Reclaiming a Golden Past: Musical Institutions and Czech Identity in Nineteenth-Century Prague

By

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the relationship between nineteenth-century musical activity in the Czech lands and Czech identity. The objectives of this study are to examine the history of significant musical institutions and organizations established during the nineteenth century, to analyze performance repertories for these entities, and to explore how the activities of these institutions are related to other components of Czech identity. I begin by investigating significant Czech identity markers that existed prior to the nineteenth century. These include a sense of cosmopolitanism established during the reigns of the Holy Roman Emperors Charles I and Rudolf II, a priority on religious reform and tolerance linked to the Hussite period, and a sense of cultural deprivation stemming from the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War and the Counter-Reformation period. These foundational elements of Czech cultural identity provided the framework for the national revival of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which was based in Enlightenment ideals, and for the nationalist movement of the mid-nineteenth century. Using three categories of artistic institutions as case studies—opera venues, including the Estates Theater, the Provisional Theater, and the National Theater; the Prague Conservatory and related music schools; and the amateur arts organizations *Umělecká beseda* and *Hlahol*—I examine the motivations for establishing these organizations and analyze their performance repertories to better understand how the contemporaneous idea of "Czechness" influenced and was influenced by these musical activities. The history of these entities and their performance repertories demonstrates that musicality was a meaningful aspect of Czech identity long before nationalist composers brought international attention to the Czech lands, and that in the communities involved with Czech musical life a stronger emphasis has frequently been placed on artistic identity than ethnic or nationalist identity.

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Introduction

Musicality has been a significant and recognized aspect of Czech identity since at least the eighteenth century, when Charles Burney dubbed Bohemia the "conservatory of Europe."[1] The concept of the musical Czech has persisted into the twenty-first century. While visiting the Czech Republic in 2014 I was twice presented with overt examples of the Czech perspective on musicality as an identity trait. The first instance came as part of the *Vivat Musica!* Exhibition at the *Národní galerie* (National Gallery) where an interactive display featured the headline "Every Czech is a musician" (see Figure 1 below), an aphorism I first encountered in a course on Czech studies and that seems to transmit the pervasive sense of musicality as an identity marker for Czechs.[2] This adage was repeated to me in conversation with a professional guide conducting a walking tour of locations associated with Mozart as we discussed the positive reception of Mozart's work in Prague and the interest from tourists that has created a booming market for Mozart performances and souvenirs. For this Czech individual, Mozart's rapport with Bohemia was easily summed up by the fact that being Czech and appreciating music are inherently intertwined. While this phrase cannot be taken literally, I believe its very existence demonstrates that, for Czechs, musicality is a trait that has transcended ordinary cultural markers and become part of the mythic ideal.

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[1] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces* (London, 1775) edited by Percy A. Scholes as An 18th Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and Netherlands (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 131. Burney used this phrase to describe the relationship between Bohemia and Europe because so many Czech musicians were working outside of Bohemia that it was as though they trained domestically and then graduated to jobs abroad.

[2] The *Vivat Musica*! Exhibition ran from April 25, 2014–November 2, 2014 at the Veletržní Palac, one of the eight buildings throughout Prague that comprise the Národní galerie. The exhibit was conceived and curated by Andrea Rousová, and it explored the changing relationship between music and visual arts from the Renaissance through the twenty-first century.

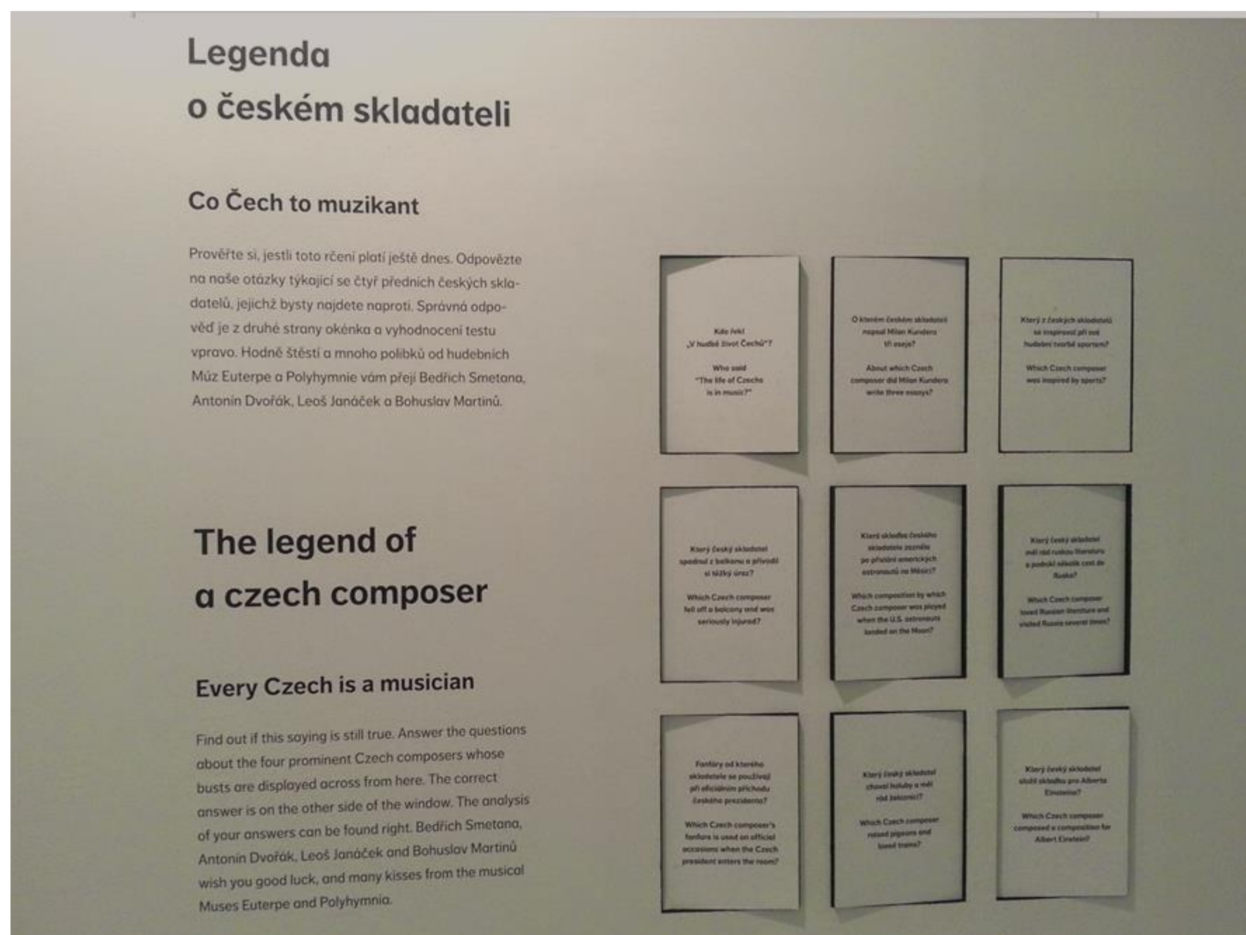

Figure 1: "The legend of a czech [sic] composer" from the exhibition *Vivat Musica*, displayed at Veletržní Palac, Národní galerie in Prague[3]

Even without social and political contexts to complicate it, musicality is a complex and ineffable human quality. In his groundbreaking work *How Musical is Man?* John Blacking argues that all people are musical to some degree and that our cultural expectations can obscure our perspective on the musicality of traditions with which we are not familiar.[4] While most scholars agree that musicality is shared by all humans, defining the parameters of the trait itself is more difficult. Musicality can be discussed in terms of creative or interpretive ability, listening skills, emotional and experiential sensitivity, appreciation, or an intellectual grasp of objective

[3] All photographs taken by the author unless otherwise indicated.
[4] John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1973).

musical features.[5] There are also biological and cognitive considerations as the fields of music psychology and neuroscience expand. All of these components must be viewed within an appropriate cultural context as well, as various aspects of music and musicality may be valued differently by different communities. While the many facets of musicality may seem overwhelming, Sandra E. Trehub, Judith Becker, and Iain Morley provide a useful definition in *The Origins of Musicality*: "Perhaps foremost among statistical universals is the idea of musicality itself, that everyone has the capacity or potential for engaging in a range of musical activities."[6] As a characteristic of cultural identity, I use this term to encompass both aptitude for musical skills and sensitivity to musical experiences, which is demonstrated in the way that Czechs have used music and musical institutions as identity markers for over 200 years.

Of course, Czech musical traditions existed long before Charles Burney journeyed through the Czech lands, and they were often connected with other facets of Czech identity, such as Protestantism or cosmopolitanism. Burney's description, however, summed up the subservient political and economic role of Czechs within an imperial system that viewed musical ability as an exportable resource and viewed the Czech lands as source to be mined for musical talent.[7] This eighteenth-century positioning of Czech musicality contributed to the idea of a cultural void, partially created by the emigration of numerous Czech musicians, from which the works of Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák would emerge nearly one hundred years later and perhaps

[5] See Geza Révész, "Musicality," in Introduction *to the Psychology of Music,* trans. G.I.C. de Courcy (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2001), 131-140.
[6] Sandra E. Trehub, Judith Becker, and Iain Morley, "Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Music and Musicality," in *The Origins of Musicality,*ed. Henkjan Honing (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2018),
[7] The term "Czech lands" encompasses the regions of Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia, which today comprise the Czech Republic. Bohemia became a part of the state of Great Moravia in the ninth century and after the collapse of Great Moravia (c. 900) became the autonomous Kingdom of Bohemia (a part of the Holy Roman Empire) until 1526, when the Habsburgs annexed it. As Prague has historically been the largest urban center in the Czech lands and has served as the capital at various times, much of my discussion centers around this city and Bohemia, the province in which it is located. This does not mean that Moravia and Silesia were unaffected by the various cultural developments that I reference, but simply that Bohemia may provide the best documentary evidence or the greatest concentration of activity.

allowed undue weight to rest on the relationship between nationalism and Czech music. Nationalism was an important movement throughout nineteenth-century Europe, and it certainly influenced Czech music during this period. However, Czech music, and even the concept of Czech musicality, predates the nationalist movement, and the effort to recapture a lost sense of Czechness grew out of eighteenth-century Enlightenment values as much as nineteenth-century political nationalism.

An issue that can further complicate the relationship between Czech identity and musical activity is the retroactive labeling of communities that existed in nineteenth-century Bohemia as "Czech" or "German." The nineteenth-century understanding of what it meant to be Czech versus German was based on a mixture of family heritage, linguistic preference, social status, religious affiliation, and tradition. Some individuals could, of course, point to the moment when their ancestors had settled in the Czech lands, coming from Austria or from a province or duchy in what is now present-day Germany. For many people, however, this information may have been obscured by time. While the idea of Germanic language and culture is often set in opposition to a native Czech culture, the two were frequently intermingled and only began to separate as the nationalist movements of the nineteenth century came into being. Throughout this study, I frequently refer to ethnic Germans or ethnic Czechs, but I do so with the understanding

that these are terms of convenience that cannot fully capture all of the nuances of historical identity politics.[8]

To better understand the musical practices of the Czech lands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is imperative to examine the roots of Czech religious and political identity, which profoundly impacted cultural development. There is an important distinction between the national revival movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which was informed by a reconnection with Czech history, and the later nationalist movement, which may have been more concerned with mythic origins and identity constructions. Both perspectives influenced Czech music, but not always with the same objectives or manifestations. While musicological studies have not always distinguished between these two movements, scholarship in Slavic studies has frequently focused on the particular ways that national consciousness was expressed during the national revival. The essays collected in *The Czech Renascence of the Nineteenth Century,* edited by Peter Brock and H. Gordon Skilling, provide a variety of useful perspectives on this movement, and historian Hugh LeCaine Agnew has contributed important research on the emergence of this revival movement during the late eighteenth century and its

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[8] In general, when referring to ethnic Germans I mean those individuals who could trace their ancestry to a German location and whose preferred language, at home as well as in public, was German. Language cannot, however, be the only indicator, as some ethnic Czechs—individuals with Czech ancestry—also spoke German as their first language and did not speak Czech at all. Likewise, some ethnic Germans learned Czech for business or municipal purposes. An excellent historic example of the overlapping ethnic identities in the Czech lands can be found in Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, who was declared by a poll of Czech television viewers in the first decade of the twenty-first century to be the greatest Czech of all time, and simultaneously declared by the German television program "Die Deutschen" to be one of the greatest Germans of all time. Historian Eva Doležalová validated this apparent contradiction by explaining that Charles IV's identity can, in part, be derived from his subjects, who were Czech, German, and many other ethnicities. See Ruth Fraňková, "Charles IV: Legendary Ruler or Pragmatist and Spin Doctor?" *Radio Praha*, 2016, https://www.radio.cz/en/section/special/charles-iv-legendary-ruler-or-pragmatist-and-spin-doctor. My intent in using the terminology ethnic Czechs and ethnic Germans is not to gloss over a complex issue, but rather to acknowledge that multiple ethnic perspectives did exist in nineteenth-century Bohemia, although it is difficult to understand the many layers of identity that created these differing perspectives, and to recognize moments when these perspectives aligned and also when they diverged. There is simply not space within the scope of this study to analyze this topic more fully. However, for more clarification on the matter of German versus Czech ethnicity and identity see Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963) and Peter Judson, *Guardians of the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

manifestation in Czech literature, theater, and newspapers, tracing the political and cultural impact of these developments into the nineteenth century. In Czech scholarship on this period, Jan Novotný's *Obrození národa: Svědectví a dokumenty* [National revival: Evidence and documents] provides an excellent documentary overview of some of the most influential participants in the revival.[9]

In musicological research, a significant portion of scholarship situates Czech music and musical institutions within a nationalist context. This is understandable to an extent, as nearly all of the major Czech musical institutions came into being during the long nineteenth century, the era in which nationalism's impetus and effects manifested throughout much of Europe. Carl Dahlhaus and Richard Taruskin both argue that nationalism is a way of constructing a communal identity, rather than an inherent aspect of identity. To this point, Dahlhaus suggests that nationalist music is identifiable primarily through function and reception rather than concrete musical style features because the community's perception of the music is more significant than quantifiable characteristics.[10] In his article on nationalism in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians Taruskin states that the varying definitions of nationalism are linked to shifting, or even conflicting, definitions of nation:

> It is not likely that consensus will ever be reached on their precise meaning, since different definitions serve differing interests. One thing, however, has been certain from the beginning: a nation, unlike a state, is not necessarily a political entity. It is primarily defined not by dynasties or by territorial boundaries but by some negotiation of the relationship between the political status of communities and the basis of their self-description, whether linguistic, ethnic (genetic/biological), religious, cultural, or historical.[11]

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[9] Jan Novotný, *Obrození národa: Svědectví a dokumenty* (Prague: Melantrich, 1979).

[10] Carl Dahlhaus, "Nationalism in Music," *Between Romanticism and Modernism,* trans. Mary Whittall (Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 86-87

[11] Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism," Grove Music Online, accessed April 22, 2019. https://wwwoxfordmusiconlinecom.www2.lib.ku.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050846.

Benedict Anderson, however, focuses on the work of imagination and argues that a nation is an "*imagined* political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."[12] The imagined nation is limited because members of these communities rarely imagine that their community will ever encompass all of humanity, recognizing that the nation has boundaries, whether these are geographic, political, or cultural. It is sovereign because post-Enlightenment nations do not want a mediator between them and whatever divine or universal forces may be the source of their right to self-rule. Anderson's definition encompasses both the boundaries of the nation imposed by selectivity and practicality, as well as the desire for freedom and autonomy. Perhaps most significantly, it also includes the idea of imagined communal experiences and values, which can elicit "national sentiments" in the form of the deep ideological or emotional investment of individuals who are willing "to die for such limited imaginings."[13] Anderson further elaborates on this perspective by suggesting that the ways in which communities imagine themselves is more significant than the conception of the nation as an "invention" or "fabrication" when analyzing nationalisms.[14] Applying this concept to both the Czech national revival and to mid-nineteenth-century nationalism, it is possible that the differences in these movements were due to the ways in which the participants envisioned themselves; leaders of the national revival were imagining the restoration of a glorious past while nationalists were imaging a future of political independence from, or at least equality within, the Habsburg Empire. My examination of the musical institutions founded during this period of intense national consciousness demonstrates that both national awakeners and nationalists

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[12] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities (*Brooklyn, NY: Verso Publishers, 1991), 6; emphasis added.
[13] Ibid., 7.
[14] Ibid., 6.

viewed musicality as an essential part of their imagined identities and that they used these institutions to project that identity.[15]

Although it can sometimes appear that Czech nationalist music simply materialized out of a void, there is a long history of religious separatism, linguistic identity, and indigenous musical life that precedes the compositions of Smetana and Dvořák and that shaped Czech aesthetics and artistic endeavors. The hundred years from 1720–1820 ushered in vital political and administrative developments that allowed a renewed sense of national consciousness to emerge, but the philosophical origins of this movement extend much further into the past. The course of Czech cultural events has been shaped by a struggle for religious and political autonomy since the medieval era. The collection of scholarship *Bohemia in History,* edited by Mikuláš Teich, explores the political implications of Czech Reformation movements and the development of divergent Catholic and Protestant humanist culture, and in his essay from this collection, "Rudolfine Culture," Josef Válka demonstrates how these ideologies manifested in sixteenth-century artistic works.[16] This artistic expression of the Czech Protestant identity seems to foreshadow the relationship between national consciousness and musical activity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. R.J.W. Evans has also devoted considerable attention to the apex of humanist culture in Prague and the following decline of philosophical and political freedom that was exacerbated by the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). His survey of the Habsburg monarchy outlines the development of political friction in Bohemia and provides an overview of

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[15] The national revival is sometimes referred to as the national awakening. There is some difference in opinion within the scholarly community about the use of this term, but some scholars, including myself, find it to be more poetic than descriptive. As an alternative, the terms national renascence or national revival are broadly recognized in relation to this movement. However, the intellectuals who were largely responsible for the revival movement are still most commonly referred to as the "awakeners," even in literature that avoids the term "national awakening."

[16] Mikuláš Teich, ed., *Bohemia in History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

the conditions that fostered the creation of Czech musical institutions.[17] These works generally consider a specific historical period or philosophical viewpoint, rather than investigating trends of communal behavior over time. In my investigation of the role of musical institutions in Czech identity formation, I have observed a pattern of assigning cultural meaning to the physical manifestations of musical activity, which I believe is connected to these significant historical periods and their ideologies.

One of the most influential figures in Czech history was the King of Bohemia, Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (1316-1378). Charles was Czech by birth, but he was educated abroad and, as was common during the medieval period, he had familial and diplomatic ties to many courts throughout Europe as well as the Vatican. Charles's international experiences as a young man prepared him to be a cosmopolitan ruler, and his vision for Prague was that it should become a European capital to rival Paris or Rome.[18] Charles contributed a great deal to the infrastructure and culture of Bohemia during his reign, and his name is synonymous with the peak of Czech power and influence. In an effort to make improvements in his capital city and leave a memorable legacy, Charles did not hesitate to bring in talented artists from all over Europe, and the sense of internationalism that is common to this era became pervasive throughout Bohemia. Centuries later, when eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Czechs were reshaping their cultural identity, the fourteenth century was regarded as an important source of pride and inspiration. The cosmopolitan atmosphere of medieval Prague resonated with the

[17] R.J.W. Evans, The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984) and Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1612 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[18] For more regarding Charles's Parisian education and his efforts to bring a similar level of sophistication to Prague, see Jiří Fajt, "Charles IV: Toward a New Imperial Style," in *Prague: Crown of Bohemia, 1347-1437*, ed. Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiří Fajt (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art Publications, 2005): 3-22 and Bohumil Vurm and Zuzana Foffová, interview by Dominik Jůn, *Radio Praha*, 2016, http://www.radio.cz/en/section/special/charles-iv-the-father-of-the-czech-nation.

universality of the Enlightenment, and this was reflected in the Czech musical institutions and activities that were emerging at the turn of the nineteenth century.

The fourteenth century was an important milestone for Czech identity in religious as well as secular life. More than three hundred years before the first public opera theater was built in Prague, the foundations of the Bethlehem Chapel were laid in a defiant gesture of religious conviction. This fourteenth-century Reformation chapel hosted the first vernacular worship services in the Czech lands and became a symbolic locus for followers of the important reformer Jan Hus (c.1370-1415). The Hussite ideology produced a body of vernacular hymnody, which can be seen as both an evolution of the Glagolitic tradition as well as an anticipation of the nationalistic value that would come to be placed on linguistic identity during the nineteenth century.[19] Ultimately, the Hussite reforms led to a papal dispensation for the Czech lands, allowing laypeople, as well as priests, to partake of both bread and wine during communion. This singular privilege was a cornerstone in medieval Czech identity and impacted sacred music in the Czech lands for several subsequent generations.[20]

In 1526 the Habsburg Empire absorbed the previously independent Czech lands. Although there was a certain amount of resistance from the Bohemian province, which had an established system of estates that the Bohemians staunchly defended, the sixteenth century was generally a time of peace, religious tolerance, and humanist thought in the Czech lands. This was also a fruitful period for artistic and cultural development and would come to be viewed as a Golden Age in Czech history. Rudolf II, who ruled the Habsburg Empire from 1576-1612,

[19] Glagolitic script is a written form of what is thought to be a ninth-century Byzantine Slavic dialect. Saints Cyril and Methodius are credited with devising the Glagolitic alphabet to capture this dialect as a part of their missionary work in the Great Moravian Empire. Methodius later won approval from Rome to allow Glagolitic masses to be sung in this region.

[20] An entire body of hymnody emerged from the Hussite tradition, as well as fraternal organizations—similar in some aspects to consistories—that published hymnals and prepared performances of these hymns for worship services.

moved his court to Prague in 1583 and fostered a cosmopolitan milieu of art and science. Important Renaissance thinkers like Johannes Kepler and Tycho Brahe spent time at Rudolf's court, and the city became a center of Mannerist art. Musicians working in Prague, such as Philippe De Monte, made significant contributions to Renaissance genres, including the madrigal, the motet, and the mass.

After Rudolf's death, political friction intensified in the Czech lands, and the yearning for political independence culminated in a rebellion. The insurgence was wildly unsuccessful and ended in the battle of White Mountain, an event that, for Czechs, has become synonymous with tragedy—even in the twenty-first century—and which is considered the first full battle of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The repercussions of the defeat at White Mountain were severe for the Czech nobility, who were almost completely eradicated, either through execution or exile, and replaced with Habsburg loyalists. The easy-going cosmopolitanism that had characterized Prague during the sixteenth century was shattered, and a sort of cultural exodus took place. The Czech nobles who escaped execution fled abroad, taking the lineage of Czech Protestantism with them; the Habsburg court reverted to Vienna, along with its wealth and patronage of the arts; and the newly appointed nobility often took whatever taxes and commodities could be gleaned from their Bohemian holdings to finance their households in Austria, leaving the Czech lands impoverished and stagnant.

The seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have sometimes been viewed as a second Dark Age for the Czech lands, which were heavily taxed and underrepresented at the Habsburg Court. It was during this period that Czech musicians began to achieve fame outside their own borders, chiefly because employment opportunities for musicians in Bohemia and Moravia were rare, and economic opportunities were much richer in other parts of Europe. However, the very

fact that so many fine musicians of Czech origin emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries speaks to the fact that development was continuing in the Czech lands, even if it was under restrictive circumstances.

These four segments of Czech history—the reign of Charles IV, the Hussite era, the Rudolfine court in Prague, and the seventeenth-century Counter Reformation—contributed to the specific ideological viewpoint of the intellectual community in late eighteenth-century Bohemia, from which came the impetus for a great deal of Czech musical activity during the subsequent decades. Chapter 1 of this study discusses this philosophical perspective in detail, exploring the impact that this particular viewpoint had on the development of musical institutions and activities in the Czech lands.

The National revival of the second half of the eighteenth century is the first of what I view as essentially two separate cultural movements, the second being mid-nineteenth-century nationalism. Although both movements are related by a sense of national consciousness, the impetus and manifestation of each demonstrates their lack of congruity. In the late eighteenth century Josephist reforms brought many improvements, but the price was an enforced Germanisation of business practices, such as the use of German for contracts, and cultural institutions. Although there was not a strong tradition of Czech-language art music, and Protestant hymnody (which was frequently in the vernacular) had largely been wiped out, the relegation of Czech to a "second-class" language acted as a catalyst for many Czechs. It was during this period that the first stirrings of the Czech national revival began, primarily in reaction to the domination of German language and culture. Important Czech figures such as Josef Dobrovský and Josef Jungmann worked to rehabilitate Czech literature, to establish Czech newspapers and magazines, and to create a new tradition of Czech theater.

