihály's support.

One further network of contacts contributed to his renown, namely performers and students. From 1959 Kurtág worked as an accompanist at the Bartók Conservatory, but was subsequently, and more significantly, employed as pianist at the state concert agency the National Philharmonia. There he accompanied a range of professional singers and instrumentalists and helped them prepare for concerts. Already in touch with a large number of performers as a result, when he began teaching piano at the Liszt Academy of Music in 1967 he encountered more of the younger generation. Clearly he developed thereby a wider reputation as pedagogue than would have been possible had he worked only in a composition faculty or with new music enthusiasts. And when he left the piano faculty, taking up the post of Professor in the department of Chamber Music (where Mihály was Chair), he was in touch with a wider range of students.^[*20] And at the same moment – as mentioned above – a

19 ——— The nature of their contact is of less importance than the fact that they were understood as a group. Lili Ország's turn to a highly spiritual semi-abstract modernism and public recognition occurred in the early 1960s, parallel with Kurtág's own shift, and her work is referred to by art historian Katalin S. Nagy as 'lonely but not without companions... distant from the period's official, supported art, but close to the true representative creations of the 1960s spirit: Pilinszky, Kurtág, Béla Kondor'. Nagy 1993: 26.

20 ——— This move, moreover, was also significant in terms of how it coloured his reputation. Shifting from a sphere where the primary historical model was the virtuoso Liszt (whose reputation was always somewhat contested in Hungary), he entered one in which the associations with the repertoire were spiritually and intellectually more elevated and, simultaneously he came in line with the legendary professor of chamber music, Leo Weiner.

book was published that included a discussion about his national, moral and musical supremacy.

In the second section of the article I will consider ways that these observations enable us to engage with Kurtág's music, but first of all I will trace through the idealist discourse in which he was enveloped a little further. For by the early 1980s Kurtág had been claimed on all sides as *the* leading Hungarian composer. One critic observed that even in the context of new music *internationally*, Kurtág's music simply provided more, and 'other' qualities; another presented him in the English-language *New Hungarian Quarterly* as 'clearly ... the most important living Hungarian composer'. Even more expansively, the editor of the music magazine *Muzsika* made an extended list of the foreign promoters of his music in 1987, arguing that Kurtág, the 'taciturn creator of our tiny homeland', was now regarded by a range of notable figures as one of *'the world's best living composers'*.^[*21] And the critic who had represented the voice of the regime since 1956 wrote in 1983 that it would have been worth organising the annual "Music of our Time" festival simply to hear Kurtág's latest piece.^[*22]

The irony is that Kurtág had been claimed as a symbol for the nation, and had moved into the centre of the state-sponsored concert life, and yet he still functioned as a living legend of autonomy and ethical purity. The contradiction emerged particularly overtly in 1981, when he changed policy towards public statement and made himself available in Paris and London for interview, and in the following year agreed to contribute to a new book of interviews in Hungary.^[*23] The resultant text is a cipher for his position in Budapest life: hesitant and somewhat meandering, it portrays an uncertain composer who is unable to understand quite how he composes, and who is simply grateful when he manages to write at all (especially after escaping one of his regularly paralysing depressions). As we have seen, in Budapest there was a scenario in place within which the struggles described could be not merely appreciated, but even admired as part of his commitment to the most searching questions. Even for those not persuaded by his candour it would have seemed obscene in this climate to attack. For Kurtág presented himself as weakness itself: 'the fact that I can write anything at all is, in itself, a great joy. ... Sometimes, I manage to make something good out of nothing

21 ——— Maróthy 1986: 23; Kroó 1982a: 51; Feuer 1987: 5. My italics.

22 ——— Breuer 1983.

23 ——— Hungarian journalists covering the Paris and London concerts at which he spoke (premieres of *Messages of the Late Miss R. V. Trousova* Op.17, expressed astonishment. Feuer 1981: 11; Grabócz 1981: 34.

quite by accident. But more often than not I don't'.[*24]

At the close of this first section, then, we have arrived at a moment in which Kurtág is actively inscribing himself into the institutionalised space that he occupies and shapes. And this situation is particularly well illuminated by a comment made by musicologist and critic György Kroó in 1981. Kroó was confronted by a new work by Kurtág, one that broke away from progressive musical trends to take recourse to Gregorian chant and folksong (*Attila József Fragments* Op.20 for solo soprano). His commentary fell straight into mystification: Kurtág's move, he said, could only be the result of 'inner necessity' and 'melodic genius'.[*25] State socialism, we realise, supported both the concept, and the practical existence, of the archetypal romantic genius.

2. Musical readings

2.1. Passion

In attempting to locate Kurtág's works within this emerging discourse one immediate starting point is the poetry that he chose to set, and his choice of the work of Pilinszky was highly significant. *Four Songs to Poems by János Pilinszky* Op.11 (1975) staged his alliance with a modernist poet who had been banned from publishing his work in the Stalinist years, but whose writing, as observed earlier, was supported by the Kádár government despite his emphatically spiritual approach and lack of engagement with party rhetoric. Pilinszky was thus a channel for exploring ideas that differed considerably from the mainstream political policy and discourse, but that were nonetheless underwritten by the state.

The political provenance of the first poem, 'Alcohol', is resolutely opaque: its text is inscrutable. In the song, moreover, the singer seems barely able to enunciate it. Rather than singing or even intoning the poem, he opens with an extended 'Ey' sound (the first syllable) that is to be produced first on the palate, then with a 'pressed sound', and then *molto vibrato*. His unsettling contortions

24 ——— Kurtág & Varga 2003: 134. These are the last words.