From the 1720s, opera flourished in Prague and, although it was almost exclusively imported, provided the stimulus for the establishment of permanent theaters. In 1724 Count Franz Anton von Sporck founded the first public opera theater, which produced mostly Italian opera, including works by Antonio Bioni, Francesco Gasparini, and Antonio Vivaldi. The reigns of opera production were transferred to the Kotce Theater in 1739, and operas were produced there until the 1780s, when Count František Antonín Count Nostic Rieneck commissioned what is now known as the Estates Theater. Concert life in Prague was primarily dominated by opera production until well into the nineteenth century, although there were salon evenings and occasional instrumental concerts given by the opera orchestras, but Czech opera did not come into its own until the the mid-1800s.. Czech-language plays were staged at the Estates Theater as early as the 1780s, but it was not until the 1820s that the demand for Czech-language opera was fulfilled. František Škroup's *The Tinker* debuted at the Estates Theater in 1826, paving the way for a budding repertory of Czech-language works. Plans to establish a national opera theater that would produce Czech-language opera and plays were broached in the 1860s, and in 1861 a public subscription funded a temporary 900-seat theater to begin productions immediately. This Provisional Theater, as it came to be known, remained the stage for Czech opera until 1881, when the National Theater opened for its debut performance.

The Provisional Theater became an important hub for Czech music. Smetana was the conductor at the Provisional Theater for eight years, Dvořák played in the opera orchestra from 1862–1871 and numerous Czech operas were premiered on its stage. Additionally, the subscription funding for the Provisional Theater created a public sense of ownership that was both reflective of and also influential on the values of the Czech people. This tradition was continued with the National Theater, which was also funded exclusively through public

subscription. The investment of Czech citizens in the creation of these cultural institutions is indicative of the priority they placed on their musical legacy and of the significant role musicianship and appreciation for music played in Czech identity.

As the first decade of the nineteenth century drew to a close, Czechs became concerned with reestablishing a vibrant musical life carried out by composers and performers from within their own borders. The trend of eighteenth-century Czech musicians immigrating to more prosperous locations had left a deficiency in instrumentalists, and there was no indigenous opera tradition. To combat this, the Prague Conservatory was founded in 1808 with the goal of "raise[ing] up the art of music in the Czech Lands once again."[21] The Conservatory concerts were some of the earliest public orchestral concerts outside of opera houses. Singing was added to the Conservatory curriculum in 1817, and from this point forward the Conservatory made important contributions to opera in Prague, both by training performers of a professional caliber and also by staging some meaningful opera productions.

It was not until the 1890s that the Prague Conservatory expanded its curriculum to include keyboard studies conducting and composition as major departments. Shortly after this expansion Antonín Dvořák joined the faculty of the composition department, and these two important changes helped attract new students, both from within the Czech lands and also from abroad. The Conservatory finished the nineteenth century as strongly as it began, and it continues to be an important part of Czech musical education and culture today

Another fascinating and significant element of musical activity in Prague emerged during the nineteenth century: amateur singing societies and arts organizations. As the laws of the Habsburg Empire evolved in response to new conflicts and demands from the Empire's

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[21] Aleš Kanka, "Founding Charter: Proclamation of the 'Society for the Improvement of Music in the Czech Lands,' 25th of April, 1808," *The Prague Conservatory,* 2010 http://www.prgcons.cz/history.

constituent territories, the ability to create these types of social organizations empowered many middle-class Czechs to participate in a celebration of culture and identity that had not always been available to them.[22] From the 1860s forward, two of the most central arts organizations in Prague were the singing society *Hlahol* and the artistic society *Umělecká beseda*. Well-known composers and performers, such as Jan Lukes and Bedřich Smetana were involved with both of these organizations, and in some ways these artistic endeavors became the face of the nationalist movement.

Interestingly, even as amateur organizations strove to further nationalist aims by defining cultural identity, they were also attempting to connect with the larger European community by celebrating music and art as universal phenomena. *Hlahol* performances, although largely based in folk and patriotic music, also embraced works by foreign composers, especially as the society's performance abilities matured, and their concerts became more complex. *Umělecká beseda* was involved in various celebrations of foreign works, such as a Shakespearian festival that involved more than 1000 participants, and also hosted foreign composers on multiple occasions. None of these actions contradicted the nationalist agenda of arts organizations such as *Hlahol* and Umělecká beseda, but they are also too significant to be overlooked as we consider the role that Prague's musical life played in the identity of nineteenth-century Czechs.

Considering the musical culture of Prague in the long nineteenth century, the Czech national revival's inception and maturation was simultaneous with the development of several Czech musical institutions. With this in mind, it is important also to consider the distinctions between the national revival and mid-nineteenth-century nationalism. Although nationalists

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[22]Ratibor Budiš, "Vznik moderniho hudebniho života v Praze" [The origins of the modern musical life of Prague], *Pražky sborník historický* 5 (1969/70): 140. See also Karel Šíma, Tomáš Kavka, and Hana Zimmerhaklová "By Means of Singing to the Heart, by Means of Heart to the Homeland," in *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe,* ed. Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen, 187-206. Volume 9 of *National Cultivation of Culture*, ed. by Joep Leerssen (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015), 187-206.

aspired to political autonomy, the early revivalists were primarily interested in a renewal of Czech language and culture. These objectives were neither divorced from the goals of the musical community, nor were they specifically linked with them. František Škroup, who, in addition to composing the first Czech-language opera, also composed the song that would become the Czech national anthem, was also the director of the Estates Theater, where the majority of performances were in German or Italian. Bedřich Smetana, who is often identified as the father of Czech music, was also influenced by the New German School. While Smetana was certainly aware of the lack of a strong Czech musical repertory and did make important contributions to the growth of this repertory and the construction of contemporary Czech musical identity, Czechness is not the only significant element in his music. Indeed, his most famous instrumental works are symphonic poems, a genre associated with Franz Liszt and Richard Strauss, and his operas often borrow plot archetypes and settings from the German *Singspiel* tradition. Likewise Antonín Dvořák looked to European compositional models in his early career and only became explicitly political in the 1870s when Czechs were vying for the same political rights as Hungarians within the Empire's complex legislation.

What is, perhaps, most significant about the nationalist movement is how it has impacted our view of Czech music. Carl Dahlhaus summarized the relationship between nationalism and the music with which it is associated in this way:

> But one of the factors in the nineteenth century which influenced the expression of nationality in music was the idea of nationalism, an idea for which it can be claimed without exaggeration that it not merely created a concept out of existing elements—things that separately could be defined as national—but that it also intervened in the existing situation and changed it instead of merely interpreting it. Like historicism, a theoretical approach to music that influenced its historical development, nationalism had a retroactive effect on the facts of which it was, or purported to be, the reflection.[23]

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[23] Carl Dahlhaus, "Nationalism in Music," in *Between Romanticism and Modernism,* trans. Mary Whittall (Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 80.

In reality, the Czech struggle for identity within the European context had existed in one form or another for hundreds of years; similarly, the concern of Czechs for their musical heritage and culture was not a nineteenth-century development. Nonetheless, the Enlightenment ideals of the Josephist Empire coupled with a new awareness of their own literary, dramatic, and musical deficiencies gave a fresh focus to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Czech revivalists. As the Industrial age propelled the nineteenth century and the revolutionary spirit spread throughout Europe, Czechs were not immune, and they attempted an unsuccessful uprising in 1848. From this point forward any music composed by Czechs is difficult to separate from nationalist aims. Analyses do not yield musical traits that identify this music as uniquely Czech, and the broader concept of a "nationalist" style is difficult to quantify, though we often feel that we know it when we hear it.[24] Still, the perception of nationalism is persistent and has propelled this music into the international repertory.

There is a wealth of literature relating to Czech music, and many insightful works have been helpful in my research on the institutions connected with it. However, some of the institutions I discuss have yet to receive the attention that they warrant, and the connection between these institutions and patterns in Czech identity construction have not been fully explored. Musicological studies on Czech composers comprise a significant segment of the scholarship that addresses musical activity in Bohemia during the eighteenth and nineteenth

[24] Perhaps the best discussion of the perception of "Czechness," in nineteenth-century music is provided by Michael Beckerman, "In Search of Czechness in Music," *19th-Century Music* 10, no. 1 (Summer, 1986): 61–73. He analyzes several Czech nationalist pieces searching for musical characteristics that can be defined as specifically Czech, but he concludes that there are none. Rather, some traits common to all folk-inspired or nationalist art music from this period can be found, but they can be heard as Czech due to the usage of the pieces and the audience's perceptions. Certainly the usage of music for nationalist purposes and the perception of the listeners regarding music's nationalist qualities are an important factor in determining whether music has a nationalist character, but these criteria also allow for the possibility that music can be nationalistic without having an specific national character since a high level of subjectivity is involved.

centuries. Frequently, research focusing on the life and works of composers either confirms or reacts to the nationalist viewpoint, both in the selection of composers for study, and also in the treatment of their output. In his introduction to a collection of essays entitled *Dvořák and his World,* Michael Beckerman posits that the designation of "nationalist" in reference to a composer of Dvořák's international stature may no longer matter; yet Beckerman's own essay in this collection is a reaction to the composer's self-identification with nationalism. Kelly St. Pierre's - *Bedřich Smetana: Myth, music, and Propaganda* provides a recent and compelling example of a reexamination of many long-accepted conclusions regarding Bedřich Smetana's role in the musical nationalism of the Czech lands. Notably, there is little American scholarship on composers working in the Czech lands during the national revival, such as František Škroup, or on composers whose work was less nationalistically-oriented during the second half of the nineteenth century, such as Karel Bendl or Zdeněk Fibich. Some of these topics are better addressed in Czech-language scholarship, such as the life and work of Zdeněk Fibich for whom several comprehensive biographies exist, but even among Czech scholars Smetana and Dvořák dominate the field.[25]

Specific Czech opera venues have received little attention from American scholars, although a few notable exceptions, such as Daniel Freeman's dissertation, "The opera theater of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague (1724-35)," are quite useful. While there are several Czech sources on the history of theater in the Czech lands, such as the multivolume *Dějiny Českého Divadla* [History of Czech Theater], edited by František Černý, or Jan Vondráček's

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[25] Michael Beckerman, ed., *Dvořák and his world*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); Kelly St. Pierre, *Bedřich Smetana: Myth, music, and Propaganda,* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2017). Some helpful works on less internationally-known composers include: Jan Vićar, *Zdeněk Fibich as a Central European composer at the end of the nineteenth century* (Olomouc, CZ: Universitas Palackiana Olomucensis, 2010) and Zdenka E. Fischmann, "The First Czech Opera: František Škroup's "Dráteník" (The Tinker), in *Essays on Czech Music* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2002).

Dějiny Českého Divadla: Doba obrozenská 1771-1824 [History of Czech Theater: The revival period 1771-1824], and there are also some excellent venue-specific studies, such as Jan Bartoš's *Dějiny Národního Divadla* [History of the National Theater] or Josef Bartoš's *Prozatímní Divadlo a jeho opera* [The Provisional Theater and its opera], there is a lack of scholarship on the way that these venues and their repertories are collectively connected with Czech identity.[26]

The strong emphasis on nationalist ideology in Czech musical scholarship has created a concentration of research on opera as a vehicle for linguistic identity. The types of works dealing with this topic range from analyses of individual operas to broad ideological discussions of opera's role in Bohemian nationalism. The strength of the nationalist perspective has, however, created a neglect of Italian and German operas in Czech repertories, particularly from American scholars. Czech scholarship addresses this aspect of programming more completely, as exemplified by articles like Jitřenka Pešková's "Provádění Mozartových oper pražskou konzervatoře v první polovině 19. Století," [Performance of Mozart opera the the Prague Conservatory during the first half of the nineteenth century] and "Italská opera v kontextu české národní opery" [Italian opera in the context of Czech national opera] by Marta Ottlová and Milan Pospíšil. John Tyrrell's *Czech Opera* is, perhaps, the most comprehensive English-language survey of the opera tradition in the Czech lands, spanning the period from the inception of public opera performance in the 1720s through the twentieth century. In his work, Tyrrell focuses on the composition and performance aspects of opera, and his acumen regarding opera performance

[26] František Černý, Adolf Scherl, and Evžen Turnovský, eds. *Dějiny Českého Divadla* (Prague: Československé Akademie Věd, 1968); Jan Vondráček, *Dějiny Českého Divadla: Doba obrozenská 1771-1824* (Prague: Orbis, 1956); Jan Bartoš, *Dějiny Národního Divadla díl I,* (Prague: Sbor pro zřízení druhého Národního divadla v Praze, 1933); Josef Bartoš, *Prozatímní Divadlo a jeho opera* (Prague: Sbor pro zřízení druhého Národního divadla v Praze, 1938).

provides excellent background for a more detailed study of the organizations and venues, but his work is primarily concerned with Czech composers, rather than overall programming trends. More recently, Phillip Ther's work on opera has addressed musical institutions in Central European cities in greater detail. His comparison of opera production in Dresden, Lemberg, and Prague places each of these cities' musical activities in a more complex cultural context than studies that focus only on nationalism.[27]

By expanding my focus beyond Czech-language operas and across multiple venues, my work contributes a more detailed analysis of programming than previously available. I have considered and cross-referenced several sources on the repertories of the major opera venues in Prague to compile a list of operas performed under specific directors, organized both chronologically and also linguistically, and an analysis of the implications of these repertory trends in Czech musical life. The primary focus of this analysis is on programming from the Provisional Theater and the National Theater. As a basis, I utilized information from the repertory database of the National Theater Archive and Josef Bartoš's *Prozatímní Divadlo a jeho opera.* I also consulted nineteenth-century almanacs for the Provisional Theater, František Šubert's annual reports for the National Theater, the nineteenth-century music journal *Dalibor* and the newspaper *Národní listy*, which was first published in 1861. All of these sources have valuable information regarding programming, but the operas discussed are given their Czech titles, which makes them inaccessible to researchers who do not specialize in Czech topics. After translating the opera titles to their original languages, I organized the repertory chronologically and also by the language of the opera, in each case noting the director or manager responsible for

[27] Jitřenka Pešková, "Provádění Mozartových oper pražskou konzervatoře v první polovině 19. Století," *Hudební věda,* 38, no. 3 (2001): 397-414; Marta Ottlová and Milan Pospíšil, "Italská opera v kontextu české národní opery," *Miscellanea musicological*, 23 (1992): 39-69; John Tyrrell, *Czech Opera (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Philipp Ther, *Center stage: operatic culture and nation building in nineteenth-century Central Europe*, trans. Charlotte Hughes-Kreutzmuller (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2014);

programming. This is useful in that other repertory discussions sometimes consider the nationality of the composer rather than the language of the opera itself—which neglects compositional and programming trends from composers working in a secondary language—or may not consider how directors' backgrounds might contextualize programming decisions.[28] Having compiled repertory information linguistically, I was then able to analyze the representation of each language by season for the years 1863-1900. My analysis of these repertories reveals a far more cosmopolitan approach to opera than might be expected, particularly during the height of the nationalist movement, demonstrating the variety available in Prague's musical life during the nineteenth century.

Some of this variety may be due, in part, to the musical training that became available at the Prague Conservatory at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, there is a deficiency of Czech institutional histories as compared with similar bodies of scholarship related to other European and American musical centers. In American scholarship, there is almost no scholarship on the Prague Conservatory, and there are only a handful of works addressing its history even from Czech scholars, such as Marketa Hallova's *200 let Pražé Konzervatoře nejstarší konzervatoře ve střední Evropě* [Two Hundred Years of the Prague Conservatory the Oldest Conservatory in Central Europe] or Jan Hrodek's "On the beginnings of the Prague Conservatoire."[29]

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[28] See Tyrrell, *Czech Opera,* 39-40 and Jan Smaczny, "Daily repertoire of the provisional theater in Prague, CZ: Chronological list," *Miscellanea musicological* 34 (1994): 9-139. Tyrrell's repertory analysis provides a useful overview, but does not account for composers working outside of their native languages, nor does it break the information down by season, so changes in programming are difficult to pinpoint. Smaczny's list is useful for chronology, but it does not give a succinct view of what was happening from season to season, and, since the languages of the opera are not identified, the linguistic character of less-familiar repertory is difficult to assess.

[29] Marketá Hallová, *200 let Pražé Konzervatoře nejstarší konzervatoře ve střední Evropě* [Two Hundred Years of the Prague Conservatory the Oldest Conservatory in Central Europe]. Prague: Pražká konzervatoře, 2010. Published in cojuction with an exhibition of the same title organized by the Prague Conservatory and held at the Klementinum January 14-March 27, 2010; Jan Hrodek, "On the beginnings of the Prague Conservatoire," *Musicologica Olomucensia* 4 (Jan. 1998): 85-90; Daniel Freeman, "The opera theater of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague

The literature dealing with *Hlahol* or *Umělecká beseda* is fairly sparse. Primary sources in the form of organizational records and member reminiscences are helpful in understanding the role of these organizations in the musical and political life of the Czech lands, but they have not been widely addressed in American or Czech scholarship. Records from the organizations themselves and commemorative works commissioned by the organizations for important anniversaries give a survey of the history and activities. A few works that do help develop a more contextualized understanding of *Umělecká beseda* and *Hlahol* are "By Means of Singing to the Heart, by means of Heart to the Homeland" by Karel Šima, Tomáš Kavka, and Hana Zimmerhaklová in *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe, V umení volnost: kapitoly z dejin Umelecké besedy* [In art freedom: chapters in the history of Umělecká beseda] by Rudolf Matys, and *Umelecká beseda 1863-2003* by Eva Petrová and Ludvík Ševeček.[30]

An examination of Czech musical institutions such as the National Theater and the Prague Conservatory can provide a more comprehensive understanding of Czech music and its role in Czech identity. By investigating the motivating forces for the establishment of important musical institutions in three distinct categories, opera venues, music schools, and amateur arts organizations, I will demonstrate the influence of various philosophical, aesthetic, and economic factors on these institutions and their subsequent role in Czech culture. These institutions were also a nexus for Czech composers, musicians, and audiences, all of whom contributed to the construction of an artistic and ethnic identity in nineteenth-century Bohemia. The activities of

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(1724-35)." PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1987. ProQuest, http://www2.lib.ku.edu/login?url=https://searchproquestcom.www2.lib.ku.edu/docview/303590486?accountid=14556.

[30] Karel Šíma, Tomáš Kavka, and Hana Zimmerhaklová "By Means of Singing to the Heart, by Means of Heart to the Homeland," in *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe,* ed. Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen, 187-206. Volume 9 of *National Cultivation of Culture*, ed. by Joep Leerssen (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015); Rudolf Matys, *V umění volnost: kapitoly z dějin Umělecké besedy* [In art freedom: chapters in the history of Umělecká beseda], (Prague: Academia, 2003); Eva Petrová and Ludvík Ševeček, *Umělecká beseda 1863-2003*. (Prague: Galerie hlavního města Prahy, 2003.

these institutions, and the individuals connected with them, provide insight into the quest of nineteenth-century Czechs to reclaim their past identity and resume their position within the European community as a significant cultural center and powerful capital city.

Chapter 1: Philosophical Underpinnings of Prague's Musical Life

Czech art music is rarely associated with the Czech *narodní obrození (*national revival) that peaked during the first half of the nineteenth century, but is instead almost exclusively discussed in terms of nationalism, which became a central factor in Czech culture from the mid-nineteenth century forward. Although the most famous Czech composers of the nineteenth century, Antonín Dvořák and Bedřich Smetana, are closely associated with the nationalist movement, some of the most important musical institutions in Bohemia were established during the Czech national revival, which prefigured the national uprising of 1848 by nearly 70 years, and influenced major shifts in the cultural topography of the Czech lands.

The national revival was a loosely connected movement toward a rehabilitation and modernization of the Czech language and a renewal of Czech literature, history, and artistic endeavors. It was not an overtly political movement, except in the sense that any legislation that prohibited the reading or use of the Czech language or that dealt harshly with other cultural expressions, such as Czech Protestantism, was viewed in a negative light and publicly criticized by some individuals. In contrast with the nationalist movement of the mid-nineteenth century, the national revival boasted no conferences on Czechness or Slavism, nor did it have—as a unified movement—its own publications, mottos, clubs, or theme songs. Nonetheless, it was a powerful force that reclaimed many ideas from the past and assisted in making the Czechs a part of the European conversation throughout the nineteenth century.

While Czech nationalism was not unconnected to the national revival and can, in some ways, be viewed as a further development of the revival movement, it was also laterally linked to the nationalist movements across Europe in the mid-nineteenth century.[31] Many Czechs involved in the national revival had different aims than those of Czech nationalists, and these differing objectives played a significant role in the musical manifestation of each movement. The "*buditelé*," (awakeners), a group of primarily upper middle-class intellectuals living and working in and around Prague at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, were striving to reconnect with a past identity: that of the liberal, religiously tolerant, cosmopolitan Prague of the sixteenth century. Nationalists were attempting to construct an identity based on values similar to those of the German *völkisch* movement. The awakeners were interested in what Czechs had created in the past and could create in the future, and with the universal application and dissemination of these intellectual goods, whereas nationalists were more concerned with what they deemed to be inherent qualities of Czechness that validated their political and intellectual efforts. Ultimately, the awakeners were trying to reassert a connection with their Western neighbors by reconnecting with their own heritage, while nationalists—whether intentionally or not—pushed the Czech lands into the East and in many ways confirmed their role as Other.[32] These varying perspectives resulted in a blossoming of musical institutions and culture during the early nineteenth century that was international in scope and model. The second half of the century, alternately, privileged musical efforts that appeared to be

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[31] If the movements are viewed as part of a continuous whole, the national revival can be seen as aligning with Phase A of Miroslav Hroch's phases of creating nations, although, as I will discuss in this chapter, I think there is a convincing argument to be made that this would be an oversimplification of the situation.

[32] For a useful discussion of Slavic identity as separate from that of Western Europeans, and the role of mid-nineteenth-century nationalism and pan-Slavism in this identity construction, see Horst Haselsteiner, ed., *The Prague Slav Congress 1848 Slavic Identities* (Boulder, CO: Easter European Monographs distributed by Columbia University Press, 2000.)

"authentically" Czech, granting a new prestige to Czech-language works and allowing nationalist composers to flourish, but sometimes undervaluing works by composers who were not concerned with the nationalist ideal and glossing over the diverse palette of international music available to Bohemians. In this chapter, I will examine the differing philosophical perspectives of these two related, yet disparate movements, which influenced emerging musical institutions and activities in Prague.

Nationalism and Czech music have been discussed together so often that it can be difficult to frame the music of the Czech lands in any other context. The reasons for this are understandable and even legitimate. Prior to the nationalist conceptualization of the Czech people, the overarching Austro-Germanic perspective of the Habsburg Empire obscured most interactions between the world and Czech musicians. Additionally, the works of Smetana and Dvořák are notable and have remained popular in performance repertories, keeping nationalist music at the forefront of our awareness of Czech musical culture. Furthermore, the deep-rooted nationalistic bent of the twentieth century's division between East and West, Capitalist and Communist, tended to reinforce nationalist stereotypes and cultural identities. [33] Nonetheless, the element of nationalism in Czech musical culture and identity is only one aspect of a multifaceted and complex discussion.

To expand our understanding of the musical institutions that served as nexus points for Czech musical life in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth, it is necessary to examine the intellectual milieu in which they were conceived, as well as the motivations for their establishment and maintenance. In the course of such an examination the scope must broaden to

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[33] Many Czech musicians and composers changed their names, or the spelling of their names, to a more Germanic form when working abroad. A notable example is Johann Stamitz (1717–1757), who was born in Bohemia as Jan Stamic. Stamitz spent the majority of his career outside of the Czech lands, and during his time as the concertmaster of the court orchestra at Mannheim he helped to develop the particular style of orchestral composition and performance associated with the Mannheim school.

encompass some portions of Czech history that directly impacted the national revival and—to a lesser extent—the nationalist movement. A great deal of Czech culture in the nineteenth-century was inspired by previous eras of strong self -identification. We have become accustomed to the idea of nationalism as a construction, which may contain invented or narrated histories, but this does not necessarily undermine the impact of historical influences on individuals and institutions that emerge via national or nationalist agendas. Certainly, the interpreters of history are routinely constructing narratives of their own, but the basis for these constructs can be useful in a more well-rounded understanding of the identity of the constructors as well as the consumers of the construction.

Medieval Cosmopolitanism

The roots of modern Czech identity reach back to the fourteenth century, which encompassed both the reign of Charles IV, the first king of Bohemia to become Holy Roman Emperor, and also the career and martyrdom of Jan Hus. Visitors to current-day Prague will find traces of these medieval figures in building names, monuments, museum exhibits, and even national holidays.[34] Together they helped to establish Czech cosmopolitanism and a sense of self -determination, respectively, as well as making this transitional century a significant one for Czech cultural development.

The King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV was descended from the house of Luxembourg on his father's side, and on his mother's side he was descended from the

[34] In the Czech Republic July 6 is Jan Hus Day, in commemoration of the date of his martyrdom in 1415.

much-storied Bohemian Přemyslid dynasty.[35] Both dynasties had a strong history of territorial expansion, accrual of wealth, and patronage of the arts. Charles was educated in France at the court of his uncle, the French king Charles IV, where he also met his tutor and close mentor Pierre de Rosières, who went on to become Pope Clement VI. Charles's exposure to Parisian culture during his formative years was fortunate for Prague, as his memories of Paris greatly influenced the ruler's vision for the capital city of Bohemia. However, Charles did not reject his Czech roots—for example when he returned to Bohemia in 1333 he relearned the Czech language that he had forgotten while abroad—rather, he sought to strengthen them with his knowledge of other European courts and cities.[36]

When Charles was elected as his father's successor to the Bohemian throne in 1346 he sought to create a sophisticated infrastructure, educational system, and artistic style in Prague that would compare with what he had witnessed in Paris. To that end, he refurbished the Prague Castle, commissioned St. Vitus's cathedral, founded and designed a new municipality, undertook the major engineering project of bridging the Vltava River, and founded the first Central

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[35] The Přemyslid dynasty is named for its fabled founder Přemysl, husband of Libuše, who in turn was the supposed mother of all Czechs, a prophetess, and the founder of Prague. The equally legendary Saint Wenceslaus (Václav I, Duke of Bohemia) was also a Přemyslid, as was Ottokar II, who was the first to rule all of Austria and who founded the Hofburg Palace in Vienna. At various times between the ninth century, when the Přemyslids came to power, and the fourteenth century, when the dynasty was replaced on the throne, they ruled the Czech lands, Hungary, Poland, and Austria.

[36] "Deinde pervenimus in Boeiam, de qua absens fueramus undecim annis. Ivenimus autem quod aliquot annis ante mater nostra dicta Elyzabeth mortua erat…Et sic cum veissemus in Boemiam non invenimus nec patrem nec matrem nec fratrem nec sorores nec aliquem notum. Idioma quoque boemicum ex toto oblivion tradideramus; quod post redidicimus, ita ut loqueremur et intelligeremus ut alter Boemus (Eventually we arrived in Bohemia, from which we had been absent for eleven years. There we found that, some years before, our mother Elisabeth had died…And thus when we arrived in Bohemia, we found neither father nor mother nor brother nor sisters nor anyone else we knew. In addition, we had completely forgotten the Czech language, which we have since relearned so that we speak it and understand it like any other Bohemian.)." Charles IV, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta et Hystoria Nova De Sancto Wenceslao Martyre*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer, trans. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Shaer (Budapest, HU: Central European University Press, 2001), 67–69.

European university, which bears his name.[37] Charles also patronized and influenced the development of the International Gothic style of visual arts.[38] To aid in his endeavors, Charles did not hesitate to bring in outside talent. He hired the French architect Matthias of Arras to design the new cathedral of St. Vitus, while the paintings for Karlštejn Castle, which he had built as a country residence in 1348, were a collaboration between Master Theodoric, one of the earliest practitioners of the Bohemian Beautiful Style, and Nicholas Wurmser, a painter from Strasbourg. However, Charles was also cognizant of the Slavic traditions that differentiated Prague from Rome and Paris, and he was quick to highlight these as well. For example, he established a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Jerome and other Slavic saints that was chartered to observe the Slavonic rite rather than the Latin one.[39]

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[37] St. Vitus Cathedral is built on the site of a Romanesque rotunda constructed in the 10th century by Vaclav I. After 1060 this structure was converted to a basilica and expanded. Although Charles began construction of the gothic-style cathedral in 1344, the Hussite Wars disrupted its completion and it remained unfinished until the 20th century; the Cathedral was consecrated in 1929. It is the seat of the Archbishop of Prague and has been the site of multiple coronations (see Figure 2 below). The *Nové Město*, or New Town, quarter of Prague—which was one of Prague's five independent municipalities until 1748—was founded by Charles IV in 1348. It is most notable landmark today is *Václavské náměstí* (Wenceslaus Square). Construction on the *Karlův most* (Charles Bridge) began in 1357 and the bridge is still in use today. It was initially known as the Prague Bridge, but has been known as the Charles Bridge since the 1870s. Since its construction, 30 statues depicting various saints and biblical figures have been added at various times (see Figures 3 and 4 below). The Prague University (known today as Charles University) was founded by Charles IV in 1348. It is one of the oldest universities in Europe and was modeled on the universities at Bologna and Paris. The University has undergone condensations, expansions, and a host of political changes, but nevertheless it has persisted for nearly 700 years.

[38] The International Gothic style is also known as the courtly style, the soft style, the *Schöne Stil,* or the Beautiful Style. It emerged at various courts throughout Europe in the late fourteenth century and is characterized by highly stylized, decorative images using rich colors and heightened natural detail (such as the soft folds in a garment) juxtaposed with unnatural positioning and elongated figures. In Bohemia this manifested especially in iconography, and there are several examples of "schöne" Madonnas in particular that exemplify both the common international features of this style as well as specific Bohemian traits (see Figure 5 below).

[39] In 1347 Charles chartered the *Emauzský klášter* (Emmaus monastery) for which he received permission from the Pope to have all services conducted in Old Church Slavic. He invited a number of monks to the monastery from areas already practicing Slavonic liturgy. Old Church Slavic, or Slavonic, is a standardized version of what is thought to have been a ninth-century Byzantine Slavic dialect. Standardization is credited to Saints Cyril and Methodius, who devised the Glagolitic script to capture the spoken language as a part of their missionary work in the Great Moravian Empire. Methodius advocated in Rome for the use of Old Church Slavic in liturgy and received the approval of Pope Adrian II in 868 to continue using the language liturgically. Some forms of Old Church Slavic are still in use today. During the Medieval period, there was some confusion as to the true origin of the Slavonic rite, and St. Jerome was sometimes given credit for this liturgical development. For more information on St. Jerome's position in the Slavic lands see Julia Verkholantsev, "St. Jerome As a Slavic Apostle in Luxemburg Bohemia," Viator 44, no. 1 (2013): 251-86.

Figure 2: Exterior of St. Vitus Cathedral.

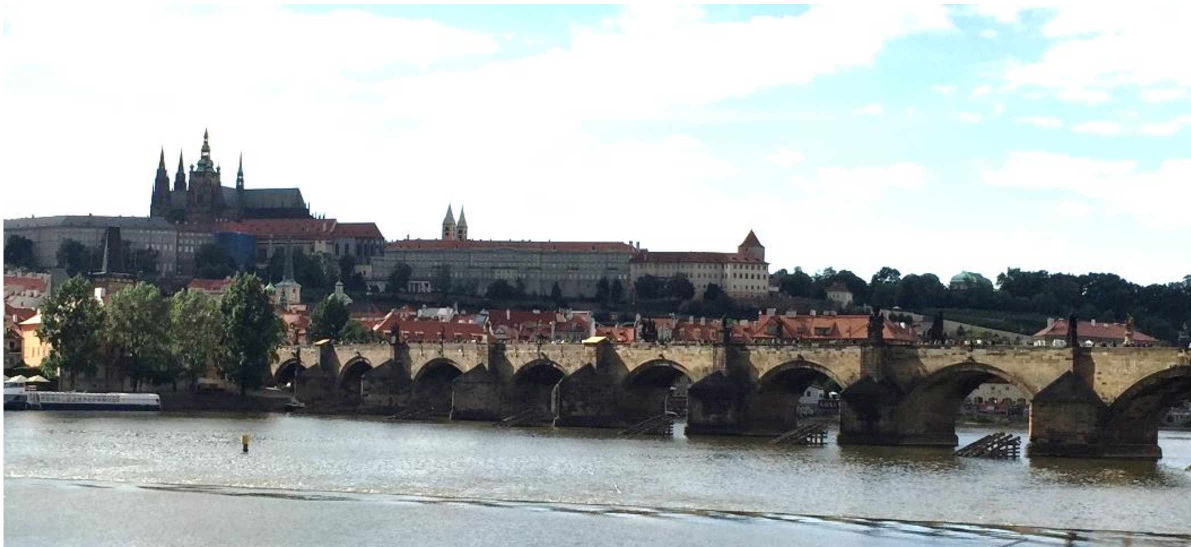

Figure 3: Charles Bridge.

Figure 4: Name placard on Charles Bridge.

Figure 5: *Madonna of Český Krumlov,* 1393, displayed in the Arts and Crafts Museum in Vienna.[40]

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Although he had close ties with Pope Clement VI and was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1355, Charles also reversed some of his father's anti-Semitic practices, reaffirming a thirteenth-century charter that gave Jews the right to limited self-government and to worship in

[40] "History of Sculpture in the Český Krumlov Region," Český Krumlov UNESCO World Heritage, Oficiální informační system Český Krumlov accessed May, 2018.
http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/region_histor_sochar.xml#

their own way, although his court benefitted financially from this arrangement.[41] This pragmatically tolerant attitude toward non-Christians would be echoed 200 years later in Renaissance Prague, under the reign of Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, and a sense of religious tolerance was admired and sought by national awakeners as well.

Prague basked in the glory of a monarch who not only commanded international respect, but who also invested his intellect and resources in his native land. Charles's legacy of international prestige and cultural achievement would echo through the centuries as a reminder to Czechs of what was possible.

The Hussite Era

Born almost a decade before the reign of Charles IV ended, Jan Hus was a priest and academic who advocated for strong reforms in the Catholic Church. Some of his primary goals were the cessation of simony, the inclusion of liturgy and sermons in the vernacular, and a general remedy of corruption. He is often associated with the doctrine of *sub utraque specie*, which he briefly espoused in the weeks leading up to his death, and which was more popularly

[41] Přemysl Ottokar II granted several privileges to Jews in a decree made in 1254, which was modeled on the Austrian decree of Frederick II, Duke of Austria in 1244. A significant feature of both decrees made Jews direct servants to the royal court, thereby granting them the protection of the court against attacks from Christians, both physical and legal. Charles confirmed the privileges of the 1254 decree in 1357. Charters of this kind were often granted to Jews after the Fourth Laterin Council (convened in 1215) condemned Jews for Deicide and ruled that they should live separately from Christians, thereby making it impossible for Jews to pay taxes by ordinary means. Rulers, to combat this problem without offending Rome, often created special charters that appointed Jewish citizens as servants of the crown and afforded them special protections. Unfortunately, these laws sometimes offered better protection—especially of property—to Jews than to Christians, thereby doing little to relieve animosity towards Jews and sometimes engendering deeper anti-Semitism. Charles's father, John of Luxembourg, did not honor Ottokar's decree, and in fact confiscated Jewish treasure hidden in synagogues, and even held some of his Jewish subjects hostage until a ransom was paid, ostensibly as a punishment for the crime of concealing this treasure from the crown. While Charles was still a product of his era and his relationship with the Jewish community was not altruistic, he contributed to a more equitable status for Jews in Prague and the Czech lands.

taken up by the Utraquist sect, which emerged after his execution.[42] Hus was ordained as a priest in 1401, and he became the leader of the Bethlehem Chapel in 1402.[43] Hus also taught at the Prague University from the 1390s (while he was still a student himself) and served as its rector in 1409/1410.

Unfortunately, Hus's outspoken convictions had garnered a great deal of enmity, and in 1410 he was placed under an anathema for accusations of spreading Wycliffism.[44] After a drawn-out trial, which resulted in a further anathema being placed on anyone associated with Hus, he publicly appealed to Christ as his judge and refuge and left Prague. After two years in exile, Hus attended the Council of Constance at the request of King Sigismund of Hungary, allegedly to explain his beliefs on reform.[45] Instead, Hus was imprisoned, tried as a heretic, and ultimately burned at the stake when he would not recant. His martyrdom became a powerful motivator for his supporters in Bohemia, and for the next 20 years the Hussite Wars dominated Czech life.

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[42] *Sub utraque specie* refers to the taking of both wine and bread during communion, in this case specifically by the laity. The issue of whether *sub utraque specie* should be reserved for priests only or open to laypeople was not a new issue in Hus's lifetime, nor was it a matter that he discussed with any frequency. It became a symbol of the most mainstream Hussite sect, the Utraquists, and in 1433 the Council of Basel accepted the right of Czechs to practice communion of both kinds in the Compacta of Prague. In addition to the Utraquists, other Hussite sects included the Taborites, who were militant in their beliefs and actions and who had further sub-sects of chiliasts and Adamites, and the Unity Brethren. The Unity Brethren never gained as much power in the Czech lands as the Utraquists, but one of their most notable bishops was Jan Amos Komenský/John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) the revolutionary seventeenth-century educator; they are the predecessors of the Moravian Church, which has a strong following in North America.

[43] The Bethlehem Chapel was established in 1391 as a site for services delivered in vernacular Czech. It has never been affiliated with any specific parish and was closely tied to the reform movement as represented by Hus. Although most of the Chapel was demolished in the nineteenth century due to structural weaknesses, it was reconstructed in the 1950s, and portions of the original building remain in place.

[44] The writings of John Wycliffe (1330–1384) were known in Bohemia at the end of the fourteenth century, possibly due to a connection between England and Bohemia that was strengthened by the marriage of Richard II to Ann of Bohemia. Wycliffe's teachings and his position on the papacy as an emblem of wealth and the corruption of ecclesiastical power—particularly after the schism—invited scrutiny and condemnation from Rome, and anyone thought to be promoting Wycliffe's ideas was considered equally guilty.

[45] Sigismund (1368-1437), a younger son of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, was instrumental in the call for the Council of Constance. He wanted to see the papal schism resolved and persuaded antipope John XXIII to call the Council. Sigismund later became the King of Bohemia and eventually Holy Roman Emperor.

The connection between Hus and nineteenth-century musical institutions may seem tenuous at first glance, but the Hussite era was a time of strong communal identity for Czechs. While Hussites were not thinking in terms of a national agenda, in the first decade of the fifteenth century Prague University was condensed into a single liberal arts faculty, comprised entirely of the Czech "nation," and the papal schism had heightened awareness of geographic and regional alliances.[46] When Hus, a popular figure in Prague, was martyred for supporting the right of common people to commune with God in their native language and for condemning hierarchical injustice and corruption from the Church itself, this communal feeling was only strengthened. This page of Czech history was generally treated as something shameful during the Counter-Reformation, but during the national revival many awakeners discovered a new fascination with Hus, and eventually his reputation was rehabilitated.

Another factor in the importance of the Hussite era for the national revival movement was Utraquist philosophy. During the Hussite Wars there were several sects of Hussite believers, but the Utraquists were the most moderate and perhaps the least separatist. Ultimately, Utraquism became the predominant heir to Hus's reform movement. Significantly for the awakeners, Utraquist moderation created an environment in which Czech culture thrived, and the era following the Hussite Wars later became an inspiration to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Czechs who were eager to create a similar milieu. Although they are sometimes viewed as a Protestant sect, the Utraquists did not view themselves as Protestants or separatists, merely as

[46] Prior to 1409, the governing body of the Prague University was organized into four "nations:" the Czechs, the Poles, the Bavarians, and the Saxons. In 1409, after disagreements among the University nations over how to handle the teachings of Wycliffe and what position to take on the papal schism, King Wenceslaus IV (1361–1419) issued the Decree of Kutná Hora, which gave the Bohemian nation three votes and the other three nations one vote regarding University policies. This resulted in a massive exodus of international teachers and students, the reduction of the University to one liberal arts faculty (as opposed to its original four of theology, law, medicine, and liberal arts), and solidarity of Czech feeling in the University community.

reformers who adhered to and defended the true Catholic faith.[47] In spite of their deep religious convictions, the Utraquists also advocated for peace and religious tolerance. Only one Utraquist king was ever elected in Bohemia—Jiří of Poděbrady (1420–1471)—but his reign was an attempt at tolerance and unity in the face of differing belief systems. He proposed an international allegiance of all Christian nations, with a council to decide policies against common enemies such as the Turks. Although his proposal received no support due to his unorthodox Utraquist beliefs, his prescience is noteworthy.[48]

A Golden Age

Although the political machinations of this era of Czech history often capture the spotlight, it is important not to overlook the international position of Prague and its role in the Humanist movement that swept through Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For Czechs, the peak of this cosmopolitan era was the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552-1612). For a variety of political and personal reasons, after his election as Holy roman Emperor in 1576, Rudolf began making preparations to move his court to Prague. Although it took him almost a decade to update court residences, redesign gardens, and transfer his collections, he was able to relocate completely in 1783. Once there, he gathered an international circle of writers, artists, musicians, scientists, and philosophers, most of whom worked directly

[47] This is an important distinction that we can see mirrored in the writings and actions of many of the Czech awakeners at the turn of the nineteenth century. They did not seek separation from their European neighbors or even from the Habsburg Empire, but merely reforms that would allow a Czech voice to be heard more clearly.
[48] Bohemia had an elective monarchy until 1620, when their elected monarch was defeated at the Battle of White Mountain, and the Habsburgs abolished this practice. Jiří of Poděbrady was elected in 1458 after serving as regent for a young king with Catholic leanings, although Jiří himself was the leader of the Utraquists. It is significant that both papal supporters and Utraquists elected him unanimously.

for Rudolf in his pursuit of answers to the mysteries of the universe.[49] For Prague, the result was a restoration to the kind of international prestige it had known under Charles IV's reign, and for Bohemians, a flourishing artistic and philosophical life. Rudolf commissioned over 1000 works of art during his lifetime and was noted, even by contemporary writers, as one of the greatest patrons of art in Europe.[50] His patronage was instrumental in the development of the Bohemian Mannerist style, which strove for artifice and a self -conscious approach to technique, extending far enough at times to be categorized as exotic or even bizarre. Guieseppe Arcimbolo's famous portrait of Rudolf as Vertumnus, the Roman god of seasons and growth, exemplifies the pre-Surrealist aspects of the Mannerist style and its specific manifestations at Rudolf's court (see Figure 6 below).

In addition to visual arts, Rudolf's patronage allowed other intellectual pursuits to blossom in Prague as well. His court composer, Philippe de Monte (1521-1603), prolifically represented late Renaissance, Franco-Flemish polyphony with approximately 1500 compositions, many of which were composed during Rudolf's reign. Renowned intellectuals and scientists also worked in Prague. The Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) collaborated with mathematician Jos Burgi (1552–1632), who was one of the inventors of logarithms, and the

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[49] There was a familial affinity for Prague shared by Rudolf's grandfather, Ferdinand I, and uncle, Archduke Ferdinand, who administered the Bohemian lands on behalf of his father and brother from 1547 until 1567. The Archduke invested in the infrastructure and culture of the Bohemian lands during his administration, and it is likely that Rudolf visited Prague and enjoyed his time there during this period. Additionally, Rudolf was often at odds with his mother and brothers, and leaving Vienna was an easy way to create some distance. Furthermore, papal influence was quite weak in Prague, which Rudolf would have seen as a benefit since there had often been friction, historically, between the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy. Prague also had a stronger defensive position against Turkish attacks than Vienna did, and the historical prestige of the Bohemian estates made garnering their favor a shrewd strategic move.
Rudolf is often remembered for his interest in the occult and alchemy. These exotic preoccupations, coupled with his possible mental illness, have created an air of dark mystery around this monarch, which can eclipse his contributions to religious tolerance and the patronage of fine arts. However, Rudolf's interest in the mystery of the universe was not singular during this era, nor does it undermine his value as a patron in both artistic and scientific realms.
[50] A frequently quoted statement from the painter and art historian Karel Van Mander (1548–1606) credits Rudolf as the "greatest art patron in the world at the present time." This description seems to summarize modern evaluations as well.

mechanic Erasmus Habermel (1538–1606) to create precise instruments for astronomical observation as he worked on mapping the planetary system. Johannes Keppler (1571–1630) published his first two laws of planetary motion in *Astronomia nova* while he was in Prague at Rudolf's invitation.[51]

Figure 6: Rudolf as *Vertumnus,* 1590-91, displayed at Skokloster Castle in Sweden. Source: Skokloster Open Image Gallery, 2017.[52]

[51] The contributions of both Brahe and Keppler were invaluable to the field of astronomy. Brahe pioneered the seemingly obvious, yet revolutionary, practice of charting astronomical objects on a daily basis, rather than only at important points in their orbits. This provided a more accurate sense of astronomical motion and relationships, and Brahe's precise observations and calculations allowed Keppler to develop his theory of planetary motion. Keppler's first two laws of planetary motion state: 1. All planets move in elliptical orbits with the sun as one focus point; 2. A line joining a planet and the sun sweeps out equal areas during equal intervals of time (which accounts for the changes in the speed of orbit as planets move closer to or farther from the sun in the course of their elliptical orbit).

[52] Skoklosters Slott. "Open Image Archive." Accessed March 21, 2017. https://skoklostersslott.se/en/explore/open-image-archive

Rudolf's religious stance was ambiguous. He was, nominally, a Catholic, but he welcomed individuals from a variety of faiths to his inner circle, and Czech Protestants did not suffer under his rule. Robert J. Evans describes the atmosphere of Rudolf's court as "congenial" to the religiously "uncommitted intellectual," which seems to have been an essential element in fostering a vital cultural and intellectual expansion.[53] Toward the end of his life Rudolf's connection with Rome seemed ever more fragile, and there is evidence to suggest that he did not make a final confession before his death.

Prague's cosmopolitan atmosphere was not unique during this era, but the expansive latitude of the intellectual activities that it hosted during the late Renaissance make it an exemplar of international, Humanist culture. The wealth of artistic and intellectual exchange represented by Rudolfine Prague became a beacon of cosmopolitanism and sophistication for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Czechs, many of whom felt that the light of this golden age was obscured and nearly obliterated during the seventeenth century.

The Counter-Reformation

After the internationally minded, religiously tolerant sixteenth century, during which the majority of Czechs were Protestant or Utraquists, came a period that even some present-day Czechs still view as a sort of dark ages.[54] After the battle of White Mountain in 1620, which effectively ended the Czechs' involvement in the Thirty Years' War, oppressive taxation and

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[53] R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1672* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 192. Rudolf embraced a variety of philosophical and religious perspectives in his search for knowledge, including Neoplatonism, Hermeticism, Cabala, and natural magic.

[54] During my time in the Czech Republic, I have personally heard the term "dark ages" (*temné období*) used in reference to the period after White Mountain. Although this event stands almost 400 years in the past, it is still a formative moment for some Czechs in the way that they have come to understand their history and identity.
Some historians estimate that as much as 85% of the population was Protestant during the last half of the fifteenth century; see, for example Benjamin Kuras, *Czechs and Balances* (Prague: Baronet, 1998), 27. This demographic was almost totally reversed during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

repressive policies regarding Czech language and religious freedoms were enforced in Bohemia.[55] During this time, a great deal of Czech culture was lost—that is to say that books were banned and sometimes completely destroyed, and the Czech language was repressed, while many Czech artists, musicians, and intellectuals moved abroad for economic reasons—and Counter-Reformation Catholicism was strictly enforced.[56]

The Jesuit order had a very strong presence in the Czech lands during this period, contributing to a more uniform educational system, but also driving many Comenius-based and Utraquistic schools underground. Comenian educational ideals focused on making learning pleasant and using natural developmental processes and vernacular language to educate children, and were quite progressive when contrasted with most contemporaneous pedagogical models.[57] Jesuit schools naturally espoused the principles of Catholicism, which were sometimes contrary to the beliefs held by Czech students and their parents. The tension between personal beliefs and state-enforced culture and religion created an understandably difficult environment for Czechs.

After this period of rigid, dogmatic thinking, the openness of the Enlightenment era was revitalizing for the Czech lands. This philosophy was both its own reward and also a path to rehabilitating the sixteenth-century Utraquistic liberalism and plebeianism, as comparisons were

[55] According to Czech historian Mikulaš Teich, the relationship between the financial contribution of Bohemia and Austria to the imperial economy was 11¾: 6¼ in 1682 and remained markedly unequal throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mikulaš Teich, "Bohemia: From darkness into light," *The Enlightenment in National Context,* ed. Roy Porter and Mikulaš Teich (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 146.

[56] The tenets of the Counter-Reformation were not vastly different for lay people than those of the Czech Catholicism that had existed prior to 1620, but the *sub utriquae* dispensation that had been granted to Czechs was revoked, and reconversion was required (at least publicly) of Czech Protestants who chose to stay in, or were unable to leave, Bohemia. Some Protestants, such as Jan Amos Comenius (Komenský), fled their homeland and finished their lives in exile, and many of these individuals lost all of their personal wealth as well as their property. For a more detailed discussion of Catholicism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bohemia see Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[57] For details of Comenius's educational methods see John Edward Sadler, *J A Comenius and the Concept of Universal Education,* (London, UK: Routledge, 2013).

made between these values and those of Josephism.[58] The majority of Czech awakeners were Catholic, but Josephist Catholicism allowed them the space to recognize the merits of Utraquist philosophy and its impact on culture—specifically the literary achievements of the past. There were notable Protestant awakeners as well, who viewed any Catholicism as an extension of the Austrian establishment and the post-White Mountain repression.[59]

This divided view of the role of Catholicism, and by association the Habsburg Empire, led to dueling historiographies, both of which originated in the period of the national revival, whose merits continue to be debated. For the purposes of this study, it is important to understand that these antithetical iterations of Habsburgian values, supported by a common view of the Czech past before White Mountain, can be linked with the emergence of various musical institutions in Bohemia. At the two extremes are the Estates Theater, one of the first significant opera theaters in Prague, and the cultural societies such as *Umělecká beseda* (Artistic Society) and the *Hlahol* (resounding noise or babble) singing society, whose existence is almost inextricably linked with a political nationalist agenda. These institutions are discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters, but—as this study attempts to make clear—their importance is

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[58] Plebeianism here refers to the historically non-aristocratic nature of the Utraquist church, as well as its tentative reaches toward a democratic structure; the emphasis of truth and reason over birthrights and bloodlines found resonance with Czechs already receptive to Enlightenment philosophies. See Zdeněk David, "Tolerance, Universalism, and Plebeianism as Legacies of the Sixteenth Century," in *Realism, Tolerance, and Liberalism in the Czech National Awakening: Legacies of the Bohemian Reformation* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2010), 18–46.