25 ——— Kroó 1982. The next reference to Kurtág as 'genius' was made by Tallián. See Tallián & Ujházy 1987: 47.

to vocal timbre finally give way to an intonation – on the same monotone D – of the first line of the poem. 'Ey' follows again, this time ushering in an intonation of line 2, broken only by an extended 'Ey' that passes through other vowels before settling on the last words of the line. The voice then takes on a quieter, 'guttural voice', then hums, before intoning the last, weird, lines. The whole poem is as follows:

I conjure up the impossible,	Előhívom a lehetetlent,
a house stands on it, a bush,	egy ház áll rajta s egy bokor,
a silent, silent creature and	egy néma, néma állat és
a trouser leg in falling darkness. [*26]	egy nadrágszár a szürkületben.

The vocal cavity itself seems throughout to be painfully pinioned on a line, yet at precisely the moment of the poem's 'falling darkness' the voice sinks one semitone onto C sharp; dropping one further to C natural, for a final, sustained thin vowel, 'üü'. A sustained bass zither D underpins the entire incantation. [*27]

The last two songs of the collection also engage explicitly with corporeal struggle. In the third, 'Hölderlin', lurching rhythms created by the thick texture of strings are reminiscent of the *aksak* 'limping' dance patterns Bartók associated with Bulgaria. The explicitly mimetic sounds of the instruments seem to scratch and gnaw at themselves too, viola and 'cello playing partly *sul ponticello*, partly *col legno*, partly *battuto*, partly *tratto*. The voice rages above, until the moment at which it renounces life, when a 'resolution' surfaces in triple *piano* tremolo string playing (partly on harmonics); and a whispered last sentence.

26 ——— Translation by L.T.András, as printed in the score, Editio Musica Budapest Z.7939. Original: Pilinszky 1997: 133. The collection sets two songs each from Pilinszky's *Denouement* ('Végkifejlet', 1974) and *Crater* ('Kráter', 1975). As was the case with all poems in these volumes, all four were previously published individually in literary journals, the first two in 1973, the second two in 1974.

27 ——— The score indicates bass 'citara' (presumably zither), viola da gamba or double bass *con sordino sul pont*. This accompaniment is optional.

December heat, the hails of summers,
a bird knotted to a piece of wire,
what was I not? Gladly I die.[*28]

December hőse, nyarak jégverése,
drótvégre csomózott madár,
mi nem voltam én? Boldogan halok.

The title of the last song, 'Beating', implies blows, and the musical setting is unmistakably physical. In between groups of strikes and strike-like gestures in the instrumental group (two cimbaloms, string trio, zither, horn and clarinet), the voice gasps bits of the text, as if it is this singer, here on the stage, who is being beaten. The musical and textual focus is unremittingly in the present.

Now it's endurable.
Now I think of something else.
Now there's nothing.
Now I am myself.
Now there's everything.
Now it's unbearable.
Now, though, now and alone,
here and now, alone for good
only you and me.[*29]

Most elviselhető.
Most másra gondolok.
Most semmi sincs.
Most én vagyok.
Most minden van.
Most tűrhetetlen.
Most pedig, most és egyedül,
itt és most, végképp egyedül
csak te meg én.

Patently, then, and despite their reference to Hölderlin, these songs do not project the image of Kurtág's ethical elevation that one might expect from the way in which his public verbal reticence was discussed. They are earthy and visceral. But the second song, 'In memoriam F. M. Dostoevsky', provides a larger and very suggestive context for both their physical torments and Kurtág's discursively-constructed moral loftiness. Its title invokes the revered and deeply religious novelist of 19th-century Russia; meanwhile, however, the poem itself alludes to Russia's arbitrary cruelty by presenting a humiliating unclothing:

28 ——— When he published it in 1974, he dedicated it to Kurtág. (*Kortárs* 10 (September), 1349.) Translated here by Peter Jay. Pilinszky 1978: 32. Original: Pilinszky 1997: 146.

29 ——— Translated by Peter Jay in Pilinszky 1978: 31. Original: Pilinszky 1997: 146.

Bend down. (Bends to the ground.)

Hajoljon le. (Földig hajol.)

Stand erect. (Rises up slowly.)

Álljon fel. (Fölemelkedik.)

Take off your shirt and underpants.

Vegye le az ingét, gatyáját.

(Takes them off one by one.)

(Mindkettőt leveszi.)

Turn and face me. (Turns away. Faces him.)

Nézzen szembe. (Elfordúl. Szembenéz.)

Put on your clothes. (Puts them back on.)[*30]

Öltözzön fel. (Föltöztözik.)

The musical score is for Violino and Basso. The Violino part is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Basso part is in bass clef. The score is divided into two systems. The first system has two measures. The first measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic and the lyrics "Nézzen szembe. Turn and face me." The second measure has a mezzo-forte (*meno f*) dynamic and the lyrics "(Elfordúl. Turns away.) Szembenéz. Faces him." The second system also has two measures. The first measure has a piano (*p*) dynamic and the lyrics "Öltözzön föl. Put on your clothes." The second measure has a piano (*p*) dynamic and the lyrics "(Föltöztözik.) (Puts them back on.)". The Violino part in the second system is marked *p quasi dolce*. The Basso part in the second system is marked *p dolce* and includes a note marked with an asterisk (*). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

* ad lib: citara bassa (arco) o viola da gamba al fine

Ex. 1 Kurtág 'In memoriam F. M. Dostoevsky' (Four Songs to Poems by János Pilinszky Op.11)

The performers articulate a confrontation between interrogator and interrogated: the bass-baritone speaks the text (to approximate pitches) in paired sections, and violin and double bass, *meno forte*, accompany each descriptive statement. (See Ex.1) This grows into a mini-narrative. Whilst the violin's dissonant double-stops and the plucked bass pizzicato initially follow the vocal line, they diverge increasingly from it, generating greater motion and variation, a process that reaches its climax on '(Turns away. Faces him.)'. The substantial pause that ensues invites reflection on the suggestion of the text: a naked man (powerless) stands in front of a clothed one (in command). Yet this pause is followed by sounds that transform the imaginary scenario. As if conjuring up the fairy-tale magic of a harp, a spread triple-stop on the violin introduces open fifths, *piano*, *quasi dolce*, and the double bass plays *arco*. The next command, 'Put on your clothes' is intoned *quasi falsetto*. The final bar provides consonant closure, in the form of the four open strings of the violin, partially supported by the open C on the double bass. The condemned man was saved.