Joseph II (1741-1790) was the quintessential enlightened despot. During the years when he reigned solely (1780-1790), he reduced press censorship, abolished serfdom, and issued the Edicts of Tolerance, which granted a much greater degree of religious freedom than had existed earlier in the eighteenth century. Additionally, Joseph enacted several reforms within the Catholic Church's operations in Austria that created a more open and transparent organization, even though he was sometimes at odds with the Papal agenda. While Joseph passed many reforms, he also imposed high taxes and abolished some historical rights of provinces within the Empire (particularly Hungary). In his quest for centralization and efficiency, Joseph brandished his absolute power with little regard for whether his reforms were popular with or beneficial for all of his subjects.

[59] Perhaps the most notable example of the Protestant perspective came from František Palacký (1798-1876), who belonged to the generation following the national revival. Palacký contributed to a Czech nationalist historiography with several works, including his five-volume *Dějiny národu českého,* which emphasized the tension between Czech and Austrian culture, Protestants and Catholics, and venerated the Hussite period as the most meaningful and authentic phase of Czech history.

twofold: they demonstrate the pervasive use of music in the construction of Czech identity, and they further demonstrate the depth and complexity of Czechness as a concept in the nineteenth century and beyond.

The Philosophies of the National Revival

In 1761 Gelasius Dobner (1719-1790) published the first volume of his critical edition of Václav Hajek's sixteenth-century *Kronika česká* (*Czech chronicle*) and contributed to a fundamental change in Czech historiography. By the early 1780s multiple competing Czech grammars reflected the growing interest in the Czech language, and Czech newspapers and periodicals experienced a flurry of rejuvenation in the 1780s and '90s. In 1783 the first major public opera venue was established in Prague, and, not long after, Czech language productions appeared on its stage. In the dawn of the new century, discussions began regarding the establishment of a music school, and in 1811 the first classes were held at the Prague Conservatory. This fruitful time in Czech culture—the national revival—derived inspiration and motivation from various philosophies and ideologies, not least of which were rooted in the past.

The identification of this movement as an awakening or renascence speaks to a past community/identity. Nationalism is often viewed as a relatively modern aspect of communal identity, but as Hugh LeCaine Agnew points out, there are pieces of Czech culture that seem to speak to a similar concept of community as far back as the Middle Ages.[60] Invoking the term "national consciousness," Agnew points to František Graus's characterizations of this consciousness as shared linguistic community, dynastic traditions, common religious practices,

[60] The fourteenth century *Chronicle of Dalimil* (which references earlier sources), is a good example of medieval writing espousing this sense of communal identity. The *Chronicle* is written in vernacular Czech and has a strong anti-Germanic sentiment, demonstrating a sense of Self and Other that we often associate with nationalistic sentiments.

and an emergence of subgroups that speak for the society as a whole.[61] An important emphasis on language and religion as identity markers arose during the Hussite period along with a simultaneous separation of national consciousness from the dynastic tradition. This specific set of circumstances paved the way for national awakeners to redefine Czech identity, first by using linguistic tools and second, by appealing to shared values of tolerance, liberality, and cosmopolitanism between sixteenth-century and Enlightenment-era Czechs.

The national revival was greatly aided by the 1782 repeal of the *Index liborum prohibitorum* by Joseph II.[62] This loosened the Jesuit control of several religious and philosophical texts by Czech authors, as well as several Czech-language documents that had been suppressed**.** **[63]** For many Czechs, this created a renewed sense of pride in Czech accomplishments and in the intellectually liberal environment of sixteenth-century Prague that fostered these works. For some it was a revelation of a literary and philosophical heritage with which they were unacquainted.

An early consequence of the national revival that unfolded concurrently with the rediscovery of previously unavailable works was an openly critical approach to history, as Czech scholars attempted to replace some of the literary-historical efforts of the past with works grounded in the more rigorous Maurist approach.[64] Documents were understandably important as

[61] Agnew references Graus in *Origins of the Czech National Renascence* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 11; Graus discussed this concept in multiple works.
[62] The *Index liborum prohibitorum* was a list of banned books maintained by the Catholic Church into the twentieth century, but after 1782 it was no longer enforced as stringently throughout the Habsburg Empire.
[63] See Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 48.
The Jesuit priest, Antonín Koníás, was in charge of the local index, which virtually eliminated Czech writing from the time of Jan Hus through White Mountain. Koníás boasted about burning over thirty thousand books during his career in Bohemia.
[64] The Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur was established in 1621 and focused a large portion of their energy on scholarship. They generally subscribed to an erudite approach to history, beginning with revised Benedictine hagiography, but their scholarship reached beyond their own order and even outside the bounds of the ecclesiastical. An important contribution to future historians was *De re diplomatica* (1681) by the Maurist scholar Jean Mabillon, in which he outlined his methods for assessing medieval sources. This work was a trusted resource for several later generations of history scholars.

part of the critical examination of Czech history, and therefore the question of language emerged on a practical front perhaps as much as a sentimental or aesthetic one.[65] Dobner's work on the critical edition of the *Kronika česká* exemplified the willingness of Czech historians during this era to point out flaws in previous historical efforts, even as they celebrated the subject of these misguided attempts. Revival historians were also interested in exploring the life and works of Jan Hus. During the Counter-Reformation, Hus had been greatly vilified, but with the relaxation of Church authority under Theresian and Josephist reforms, many Czechs were interested in the rehabilitation of this important Czech figure.

In addition to Dobner's historical work, another important factor in the rehabilitation of the Czech language and pre-White Mountain literary culture was the reprinting of sixteenth-century texts. František Pelcl (1734–1801), historian, philologist, and professor of language and literature at the Prague University, was one of the earliest awakeners to reprint literature from this period and also instrumental in establishing a widespread republication program throughout Bohemia. In addition Pelcl made contributions to the growing field of Czech grammar, publishing his most comprehensive work on the topic, *Grundsätze der böhmischen Grammatik,* in 1795 upon his appointment to the chair of Czech at Prague University.

While there were dozens of revivalists contributing to Czech cultural and linguistic rehabilitation at the close of the eighteenth century, a few names are notable for their impactful contributions. Václav Kramerius (1753–1808) furthered the linguistic and literary aspects of the revival through his journalistic efforts; brothers Karel (1763–1816) and Václav Tham (1765–

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[65] There were other practical uses of Czech that made a resurgence of the language among the educated class valuable. One of the first Czech-language advocates in the late eighteenth century was Count Franz Joseph Kinský. In his 1773 *Errinnerung über einen wichtigen Gegenstand, von einem Böhem*, Kinský suggested that education should take place in a pupil's native tongue before Latin was attempted, and he further discussed two pragmatic advantages for Czech nobility who learned Czech, which were the ability to communicate with the peasants under their jurisdiction and the troops under their command.

1816) contributed to the body of Czech grammars and dictionaries and to the burgeoning world of Czech theater respectively; Josef Jungmann (1773–1847) produced several important translations into Czech, including works by Schiller, Goethe, and Milton; he also wrote completed commentaries on Czech language and literature, as well as going on to found several Czech-language journals.

Among the awakeners, Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) was one of the earliest voices of authority on Czech history and linguistics. As so many of the intellectual circle of the revival did, Dobrovský contributed to the new critical approach to history with writings on the history of the Czech language, and his expertise as a philologist gave him a great deal of authority in codifying Czech grammar. Dobrovský was open to the perspectives of conservatives, such as Pelcl, who based their grammatical ideas on sixteenth-century written Czech, and those who wanted to follow contemporary speech conventions. His own grammar, *Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache,* appeared in 1809. Dobrovský was also active in the foundation of the Royal Czech Society of Sciences and the National Museum. Dobrovský's influence, on both his peers and his students, was far-reaching and his Enlightenment education and well-traveled perspective exemplified the spirit of the Czech revival. Notably, Dobrovský was sometimes criticized by nationalists of the next generation for not fully embracing Czech linguistically and for, perhaps, being too influenced by his German education and time spent abroad. This attitude demonstrates one disparity between revivalist and nationalist values.

The literary revival fueled a desire to continue a tradition of artistic and intellectual creativity, and to do so in a manner accessible to all Czechs, as well as to the rest of the Western world. Zdeněk David has suggested that the revival of the Czech language at the end of the eighteenth century was inspired by a quest for Enlightenment-based universality, rather than a

nationalist particularism and that it was further indicative of a "trend against collectivistic, deterministic, and particularistic tendencies toward individualistic, open-ended, and universalistic ones."[66] David views the awakeners' linguistic revival as a tool with which they sought to educate Czechs about their own intellectual heritage and one that they hoped would then lead to greater intellectual exchange between Czechs and the wider European community.

Much has been made of the focus placed on language by both the national awakeners and the post-1848 nationalists (similar emphasis is sometimes given to Czech-language opera as the "authentic" Czech music of the nineteenth-century), but the linguistic revolution that occurred during the national revival was nearly always a practice that facilitated more universal goals; in contrast, use of the Czech language during the nationalist period was often connected with overt political objectives. Reprinting of textbooks and sixteenth-century "masterpieces" at the end of the eighteenth century rehabilitated the language, which did of course lay the foundation for overtly nationalistic songs and operas, but, as with Hus and the Utraquists after him, vernacular language was merely a means of communicating vital ideas; in the case of the Hussites the concern was Biblical truth, but in the case of the Enlightenment this concept extended beyond religion.

The impression that language was the centerpiece of Czech cultural developments in the nineteenth century can perhaps be linked with the idea that the German philosophies of Romanticism and Idealism influenced the Czech national revival more than those of Enlightenment Rationalism. Mid-century Czech nationalism was closer to many of the values of both Romanticism and Idealism—most significantly, that each nation had inherent characteristics that should be encouraged in a type of separatism rather than sublimated under a cosmopolitan perspective—but an Idealist perspective is more difficult to find during the national revival. The

[66] David, Realism, Tolerance, and Liberalism in the Czech National Awakening, 133.

categorization of national awakeners as subscribers to German Idealism seems often to come from a misapprehension regarding the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks during this period. Slovaks appear to have been much more receptive to Romantic and Idealist philosophies, and, perhaps because Slovaks and Czechs did collaborate in pan-Slavic enterprises throughout the nineteenth century, Slovakian viewpoints are sometimes ascribed to Czechs as well.

If we examine the positions of Czechs intimately involved in the philosophical aspects of the national revival—particularly those of Karl Seibt (1735–1806), who served as the director of philosophy at the Prague University and oversaw all of the Bohemian gymnasia from 1775, and Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848), who was appointed as the chair of Catholic religious studies in the Philosophical Faculty of the Prague University in 1805—we find that many of the national awakeners were likely predisposed by the educational trends in Bohemia at the turn of the nineteenth century to reject German Idealist philosophies.[67] This was partially due to the pedagogical struggles between Suarezian scholasticism and Thomism that took place in Bohemia in the mid-eighteenth century. [68] The Bohemian Jesuits, who had a great deal of influence over the educational system during this period, generally favored Suarezian scholasticism, whose emphasis on essentialism and dialectical thinking foreshadowed Hegel particularly.[69] This iteration of scholasticism sought to find general principles rather than relying on individual

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[67] For Seibt's list of required reading for ethics courses see David, *Realism Tolerance and Liberalism,* 146. His reading list indicates that Seibt was heavily influenced by British and French Enlightenment thinkers. He also made use of a textbook by Johann Georg Feder, a strong opponent to German Idealism, in his philosophy courses. Seibt was, apparently, an excellent and engaging teacher who exerted a strong influence on his students through his animated and stimulating lectures, which were notably given in German—the vernacular of Bohemia at that time—rather than the conventional Latin.

[68] Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) was a Jesuit theologian and philosopher. During his lifetime a new edition of Thomas Aquinas's works was published as part of the Counter-Reformation effort. Although Suarez became intimately familiar with Thomist thinking and even lectured on Thomas's *Summa theological*, his view of Scholasticism differed from the traditional Thomist perspective.

[69] A particularly influential figure regarding the philosophies of the Jesuit order in the Czech lands during this period was Roderigo Arriaga (1592-1667), who taught at the University of Prague. For more about his departure from Aristotolean Thomism see David, *Realism, Tolerance, and Liberalism in the Czech National Awakening*, 136–137 and Mordechai Feingold, "Jesuits: Savants," in *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 28–30.

realities, and argued that essence and existence are one and the same.[70] Due to the focus on universals, there is also an emphasis in Suarezian scholasticism on collectivism. Together, the essentialist and collectivist features of this particular branch of scholasticism, so greatly favored by the Jesuits during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, seemed to be at odds with the individualistic empiricism and rationalism of the Enlightenment. Thomism, in contrast, depended greatly on Aristotelian realism and argued for a distinction between essence and existence. Thomist existentialism places greater emphasis on the individual, both as an entity whose essence is particular, and also as a specific experiencer of phenomena.

Due largely to the counsel received by Maria Theresa from her advisors, she ended Jesuit control of the theology and philosophy faculties of the Universities of Vienna and Prague in 1759. Thomism was revived and affirmed in both cities from this point forward. This was an important development, because many of the awakeners were educated during this Thomist revival and they were therefore not easily influenced by German Idealism, which depends more on an essentialist and collectivist perspective than Enlightenment thought. This point is crucial to understanding the motivation for the national revival and the role of musical institutions established during this period as tending more toward the cosmopolitan and individualistic,

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[70] For further discussion of essence versus existence, see Etienne Gilson, *Being and Some Philosophers* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1952). Suarez felt that if we were able to envision the possibility of a thing's or person's essence, this was sufficient to prove that such a thing or person existed, even if only as a possibility. However, elsewhere in his writing, Suarez says that possibilities can have no eternal being, since they are not real. If possibilities are not real, then how can the mere envisioning of a possibility actualize it in the same way that existence would? This type of apparent inconsistency in Suarez's framework caused his opponents on this position, including Thomists, to argue for the necessity of essence and existence as two distinct ideas.

rather than the collective and nationalistic.[71] There were further implications for general education of the imperial populace, even at primary school levels, as education reforms emphasized comprehension rather than mechanical memorization. Learning through examples and explanations coupled with discussion spurred by the Socratic Method became the norm throughout the Habsburg Empire during the 1760s and 70s, aiding in the creation of the environment that invited Czech awakeners to reexamine their cultural heritage and identify traits that resonated with their Enlightenment values.

Arguably the most significant contribution to the general atmosphere of anti-Idealist thought was that of Bernard Bolzano. Bolzano became the head of religious studies at the Prague University in 1805 and held this position until 1819. He gave weekly lectures that were open to the public and which were incredibly popular. Sometimes there would be as many as 1000 people in his audience, many of whom were educated professionals contributing to the literary and artistic scene in Prague with their patronage. Bolzano was bluntly critical of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. He did not profess to belong to any single philosophical school, but he firmly disagreed with the major points of German Idealism and was an advocate of erasing national differences, rather than emphasizing them, asserting in some of his writing that differences in language should be overcome, rather than emphasized:

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[70] Interestingly, this attitude survived mid-nineteenth century nationalism to reemerge in the post WWI Czechoslovakia of Thomas Masaryk and further survived sublimation into the twentieth century "East Block," to rise up once again in the Czecho-Slovak "divorce." Both Tom Nairn and Peter Rutland have written about the contradiction between the Czech desire for reintegration into Europe and Slovakia's more internalized focus on national identity and the role this contradiction may have played in the separation of the two countries in 1992. See Tom Nairn, "A Civic-Nationalist Divorce: Czechs and Slovaks," in *Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited* (London: Verso, 1997) and Peter Rutland, "Thatcherism, Czech-style: Transition to Capitalism in the Czech Republic," *Telos* 94 (1993): 103-129.

> …the largest obstacle of unanimity in our homeland is *linguistic variety*. The one who would completely eliminate this, who would achieve this, that all inhabitants of our homeland would speak only one tongue, would become the greatest benefactor of our nation; just as the greatest benefactor of all humanity is the one who would implement one language throughout the entire world.[72]

Bolzano's anti-Romanticism is significant in that it demonstrates a tendency among Bohemian intellectuals toward both the universal and the particular, rather than the categorical and collective, and it also suggests that alternate motivations to the traditional Romantic nationalist thinking ascribed to all Czech musical figures are viable.

Nationalism after 1848

Nationalism, the ideological movement that dominated the second half of the nineteenth century in the Czech lands—and much of Europe—assuredly provided the impetus for a great deal of musical activity in Bohemia during this period. For over a century, nationalism has been studied and discussed by political and social scientists, as well as by historians and scholars from other disciplines. This vast body of scholarship has provided many nuanced definitions of what constitutes nationalism, what causes nationalism to emerge in particular communities, and the effects of nationalism on cultural and political institutions. For the purposes of this study, there are two aspects of nationalism that I wish to emphasize: first, that nationalism has an element of self-interest where the national community is concerned—often in response to real or perceived subjugation—and second, that nationalism frequently contains a mythological element of shared history, which may be based on actual events, but which can also be imagined, constructed, or reconstructed to serve the needs of community.

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[72] "… největší překážkou jednomyslnosti v naší vlasti *různost jazyková*. Kdo by tuo úplně odstranil, kdo by toho docílil, aby všichni obyvatelé naší vlasti mluvili jenom jednou řečí, stal be se největším dobrodincem našeho národa; tak jako by byl největším dobrodincem veškerého lidstva ten, kdo by zavedl jednu řeč na celém světě." Jan Novotný, *Obrození národa: Svědectví a dokumenty* (Prague: Melantrich, 1979), 174.

Although a sense of Czech national consciousness had reemerged in the mid-eighteenth century, the transformation into nationalism was precipitated largely by the political climate throughout the Habsburg Empire in the 1840s and 50s. In the spring of 1848 news of the fall of the French monarchy reached Prague. There were already some political organizations that supported anti-establishment causes, such as the Irish Repeal movement, and it was not long before unauthorized propaganda was being posted in an attempt to spur Czechs toward some kind of positive action capitalizing on this shift of power.[73] The practical result was a relatively brief petition composed for submission to the Emperor primarily by young and inexperienced political activists. The petition addressed freedom of the press, freedom of association, municipal autonomy, and adequate representation. The only mention of Czech culture or language was a request that Czech be allowed in schools. This document was then revised by an experienced lawyer, Dr. František Brauner, who expanded the scope of the demands into a somewhat more ambitious manifesto. Brauner's revisions demanded the restoration of the historical Bohemian diet, or legislature, to oversee administration of Bohemia and Moravia, and the establishment of a national guard. Ultimately, a committee was established to work out a final version of the petition, and while discussions were still ongoing regarding this version news arrived from Vienna that the Chancellor of State, Klemens von Matternich (1773-1859) had fled the country and that the Emperor was ready to appoint a constitutional government.

The citizens of Prague celebrated this apparent triumph and Czech and German residents of Bohemia were united in looking toward an optimistic future. Unfortunately, this mood did not last. By June the political situation throughout the Empire had become decidedly unstable, and in

[73] The Repeal movement was largely instigated by the Irish politician Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) and called for the repeal of the Acts of Union of 1800, which united Great Britain and Ireland as one kingdom and with one parliament. O'Connell, and others who called for repeal, maintained that Ireland should have an independent parliament. This bid for political autonomy may have caught the attention of Czechs because they were seeking similar enfranchisement from the Habsburg Empire.

Bohemia loyalties were being divided between the German nationalist movement, which claimed a historic right to the Czech lands as they strove for a united Germany, and Czech nationalists, who wanted the historic autonomy of Bohemia upheld. Tensions increased as the summer went on and in the beginning of July fighting broke out in the streets of Prague. Alfred I, Prince of Windisch-Grätz (1787–1862) crushed the insurgence and imposed martial law on the city.[74]

The eventual result of the revolutions of 1848 was a restoration of the Emperor's authority and the appointment of a new Minister of the Interior, Alexander von Bach (1813–1893), in 1849. The next decade was characterized by a period of heavy censorship, centralization of power, and restoration of the authority of the Catholic Church, known as Bach Absolutism. This was also the period when Czech nationalism coalesced into a decidedly political movement and the previously amicable relationship between Czechs and Germans began to deteriorate. While previous efforts directed by national consciousness had primarily been focused on cultural revival, Czech nationalists now placed a renewed focus on their subjugated position within the Habsburg Empire and the restrictions placed on them by the government in Vienna. This moved national consciousness in a new direction with political aims, although further efforts toward political revolution and autonomy were never fully realized.

While the revolutionary actions of 1848 may seem obviously nationalistic, they were also a combined effort of Czechs and Germans who comprised a political and geographic community, rather than a strictly cultural one. During the following decade of absolutism the self-interest of the Czech community—as an entity separate from the German community—began to emerge in response to the reinforced centralization of power in Vienna, the claims of the German nationalists to some of the Czech lands, and the growing relationship among Slavic peoples

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[74] Alfred was a Field Marshall in the Austrian Army and had been appointed the commander of the army in Bohemia in 1840. Although he was born in Brussels, his family was originally from Slovenia and had been granted rights of nobility in Bohemia during the sixteenth century.

throughout Europe who were beginning to emphasize their shared past, which often celebrated legendary or mythological stories and figures.

If we accept the elements of nationalist myths, as defined by scholars such as John Coakley or Anthony Smith, as markers of a nationalist movement, there is clearly an argument to be made that the national awakeners were nationalists in the broadly accepted sense.[75] They embraced a mythic origin, a golden era (or more accurately, two separate golden eras during the reigns of Charles IV and Rudolf II respectively), a dark age, and a national mission of sorts. However, I believe it is also fair to say that some of these elements of community had existed long before modern ideas of nationhood or historiography, as previously discussed in reference to national consciousness. With that in mind, what Coakley calls the national mission is perhaps the most telling indicator of what kind of cultural movement is at play. While many cultural institutions were established during the Czech revival period (the National Museum, the Royal Czech Society of Sciences, the Estates Theater, the Prague Conservatory), to say nothing of the flourishing literary and artistic communities, the instigators of these various projects were not unified in their motives. With no overt political agenda, diverse cultural aims, and a strong resistance to essentialist and Idealist viewpoints, there seems to be a strong case for a distinction between the Czech national awakeners and the following generation of Czech nationalists, who made overt political demands and set forth unified cultural goals, such as the establishment of a

[75] Coakley relates Garth Stevenson's five-element categorization of patterns in nationalist historiographies, to three stages of historiographical myth: myths of origin, myths of development, and myths of destiny. Coakley groups both a golden age and dark age into myths of development. See John Coakley, "Mobilizing the Past: Nationalist Images of History," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10, (2004): 541. Anthony Smith also names a "golden age" as part of nationalist mythology. See his essay "The Golden Age and National Renewal," in *Myths and Nationhood*, ed. Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997) 36–59.

national theater.[76] The lack of a unified and specific cultural mission during the national revival is reflected in the varying motives for the development of musical institutions during this era: civic pride, imperial patriotism, concern for the quality of music in Prague, and commercial gain.

Alternatively, the nationalists did have a specific political agenda of independence from Austria, or, in more conservative iterations, at least greater autonomy and more equal economic representation. The nationalists also had a clear cultural agenda of promoting all things "authentically" Czech, and this agenda inspired a focus on vernacular medieval manuscripts, folk songs, and origin myths, such as the Libuše tale.[77] To these ideals we can attribute the rise in popularity of Czech-language opera and the subsequent demand for a Czech national theater, as well as the emergence of patriotic artistic societies, such as *Umelecká beseda* and *Hlahol*. These overt expressions of a national mission in the musical practices and institutions of nationalist Bohemia did not exterminate all non-nationalist music in the Czech lands, but they certainly dominated the landscape. This is, perhaps, the most pragmatic difference between musical life

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[76] Although an argument could be made that the national revival was merely Phase A of Miroslav Hroch's chronology for the creation of a nation, and therefore directly linked with Phase B (the nationalist movement proper), it does not follow that participants in Phase A are aware of the future steps in this chronology or that they would be motivated by the same factors as participants in Phases B and C. Furthermore, some scholars have suggested that this concept is too simplistic and that the direct progression of these phases in this order is not always applicable. For example, see Joan-Luis Marfany, "Minority' languages and literary revivals," *Past and Present* No. 184 (Aug., 2004): 137–167.

[77] Dobrovský's work inspired other medievalist scholars, but unfortunately the excitement surrounding Dobrovský's work created such an eagerness for new manuscripts, that there was, perhaps, a willingness on the part of the Czech public to accept new finds almost at face-value. In this environment, one of Dobrovský's students, Vaclav Hanka (1791–1861)—who was serving as the director of the Czech Museum Library—perpetrated multiple clever forgeries of medieval documents, which he claimed were newly discovered. The first of these forgeries appeared in 1816 and it was some time before skeptics emerged. Hanka's "discoveries" divided the Czech scholarly community for decades, and it was only in 1860, just months before his death, that the tide of disbelief turned against Hanka when compelling evidence of the forgeries was produced by the editor Julius Fejfalik.
According to Alfred Thomas, the tenth-century *Legenda Christiani*, attributed to the monk Kristián, contains the earliest version of the mythical founding of Prague, in which Bohemian Slavs are suffering from a plague and therefore turn to a prophetess for help. With her guidance they found the city of Prague. As the myth evolved, later accounts give the prophetess the name Libuše. See Thomas, "Women on the Verge of History: Libuše and the Foundational Legend of Prague," in *Prague Palimpsest: Writing, Memory, and the City* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1-14.

during the national revival as contrasted with its counterpart during mid-nineteenth-century nationalism.

The crucial issue is not whether linguistic communities were the major identity marker for the national revival or subsequent nationalism, nor whether the two movements were actually separate or continuous; it is, rather, the amount of variety we can find in the motivations for Czech linguistic and cultural revival in the nineteenth century, and the impact that this revival had on the musical institutions in Prague. Josephist reforms allowed the rediscovery of many banned texts in the Czech lands, which naturally invited a linguistic regeneration for both the practical purpose of thorough study of historic texts, and for the aesthetic and cultural values inherent in the language itself. This fascination with historical texts bolstered Enlightenment ideals, literally by allowing "new" knowledge to be explored, and also by transmitting Utraquist values of tolerance, liberalism, and plebeianism, all of which played into Josephist Enlightenment and gave the awakeners a restored pride in their own history as part of a larger pan-European philosophy and cosmopolitanism. Once the linguistic revival had begun as a means to understanding these texts and their philosophical and cultural value was discovered, the desire to communicate Czech cultural worth naturally inspired the resurgence of Czech literature and arts. It is in this environment that the first permanent opera theaters in Prague were built, the first Czech-language operas were written, and the Prague Conservatory was established. These cornerstones of Czech musical life are often ignored when Czech music is being discussed. It is, instead, supposed to have appeared over half a century later, and—in some extreme versions—almost exclusively from the compositional pen of Bedřich Smetana. While Smetana was among the first of the nationalist Czech composers, and the nationalist movement certainly contributed important developments to Czech music—including the nationalist works of Smetana, Dvořák,

Fibich, and Bendl, the growth of amateur artistic organizations, and the establishment of the National Theater—it is overly simplistic to call him the Father of Czech music.

In the musical life of the national revival we find qualities that are both universally Enlightenment-based and specifically Czech. The conditions created in a subject territory of the Habsburg Empire, whose culture had been suppressed for nearly 150 years, but whose past had been filled with cosmopolitan splendor, were fertile ground for Czechs who wanted the opportunity to reassert themselves within the European community. They gave rise to a desire to present international opera, to reclaim Czech musicians from abroad, and to create a Czech-language opera tradition for every citizen to enjoy. Contemporary Enlightenment ideals, mapped onto Utraquistic values, were perhaps more influential in the creation of a thriving musical life in Prague than the Romantic nationalist values that politicized musical and artistic activity and narrowed the artistic and cultural focus from a pan-European cosmopolitanism toward a Slavic separatism.

Chapter 2: Opera Venues in Prague

The development of operatic venues and institutions in Prague during the early nineteenth century was driven by a variety of factors. These included commercial motivations, a desire to compete culturally with Vienna and other European cities, and deliberate efforts to revive artistic and literary traditions within the Czech lands. These diverse motives led to the construction of new opera venues, the recruitment of accomplished performers from abroad, and the production of new compositions and translations. This emerging tradition was shared by ethnic Germans and ethnic Czechs alike, and while it paved the way for the overtly nationalistic opera tradition of the mid- and late-nineteenth century, at the beginning of the nineteenth century opera represented a cosmopolitan aspect of Prague's musical life. Nonetheless, even in more expansive studies, such as John Tyrrell's *Czech Opera*, there is often a focus placed on Czech opera—that is to say opera by Czechs or in the Czech language—rather than the opera milieu that existed in Prague from the mid eighteenth century onwards. Foreign styles and repertory became an important staple of the opera tradition in Bohemia, a state of affairs that carried through into the next. This aspect of opera in the Czech lands is often overlooked, but the genre's cosmopolitan nature continued to play an important role in the construction of the musical and cultural identity of Czechs throughout the entire nineteenth century.

1724–1862

Prior to the eighteenth century, operatic performances had been staged on occasion for coronation events or as part of rare tours by traveling companies, and there are records of various aristocratic households that periodically put on operas, but these were generally exclusive

performances, often of unpublished works.[78] In 1723 Prague was once more the focus of imperial grandeur with the coronation of Charles VI.[79] As part of the festivities Fux's *Constanza e Fortezza* was performed for an audience of 4000 in an amphitheater built for the occasion on the hillside beneath the Prague Castle, and the lavish and large-scale production caught the imagination of the Prague public. The following year Count Franz Anton Sporck (1662–1738), who had maintained a small public theater at his Prague residence since 1701, opened an additional theater at his summer residence in the spa town of Kuks, subsequently engaging a Viennese opera company, under the management of impresario Antonio Peruzzi and his assistant Antonio Denzio, to give performances during the summer and two months of additional performances in Prague during the autumn. Under the management of impresario Denzio operas were produced at the Sporck Theater in Prague until 1735 when Denzio ran into financial trouble. The importance of opera at the Sporck Theater should not be discounted due to its short tenure. By establishing the first public venue for opera in Prague, Sporck and Denzio helped fuel Prague's demand for opera.[80]

In 1739 the *Nuovo teatro della communità della Reale Città Vecchia di Praga nel loco detto Kotzen*, or the Kotzen Opera, was opened at the instigation of the musician-turned-impresario Santo Lupis. Lupis was involved with the Sporck Theater for a few seasons in the late 1730s, but soon appealed to the town council of the *Staré Město* (Old Town) for use of the upper

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[78] The first official opera performance dates from 1627 and was given at the Bohemian coronation of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II. Mantuan singers performed a pastoral comedy and the orchestra was under the direction of Giovanni Battista Buonamente. For more on early aristocratic patrons of opera in Bohemia see Edith Vogl Garrett, "Early Opera in Bohemian and Moravian Castles," *Kosmas Communication* 7, nos. 1&2 (1988): 91–96.

[79] Since the Middle Ages Prague has been the coronation city for kings, queens, and consorts of Bohemia. The first ruler to celebrate his coronation in Prague as king of Bohemia was Vratislaus II in 1086. As ruler of the Habsburg territories, Charles VI was entitled to the title of king of Bohemia and chose to continue the tradition of being crowned king of Bohemia in Prague. While it was not required for monarchs of Bohemia to be crowned in Prague, only six monarchs who held this title between 1086 and 1918 did not hold their coronations in Prague.

[80] For a detailed discussion of the Sporck Theater and its role in the beginning of Prague's public opera tradition see Daniel Freeman, "The opera theater of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague (1724-35)," PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1987, ProQuest, http://www2.lib.ku.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.www2.lib.ku.edu/docview/303590486?accountid=14556.

level of a market hall. His request was granted and although the official name of the theater was grandiose, it still referenced the *kotzen*, which referred to both the stalls of the market that remained in operation beneath the theater as well as the rough woolen cloth that was sold there. The cost of the conversion of the theater space was an economical 15,000 guldens; it was equipped with a modest auditorium of 23 meters in length, laid out in a horseshoe design and with fifteen boxes. [81]

The Kotzen Opera was the primary public opera venue in Prague until 1783; after it opened, public appreciation for opera flourished. The venue was owned by the city, which rented it to impresarios who would arrange the logistics of a production. The impresario needed to produce an opera (or play, ballet) that could cover the rent of the theater, the cost of the production, and hopefully clear a profit as well. Fortunately, the public nature of opera in Prague—that is to say, opera presented based on public demand and without the interference of court patronage—provided an opportunity for considerable profit.[82] The performers were primarily traveling Italian troupes, brought to Prague by the enterprising impresarios, who also tended to be either Italian by birth or to have spent time in Italy. Impresarios, while sensitive to the tastes of their audiences, were largely responsible for keeping current Italian opera trends at the forefront of Prague's attention. Thus, the audiences in Prague were enjoying similar operatic experiences to those of opera-goers throughout Europe during this period, as it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that German and French opera traditions began to provide

[81] Jan Purkert, "Kotzen Theater," *European Theater Architecture Database*, 2018. http:// http://www.theatre-architecture.eu/en/db/?theatreId=970&detail=history

[82] Ian Woodfield has written extensively on production logistics of eighteenth-century opera, including a detailed discussion of one of the most important impresarios working in Prague at the end of the eighteenth century, Pasquale Bondini. Bondini was responsible for Prague debuts of several Mozart operas at the Estates Theater and, along with Antonio Denzio and Domenico Guardisoni, was one of the most important figures working in opera in Prague during this period. For more regarding the impresario culture, see Woodfield, *Performing Operas for Mozart: Impresarios, Singers and Troupes* (Cambridge,: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Jan Kristek, ed., *Mozart's Don Giovanni in Prague,* (Prague: Divadelní ústav, 1987); and Peter Demetz, "Mozart in Prague," in *Prague in Black and Gold*, (London: Penguin Press, 1997).

serious competition to the Italian style beyond their borders. Praguers consumed a diverse repertory of opera buffa and opera seria, including some Gluck operas conducted by the composer himself.[83] Audiences were undisturbed by the importation of a foreign musical tradition, perhaps because the expectation for Czech musicians and musically literate Bohemians at this time would likely have been a cosmopolitan familiarity with music from throughout Europe, and also since domestically composed music was in much shorter supply. In addition to a sincere enjoyment of opera itself, for Praguers—as for other Europeans—there were the obvious social attractions of public events, and the significant connection of the Prague opera tradition with the coronation festivities, which reinforced Prague's importance within the Habsburg Empire. These elements made opera attendance an important event for Prague citizens who desired to demonstrate their cultural erudition.

The Estates Theater

Italianate opera—particularly the comedic opera of Mozart—was the prevailing fashion in Prague into the early nineteenth century, and Italian operas by Mozart and Gluck never went out of style. Nonetheless, Prague was not immune to the growing desire for quality German opera, which was felt in Vienna, Dresden, and Hamburg as well.[84] By the middle of the nineteenth-century, the works of Weber, Spohr, and Wagner all had a place in the Prague opera repertory and were welcomed by Bohemians—most of whom considered German their native language—in part thanks to the vision of Count František Antonín Nostic of Rieneck, a native Praguer of German descent. Like Count von Sporck before him, Count Nostic wanted to develop

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[83] Gluck's *Ezio* debuted at the Kotzen Theater in 1750 and his setting of *Issipile* was commissioned for Prague and performed during the carnival season of 1752. Both operas were premiered during the tenure of the impresario Giovanni Battista Locatelli.

[84] For more on the shifting opera market see Philipp Ther, *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe*, trans. Charlotte Hughes-Kreutzmuller (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2014).

opera and theater in Prague, but Nostic was perhaps more concerned with municipal pride and imperial patriotism, envisioning an artistic institution that would reclaim some of the cosmopolitan glory that Prague had enjoyed in the sixteenth century and provide an outlet for dramatic and operatic productions. In a public proclamation from 1782 praising the Viennese National Theater, Nostic implored his countrymen, "To this noble example all residents of the hereditary German lands ardently aspire. Should we Bohemians alone make an exception and feel in our veins less German blood? In order to prevent this reproach, I myself endeavor above all, so that we may have a national theater in our mother tongue (German)."[85] Count Nostic's intention was reflected in the motto that Nostic commissioned to be placed over the door of the theater and that remains there today: *Patriae et Musis* (see Figure 7 below).

At the time of this proclamation Nostic had, in fact, already begun construction of his "national" theater in June of 1781. The Estates Theater was the design of the court architect Antonín Haffenecker, whose prior work on the Prague Castle and the Nostic palace had already demonstrated that he was capable of taking on the project.[86] Haffenecker's original design was primarily Classical, and his general layout of the auditorium is still intact today: a horseshoe shaped seating area with loge boxes stacked vertically above a ground floor gallery for standing patrons and limited seating on the flat parterre at the orchestra level.[87] Its location near the fruit market and adjacent to Charles University was a long-standing venue for open-air theater

[85] "Za timto vznešeným přikladem horlivě spěly všechny německé dědičné země. Měli bychom jedině my, Čechové, dělaati v tom výjimku a cítiti ve svých žilách ménmě německé krve? Abych předešel této výtce, přičiním se v prvni řadě sám o to, abychom měli Národní divadlo v naší mateřské (německé) řeči," Jan Vondráček, *Dějiny Českého Divadla: Doba obrozenská 1771-1824* (Prague: Orbis, 1956), 59.

[86] The theater operated under the name of its patron until 1798, when it was purchased by the Czech Estates and was renamed the Royal Theater of the Estates. After the Provisional Theater opened in 1862, the Royal Theater of the Estates became known as the Royal Provincial German Theater. In 1920 the theater became affiliated with the National Theater and it was once again called the Estates Theater. In 1948 it was renamed the Tyl Theater, honoring the famous nineteenth century Czech dramatist Josef Tyl. During the final years of the Soviet regime, the theater was closed for nearly a decade due to reconstruction; when it reopened in 1990 it was as the Estates Theater. To avoid confusion, I will refer to this venue only as the Estates Theater going forward.

[87] The parterre is not sloped, as the space was intended to double as a dance floor for balls.

productions and was practically next-door to the Kotzen Opera. It was also far enough from the banks of the Vltava River to avoid flooding, yet near enough to the Charles Bridge, which provided access from the castle district and the Lesser Town for convenience. Corinthian columns provided a façade for the theater's pilasters and the stage jamb, in keeping with Haffenecker's Classical design, while the ceiling featured a relief of the German playwright Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Joseph Platzer, a native of Prague who later became a theatrical designer at the court in Vienna, painted the original stage decorations. These were used interchangeably from production to production and were acquired by some of the subsequent impresarios who leased the theater.[88] The construction was completed with extraordinary speed and, apparently, few difficulties. The theater opened during the Easter season of 1783, and the first production premiered was the popular drama by Lessing, *Emilia Galotti*.[89]

Figure 7: Close up of the motto on the front façade of the Estates Theater.

[88] Jiří Hilmera, trans. David Livingstone, "Estates Theater," European Theater Architecture: Project of European Route of Historic Theatres (ERHT) and Project Theatre Architecture in Central Europe (TACE), 2014, http://www.theatre-architecture.eu/db.html?filter[label]=estates%20theatre&filter[city]=&filter[state_id]=0&filter[on_db]=1&filter[on_map]=1&theatreId=43&detail=history

[89] *Emilia Galotti* was first performed in 1772 in Brunswick. It is based on the Roman story of Vergenia in which the morality of a lower class is contrasted with the depravity of the ruling class. The crux of the plot hinges on an act of filicide in order to preserve the title character's virtue. By 1783, when it was performed at the Estates Theater, the play was well known and had been performed throughout the Habsburg Empire. The Estates Theater, as would be true of the Provisional and National Theaters, hosted productions from a variety of genres on its stage, including plays, operas, and ballets. This practice continues in the present day.

Figure 8: Front façade of the Estates Theater

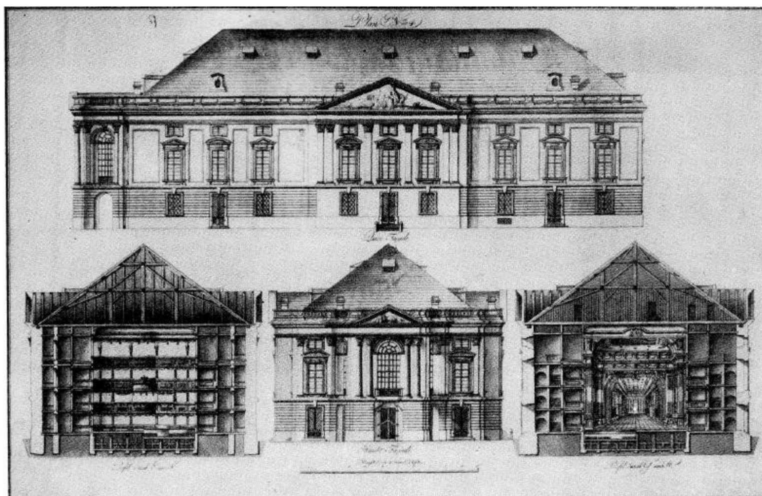

Figure 9: Filip and Franz Heger, flank front, back façade, and transverse sections of the Estates Theater. Engraving by Jan Berka, 1793, held at the Czech Národní museum.[90]

[90] Jan Kristek, ed., *Mozart's Don Giovanni in Prague* (Prague: Divadelní ústav, 1987), 14, figure 3.

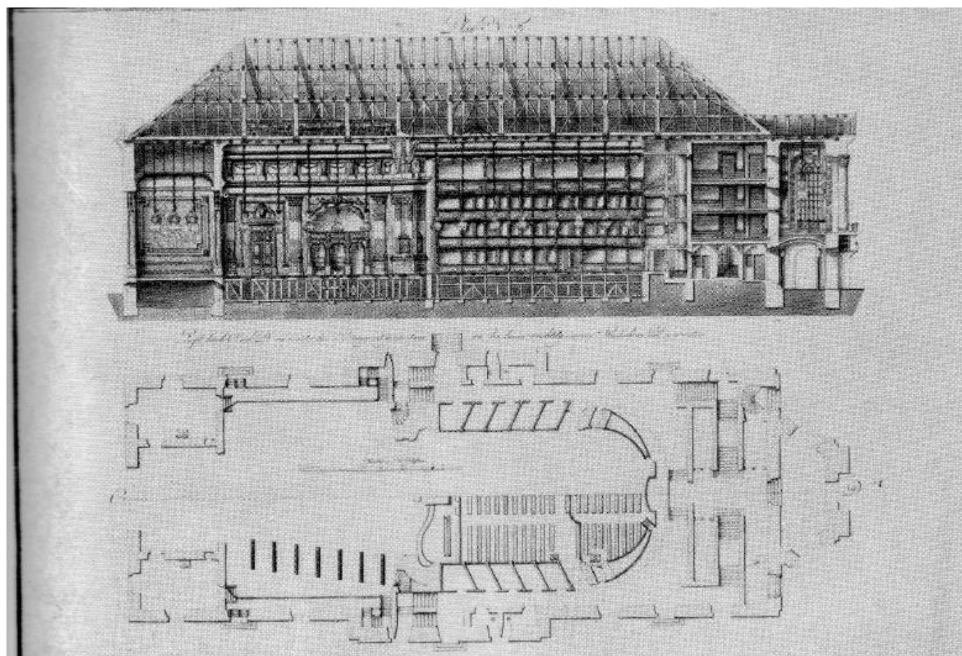

Figure 10: Filip and Franz Heger, longitudinal section and ground plan of the Estates Theater. Engraving by Jan Berka, 1793, held at the Czech Národní museum.[91]

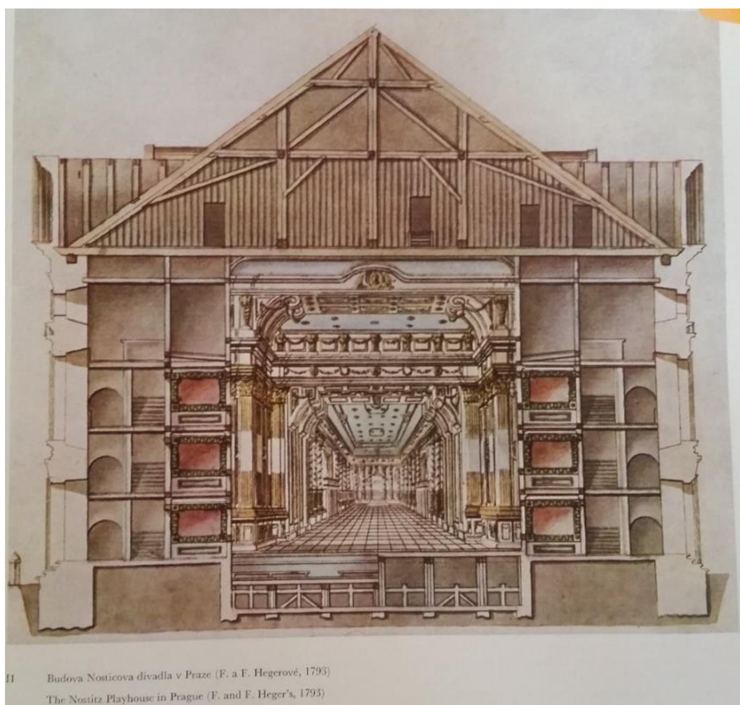

Figure 11: Filip and Franz Heger, view of the stage of the Estates Theater. Engraving by Jan Berka, 1793.[92]

[91] Kristek, 15, figure 4.
[92] Source: František Černy Adolf Scherl, and Evžen Turnovský, eds., *Dějiny Českého*

The history of the conception and realization of the Estates Theatre is a tangible example of the complexities of Czech identity at the turn of the nineteenth century, as music and politics frequently overlap and even fuse together. On the surface, the Estates Theater was a venue for public entertainment, one of many such buildings going up throughout Europe during this period of exploring public space; yet, it also represents a Czech desire to be taken seriously as consumers of culture and participants in intellectual pursuits, as well as citizens of the Habsburg Empire. Like the nationalists of the mid-nineteenth century, Nostic wanted to provide a voice for Bohemia, but his utterance is strikingly different; his contribution seems to declare Czechs a cosmopolitan part of the whole, rather than a nationalist entity separate from their neighbors.[93]

From the 1780s into the first part of the nineteenth century, the Estates Theater was leased by a series of impresarios who tended to maintain two separate companies: one for German spoken plays and Singspiels and one for Italian operas. In 1807, under the management of Karel Liebich, Italian operas were dispensed with and the theater became exclusively devoted to German performances.[94] Czech-language plays and translations had also been a part of the theater's repertory under the impresarios Pasquale Bondini and Domenico Guardasoni, but in 1806 Czech performances were moved to a small theater in another part of the city. The focus on German-language performances allowed the recruitment of high-caliber German singers, and

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Divadla I/II (Prague: Československé Akademie Věd, 1968), 16.

[93] As Thomas Turino points out in *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*, "Cosmopolitanism, however, differs from other types of cultural formation in one important respect. Particular cosmopolitan lifeways, ideas, and technologies are not specific to a single or a few neighboring locales but are situated in many sites which [sic] are not necessarily in geographic proximity; rather, they are connected by different forms of media, contact, and interchanges." In the case of nineteenth-century Czechs, opera was one of the crucial forms of media providing cosmopolitan interchanges. See Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 9-10.

[94] Although there were several cultural and political reasons for this shift in repertory, Prague did not do without Italian opera for long. In 1815 the Prague Conservatory expanded its curriculum to include singing, and Italian opera was included in this expansion. From 1822 until 1871 Giovanni Gordigiani was a singing instructor at the Prague Conservatory, and he mounted several Italian operas under the school's auspices, including a revival of *Don Giovanni* that restored Mozart's original recitatives and scenes, which were often cut or adapted in translated versions that had become popular in Prague; see Kristek, M*ozart's Don Giovanni in Prague*, 87-89

from 1813–16 the Estates Theater enjoyed particular success under the musical direction of Carl Maria von Weber. Weber expanded the repertory to include several French operas by contemporary composers, such as Etienne-Nicolas Méhul and Nicolas Isouard, and operas by Bohemian composers, like Jan Josef Rössler and Ferdinand Kauer. Although Bohemian composers like Rössler and Kauer were working in German—stylistically and linguistically—Weber was still cognizant of locally-connected talent in his programming.[95]

The focus on German and French opera during Weber's tenure should be viewed as less about elitism or an exclusion of Czech-language works than a desire to keep pace with operatic trends across Europe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century both French grand opera and German Romantic opera were providing stiff competition to the Italian operas that had dominated the international stage for almost 200 years. Weber himself contributed significantly to the new operatic style. The Czech-language productions that had previously been staged at the Estate Theater were primarily translations, but with the prominence of German Singspiel and German Romantic opera, as well as Weber's translations of French operas, nearly everyone in Prague would have been able to understand the productions as native German-speakers. The necessity for Czech productions may have seemed small in comparison with the extra time and cost needed to mount them, to say nothing of the difficulty of finding talented performers who could sing in Czech. Thus, the repertory of the Estates Theater during the first decades of the nineteenth-century can be viewed as not necessarily as a repression of Czech identity, but perhaps as a manifestation of the Czech ambition to meet the performance standards of other European capitals and perhaps an unconscious acknowledgement of Germanic language and ethnicity as a major element of Czech identity at this time.

[95] For a more extensive list of operas performed during Weber's time at the Estates Theater, see Appendix A.

Although Prague was not on par with Paris or Vienna for opera premieres, the Estates Theater stayed relatively up-to-date in its performance repertory under Weber’s direction and beyond. For example, *Der Freischütz* debuted at the Estates Theater in 1824, only three years after its initial premiere in Berlin, and Wagner’s works were performed there as early as the 1850s. The regular consumption of international opera would likely have conditioned the eyes and ears of Prague audiences to expect certain musical gestures, plot devices, and visual effects. At this time opera was the most accessible public music in Prague and therefore its international character colored the city’s entire musical scene, even as the political view was narrowing ever more fixedly onto a nationalist agenda.