As a group of four, then, these songs present not only distorted vision and physical cruelty (with a specific political resonance), but also the hope of redemption (Dostoevsky's own death sentence was revoked at the last moment[*31]). The music of 'In memoriam F. M. Dostoevsky', moreover, enacts a process of salvation through uninhibited corporeality: the moment of nakedness is a turning point of the intoned text. For if it seems initially that the power is in the hands of the one uttering the commands, then by the end it appears that the one stripped naked gains strength from his very nakedness, triggering a loss of voice in the commander, and a harmonic resolution to the entire episode. The song is thus metaphorical. It moves beyond the specifics of a prison interrogation (where an unclothed would not result in any such transformation in a real sense) to a level of intimating – while not describing – some of the powers of nudity.

The songs could, consequently, contribute to the idealised image of Kurtág that was emerging in the press. For writer Gábor Thurzó, lines 5 and 6 of 'Beating' touched on precisely the need to be searching – but never finding – Truth. 'Now there's everything' followed immediately by 'Now it's unbearable' encapsulated Thurzó's philosophy for life, according to which life itself would be over once everything was known and understood. He also found that the music *touched* him, physically: the sounds became more and more homely as he listened repeatedly so that finally he felt that they

31 ——— Translated by William Jay Smith. Vajda (ed.) 1977: 152. Original: 'Metronom', Pilinszky 1997: 99.

came from within him.[*32]

We can, however, explore this physicalised idealism rather further by comparing the songs with Kurtág's *Szálkák* (Splinters) Op.6c. When the so-named four pieces for solo cimbalom were first performed in Budapest, not all writers were aware of the provenance of the title, which was a volume of Pilinszky's poetry published in 1973. Leading critic János Breuer knew, however, and celebrated Kurtág himself as a 'true poet' when he heard it, a claim that is worth examining.[*33] He quoted from 'Metronome', one of the poems published in Pilinszky's own *Splinters*, as an analogy for Kurtág's own mastery of silence and musical time:

Measure time	Mérd az időt,
but not our time,	de ne a mi időnket,
the motionless present of splinters,	a szálkák mozdulatlan jelenét,
the angles of the drawbridge,	a fölvonóhíd fokait,
the white winter of our execution,	a téli vesztőhely havát,
the silence of paths and clearings[*34]	ösvények és tisztások csöndjét

This claim for this poem's relevance to Kurtág was actually an amazing obfuscation, for Breuer had omitted its last two lines, precisely the lines that reveal the poet's primary source of inspiration:

in the setting of the fragmented jewel	a töredék foglatában
the promise of God the Father.	az Atyaisten ígétét.

At one strike, in fact, Breuer had erased the single most significant element of Pilinszky's new volume (and, by extension, of the title of Kurtág's new work). Although metaphysics had been a crucial part of Pilinszky's poetry from his very earliest work, *Splinters* had been understood at the time as a particular milestone in his spiritual development. Not only had it made a break with conventional

32 ——— Thurzó 1977.

33 ——— Breuer 1974.

34 ——— Translated by William Jay Smith. Vajda (ed.) 1977: 152. Original: 'Metronom', Pilinszky 1997: 99.

forms, pared down poetic means and shifted into an almost fragmenting texture, it had also transformed death from being a source of terror and horror to something that might be welcome.[*35] Pilinszky's adherence to profoundly violent imagery remained unbroken, but now physical suffering was rediscovered as a vital force, and the poems drew repetitively on the ultimate Christian symbol for such suffering, the crucifix. Most importantly, one of the words he used for the crucifix was nothing other than 'splinter'. Thus the very title of his new volume bore the weight of the spiritual symbol, as indeed did Kurtág's own pieces. As the poem 'Before', for instance, suggests, the poet sees the day of judgement before him and:

... The Father, as if it were a splinter,
withdraws the cross...[*36]

... Az Atya, mint egy szálkát
visszaveszi a keresztet, ...

Withdrawing the splinter of life leads here to salvation later on in the poem, represented by weeping at the Lord's Table with angels in attendance.

If we examine this transformative moment more fully, we gain a telling perspective for reading Kurtág. Pilinszky's splinter (crucifix) represents a universal human besmirchment: humanity, in its inherent evil, is as a whole deservedly and permanently nailed to a cross – we may even 'be' the nail in the flesh of humanity. Sheer physical mutilation thus shaped a number of poems, including 'Cattle Brand', in which:

A nail driven into the world's palm,
pale as death,
I flow with blood.[*37]

A világ tenyerébe kalapált szeg,
holtsápadt,
csurom vér vagyok.

35 ——— Diószegi 1973: 1676-77; Fülöp 1973: 78; Béládi 1973. This ability to face the future may have been a response to the new political situation as much as an internal shift within Pilinszky himself. At least one writer argued this was a response to general trends in Catholicism within the Eastern Bloc, where there was an effort made to look beyond suffering and offering a vision for life (or afterlife) beyond it. (Diószegi 1973: 1678-79.)

36 ——— 'Mielőtt' in Pilinszky 1997: 95. My translation.

37 ——— Translated by William Jay Smith, adjusted by Peter Sherwood. Vajda (ed.) 1977: 154. Original: 'Marhabélyeg', in Pilinszky 1997: 110.

But the crucifix was also a representation of a cross-section of death with life. Its two physical dimensions were a constant reminder that human life was not a straight line from birth to death, thus it could remain a symbol of hope, evoking a repetitive encounter with Truth through which one could forget oneself (a sort of death), only to rediscover oneself.^[*38] The constant pain of being nailed to the cross was thus something to celebrate, just as was its echo, the piercing pain caused by splinters. As the second poem in the volume, 'To Jutta' concludes:

"As thieves – in the lovely words of Simone Weil
– we are people beaten to the cross of time and space."
I faint, and the splinters arouse me.
At such times I see the world with cutting clarity,
and try to turn my head towards you.^[*39]

„Latrokként – Simone Weil gyönyörű szavával
– tér és idő kereszttjére vagyunk mi verve emberek.”
Elalálok, és a szálkák fölriasztanak.
Ilyenkor metsző élességgel látom a világot,
és megpróbálom feléd fordítani a fejemet.

Here splinters are the fragments of a great crucifix borne by mankind as a whole, and they trigger a painful vision of truth. Thus physical suffering evolves into a means to superior understanding.^[*40]

Even on a superficial level, such an understanding of 'splinters' is a potent context for Kurtág's Op.6c. Movement 2, marked 'Sostenuto', is composed of three sweeping 'blows' to the strings, and their resonant aftermaths. During the dying resonances, lightly touched gestural fragments seem to make 'comments', the last one of which anticipates the lament motive of movement 4. We might imagine these three explicitly physical strikes as references to Pilinszky's crucifix, each percussive blow to the instrument a nail driven through flesh into the cross, and the fragments stirring after them are as if splinters under the skin.

38 ———— Such 'deaths' or moments of revelation became for Pilinszky more consequential than physical death, which could never be truly experienced in itself. These sentiments – differentiating his ideas dramatically from those of Beckett – are characteristic of Pilinszky's writings over the early 1970s, but are particularly clearly summarised in his 'Egy lírikus naplójából' (From the diary of a lyric poet), *Új Ember* 25 February 1973, reprinted in Pilinszky 1999: 694-95.

39 ———— 'Juttának', in Pilinszky 1997: 94. My translation.

40 ———— Reference to the nature of the splinters crops up throughout the literature. For example, in a 1973 interview with the poet (Török (ed.) 1983: 83), in commentary (Fülöp 1973; Béládi 1973) and in Ted Hughes' visionary essay on his work first published in 1976 (Hughes 1989).

Movement 4 labels itself as a reflection on death, not only subtitled *in memoriam Ștefan Romașcanu*, but also drawing on musical weeping figures typical of folk laments and the *pianto* topic of the Baroque. And – as if an echo of Pilinszky's consoling and optimistic reflections on mortality – while this first section evokes the sadness in death and loss, the second may evoke liberation from such pain. Above a 'tolling' bass note (D) in a continuous decrescendo from *fortissimo* to *quasi niente*, the widely displaced chromatic descent (from C sharp thirteen steps to C natural) creates a broken melody of fragmentary musical shapes allowing the performer to create a sense of resolution and release.

Yet it is even more rewarding to bring this frame of reference to *Four Songs* Op.11. The nail through the palm hovers in the background there too ('a bird knotted to a piece of wire'); and a martyr's death is suggested immediately thereafter: '... (Gladly I die)'. Pilinszky's poems, as Ted Hughes argued, 'reveal a place where every cultural support has been torn away, where the ultimate brutality of total war has become natural law, and where man has been reduced to the mere mechanism of his mutilated body'.^[*41] Yet such anti-aesthetic, 'primal' moments in *Four Songs* are striking for the way that they stage extreme indignity and pain in order to transform it – such as in the moment of nakedness – into calm resolution. Degrading reduction, perversely, becomes a moment of transcendence in musical expression.

As already mentioned, not all critics were aware of the provenance of the title 'splinters', and none of the texts of *Four Poems* prompted them to mention the broader spiritual frame within which their poet existed.^[*42] Unsurprisingly they made no reference to the ways in which either work might be positioned within the current political reality either. Silence in that area does not remove the fact that references to Dostoevsky's near execution and being 'knotted to wire' could have been understood as an allusion to the suffering caused by the Soviet oppression, and perhaps human culpability more generally as well. The moments of resolution and salvation could even have been

41 ——— Hughes 1989 [1976]: 11.

42 ——— Reviewers were uniformly praising of Op.11, they focused on its exposure of the 'greatest secrets' of the composer's workshop, and the 'primal' connection it created between speech and song. Breuer 1975, Várnai 1975. Tallián 1974. For Wilhelm (1975) *Splinters* was an 'unbroken whole' developing in an 'uninterrupted line', Gill (1982: 43) heard a single 'piece in four sections', while Várnai (1974) openly puzzled about the strange title, for the music wasn't, he said, 'splintery' at all.

grasped as projections of martyrdom for a greater good.

Narratives of tragedy and redemption have a history in Hungarian mythology, and recent events – the crushed uprising of 1956 in particular – fitted into the mould of Hungary's role as tragic 'witness'. The songs touched on precisely this set of ideas, even if only tangentially. Once presented on the musical stage, moreover, they publicly drew Kurtág into the sphere of Pilinszky's sacrificial religiosity, and they implicitly constructed the two artists in terms of a struggle to speak the truth through physical torment and anguish. And yet the government's convoluted polity led it to underwrite their presentation, and thus participate in an exploration of guilt, incarceration, and a celebration of revelation through suffering. The première of *Four Poems*, after all, took place in a particularly prominent and prestigious (state-supported) concert. To that event we can now turn.