Although the Austro-Germanic aspect of Czech identity was, arguably, paramount at this time due to Vienna’s economic and political strength, there was also a faction of Prague intellectuals who advocated for the Czech language as the true mother-tongue of the Czech lands. Not long after the Estates Theater opened its doors in 1783, Czech-language newspapers were revived, a flurry of Czech grammars was published, and a small body of Czech literature began to flourish.[96] In the 1780s performances of Czech plays and adaptations of Italian comedic operas and German Singspiels, including Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte,* were performed at the Estates Theater and then at the Imperial and Royal Patriotic Theatre, more familiarly known as the *Bouda* (hut or booth), a small wooden theater located in what is now *Václavské náměstí*

[96] Czech-language newspapers existed in the sixteenth century but died out during the counter-Reformation period after 1620. From 1719 to 1772 a Czech-language newspaper, the *Pražské poštovské noviny*, was published by the Prague-based publisher Rosenmüller, who also published a German-language newspaper as well, but by 1772 there were only four subscribers. This paper was revived from 1782–84. In 1786 Kramerius’s new Czech-language newspaper was founded.

(Wenceslaus Square).[97] The company that performed at the Bouda was the *Vlastenské divadlo* (The Patriotic Theater) and it is notable that they also performed in German, due to the small Czech repertory available, and alsoin a pragmatic nod to the bilingual culture of Prague. Although the connection between these sort of "hand-me-down" productions and the grand nationalist operas of Smetana or Dvořák is often overlooked, these adaptations and translations were the basis for the original Czech language operas that would flourish at the end of the nineteenth century. They contributed to the growing awareness of Czech as a language of literature and art—not just of business and peasants—and allowed young Czech composers, such as František Škroup, and later composers, such as Bedřich Smetana, to experience the musical potential of the Czech language.

In the 1820s the Czech Estates appointed a new management team to reinstate Czech-language performances.[98] The project was successful, and although only one performance per week was given in Czech, such productions remained in place at the Estates Theater until 1862, when the Provisional Theater was established. Most of the operatic repertory at the Estates Theater during this period, however, was still made up of foreign works. Mozart's comedic operas continued to be a staple of the repertory, as well as French grand operas like Auber's *La muette de Portici* and German Romantic operas, particularly those introduced by Weber during his tenure as director.

After the new managerial appointments in the 1820s, the Czech-language repertory made important gains, with original compositions becoming a significant factor for the first time. An

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[96] Several wooden arenas or summer theaters were utilized throughout the nineteenth century in conjunction with the various permanent opera venues in operation; they played an important practical role in opera consumption, providing cooler outdoor venues for audiences to partake of opera and other theatrical genres during the warm summer months.

[98] There was likely a decline in audience attendance after both Italian opera and Czech translations were removed from the repertory, and the Estates may have felt that new management, with a mandate to reinstate Czech performances, would draw Czech-speaking audiences back to the theater.

important figure in this effort was František Škroup, the assistant musical director at the Estates Theater from 1827–37 and then head director until 1857. Škroup began his musical career as a chorister at the Estates Theater. His compositional output included several German-language Singspiels, as well as some instrumental works, primarily in small-scale genres. Possibly, his most significant contribution is the opera *Dráteník* (The Tinker), the first publicly performed original opera in Czech.[99]

Dráteník is in the Singspiel style (in Czech the term is *zpěhovra*) and follows a fairly simple plot. The title is taken from the character of a poor door-to-door tinker who finds himself at the home of a rich merchant. The merchant has a beautiful daughter of marriageable age, Růžena, for whom the merchant is trying to make a desirable match. Unsurprisingly, Růžena refuses to submit to her father's matchmaking on the grounds that she is already in love with someone else. The Tinker, the maid, and a manservant assist Růžena in meeting her lover—amidst predictable identity-confusion based on clothing switches and other standard comedic errors—and ultimately young love triumphs. The music is undemanding and accessible to both performers and listeners, and the overall style of the opera borrows elements from the French, German, and Italian traditions, including da capo arias and ensemble finales.

Škroup and his librettist, Josef Chmelenský, made some interesting choices regarding plot and text within the context of Czech identity. Firstly, the Tinker is Slovak rather than Czech, and secondly there is a reference to Czechs and Slovaks being brothers: "To find the words not

[99] There is evidence to suggest that there was a widespread amateur tradition of original Czech operas, likely after the fashion of Singspiels or in a simple Italianate style, since the 1720s, but they are not well documented and were largely unpublished. The most notable example is an Italian opera written by František Václav Míča, who was the Kapellmeister at a large estate in Moravia. A Czech libretto exists, and there is a Czech translation inserted in the existing score, suggesting that a performance may have taken place in Czech. There has been some exploration of these kinds of works in twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship, but they remain almost completely unknown and unperformed. In practical terms, *Dráteník* is the first Czech-language opera to enter any sort of canonic repertory (albeit the small Czech canon) and to be published and produced in a professional manner.

given, to show the feelings of all; of everything easily given: that of the Slovak brother of the Czech."[100] This may have been a conscious effort at pan-Slavism, as suggested by Zdenka Fischmann, but since the opera's debut predates the first Pan-Slavic Congress by nearly a quarter century and the Pan-Slavic movement was not fully underway at this juncture, I think it is more likely that this was a romantic gesture to lend some folk character to the opera and to emphasize the peripatetic nature of the Tinker's life.[101] There are also some references in the text to the beauty of the Czech language and to the aptness of a Czech boy and girl falling in love.

Dráteník debuted at the Estates Theater in 1826 with Škroup singing the title role, and although it not very familiar outside the Czech Republic today, it was considered a success in its time and opened the door to other Czech operas. Škroup composed six additional Czech-language operas, but he also composed the same number of operas in German during the remainder of his career; in spite of his important contribution to the Czech opera tradition, Škroup was not a nationalist composer in the sense of Smetana or Dvořák. Considering Škroup's strong ties to the Austro-Germanic musical tradition, his pioneering Czech opera is particularly striking. Škroup later went on to compose the song "Kde domov můj," the first verse of which is now the Czech national anthem.[102] In spite of two crucial contributions to Czech-language music, and Czech nationalistic identity, Škroup, in "typical" Czech fashion, ended his career abroad, as the director of the German opera house in Rotterdam.

[100] "Že najiti slov nedáno, bych ukázal citů všech; z všeho se dit' dáno: že Slovák brater Čech" *Dráteník,* number 15, mm. 23-43.
[101] For more regarding *Dráteník* see Zdenka E. Fischmann, "The First Czech Opera: František Škroup's 'Dráteník' (The Tinker)," in *Essays on Czech Music* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2002), 35–40.
[102] Shortly after the creation of Czechoslovakia, a national anthem was crafted by combining the first verse of "Kde domov můj" and the first verse of the Slovak song "Nad Tatrou sa blýska into one song." After Czechoslovakia separated into the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the Czechs simply retained the first half of the anthem.

Figure 12: Playbill of the opening performance of *Dráteník*, February 2, 1826.[103]

In Škroup we see a prime example of the duality in nineteenth-century Czech identity: effortless movement between Czech and German language, the composer of the future national anthem (although he could not know it would later assume this role, the love and yearning for homeland is expressed in the text), and the conductor of several Wagnerian opera premieres in Prague. Škroup had a foot in both worlds and seems to have been comfortable negotiating between them. This stance is characteristic of pre-1848 Czechs and cannot be neglected when considering the formative influences on later, nationalistic musicians. While it may be

[103] Černy, Dějiny českého divadla, 158.

convenient to forget the easy relationship held by Škroup and his predecessors with German musical traditions in favor of a nationalist narrative, it is an essential component of what "Czechness" meant in the nineteenth century.

1862–1900

During the 1860s and 70s the emergence of Czech nationalist opera, coupled with the addition of new venues devoted to non-German productions, detracted from the importance of the Estates Theater, and the theater suffered something of a decline. However, in 1885 Gustav Mahler was appointed as the musical director for a one-year term. During his tenure, Mahler conducted portions of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, *Die Meistersinger* and the *Ring* Cycle. He also conducted Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Cosi fan tutti*, and *Don Giovanni*, as well as Gluck's *Iphigenie* and Weber's *Der Freischütz*, charming Prague audiences back to the Estates Theater with his astute programming and skillful conducting.

In 1888 the aging and relatively small Estates Theater was supplemented by a larger German theater, the Neues Deutches Theatre, off of Wenceslas Square. Productions of German-language and Italianate opera continued at both venues throughout the remainder of the century. Both venues were under the management of the Estates and had first-rights to staging all German-language operas in Prague. Although German was no longer the majority language or ethnicity in Prague, it still represented an important part of the citizenry. More significantly, German musical culture was still an essential part of Prague's musical life. While most Czechs were likely quite pleased at the growing repertory by Czech composers, this did not necessarily negate their consumption of German music.

The Provisional Theater

By the 1840s, it was felt that a venue was needed specifically for Czech-language drama and opera, a "National" theater; the first appeal for donations went out in 1849. However, it was not until 1851 that the *Sbor pro zřízení českého národního divadla* (Committee for the Establishment of the Czech National Theater) was given official approval from the Austrian government to begin real work on such a venue, and the first wide-spread appeal for donations was issued (see Figure13 below).[104] It would be another decade before any real progress was made, due to lack of funding and the difficulty of Bachian policies. Based solely on private donations, frequently from middle-class citizens who donated their jewelry and valuables in lieu of cash, the fundraising was understandably slow. In the interim it was decided that a placeholder should be established, and the Bohemian Provisional Council provided the funds for the building of this interim space, which became known as the Provisional Theater and opened in 1862.[105] The Provisional Theater held its place for nearly 20 years. Although it was a modest building, seating only 900, it sufficed—though sometimes just barely—and was the venue for the debuts of four of Smetana's operas as well as three of Dvořák's.

[104] Interestingly, this first appeal came from the joint directors of the Estates Theater; there was one director for German-language productions and another for Czech-language productions. There was a lack of ethnic distinction in the initial promotion of a national theater, as the linguistic demand was the highest priority and there were some ethnic Germans whose first language was Czech. It was not until after the failure of the 1848 revolution that these cooperative efforts began to break down. See Ther, *Center Stage*, 133–137.
[105] The Bohemian Provisional Council was a state organization that oversaw fundraising, construction, and the appointment of management for the Provisional Theater. The committee continued to be involved throughout the Theater's tenure and was involved in the administration of the National Theater as well.

A WORD

Spoken to True Friends of the Czech Nation

With the recent rejuvenation of the Austrian Empire, so too did our own Czech nation rise anew. What we once did miss and for many years painfully desired, what the noble souls of many a patriot in vain strove for, what our fathers dared almost not even hope for, that has become reality and a certainty: The Czech alongside his brothers of Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia now stands again as a nation among nations, stands equal among peers, no longer forced to submit to the eminence of another but to one who in spirit, art and virtue would be his superior. Such is the will of God and of nature, so is it required in the age of enlightenment and liberty, so does the law and constitution guarantee.

Nevertheless, in returning our ancient and indisputable rights, this newly emerged and transcendent age of nationhood did also impose upon us new and higher duties. Left now to stand on our own, on equal footing with other nations within Austria, it falls upon us to rely on our strength as we begin competing with all our neighbors. Indeed, we must endeavor not to fall behind any of them or be found lacking in any single thing which would bring to a nation prosperity, honor and praise. Furthermore, having been so regrettably set back on this path, we must toil all the more fervently to one day match our ancestors again and in so doing, provide a guiding light of our example to any who might yet follow in our footsteps to the same goal. Rivalry should be considered a virtue whenever it leads us to virtuous things.

Already a Czech patriot can look with heart-pleasing hope and reassurance upon the advances our youthful national spirit has made in our days on the road towards education and enlightenment. Our language, once peerless in erudition and fame, later alas so downtrodden and misused, begins now again to compete with foreign ones; Czech speech, the language of the most populous of European tribes, having been reduced almost only to household and religious use, has now been rightfully reinstated in schools and offices; sophisticated sciences and the creations of fine art, when appearing in our lands, shall no more dress in foreign colors; Czech literature has been taking swift steps, reaching heights unimagined since the days of our fathers. Yet however promising our future may seem, wary we must be not to deceive ourselves with trusting complacency. We are but at the beginning and have yet nothing more than noble seed; such that shall wither and never blossom or bear fruit if ever we should stop bringing our toil and industry on the altar of our motherland and nation.

Lacking we are also in that which if we do not obtain, hardly would Europe ever consider us an educated nation. By this I mean our very own **national theatre** - a school of life and ethics, wherein various blossoms of knowledge so intertwine as to form a living wreath. Displayed then for all the world to see, they inspire new sparks and spark new efforts and noble pursuits. Until now, the Czech Thalia, having no house to call her own, like a servant had to earn her bread, an image of poverty, unloved by her mistress and living in shame. Worse yet, reduced to live off the charity of others, like an unlawful parasite, she has been robbed of both her roots in the past and any promise for the future.

The time has come also for this dreadful state to pass. To overcome subservience disadvantageous to both us and our neighbors, it is now up to us to erect an extraordinary temple to the Czech dramatic muse, planting a fertile seed of fine art to sprout for our entire nation, spread as it is throughout Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia. It is also imperative that Czech actor society be independent and direct its efforts exclusively to its own designs if our theatre is to serve only to benefit us as we should rightfully expect. Such truth has become evident to all true sons of our Czech motherland.

The most illustrious Bohemian Diet too, aware on one hand of the aid that for more than half a century has been provided from the state’s treasury to German theatre in Prague, and on the other, of the principle of the equality of nations, guaranteed by the imperial constitution, has taken it upon itself to resolve this matter and establish, if possible, a special Czech theatre. However, the Domestic National Fund so far possesses resources only to provide yearly monetary support, not to establish and build a whole new theatre. Worse yet, being now beholden to the new constitution, it falls upon this fund to finance multifarious essential expenses of previously unheard-of magnitude.

This is why it is needed of all the sons of the motherland who care about the nation's wellbeing to join together in patriotic work: through their own effort and mutual help must they strive to establish an institution which would serve to our benefit and honor. Several times already have those who love the Czech nation been asked to show their patriotism in times of common need and never have they disappointed: now however, our sacrifices have to be much grander than ever. Thus shall we no more speak of this great need and spread it no further, as we know that the matter speaks enough by itself to any whose hearts beat warmly for their motherland and nation.

The committee signed below has congregated with the blessing of our national government for such sole purpose that it might help make the aforementioned plan a reality; the tool it would be by which all the patriotic desires, efforts and sacrifices be gathered and harnessed. Its preliminary establishment, which happened on the day of 12th September 1850, was followed by many deliberations as to the methods and objectives it should pursue. Then finally it was achieved that by the decree of the most illustrious Bohemian Diet from the day 6th December 1850, no. 5671, not only was it bestowed the power to one day realize the construction and the whole establishment of a Czech national theatre in Prague, but assurances were also made of contributions and various utilities which that very same Bohemian Diet already had for such purposes obtained. The deputy of the Crown for Czech lands, his Excellency Baron Mecséry, did then issue a decree on the day of 24th January 1851 (number of presid. 500), stating that when collecting voluntary financial contributions outside of Prague, the committee signed below was to delegate such duty to the mayors of municipalities, such gentlemen being by the virtue of their standing particularly well-suited to reach positive outcome, providing also assurance, so important in public collections; the lord deputy also stated having already asked the secretary of finance to agree to the proposition that the excise offices in Bohemia be allowed to send the contributions for the construction of the Czech theatre in the form of political deposits from the municipal mayors to the National Treasury which ever since the Bohemian Diet is sworn to accept such.

So shall the way be made for the old desire of many patriots to be fulfilled at last; and we need but honest effort from all the faithful sons of the motherland. We pray that our hopes come true that the good mayors, as the natural confidants of the nation, shall attend the matter in earnest, and that patriots from the municipalities shall support their mayors in collecting the contributions most vigorously. Every monetary gift, be it large or small, is to be documented in special printed folios bearing the sigil and signature of our committee, which shall be distributed by the committee to all the mayors and in Prague to all the collectors; who so desires, however, can come and register his contribution at the National (Estate) Treasury or with the committee signed below, which holds meetings in the new building of the Czech Museum, number 858-2 in Prague, leaving his gift with the committee's treasurer, Mr. František Řivnáč, the bookseller residing in the very same museum building. The names of all the patriotic contributors and the sums deposited shall be duly and openly announced in the newspapers. It will be upon the patriots' consideration, whether they would be willing to contribute in multiple sums over several years or hand in one single contribution.

It is through "joint effort" that works of art both famous and grand are made in all the countries of this Earth; thus we expect with reassured confidence that through solidarity and united support of all the friends of the arts and of the Czech nation, soon a national theatre shall be built as also a memorial of our newly-acquired constitutional equality and it shall adorn the capital of the Czech nation, our beautiful, grand old Prague.

In the name of the Committee to Build the Czech National Theatre in Prague.
President:
Dr. František Palacký

Committee members:
… Karel J. Erben (chief of correspondence), Jan Haklík (account keeper), Jan Jungmann (secretary), Václav J. Plcek (secretary), František Řivnáč (treasurer), Al. Trojan (secretary), Václav Vorovka, Opat Jeronym Zeidler

Figure 13: Translation of Proclamation asking for support for the building of the National Theater, 1850. Translation by Lewis Pouzar, 2019.

Jan Nepomuk Maýr was the first director at the Provisional Theater.[106] He was a tenor and had been an assistant director at the Estates Theater. While he was sometimes criticized for programming light repertory or older Italian operas, he also worked energetically to make the Provisional Theater a professional venue with a full production schedule and competent singers.[107] His successor was Bedřich Smetana, who was responsible for the expansion of the repertory to include French opera. One of the great challenges presented by the Provisional Theater was the small amount of space on stage. Some of the operas commissioned for the space were composed with this in mind, but the repertory history shows that occasionally operas with grandiose production needs were undertaken.[108]

While reviewers sometimes took a humorous view of the feeble staging effects, the ambition of the directors and performers seems admirable.[109] It is also important to recognize how much foreign opera was being consumed by the Czech public. Analysis of the repertory at the Provisional Theater from its opening in 1862 until the opening of the National Theater proper

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[106] Maýr served as the director at the Provisional Theater from 1862 until 1866, when he was replaced by Smetana. However, when Smetana resigned the position in 1874—partly due to issues with his hearing—Maýr was reappointed to the post and continued as the Theater's director until the opening of the National Theater in 1881.

[107] Although it may not seem the most appropriate platform for addressing differences in artistic taste, the author of Maýr's obituary felt that Maýr's programming was so egregious that even in death he spared Mayr no criticism: "Činnost Maýra ředitele není bez stránek stinných, jež ovšem spíše raz doby zavinil, než jednotlivec, v jehož moci ani nebylo stavěti se proti proudu…Ze zřetele uměleckého vytykáno bylo Maýrovi důvodne to, ze zavedl v repotoar českého divadla směr lehké…Obecenstvo nebylo tehdy ušetřeno ani nejotřepaněší offenbachjádou, nejhloupěší německou fraškou." [The activity of Maýr the director are not without a dark side, which of course is more due to the period rather than one individual, in which many did not stand against the flow…Regarding artistic criticism, it was well-founded, that he lead the repertory of the Czech theater in a light direction…The audience here was not spared the most hackneyed Offenbachia, the most foolish of the German farces.] "Úmertí," *Dalibor*10, no. 40 (1888), 319.

[108] As an example, *Der Freischütz* was performed multiple times at the Provisional Theater, in spite of the difficulties presented by staging the Wolf's Glen scene in this venue.

[109] This review of a scene from Smetana's *Tajemstvi* (The Secret) appeared in an 1881 edition of *Lumir*: "Musilt' chudák před vystoupením při otevřené scéně velmi pracně nastoupovati po provaze svou cestu v nadzemské sférey, odkud se mu pak při milostné scéně Blaženčině s Vítkem zase nějak na jeviště nechtělo, až konečně jedním mocným skokem s oblaků se vyšvihnuv, na okamžik se objevil, aby hned opět na zasloužený odpočinek zmizel. [The poor moon, before appearing on the open stage, had very laboriously to make its own path into the ethereal spheres on a cord, from whence, after at the love scene of Blazencine and Vitek, it somehow didn't want to appear on stage again, until finally, with one mighty leap, it ascended to the top to appear with the clouds for a moment, in order to immediately disappear again on a well-deserved rest]." Josef Bartoš, *Prozatímní Divadlo a jeho opera* (Prague: Sbor pro zřízení druhého Národního divadla v Praze, 1938), 331.

in 1883 reveals that foreign opera productions far outstripped domestic ones, even under the directorship of Bedřich Smetana, who was intimately concerned with the promotion of Czech music (see Table 1 below).[110]

Table 1: Analysis of Provisional Theater Premieres by Season

Season	Language/Style	Number of Operas Premiered	Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season
1863/64	Italian	6	42.8
	French	6	42.8
	German	0	0
	Slavic* (Czech)	1 (0)	7.1 (0)
	Operetta (French)	1 (1)	7.1 (7.1)
1864/65	Italian	6	46.1
	French	4	30.7
	German	2	15.3
	Slavic (Czech)	0	0
	Operetta (French)	1 (1)	7.6 (7.6)
1865/66	Italian	1	9
	French	4	36.3
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (3)	27.2 (27)
	Operetta (French) (Czech)	3 (2) (1)	27 (18) (9)
1866/67	Italian	5	20
	French	7	28
	German	2	8
	Slavic (Czech)	8 (5)	32 (20)
	Operetta (French) (German)	3 (2) (1)	12 (8) (4)

[110] See Appendix B for detailed list of operas performed at the Provisional Theater.

Table 1 Continued

Season	Language/Style	Number of Operas Premiered	Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season
1867/68	Italian	3	27.2
	French	2	18.1
	German	1	9
	Slavic (Czech)	5 (4)	45.4 (36.3)
	Operetta	0	0
1868/69	Italian	6	42.8
	French	2	14.2
	German	2	14.2
	Slavic (Czech)	4 (2)	28.5 (14.2)
	Operetta	0	0
1869/70	Italian	1	12.5
	French	3	37.5
	German	1	12.5
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (0)	25 (0)
	Operetta (French)	1 (1)	12.5 (12.5)
1870/71	Italian	1	11.1
	French	1	11.1
	German	2	22.2
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (2)	22.2 (22.2)
	Operetta (French)	3 (3)	33.3 (33.3)
1871/72	Italian	0	0
	French	3	37.5
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (1)	25 (12.5)
	Operetta (French) (German) (Czech)	3 (1) (1) (1)	37.5 (12.5) (12.5) (12.5)

Table 1 Continued

Season	Language/Style	Number of Operas Premiered	Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season
1872/73	Italian	1	12.5
	French	3	37.5
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (2)	25 (25)
	Operetta (French)	2 (2)	25 (25)
1873/74	Italian	0	0
	French	2	28.5
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (2)	28.5 (28.5)
	Operetta (French)	3 (3)	42.8 (42.8)
1874/75	Italian	0	0
	French	2	25
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	1 (1)	12.5 (12.5)
	Operetta (French) (German)	5 (3) (2)	62.5 (37.5) (25)
1875/76	Italian	0	0
	French	1	14.2
	German	3	42.8
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (1)	28.5 (14.2)
	Operetta (German)	1 (1)	14.2 (14.2)
1876/77	Italian	0	0
	French	1	12.5
	German	2	25
	Slavic (Czech)	1 (1)	12.5 (12.5)
	Operetta (French) (German)	4 (3) (1)	50 (37.5) (12.5)

Table 1 Continued

Season	Language/Style	Number of Operas Premiered	Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season
1877/78	Italian	0	0
	French	2	28.5
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (3)	42.8 (42.8)
	Operetta (German)	2 (2)	28.5 (28.5)
1878/79	Italian	0	0
	French	1	10
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (2)	20 (20)
	Operetta (French) (German)	7 (4) (3)	70 (40) (30)
1879/80	Italian	1	20
	French	0	0
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	1 (1)	20 (20)
	Operetta (French) (German)	3 (2) (1)	60 (40) (20)
1880/81	Italian	1	9
	French	1	9
	German	1	9
	Slavic (Czech)	6 (0)	54.5 (0)
	Operetta (French) (German)	2 (1) (1)	18.1 (9) (9)
1881/82	Italian	1	12.5
	French	0	0
	German	1	12.5
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (3)	37.5 (37.5)
	Operetta (French) (German)	3 (1) (2)	37.5 (12.5) (25)

Table 1 Continued

Season	Language/Style	Number of Operas Premiered	Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season
1882/83	Italian	0	0
	French	1	20
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (3)	60 (60)
	Operetta (German)	1 (1)	20 (20)

*Slavic includes Czech, Russian, Polish, and Croatian. Specific statistics regarding Czech operas are indicated in parentheses (for more details see Appendix B).

While these statistics should not come as a surprise, given the relative newness of Czech-language opera, it is an aspect of nineteenth-century musical life in Prague that is sometimes overlooked. Prague audiences were opera connoisseurs; just because they were championing the Czech language does not mean that they were unwilling to be entertained by foreign composers or to be influenced by their music. The role of opera-attendee was likely a meaningful layer in the identity of many Czechs, which both invited nationalism presented through this medium and simultaneously supported the tradition of cosmopolitan musical life that had pervaded opera in Bohemia for over a century.

<u>The National Theater</u>

Despite the efforts of the *Sbor pro národního divadla*, the cornerstone for the National Theater was not laid until 1868, a full six years after the opening of the Provisional Theater. The ceremonial stone placement was an important representation for the political and cultural aspirations of the Czech people and a standard-bearing symbol for the nationalist cause, perhaps more so than the organizers could have anticipated. The 1860s were a period of transition from Bachian absolutism into a more lenient political and civic environment. Nonetheless, many

Czechs felt disheartened and insulted by the creation in 1866 of the Austro-Hungarian government, which granted political equality within the empirical hierarchy to their Hungarian neighbors but left the Czechs disenfranchised. Thus, the laying of the cornerstone on the feast day of St. Jan of Nepomuk, an important Czech saint, was an inspirational moment. Sixty thousand visitors travelled to Prague to take part in the celebration.[111] On the one hand, the roots of this musical institution are transparently nationalistic. On the other hand, the complicated relationship of Czechs with music, which gave this occasion so much power within a political and cultural environment of frustration, speaks more fully to the nature of Czech identity than the nationalistic nature of the event itself.

After the cornerstone was laid, it was a decade and a half before the construction of the National Theater was complete. The architect was Josef Zítek, who won a contest asking for design submissions with a concept that found an opulent neo-Renaissance style. The final plan for the interior seating was a semi-circle, rather than a horseshoe, with open boxes that allowed for a sense of equal footing among the audience (see Figure 14 below). Czech artists contributed murals in the foyer and on the ceiling of the auditorium. The front curtain was painted by Vojtěch Hynais, with scenes depicting the sacrifices of common people to make the theater possible. It was an expensive proposition, but one that became fraught with the aspirations of the Czech nationalist movement: a tangible symbol of the reclamation of their place as a cosmopolitan mecca and their newfound position as a purveyor of nationalist music.

In 1881, the planned autumn opening date for the theater was hurriedly advanced to coincide with the celebration of Crown Prince Rudolf's marriage. Although the theater was not yet complete, the opening went forward on July 11 with the debut of Smetana's *Libuše*, which had been held back for the theater's opening for nearly a decade. Eleven additional performances

[111] John Tyrrell, *Czech Opera* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 41.

took place in July, and the theater was closed for completion with a planned reopening on September 28. After decades of waiting for the national theater to open, to the great disappointment of the Czechs, the roof of the theater caught fire on August 12 and nearly all of structure burned to the ground. This devastating loss could have been a major blow to the nationalist cultural movement, but in an amazing demonstration of unified support, the funds to begin rebuilding the theater, 745,000 zl. (approximately $7.75 million in today's currency), were raised by the end of the year. This is particularly astonishing in comparison to the timeframe for raising funds for the original building: it had taken thirty years to raise 600,000 zl. (approximately $6.2 million in today's currency) for the original structure.[112] The actual construction was conducted with equal speed. Plans for rebuilding were approved in May 1882 and the building was completed on November 18, 1883. A celebratory reopening took place, and once again *Libuše* was chosen for this event. While the fire was a potentially devastating setback for the long-planned National Theater, in some ways the Pheonix-like renewal of the virgin stage helped solidify its place as a hallmark of Czech culture and identity.

As with all Prague theaters, the National Theater presented not only opera productions, but ballets and dramas as well; this explains why František Šubert, a dramatist with no musical background, was named as the chief administrator in 1883. Although he had able conductors in Adolf Čech and Mořic Anger, there was no musical director to influence programming. Šubert's programming did result in some odd choices, such as a version of *Aida* in 1884 in which Radamès was sung by Carlo Raverta in Italian, while the rest of the cast sang in Czech, but he recognized that with no state or private patronage, the new National Theater was subject to

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[112] Tyrrell, *Czech Opera, 42.* Conversion calculations based on Rodney Edvinsson, "Historical Currency Convertor," historicalstatistics.org, accessed April 16, 2019, https://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html;

popular demand.[113] Although Czech-speakers were likely excited to hear operas in their native language, there were not enough operas in Czech to fill the season. Translations of foreign operas helped fill in the gaps, but sometimes suffered from the lack of a musical director during Šubert's tenure. After Šubert this deficiency was remedied; his successor Gustav Schmoranz was an architect and academic, but his contract specified that the chief conductor, Karel Kovařovic, would oversee the direction of the opera and ballet.[114]

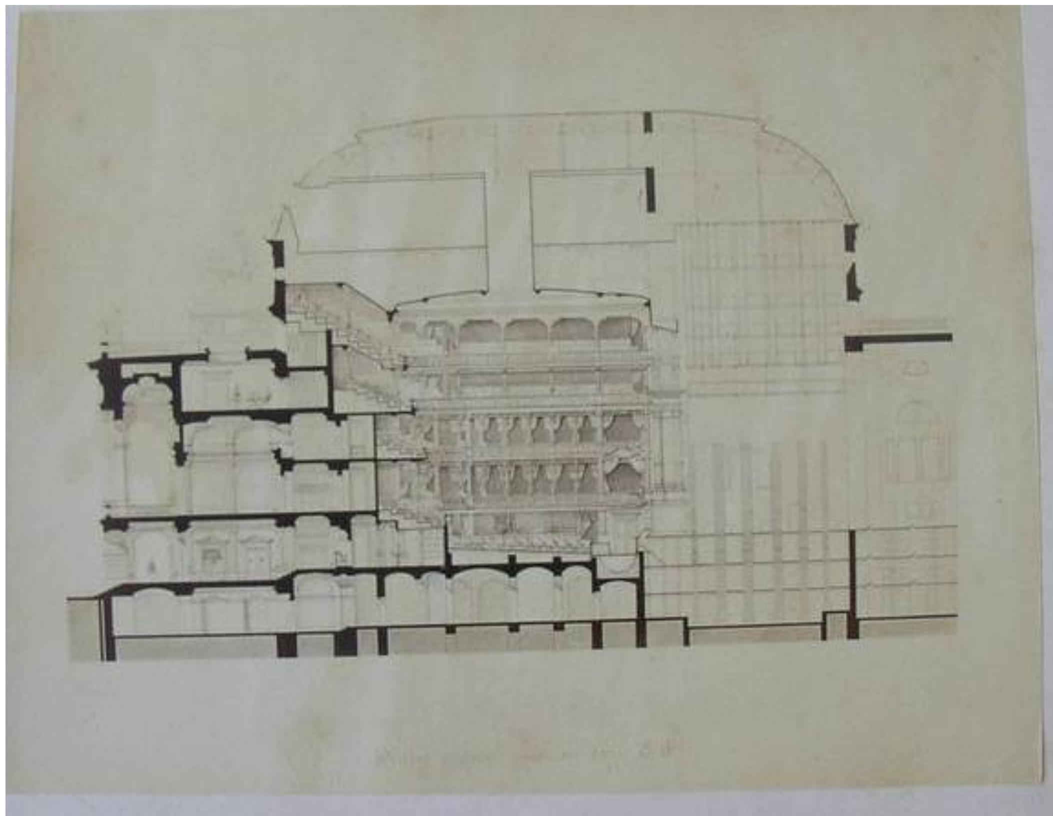

Figure 14: Transverse view of the National Theater from Josef Zitek's plans, 1866.[115]

[113] Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 45–46.
[114] Ibid.,45.
[115] "National Theater," European Theater Architecture Database, accessed April 15, 2018, https://www.theatre-architecture.eu/db.html?filter%5Blabel%5D=&filter%5Bcity%5D=Prague&filter%5Bstate_id%5D=0&filter%5Bon_db%5D=1&filter%5Bon_map%5D=1&searchMode=&searchResult=&page=3&theatreId=38&detail=attachement&mId=265#att.

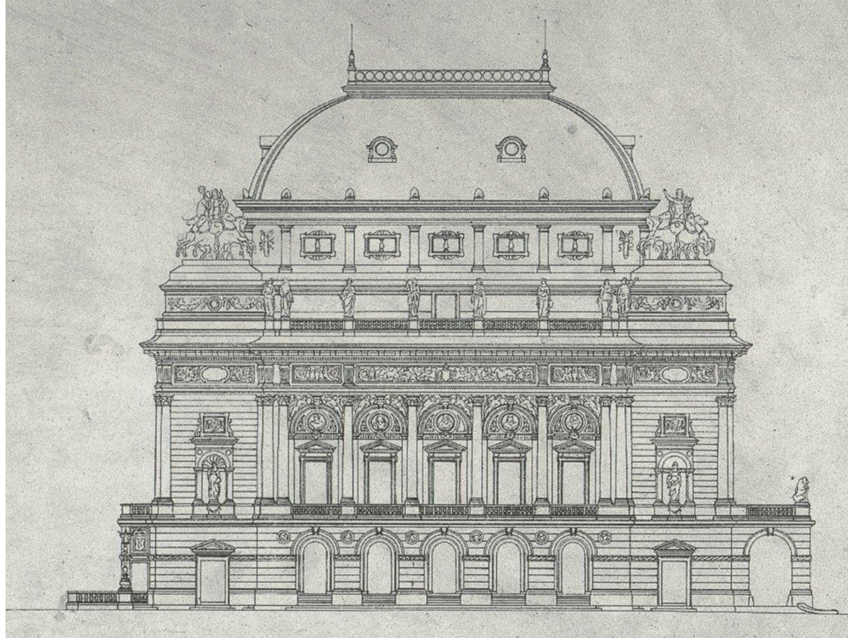

Figure 15: Front view of the National Theater from Josef Zitek's plans, 1866[116]

Figure 16: The National Theater, Vltava side.[117]

[116] "National Theater," European Theater Architecture Database, accessed April 15, 2018, https://www.theatre-architecture.eu/db.html?filter%5Blabel%5D=&filter%5Bcity%5D=Prague&filter%5Bstate_id%5D=0&filter%5Bon_db%5D=1&filter%5Bon_map%5D=1&searchMode=&searchResult=&page=3&theatreId=38&detail=attachement&mId=265#att.

[117] Ibid.

Another significant factor in the programming of the National Theater's first decade was the expanded size of the National Theater in comparison to the Provisional Theater. Not only was the seating capacity significantly greater— a total capacity of 1598 as opposed to 900 at the Provisional Theater—but the stage could finally accommodate appropriate scenery and mechanical equipment. Additionally, it could now hold a full chorus and the orchestra could nearly double in size thanks to the spacious pit. Greater performing resources allowed for difference programming choices than those that had been available at the Provisional Theater.

Upon the opening of the National Theater a division of labor was enacted among the main opera venues: the Estates Theater (and later the Neues Deutsches Theater) had the first option on all German-language productions, while the National Theater had the rights of refusal for all French and Italian operas and by default any Czech or other Slavic operas. This is significant, because one can form the impression that in the Czech nationalist period that only Czech compositions were being performed, or at the very least that they were the only ones held in any sort of esteem. Italian *verismo* operas and French *opéra lyrique* were in high demand in Prague, as elsewhere throughout Europe. Although the Wagner cult was in full sway and resulted in several box-office coups for the Germanic venues in town, the National Theater also had an important hand in bringing foreign opera to Prague. Also important to note is the fact that while the German theaters had first rights to German-language operas, negotiations sometimes took place between the theaters to trade performance opportunities, meaning that the National Theater also staged several German operas—including works by Wagner—although they were not able to present any of the operas of the *Ring* cycle until after the turn of the twentieth century.[118]

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[118] Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 49.

From one perspective, the division of repertory seems to indicate a distinct segregation of German and Czech Prague. While this was in some regard true—the political inequalities between the residents of the Czech lands and their Austrian rulers were too apparent to ignore in a post-1848 environment, as were the resulting tensions between ethnic Czechs and Germans—it does not adequately describe the entire situation. Whether Czechs desired the Germanic elements of their identities or not, they were undeniable. Smetana and Dvořák were both educated in German, Mozart was an irreplaceable member of Prague's opera history, and German neo-Romantics such as Wagner and Liszt had an irrefutable influence on Czech composers. Additionally, although the nationalist movement developed along different lines than the preceding national revival, the desire to reclaim a former cosmopolitan glory was not absent from nationalist thinking. Smetana spent the early years of his career abroad—as so many of his fellow Czech musicians had in centuries past—and Dvořák's international relationships are quite well-known. The solid reputation cultivated by The Estates Theater and Prague opera productions in the first half of the nineteenth century would have been a goal for the National Theater administration to keep in mind as they attempted to promote Czech opera to a place on the international stage.

Table 2: Analysis of National Theater Premieres by Season

Season	**Language/Style**	**Number of Operas Premiered**	**Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season**
1883/84	Italian	8	33.3
	French	4	16.6
	German	0	0
	Slavic* (Czech)	12 (12)	50 (50)

Table 2 Continued

Season	**Language/Style**	**Number of Operas Premiered**	**Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season**
1884/85	Italian	4	22.2
	French	5	27.7
	German	5	27.7
	Slavic (Czech)	4 (4)	22.2 (22.2)
1885/86	Italian	2	13.3
	French	4	26.6
	German	4	26.6
	Slavic (Czech)	5 (4)	33.3 (26.6)
1886/87	Italian	3	23
	French	3	23
	German	2	15.3
	Slavic (Czech)	5 (4)	38.4 (30.7)
1887/88	Italian	1	14.2
	French	3	42.8
	German	2	28.5
	Slavic (Czech)	1 (0)	14.2 (0)
1888/89	Italian	0	0
	French	5	41.6
	German	4	33.3
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (1)	25 (8.3)
1889/90	Italian	1	10
	French	4	40
	German	2	20
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (2)	30 (20)
1890/91	Italian	1	16.6
	French	2	33.3
	German	1	16.6
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (2)	33.3 (33.3)

Table 2 Continued

Season	**Language/Style**	**Number of Operas Premiered**	**Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season**
1891/92	Italian	2	33.3
	French	1	16.6
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (2)	50 (33.3)
1892/93	Italian	3	37.5
	French	2	25
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (2)	37.5 (25)
1893/94	Italian	2	28.5
	French	0	0
	German	3	42.8
	Slavic (Czech)	2 (2)	28.5 (28.5)
1894/95	Italian	4	50
	French	0	0
	German	1	12.5
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (3)	37.5 (37.5)
1895/96	Italian	1	25
	French	0	0
	German	1	25
	Slavic (Czech)	1 (1)	25 (25)
	Spanish	1	25
1896/97	Italian	2	25
	French	2	25
	German	1	12.5
	Slavic (Czech)	3 (1)	37.5 (12.5)

Table 2 Continued

Season	Language/Style	Number of Operas Premiered	Percentage Based on Total Premieres for the Season
1897/98	Italian	1	20
	French	0	0
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	4 (4)	80 (80)
1898/99	Italian	0	0
	French	0	0
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	6 (5)	100 (83.3)
1899/1900	Italian	0	0
	French	0	0
	German	0	0
	Slavic (Czech)	4 (3)	100 (75)

* Slavic includes Czech, Russian, Polish, and Croatian. Specific statistics regarding Czech operas are indicated in parentheses (for more details see Appendix B).

Aside from the obvious nationalist associations of the National Theater, Czech operas by non -nationalist composers premiered on its stage. The most notable were the operas by Karel Bendl and Zdeněk Fibich. Bendl (1838–97) was older than several of his peers who were composing for the Provisional and National Theater, but his work demonstrated a great deal of variety that may have been a product of his pre-nationalist youth, during which defining Czech culture was a less agendized goal. Bendl's first opera, *Lejla,* debuted in 1867 and was in the grand romantic style with little in its plot or musical design to distinguish it as a Czech work. Over the next 30 years Bendl contributed over 20 operas to the Czech repertory, several in foreign styles, including an Italianate opera, *Gina*, and *Máti Míla* (*Mother Míla*) in the *verismo* style. While not all of his operatic efforts were a success, Bendl's works represented a significant

portion of the opera milieu in nineteenth-century Prague, although many of them had little to do with the nationalist style.

While Fibich composed some significant patriotic and historic pieces, most of his work is not overtly nationalistic. This does not lessen his Czechness or his contribution to the Czech repertory during his lifetime. Nationalist music fits within the political and cultural narrative of the Czech lands during the nineteenth century, as a subjugated political entity and part of what was becoming a Slavic Other in the eyes of Western Europe. Yet, Fibich provides a compelling example of a completely cosmopolitan European artist whose Czechness did not overshadow his identity as a musician. In addition to the period he spent in in Czech schools, he was also educated at various times during his childhood and young adulthood in Vienna, Leipzig, Paris, and Mannheim. He worked in contemporary idioms and was among the first composers to write tone poems on Czech subjects.[119] His operas were very much in the Wagnerian style, which sometimes had a negative impact on their reception among Czech audiences, who tended to favor either more conservative styles or compositions that had an easily identifiable Czech theme.[120] In spite of less than enthusiastic reception of his body of work, Fibich did not compromise his compositional ideal and was, in fact, a vocal music critic as well. Fibich's unwillingness to compromise may have resulted in his ostracization from the musical establishment with the result that he would never be offered a position at the Prague

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[119] Fibich's symphonic poem*, Slavoj a Luděk* (Záboj, Slavoj and Luděk), premiered in 1873, was the first based on a Czech subject and preceded the completion of the first portion of Smetana's better-known *Ma vlast* (My Homeland) by a year.

[120] The final decades of the nineteenth century, and the beginning years of the twentieth, were filled with antagonistic polemics among Czech music scholars regarding Wagnerism in Czech music. While some important opinions, including that of the noted aesthetician Otakar Hostinský, supported the trends set by the New German School, there was seemingly a great deal of popular support for a more conservative approach. Fibich subscribed to many of the extra-musical concepts of Berlioz, Wagner, and Liszt. In pursuit of these musical ideals he often went outside of Czech history and folklore for his dramatic inspiration, for example looking to great European literature, as with his 1897 setting of *The Tempest.* Fibich was also accused sometimes of neglecting melody for notes, as in his 1884 *Nevěsta messinská* (The Bride of Messina), which was ridiculed by critics.

Conservatory, however he ran a successful private studio, and in the last decades of the nineteenth century his works received wider acceptance, both at home and abroad.

Opera is one of the most significant genres in Western art music, and it is equally significant to the understanding of Czech music and identity. Music, which has historically been an important part of Czech identity, was focused into a cultural idiom from the first public opera performances in Bohemia in the mid-eighteenth century, to the nationalistic compositions of the latter nineteenth century. From a traditional nationalistic perspective, Czech-language operas were foundational to the establishment of an "authentic" Czech musical identity, allowing folk themes and linguistic tropes to enhance the musical "Czechness" of composers like Smetana and Dvořák. Marta Ottlová has described opera's role at the end of the nineteenth century as "representative of the nation, as a cultural politician."[121] However, opera had contributed to the musical and cultural milieu in Bohemia, and Prague specifically, for nearly a century prior to the premiere of Smetana's first opera. The influence of Italian and German opera styles cannot be underestimated in consideration of Prague's nineteenth-century opera culture, both for their influence on audience expectations and Czech composers.

Considering all operatic activity in Prague during the nineteenth century provides a fuller narrative of the development of Czech music and musical institutions. It is my view that opera in Prague is indeed a key to understanding the place of Bohemia within the Habsburg Empire and the identity of nineteenth-century Czechs). The first public opera in Prague marked the city's significance as a Habsburgian capital; the establishment of the first opera theaters in Prague indicated the ambition of Praguers to be perceived as cosmopolitan and culturally sophisticated, and the independence of these theaters from a court or government entity demonstrated the

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[121] Marta Ottlová, "The 'Other World' of Music at the Turn of the Century," in *Czech Music Around 1900* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2017), 27.

power of the paying public and the bourgeoisie audiences in Prague, as did the subscription fundraising to establish a national theater. Viewed from this perspective, opera could almost be said to be the flagship of cultural identity in Bohemia. The performance repertories of these theaters demonstrate the fluctuating duality of Czech identity—at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the later divergence as a nationalist political and cultural agenda became emphasized.

The economic structure of the various venues also demonstrates multiple aspects of Czech identity, from the aristocratic patronage of the Estates Theater at its establishment, giving voice to a small Czech nobility whose complicated loyalties lay with both the Habsburg Empire and their native Czech lands, to the subscription that funded the National Theater and gave ownership to ordinary Czech citizens. Following the history of opera venues in Prague illuminates the larger cultural and political issues at play and provides a reflection of the multi-faceted Czech identity. The objective demographics of Czechs during this period, geographically and linguistically, were often in conflict with subjective and perceived identities. We cannot know with any certainty what the motivations and goals of all nineteenth-century Prague inhabitants were, but the music and musical activities surrounding opera during this period demonstrate a desire to belong to an international community without erasing the particularity of a linguistic and, later in the century, a historic and mythical culture that had been politically oppressed. This duality, in addition to its own self -conflict, would have confronted external opposition in the perception of the broader Habsburg Empire and fueled many of the cultural endeavors of Prague artists and musicians, as well as overt political actions. While a focus on nationalism often creates an idea of a united Czech identity, layers of conflicting loyalties and roles are much more reflective of Czechness in this time. This basic assertion of complex identity

is a common theme in Prague's opera culture, from the Nostic proclamation through the polemics surrounding Smetana and Dvořák, and it is, in a sense, a summary of the Czech dilemma: how to be fiercely independent yet maintain a connection within the European community as a whole.[122] Despite this potential conflict, Czechs seemed to negotiate these opposing parts of their identity with a fascinating grace, which allows Prague to claim, straight-facedly and with no embarrassment, Smetana and Mozart equally as favored "sons."

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[122] Both Smetana and Dvořák were the objects of polemical battles fought in the press, in academic writing, and even in civic campaigns. During the 1870s Smetana was both attacked and defended based on the perception of Wagnerism in his compositional style, with Otakar Hostinský emerging as his leading supporter. At the turn of the twentieth century Dvořák was criticized by a camp of critics and scholars, including Hostinský and his pupil Zděnek Nejedlý, for being too conservative. For a summary of these debates see Jarmil Burghauser, "Metamorphoses of Dvořák's Image in the Course of Time," and Marta Ottlová, "The 'Dvořák Battles' in Bohemia: Czech Criticism of Antonín Dvořák 1911-15," in *Rethinking Dvořák: Views from Five Countries*, ed. David R. Beveridge (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1996) 13-30, 123-134.

Chapter 3: The Prague Conservatory

The institution whose influence can be traced most widely throughout nineteenth-century Czech musical life is the Prague Conservatory. Initially training instrumentalists and singers, and later in the century adding composition and conducting to its curriculum, the Conservatory has touched nearly every aspect of musical activity in Prague for over 200 years. The Conservatory staged numerous orchestral concerts and operatic productions throughout the nineteenth century and provided performers for other ensembles and venues, including all the major theaters, several of Prague's churches and cathedrals, and the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. The Conservatory continues as a thriving center of musical education today, attracting students from all over the world and launching performance careers throughout Europe and North America. As so many individuals and activities have been affiliated with the Conservatory, an examination of its establishment and history is useful for a more complete understanding of Czech music in the nineteenth century and its continuing role in Czech culture today.

Founding of the Conservatory

The Prague Conservatory was first proposed in 1808 by a group of citizens who were concerned about the decline in the number and quality of musicians available in Prague.

> Considering that the art of music once flourishing in the Czech Lands has now so much declined that even in Prague a good and complete orchestra can be formed only with difficulty, and that for many instruments there are not sufficient musicians, and sometimes none at all, the signatories of this declaration have joined together to this end, and with this purpose, that they should ennoble and raise up the art of music in the Czech Lands once again. In their judgment, the first and most appropriate means to this end is to find and appoint, for every instrument, an excellent musician who by special contract will undertake not to play his instrument in the orchestra for several years, but also to teach that instrument and train several pupils assigned to him. For those instruments for whom no outstanding performer may be found in Prague, Musicians should be invited from abroad, and the same contract and conditions should be negotiated with them. In order that the expenses necessary to this end be covered, the signatories have undertaken to provide certain annual contributions for 6

> successive years, and they appeal to all lovers and friends of the art of music to join with them as founders in this proposed endeavor and, by subscribing contributions of at least 100 silver coins, to help towards the elevation of the art of music in the Czech Lands.[123]

These citizens were primarily aristocrats—the class that would have patronized musicians in private salon concerts, at the opera, and in their own private ensembles—and in 1810 they formally organized as the *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách* (The Society for the Improvement of Music in Bohemia).[124] We can speculate on a number of reasons for the decline in musicianship—or the perception of its decline—that led to such a bold move. For economic, and sometimes personal reasons, many musicians from Bohemia immigrated to other parts of Europe during the eighteenth century. It is likely that this number would have included the most talented Czech musicians, who would have been the most likely to find excellent positions abroad. It is possible that the anti-Jesuit actions taken by the Empress Maria Theresa and continued by the Emperor Joseph II, which included removing Jesuits from the educational system throughout the Habsburg Empire, may have left a gap in educational institutions while restructuring took place. These changes may have impacted music education in Bohemia, as well

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[123] Aleš Kanka, "Founding Charter: Proclamation of the 'Society for the Improvement of Music in the Czech Lands,' 25th of April, 1808," The Prague Conservatory, 2010 http://www.prgcons.cz/history. This document was signed by the following noblemen: Franz Josef Count of Wrtba, Franz Count of Sternberg, Johann Count of Nostitz, Christian Count of Clam-Gallas, Friedrich Count of Nostitz, Karl Count and Lord of Firmian, Johann Count of Pachta, Franz Count of Klebelsbeg.