2.2. Teaching

Kurtág's decision not to speak about his works was no obstacle to their canonisation (as we have seen), but until the middle of the decade there are no grounds at all for calling him a conscious strategist. His public manner would change, however, in two significant steps. The first was in 1975 when it was his turn for the honour of a portrait concert in the Music of our Time festival. An entire evening was dedicated to his work and held at the Great Hall of the Liszt Academy, the most prestigious platform in the city. It was at this concert that *Four Songs* received its première, and Kurtág took an active role in his music's presentation at this point. It is tempting to see his involvement as a means of placing himself in a very specific, and longstanding national tradition, for he had made one aspect of himself legible to everyone, and this was his devotion to teaching. The design of the programme itself included the première of some of his (didactic) pieces for piano, *Játékok* (Games); these, furthermore, were performed by some of Kurtág's students, who thus placed his teaching right onto the public stage.^[*43] Yet more strikingly, however, the printed programme included a pithy autobiographical text that closed with a description of his initiation into teaching in terms of professionally inherited responsibility, faith and passion:

43 ——— The most detailed study of *Játékok* available is Wischmann 1997. A number of shorter articles engage with one or more of the pieces. See, for instance, Hohmaier 2001 and Johnston 2002.

When I was sixteen years old my piano teacher entrusted me with some of her pupils for coaching. Since then I have, almost without interruption, taught fervently.[*44]

Pedagogical repertoire, student performers, and candid personal dedication combined to offer a winning cocktail. The city was undergoing a renaissance in children's repertoire more broadly, and *Games* was an example of how the national pedagogic tradition was coming back to life.[*45] In *Games*' anti-mechanistic, exploratory style it connected unmistakably with pedagogical theory and practice from the immediate postwar years, for which Sándor Veress' volume *Fingerlarks* (Billegetőmuzsika) of 1948 is exemplary. Each drew on the idea of an innocent child to harness children's playfulness, curiosity and bravura at the keyboard. But of course the primary model was obviously yet more elevated, and Kroó eloquently expressed what all critics said in one way or another: *Games* was a concentrated, purified version of Bartók's magnificent pedagogical series, it was the absolute 'quintessence' of *Mikrokosmos*.[*46] As the accolades flowed, then, they had a explicitly canonising and legitimating tone. Kurtág was now 'probably the most significant Hungarian composer', 'one of the most significant representatives of new Hungarian music'.[*47]

If Kurtág's first intervention in his public image was to construct himself as a teacher, his second was to remind the world that he was also a performer. Whereas in 1975 he had had his students playing *Games*, he was more assertive in 1979 and took the platform himself. By playing *Games* with his wife Márta, he transformed himself from a shadowy presence and a canonised text, straight into a live Event.

What could be the impact when the model of morality, the renowned pedagogue, possibly the leading voice of Hungarian music, stepped out of the modest shadows and offered his own music, with his very being, on the stage? How would a critic raise a pen to take account of the event? A predictable answer appeared in the pages of *Muzsika*, in which the critic could barely bring himself to enunciate a view: 'I have no words', he wrote, 'with which to represent the experience that this con-

44 ——— 'Korunk zenéje 1975': programme booklet page 19.

45 ——— See, for instance, *Tarka-Barka* (Multi-coloured), an anthology of piano music for children bringing together pieces by László Borsody, Attila Bozay, Lajos Huszár, Miklós Kocsár and József Soproni; Kurtág contributed nineteen pieces he called 'Pre-Ludes' (Elő-Játékok). Zeneműkiadó 7769.

46 ——— Kroó 1975 and Breuer 1975. See also the similarly ecstatic Farkas 1975 and Várnai 1975.

47 ——— Várnai 1975 and Breuer 1975.

cert provided. I have perhaps never before left a concert hall feeling the significance of the hour and a half so strongly.[*48] The ethical imperative of Kurtág's own reticence with words made it all but impossible for the critic to speak.

That is certainly the view that is suggested by sociology. And we can reinforce it with the fact that the authority of Kurtág's teaching was intimidatingly double-edged: it offered not only great rewards, but also tremendous personal cost, for his demands could be cruelly idealistic.[*49] Of this, there will be more to discover in Chapter 6. But it would be impoverishing to stay with sociology alone at this point. If there was a powerful context for becoming speechless, that context could also be a powerful trigger for feeling genuinely overwhelmed. I would suggest, moreover, that it is worth engaging with *Games* themselves to investigate ways in which these pieces may have *afforded* profoundly emotional responses, how they played into the emerging narratives.

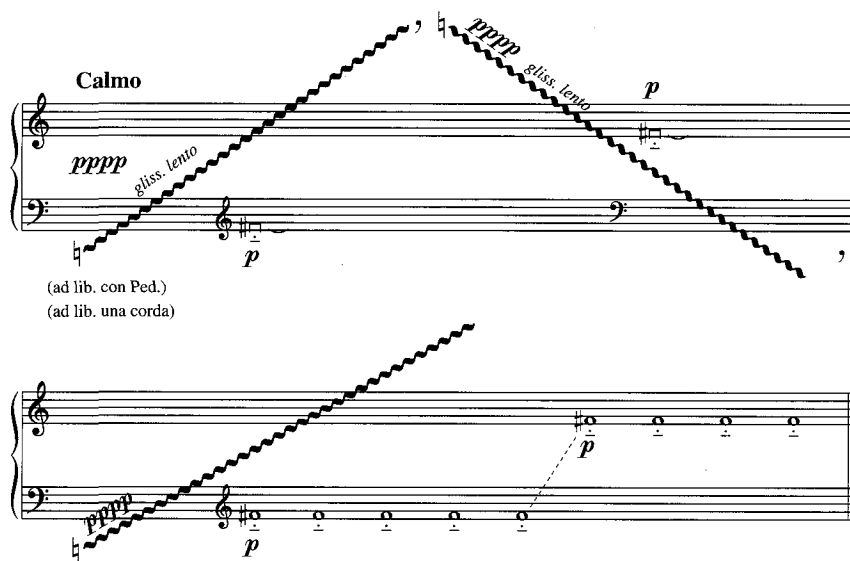
It may at first seem very difficult to make the case. Many *Games*, after all, carry minimal compositional elaboration and bear strikingly modest titles, as if warning performers and listeners in advance that they are mere *objets trouvés*. In the first *Game* of Volume I, the pianist is to perform glissandi up and down the keyboard repetitively. In the second, repeated F sharps are presented in one hand against glissando passages played by the other. (See Ex.2) In other *objets trouvés*, however, namely genres from the past – Sarabandes, Waltzes, for example – there are rather specific references to other music. Such 'found' genres were part of precisely the European musical tradition to which Hungary wished to belong, and from which it felt barred by the Soviet Union. Additionally, although composers' earlier investigation of the western avant-garde had been understood and accepted, by the mid-1960s, as we have seen, many sought a return to more traditional roots.[*50] Kurtág's 'playing' could contribute to an ongoing hope of recapturing something, especially when he placed himself on the platform *with his wife*, for that gesture could be experienced as a return to an intimate 'European' sphere of music practice – whether *Hausmusik* or salon culture.[*51]

48 ——— Kovács 1979: 7. Italics original.

49 ——— The idealism inherent in the usual paradigm of classical music practice legitimates suffering in the interest of 'the music' – understood as above the performer, who is in its service. For more on this in the Budapest context see Beckles Willson 2004a: 147-159 (interviews with Erika Sziklay and Lóránt Szűcs, first performers of *The Sayings of Péter Bornemisza*) and Beckles Willson 2004b for an essay on the subject.

50 ——— This narrative is transparent in Kroó 1971, but had already emerged in reviews of Durkó and others during the mid-1960s.

51 ——— Conceivably it may have echoed with thoughts of Bartók playing with *his wife* too.



Ex. 2 Kurtág 'Objet trouvé (2)' from *Games* Volume I

More subtly, though, the very brevity of Kurtág's *Games* maximises the ephemeral aspect of music. *Games* offer very elusive moments of 'presence' that evaporate almost as they are heard. Their minimal textual complexity, moreover, enforce a maximalisation of performative investment. If we turn for comparison to a prominent contemporary use of the *objet trouvé*, poet Dezső Tándori's volume of 1973, *The Cleaning of an Objet Trouvé*, we can explore how this emphasis on performance quality can provide a more penetrating key to their impact.

Within the pages of Tándori's book we find several similarly minimal 'poems' consisting of the (almost) dispensable parts of language. A pair of parentheses, separated by a line, constitutes one that is entitled 'Two handles of a sepulchral urn from e.e.cummings' private collection'.^[*52] The visual image of the parenthesis is revealed to be just like an urn handle: this might well be an *objet trouvé* in the most concrete sense. We could compare this with Kurtág's 'Perpetuum mobile', the *Game* constructed from glissandi alone.

52 ——— 'Halottas urna két füle e.e.cummings magángyűjteményből'. Tándori 1973: 28.

The 'found object' that is also a genre, however, is particularly productive in this context. Tando-ri's 'The Sonnet', for instance, offers a striking parallel. It empties the content from the form, leaving only a formula, which the poet mocks with his parenthetical ruminations and creative hesitations:

The Sonnet

a
b
b
a

a
b

(Got stuck on this line,)

b
a

c
d
d

c
d
d

(then did finally continue and complete it.)(*53]

A szonett

a
b
b
a

a
b

(Ennél a sornál megakadt,)

b
a

c
d
d

c
d
d

(aztán mégis folytatta és befejezte.)

Music cannot have either 'form' or 'content' in the way that can a sonnet. The generic reductiveness of Kurtág's 'Prelude and Waltz' (*Games* Volume I) is instructive set alongside 'The Sonnet', however, precisely because the two are so different from one another. (See Ex.3)

53 ——— 'A szonett'. My translation. Tando-ri 1973: 34.

Libero

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

pp cresc. *ff dim.*

senza Ped.

pp *ff*

Ex. 3 Kurtág Prelude and Waltz in C from *Games* Volume I

'Preludium and Waltz' shuns the development of melody, harmony and structure. It presents, instead, the basic metres and gestures that can suggest preludes and waltzes generally, and indicates further stylistic nuancing through specific markings of 'Libero' and 'Giusto', *forte* and *pianissimo*. It provides, then, instructions for bringing (any basic sort of) Prelude and (any basic sort of) Waltz into moving, dancing musical activity. Where Tandori takes an *objet trouvé* to toy with it and reflect ironically on the creative writing process, Kurtág's *objet trouvé* is something that a performer has to work with, and must focus specifically on the goal of making its most essential sonorous characteristics audibly present.

One might position this particular type of reduction in the context of the (ethically elevated) stripping and 'unmasking' of both instrumental harmonies and the human body in *Four Songs* discussed above. In this light it offers a moral imperative to focus on the armature of performance gesture as opposed to the complexities of (say) harmonic elaboration. Indeed a broader frame for its focus on performance can be developed in the context of Tandori's own *objet trouvé*, because this is no arbitrary concept. Rather, it is rooted in a poem by Attila József (1905-37) called 'Consciousness', an extract from which forms a motto for Tandori's book. József's *objet trouvé* shifts the whole idea into a new gear, and Tandori's motto is underlined in the quotation below:

'Consciousness' (verse 10 of 12)

Eszmélet

An adult is someone bereft
of father and mother beside his heart,
who knows that life is a free gift,
something extra thrown in on death's part,
and, like a found object, can be returned
any time – therefore, it's to be treasured.
He is nobody's god or priest
- his own self's least. [*54]

Az meglett ember, akinek
szívében nincs se anyja, apja,
ki tudja, hogy az életet
halálra ráadásul kapja
s mint talált tárgyat visszaadja
bármikor – ezért őrizi meg,
ki nem istene és nem papja
se magának, sem senkinek.

In József's poem 'found object' is not merely a poem, but a metaphor for life itself, viewed as an extended moment to be cherished before death prevails in the moment of 'return'. The 'cleaning' in the title of Tandori's volume is only superficially an examination of a pair of parentheses, a poem, or language. It is also an attempt to comprehend humanity in general, such objects understood as fragments of the materiality of human life.

Despite the focus on authorial creativity in 'The Sonnet', moreover, Tandori himself reflected that his poems were worth no more than *objets trouvés* until they were read, understood and ana-

54 ——— 'Eszmélet', trans. John Bakti. Dávidházi et al (eds.) 1997: 297-303. (The original is also reproduced in this publication.) See 303 for this verse.

lysed. He described this interpretative process with the concept of 'visszaadás' – as it appears in the motto as 'return' (see above). Indeed 'visszaadás' means not only 'return', but also 'render' (as in meaning): in this light a poem is merely a thing that can potentially render meaning through its connection with a reader, through repetition and (re)interpretation. Until the connection is made, it is but an *objet trouvé*. And yet the significance of 'visszaadás' in his motto is 'return' of life, i.e. death: the encounter with an *objet trouvé* is but a moment analogous to death. This not merely a paradox. It is a rather subtle reflection on the transience of 'presence'.[*55]

If we conceive Kurtág's performance of *Games* in this way, we can grasp how they may have been experienced very profoundly and elusively, namely as musical enactments of the process that Tandori's work, through József, describes. Repetition of simple elements, their rediscovery from new perspectives, their probing and setting into new contexts: these are musical manifestations of a fragile life placed under the microscope. After all, even a repeated F sharp may seem different when heard in a new context, as playing Ex.2 would invite us to remember. And as each new context, new sound and new sensation is discovered and understood, so it is lost. Each is 'returned', instantaneously part of the past. Words reach out towards it impotently from the cage of the present. And pen-poised critics in 1979 are left simply gaping, as the elevated national icon steps down from the stage.

2.3. Seeking

I have used Kurtág's contribution to the reception of *Games* to illustrate his increasing participation in the role of the national composer-cum-pedagogue-cum-performer, and I have also attempted to listen to his awe-struck critics sympathetically, thus to elaborate on their sense of being overwhelmed. To close this chapter I present two more of his works in order to demonstrate the way that they too could contribute to his very particular public image.

The first, a group of songs for soprano and solo violin called *S.K.–Remembrance Noise. Seven songs to Dezső Tandori's poems* Op.12 (1975), contributes in two connected ways. Its music is engaged with the physical realities of learning to play the violin; meanwhile, its text provides a commentary on learning how to live. One becomes a metaphor for the other, rather in the way of

55 ——— He made these remarks looking back on his earlier work with a fresh eye in 1978, Tandori 1978: 77.

Tandori's literary *objets trouvés* discussed above. In the first song the broader dimension is quite dramatically and Biblically to the fore:

The road to Damascus

A damaszkuszi út

Now, when just the same, as always,
it is high time, that[*56]

Most, mikor ugyanúgy, mint mindig,
legfőbb ideje, hogy

Kurtág's allusion to a Pauline conversion is clearly in tune with his partially masked reference to Pilinszky in *Splinters*.^[*57] It is particularly meaningful in the context of Kurtág as pedagogue, moreover, for Paul was not only one of the world's revolutionary mystics. He also considered himself a teacher. As the opening of a cycle, then, this verse hints at both revelation and instruction.

The music certainly effects conversion. Rather like the moment that the body was exposed naked in the Pilinszky song discussed above, as the words cease, the violin part abandons its chromatic line and presents perfect fifths. It is as if they enact a moral imperative to abandon words, for music. But ensuing movements do not sustain the clarity or the religiosity of revelation. The musical themes – such as they exist – are the violin itself, and the act of practising it. Songs 1, 4 and 6 begin with open fifths, teased with fragments of chromaticism; songs 3, 5 and 7 toy with other idiomatic violin patterns (arpeggios or scalar *moto perpetuos*) that are typical components of instrumental studies. These musical banalities are repeated constantly, and there is little sign of progression within them or beyond them.

The poems too tend to describe and then parallel this apparently fruitless practice, song 5 the most obviously. Its repeated, but inflected, words are analogous to the repeated, varied arpeggio practice of the violin (see Ex.4):

56 — All these English and Hungarian song texts are taken from the published score, where translations are by László T. András.

57 — That of Tandori is less significant, insofar as his work repeatedly and disjointedly juxtaposed low with high, sacred and profane.

So that We Never Get Out of Practice

Hogy ki ne jöjjünk a gyakorlatból

There's solace

Lesz vigasz

Thure's surlice

Lősz vőgösz

Thare's salace

Lasz vagasz

Theere's silice

Lisz vigisz

Thooore's soolus

Lusz vugusz

Scherzando, poco staccato

Lesz vi - gasz
There's so - lace

Lősz vő - gösz
Thure's sur - lice

Lasz va - gasz
Thare's sa - lace

Ex. 4 Kurtág 'So that We Never Get out of Practice', from S. K. *Remembrance Noise* Op.12

Song 3 uses repetition in an attempt to remember, but the project seems doubtful given that there is apparently no substance for the memory:

Two lines from "Tape"

Tekercs (az utolsó két sor)

This I want to keep in memory.

Emlékezni akarok erre.

Oh yes. Want to keep a memory of this.

Igen. Emlékezni akarok erre.

Song 6, more dramatically, reflects on the state of being itself. The text is as follows:

The Sadness of the Bare Copula

A puszta létige szomorúsága

I should have liked it to be so.

Szerettem volna, ha úgy van.

It was not.

Nem volt úgy.

I said, let it be so.

Kértem: legyen úgy.

So 'twas.

Úgy lett.

And while the violin seems to illustrate a state of 'how it was', it changes not at all when the voice requests 'let it be so'. After 'So 'twas', the violin simply repeats exactly what it played before. The perception of change itself, it seems, is entirely unreliable.

How this explicit dissolution of certainty could feed directly into narrative constructions of Kurtág can emerge from a reading of *Twelve Microludes for String Quartet, Hommage à András Mihály* Op.13 (1977). This 'Hommage' gives pause for thought. We have already observed Mihály's shifting political positions and his increasing success in the new music field, and by the time Kurtág wrote *Twelve Microludes* Mihály was even Director of the State Opera. On one level Kurtág's reference to him seems simply a gesture of admiration to a prominent public musical figurehead who had supported his own career. But Mihály was also Head of the Chamber Music Department at the Liszt Academy, and was greatly admired for his teaching, thus *Twelve Microludes* is just as much a reference to Mihály's teaching as it is to his other activities. Perhaps it is *specifically* that, for Mihály was a model to Kurtág as teacher in the period in which he wrote the *Twelve Microludes*: Kurtág audited his teaching of Beethoven and Schubert String Quartets throughout the 1970s.^[*58] At the very least, the 'hommage' gesture displays Kurtág's involvement with teaching anew.

58 ——— Conversation with László Sáy, who also audited the classes. Budapest, January 2000. See also Kurtág's remark in 1993 that he learned much from auditing Mihály's classes: 'überhaupt habe ich sehr viel von ihm gelernt, hatte jahrelang bei ihm hospitiert'. Dibelius (ed.) 1993: 85.

Ex. 5 Kurtág *Hommage à Mihály András. 12 Microludes for String Quartet* Op. 13, movement 1

If we regard the work as a projection of an interest in (string quartet) teaching, it yields some intriguing qualities. The opening movement can be approached not simply as the chromatic elaboration of a cadence that it is, but also as a study in voicing and listening to the subtle elaboration of a cadence from within. (See Ex.5) Each player shifts at a different moment and is encouraged, by the carefully-paced harmonic shifts, to listen with great attention to his or her position within the ensemble of four. But if understood as a perfect cadence, its metaphorical significance can expand further. The perfect cadence here is a fractionally expanded *objet trouvé* and – positioned alongside Tandori and József – is thus a means to elaborate on and discover facets of a very precarious life. In order to appreciate them fully, players might need to envisage how *momentous* could be the change in the violin II part from E to F# in bar 4, for instance, how *careful* the quasi-response of the 'cello would need to be immediately after it, and how *gingerly* the viola might then play the ensuing chord (after the 'breath') in bar 5. (Not to mention the last chord, the only moment at which all four players introduce a note at the same time.) Read in this way, the movement projects an elaborate test for the unity and coherence of a string quartet, a preparation, even, for drawing out the potential magic of a slow movement by Beethoven or Schubert.

The debt to such repertoire was apparent to critics, who quickly grasped *Twelve Microludes'*

enigmatically brief exploratory moments in precisely these canonical terms. Breuer invoked late Beethoven, while Kroó passed through Frescobaldi, Baroque rhetoric, chorales, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Debussy and Webern in his expression of the work's living debt to musical tradition.[*59] Commentators also used the quartet's lack of structural or dramatic teleology to suggest that it had a mysterious wholeness that could really only be understood in musical, rather than conceptual, terms. Here, too, the quartet played into their romantic hands, for it closes with a rhetorical viola line that breaks off as if in an unresolved question. It ends as if illustrating Pilinszky's religious notion of the artwork as a 'Message *derived from the Whole*'.[*60] Tallián's review thus argued that the opening 'romantic invocation' and concluding 'intense, lyrical epilogue' imparted a *longing* for a whole. As he expressed it, *Twelve Microludes* 'aroused the feeling of precisely the wholeness that is possible'.

Breuer, Kroó and Tallián, then, each articulated ways that *Twelve Microludes* seemed not to make affirmations, but to seek revelation. Each of its movements communicated the searching *desire* for extraordinary presence moments. Tallián captured the miraculous impact of these when he wrote that characters emerged from the tiny forms in 'an *unbelievably* brilliant light', and just '*as they were born*'.[*61]

We conclude this paper with an image of Kurtág as teacher, but also, in his relationship to Mihály and in his exploratory 'moments', as seeker. The image is Pauline in intensity, and involves regarding *Twelve Microludes* as a product of passionate musical mysticism, and also seeing Kurtág as a quasi-spiritual leader (and follower): he comes into view, in other words, as a musical 'guru' in a 'guru system'.[*62] We need only recall the political background of the recipient of his homage to rehearse the apparent paradox between calculatedly invasive party politics and this mysticism. But actually, as these explorations have revealed, musical mysticism *thrived* in this particular regime. Kurtág was simply the one to benefit the most.

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59 ——— Breuer 1978; Kroó 1978. See also Tallián 1979: 7-8. References to these writers in this section will be from these sources.

60 ——— 'Egy lírikus naplójából' [From the diary of a lyric poet], *Új Ember* 11 June 1971. Reprinted in Pilinszky 1997: 647-48. My italics.

61 ——— My italics.

62 ——— I take the terms 'guru' and 'guru system' from Schiff 2003: 40.

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