[124] The name of this society is sometimes listed as *Společnosti pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách* ("společnosti" is another term for society), for example, on the Prague Conservatory's official website. When the society organized officially in 1810 Count Jan Nostic of Rieneck (the son of Count František Antonín Nostic) was elected as the first Chairman, and he served in this capacity until 1833. Through the remainder of the nineteenth century all chairmen of the organization were from the aristocratic class. This is significant in that the ruling class is usually not associated with nationalist movements,which supports the idea that the Conservatory itself was not directly associated with social agendas or movements, but rather, was concerned with music for its own sake. From 1810 until 1918 the primary focus of this organization was to support the Prague Conservatory. At that time, the Czechoslovak government took over the support, but *Jednota pro zvelební hudby v Čechách* has continued until present day to support music in the Czech Republic and students at the Prague Conservatory. For more about the society's activities see "Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách," http://www.jzhc.cz/index.html.

as the education system in general.[125] In addition, the impact of the Napoleonic Wars on the stability of the Empire as a whole, the tax burden of the Czech lands, and the general state of education may have been significant enough to impact the number of trained musicians in Bohemia.

Regardless of the possible reasons for a decline in Bohemian musicianship, the response of *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách* was significant for the future of Czech music. Although there were many obstacles to overcome in getting the Conservatory off the ground—even finding space for classrooms was difficult—the first classes began in 1811. To put the significance of this opening in perspective, the Prague Conservatory was the first conservatory to be founded in Central Europe, and the first classes met a mere 16 years after the Paris Conservatory, which set the standard for Conservatory curriculum and procedure, was established.

The Committee continued its involvement by administering the conservatory for the next 80 years. As they also provided financial support, there was no tuition, which gave opportunities to talented musicians whose socio-economic status might not have allowed them to study at other institutions. Classes were initially held in the homes of teachers while negotiations for a building in which to house the Conservatory took place. Eventually, the Monastery of the Dominican Order at St. Giles in Prague's Old Town was leased in the autumn of 1811, and the Conservatory would remain there for the next 70 years. Many of the Conservatory's faculty came from abroad during the first few decades, such as the violinist Friedrich Wilhelm Pixis (1785-1842), who was one of the first instructors hired, and who was largely responsible for the establishment of the Prague violin school. However, the Conservatory's first director, Bedřich Diviš Weber, was a

[125] The suppression of the Jesuit order continued under the reign of Joseph II, who closed over 500 religious institutions between 1782 and 1787 through his secularization measures.

Czech composer and author of music theory textbooks. He is, perhaps, most recognized today for his compositions for brass instruments. Weber also had a background in law, which may have contributed to his excellent administrative and organizational skills.[126] Weber held the position of Director for 31 years, until his death, and during his tenure the young Conservatory flourished and began to build its reputation.

Figure 17: First page of the enrollment list for 1811[127]

[126] Weber was interested in innovations for brass instruments, including valve systems for the chromatic horn (French horn), and the invention of one of his students, Josef Kail, the valved trumpet. Weber's interest in these developments is reflected in his compositions, which often specify the latest instrumental technology in either their title or in the writing itself. Weber was also the director of the Prague Organ School from 1839 until his death in 1842.

[127] *Protokoll der be idem Conservatorio aufgenomenen Schüler* [Protocol of the Students Enrolled at the Conservatory], 1800-2011, container 1855, Prague City Archive, Prague, CZ.

The enrollment for 1811 was 41 students focusing on various instruments (see Figure 17 above). In 1815 singing was added to the curriculum, which is unsurprising given the popularity of opera in Prague and the lack of trained singers who could handle the burgeoning Czech-language repertory. The curriculum of the Conservatory was basically in the hands of the professors, although in 1812 some of the textbooks used at the Paris Conservatory were adopted as guidelines until teaching materials could be compiled or written by the faculty t.[128]

International Reputation

On February 15, 1815 the first public performance of the Conservatory orchestra took place, to great acclaim. Carl Maria von Weber, who was at this time the director at the Estates Theater, expressed the opinion that they represented great promise as a recruitment source of excellent artists.[129] This was a great triumph for the Conservatory faculty and *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách*, whose goal for improving the quality of instrumentalists was clearly being met even at this early stage of the Conservatory's history.

Other favorable opinions regarding the quality of the players at the Prague Conservatory came from equally notable sources, such as Richard Wagner and Hector Berlioz. Wagner came to Prague in 1832 and in a visit to the Conservatory was treated to a performance of his recently composed Symphony No. 1 in C major. Bedřich Weber himself conducted the performance, and it was reportedly a great success. In the following decade Berlioz visited the Prague Conservatory and made several favorable comments regarding the ability and enthusiasm of the students and faculty. Berlioz's opinion was particularly meaningful due to his familiarity with

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[128] Jan Hrodek, "On the Beginnings of the Prague Conservatory," *Musicologica Olomucensia* 4, no. 17 (1998): 86–87.

[129] Markéta Hallová, *200 let Pražské Konzervatoře nejstarší konzervatoře ve střední Evropě* [Two Hundred Years of the Prague Conservatory the Oldest Conservatory in Europe] (Prague: Pražská Konzervatoř, 2010), 19.

the Paris Conservatory, whose example was an important guide for the Prague Conservatory early in its history. The Conservatory orchestra also presented Berlioz's *Overture to King Lear*. Reportedly, this was the first time Berlioz had the opportunity to hear one of his orchestral compositions without being at the podium. He expressed his gratitude for the opportunity and the pleasure the performance gave him. Furthermore, upon returning to Paris he helped negotiate the Conservatory's purchase of two violins from the French firm Vuillaume for a favorable price, making a practical demonstration of his appreciation for the work of the Prague Conservatory.[130]

In addition to international composers, the Conservatory also hosted well-known performers such as Clara Schumann and Franz Liszt. Other guests included Hans von Bülow and Joseph Joachim. The Conservatory's desire to expose their students to some of the greatest performers and composers of the time, regardless of nationality, seems to demonstrate that performing excellent music at a high level was the goal of students, faculty, and administration, an ambition that left little room for cultural or political distinctions such as German versus Austrian or Czech, or imperialist versus nationalist. In our own time we often view music as a great diplomatic resource, but in the nineteenth century, when national consciousness was coming to the forefront of many philosophical, political, and artistic discussions, it is notable that the Prague Conservatory maintained this approach to musical education, since conservatories could sometimes be magnets for politicization.

In Russia, for example, the establishment of the St. Petersburg Conservatory (founded in 1862) was fraught with controversy, largely stemming from debates over what constituted authentic Russian music, who was entitled to instruct musical education in Russia, and what educational models would be used. Anton Rubinstein, who was instrumental in the

[130] Hallová, 200 let Pražské Konzervatoře nejstarší konzervatoře ve střední Evropě, 19-20.

Conservatory, spoke of the need to have Russian music teachers, rather than teachers imported from France and Germany, and he envisioned the Conservatory as a training ground for these teachers:

> But what can be done to remedy this sad situation? I shall tell you: the only answer is to establish a conservatory…The conservatory will never prevent a genius from developing outside it, and meanwhile each year the conservatory will provide Russian teachers of music, Russian orchestral musicians and Russian singers of both sexes… [131]

In spite of Rubinstein's position, his critics often characterized him as a foreigner, due to his Jewish heritage, and claimed that a conservatory approach to music, which focused on Western European methods of composition and harmony, would betray the authentic music of the Russian people. The Balakirev circle rejected the Conservatory on the grounds that the voice of Russian music would be diluted by European influence and the newspaper *Ruskii listok* objected to the foreign faculty that were necessary at the Conservatory's beginning, bemoaning the scant number of Russian names on the proposed list of teachers.[132] While the politicization of the St. Petersburg Conservatory is a stark example to contrast with the seemingly apolitical Prague Conservatory, it illustrates the cosmopolitan outlook of the Prague Conservatory founders and administrators.

A less contentious, but equally compelling, instance of the conservatory as national symbol is the Paris Conservatory. This institution came into being in 1795 with the merger of two preexisting institutions: the *École Royale de Chant* (Royal Singing School) and the *Institut National de Musique*, a school for military musicians established after the French Revolution. Since France already had a strong musical tradition, the majority of the faculty was French

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[131] Stephen Walsh, *Musorgsky and His Circle: A Russian Musical Adventure* (New York, NY: Alfred A Knopf, 2013), page?

[131.] Lynn M. Sargeant, Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 87.

throughout the nineteenth century, and entry to the Conservatory was reserved for French citizens only. D. Kern Holoman has described the mission of the Paris Conservatory at its establishment as "a matter of liberty, citizenship, and nationhood," which provides yet another contrast with the Prague Conservatory's apolitical mandate to "ennoble and raise up the art of music in the Czech lands."[133]

Opera at the Conservatory

Another important indicator of the Conservatory's attitude toward non -Czech music and musicians can be seen in the example of the vocal teacher Giovanni Gordigiani (1795-1871). Gordigiani was a conservatory graduate himself, matriculating from the Milan Conservatory in 1817. He came to Prague in 1822 as a performer, but soon began teaching singing at the Conservatory. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a long-standing relationship between Italy and the Czech lands existed, particularly in the realm of opera. However, after 1807 and the departure of the Italian opera ensemble from the Estates Theater, the quality of Italian opera in Prague declined somewhat, as a preference for German—and even Czech—translations and adaptations prevailed. [134] One of the most egregious examples of the translation and adaptation process was Mozart. His operas were often cut or given new characters or scenes, and even his Italian operas were treated as Singspiels, with spoken roles added. Gordigiani was instrumental in the rehabilitation of Mozart's original scores, staging several important performances of his Italian operas from within the auspices of the Prague Conservatory. Although Prague operatic culture at this time had shifted toward local language communities, the cosmopolitan nature of

[133] D. Kern Holoman, "The Paris Conservatoire in the Nineteenth Century," *Oxford Handbooks*, accessed April, 2015. 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.013.114
[134] This departure was precipitated in part by the death of the impresario Domenico Guardasoni in 1806. Additionally, there was a shift in the tastes of Prague audiences as the German repertory grew and early Czech translations started becoming a regular feature of the Prague opera repertory.

opera itself, as well as the international significance of a composer like Mozart, ultimately demanded the restoration of Mozart's Italinate operas to Prague stages.

In 1826, the Conservatory purchased a small stage to promote operatic pedagogy. They were able to place the stage on a property owned by Count František Josef Count Vrtba in Hybernska Street.[135] Donations from nobles provided costumes, lights, and seats, and the artists Josef Navrátil and Antonio Sachetti painted the curtain and various scenic decorations, respectively.[136] In January of 1828 the theater opened with a production of Mozart's *Clemenza di Tito,* under the leadership of Gordigiani. This demonstrated the Conservatory's commitment to musical quality above political or cultural loyalties and, further, the willingness on the part of Conservatory leadership to follow the educational suggestions of foreign faculty. This may seem like a relatively minor decision for the Conservatory to make, but given some of the political embroilments of the nineteenth-century, coupled with the cultural pressures of the national revival and later the nationalist movement, it is noteworthy that the Conservatory refused a narrow definition of what musical life in Prague should look like.

Gordigiani left the Conservatory faculty in 1829 after the expiration of his contract, but he returned in 1838 and once again resumed his work with Italian opera, particularly those of Mozart. Over the next decade he presented restored original versions of *Cosi fan tutte* and *Don Giovanni*, a particularly significant production for the history of Prague opera. The Prague Conservatory presented *Don Giovanni,* with leadership from Giovanni Gordigiani, in 1842. Based on surviving scores in the archives of the Prague Conservatory, we can determine that

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[135] Count Vrtba was one of the founders of the Prague Conservatory and a member of *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách*.

[136] Josef Navrátil was a painter and decorator who went on to become the president of the artists' union in Prague. Some of his murals are still in existence on various Prague buildings today. Antonio Sachetti, also a painter and decorator, went on to paint several theatrical scenes in Warsaw and then to open an exhibition venue for panoramas and dioramas in that city.

Gordigiani was not satisfied with the available scores in circulation. It appears that he created a compilation of several published and hand-written scores in order to capture what he believed to be the best interpretation of Mozart's original score (see Figure 18 below). This resulted in the restoration of all the original recitative, the exclusion of added speaking roles, and the inclusion of the finale ensemble scene, which had often been cut from productions in the intervening years between the opera's debut and the 1842 production. Significantly, the score that Gordigiani assembled was in Italian, which was an important contrast with the German and Czech translations that had previously been in circulation.

Figure 18: Excerpt of hand-written score for *Don Giovanni* used by Gordigiani in compiling the score for his production in 1842.[137]

[137] Jitřenka Pešková, "Provádění Mozartových oper pražskou konzervatoře v první polovině 19. Století," *Hudební věda,* 38, no. 3 (2001): 404.

Gordigiani sang the title role, to extremely positive reviews, and the entire operation was overseen the by the director of the Conservatory, Bedřich Weber. The production was put together on such a large scale that the school's small stage in Hybernska Street was insufficient. Instead, the Conservatory's *Don Giovanni* was given at the Estates Theater, reestablishing the historic connection between this opera and venue.

Figure 19: Hand-painted poster for the Gordigiani production of *Don Giovanni.* Source: Jitřenka Pešková, "Provádění Mozartových oper pražskou konzervatoře v první polovině 19. Století," 2001.[138]

[138] Pešková, "Provádění Mozartových oper," 399.

Gordigiani may have had a personal interest in Mozartian opera, or his Italian heritage may have given him a particular appreciation for Italian opera, but whatever his motivations, his commitment to presenting Mozart's operas in their original language and with the original recitative was an important reclamation of a long-standing operatic tradition that was established in Prague during the previous century. German and Czech translations of popular operas were an important step forward for the cultural goals of the national revival, but they may not have always been of the highest quality. Giovanni Gordigiani and the Prague Conservatory were each invaluable in maintaining the high standard of Prague's operatic productions through their attention to composer intentions, and it is clear that musical goals were their top priorities, rather than cultural or social objectives, such as the desire to promote German repertory over Italian, which led to the decline of Italian opera in Prague.

Conservatory Personnel

In 1843, after the death of Bedřich Weber, Jan Kittl was appointed Director of the Conservatory.[139] During his 22-year tenure the Conservatory continued to grow in enrollments and reputation. Graduates of the Conservatory went on to work and teach throughout Europe. An example of the kind of success enjoyed by many of the Conservatory's students is the Hřímalý family. This well-known family boasted performers throughout Europe, but four Hřímalý brothers were graduates of the Prague Conservatory: Vojtěch, Jan, Jaromír, and Bohuslav. They went on to work as concertmasters and opera directors in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Helsinki and

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[139] Like his predecessor, Jan Kittl originally studied law, but he also studied composition and his compositions were successful enough that by the time he was in this 30s he had turned his career completely toward music. His compositional style reflected a contemporary recognition of Romantic innovation and an interest in Czech subjects and texts. Kittl had amicable relationships with contemporary composers such as Wagner, Berlioz, and Liszt, and he included music from the New German Romantics in the Conservatory's concert literature. Unfortunately, he had to leave his position as director in 1865 due to failing health and financial concerns.

Gothenburg, respectively. Although the Prague Conservatory was an important Czech institution, and undoubtedly impacted the musical life of Prague, it also had an impact on the international music community as well.

During this period the Prague Conservatory also produced several fine performers, particularly from the violin school and singing school. Josef Slavik was a graduate of the Conservatory and is credited as the founder of the Czech violin school. He was a child prodigy and began his studies at the Conservatory when he was only 10 years old. He was often compared to Paganini and enjoyed a prosperous solo concert career, later becoming a member of the Viennese Imperial Orchestra. Schubert's Fantasy in C Major was dedicated to Slavik, whom he met during the latter's time in Vienna. Unfortunately, Slavik died at a young age before his full potential was met. The next member in the succession of the Czech violin school was Ferdinand Laub (1832-1875), who also came to the Prague Conservatory as a child. He, like Slavik, had a successful concert career and encountered several leading composers of the day, including Berlioz and Liszt. He also went on to teach at the Moscow Conservatory, where he met Tchaikovsky, who greatly admired his playing and dedicated his String quartet in E-flat minor to Laub. Continuing this line was František Ondriček, who studied with Antonin Bennewitz, and Karl Hoffmann, who was the first violinist of the famous Czech Quartet. There are still violinists in the Czech Republic today who trace their pedagogical heritage back to these four virtuosic violinists, whose careers were an excellent testament to the success of the Prague Conservatory.[140]

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[140] For information on the Conservatory's impact on string pedagogy and performance in the Czech lands see Marketá Hallová, *200 let Pražé Konzervatoře nejstarší konzervatoře ve střední Evropě* [Two Hundred Years of the Prague Conservatory the Oldest Conservatory in Central Europe] (Prague: Pražká konzervatoře, 2010), 69-74.
The Czech Quartet was formed in 1891 and set the tone for chamber music in the Czech lands for the next 40 years. The original members of the quartet were Karl Hoffmann, Josef Suk, Oskar Nedbal, and Otto Berger. The quartet was known for their precision, unity, and expressiveness, and many similar chamber groups followed the model of this exemplary group.

The singing school, particularly during the tenure of Giovanni Gordigiani, also boasted many excellent students who went on to have illustrious operatic careers. The most notable of these star performers were Tereza Stolzová (1834-1902) and Eleonora Ehrenbergová (1832–1911). Stolzová had a thriving career throughout Europe and is most famously remembered for her creation of the role of Aida. Ehrenbergová was the first Marenka in Smetana's *ná nevěsta* (The Bartered Bride). Other successful singers educated at the Conservatory include Berta Lauterova-Foersterova, a soprano greatly favored by Gustav Mahler, and soprano Ludmila Dvořáka, who was famous for her Wagnerian roles. Dozens of other Conservatory graduates sang in theaters around Europe, helping to ensure the reputation of the Prague Conservatory.

In 1865 Jan Kittl left the position of Director of the Prague Conservatory, and Smetana applied for the position, but was overlooked in favor of the composer Josef Krejčí, who was the head of the Prague Organ School at that time.[141] Avid supporters of the Czech nationalist movement sometimes criticized Krejčí's leadership of the Conservatory because he favored a highly cosmopolitan approach to programming and was disinclined to let Conservatory students participate in some Czech music performances outside of the Conservatory.[142] While advocates of Czech nationalism may have seen this as a betrayal, this approach was in keeping with the history of both the Conservatory's mission, articulated during the more cosmopolitan national revival, and its practices under previous directors. While we cannot be sure of Krejčí's motives in his decisions regarding concert literature for the Conservatory students, he may have felt that giving his students an international perspective was more valuable for their future career

[141] Krejčí's time at the Organ School is notable in that Antonín Dvořák was one of his pupils during his time there.
[142] See Michaela Freemanová, The Prague Conservatory in the context of nineteenth-century Bohemia," *Musical education in Europe (1770-1914): Compositional, institutional, and political challenges,* eds. Michael Fend and Michel Noiray, vol. 2 (Berlin: BWV, 2005), 553 and [142]Ratibor Budiš, "Vznik moderniho hudebniho života v Praze" [The origins of the modern musical life of Prague], *Pražky sborník historický* 5 (1969/70): 150.

preparation than focusing on Czech repertory. Regardless of the reasons for Krejčí's attitude, the Prague Conservatory continued to educate successful performers without the impediment of subscribing to any one social or political agenda.

Curriculum

In 1881 Antonin Bennewitz became the director of the Conservatory, and for the next two decades he reigned over what has come to be viewed as a "golden era" in the Conservatory's history. This was a time of expansion, both in location and curriculum, for the Conservatory and the following milestones helped define this era. In 1885 the Rudolfinum was added to the Conservatory's facilities, providing more space and a proper concert hall. While the Rudolfinum increased the practical possibilities for performance, it was also an important marker of the Conservatory's prestige and status within the Prague and the international musical community. This beautiful and iconic venue is still one of the main components of the Conservatory campus today.

Another important change under Bennewitz's direction was the addition of piano as a major department in 1888. Previously, no serious course of study had been available, and this was undoubtedly an important step in the expansion of its educational scope and depth. It was also a harbinger of what was arguably the most significant change of the nineteenth century for the Prague Conservatory. In 1890 the Prague Organ School was absorbed into the Conservatory, adding organ and choral directing to the growing areas of study available. This institution was established in 1830, and until 1835 the course of study was only 10 months but was expanded to a two-year curriculum until 1871 and then a three-year course of study for the remainder of its independent existence. Throughout this time the program of study was intended for both organists and choir directors. In January of 1888 Josef Tragy, an alumnus of the Organ School

and the Chairman of the *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách*, in cooperation with František Skuherský, the director of the Organ School, presented a proposal to the board of *Jednota* to reorganize the Conservatory and Organ School as one institution. His proposal also included some ideas for modifications to the Conservatory curriculum. Within a few weeks, the board approved the proposal and began its implementation at the beginning of the next academic year.

The theoretical curriculum at the Organ School had generally been more rigorous than that of the Conservatory, including harmonic basics, counterpoint, and some compositional skills, as well as discussion of form. A challenge that faced both the Conservatory and the Organ school was the need for contemporary theoretical textbooks. The first textbook on harmony in Czech did not appear until 1866, until which time students' proficiency in German was essential to any understanding of the theory being taught.[143]

The Prague Organ School was, in some ways, a complementary institution to the Prague Conservatory, teaching subjects that the Conservatory did not teach, or presenting the same subjects but with a different preparation in mind. The Conservatory was established for orchestral instrumentalists, and for much of its history this was the focus of its curriculum, whereas the Organ School was more focused on preparing organists and choir directors to lead ensembles and therefore provided a broader view of how music functioned. On the other hand, the two institutions competed, for example, in the area of singing. The Conservatory was focused on secular performance and opera primarily, given the importance of opera in Prague's musical culture throughout the nineteenth century, whereas the Organ school gave students a background

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[143] This was *Teoretickopraktická nauka o harmonii pro školu a dům* [Theory and practical science of harmony for school and home] by František Blažek, which remained an important text for many years. After Blažek's contribution, the only significant addition to Czech music theory texts was a schoolbook by Josef Förster, *Nauka o harmonii* [Science of harmony] published in 1887. Förster's work was used for some time because it was considered particularly accessible. Skuherský authored the first Czech-language work on counterpoint in the 1880s. See Lenka Kučerová, "Music Theory at the Organ School in Prague (1830-1889), *Musicologica,* 2015, http://www.musicologica.cz/studie-leden-2013/music-theory-at-the-organ-school-in-prague-1830-1889

in sacred works as well. With the merger of the two institutions, the addition of a composition department was an important signal that the Conservatory subsequently intended to match the rigor of its prior competitor going forward.

With the reorganization of the Prague Conservatory's curriculum in 1890, a department of composition was added. Antonín Dvořák joined the composition faculty in 1891, attracting a number of new students who were eager to study with the famous composer. Dvořák was initially reluctant to join the faculty, apparently unable to see himself in the role of instructor. However, once he was persuaded to accept the position, he seems to have committed a great deal of effort to his classes. His students reported that Dvořák was a demanding instructor but also that they learned a great deal from him.[144] Although Dvořák worked in the United States from 1892-1895, he resumed his position at the Prague Conservatory after returning to his homeland. In 1901, Dvořák became the head of the Conservatory and served in this position until his death in 1904.

Private Music Schools

The Prague Conservatory was not the only place where Czechs could receive music education. From the 1830s onward, there were a number of other institutions, primarily privately-run schools, which also offered some musical training. These usually provided lessons in either piano or singing, although a few offered both, but the curriculum rarely included anything beyond these disciplines. In rare instances such as the *Jednota ke zvelebení hudby vojenské* (Society for the Improvement of Military Music), which primarily prepared students for the musical requirements of the Austrian military, these institutions were highly specialized but

[144] For a fascinating look at the reminiscences of Dvořák's students see *Dvořák ve vzpomínkách a dopisech*, ed. Otakar Šourek (Prague: Orbis, 1951), or a summary in English from Kurt Honolka in *Dvořák (Life and Times)*, trans. Anne Wyburd (London : Haus Publishing, 2004) 76–78.

quite basic. By the 1870s there were approximately 30 various private music schools (not counting private teachers who may have taught lessons from their homes or institutions in which sacred singing was the focus, such as might have been attached with specific church choirs, etc.), which was felt by the critic Josef Srb-Debrnov to be an excessive number for Prague's residents at a ratio of 1 institution per every 7000 Praguers. [145]

While the abundance of private music schools may not have been entirely beneficial, there were undoubtedly some skillful educators who demanded a rigorous course of study from their students. For example, Josef Proksch, one of the most effective private instructors in Prague, had a plan of study that encompassed six years. This was much more demanding than the two or three years required at the Conservatory and the Organ School. Proksch also authored his own theoretical texts, making use of contemporary works, rather than relying only on pieces from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Given the major compositional shifts that were occurring during this period, the use of contemporary literature would have given an excellent advantage to his students. Meanwhile, František Pivoda's singing school boasted 45 graduates who went on to join the Provisional or National Theater, 46 singers who had fruitful careers abroad, and 31 successful teachers.[146] Another benefit of the private schools was that they provided instruction in piano, which was not a major department of the Prague Conservatory until 1888. While the Prague Organ School operated in a more formal capacity as a center for keyboard instruction, particularly with a view toward sacred repertory, pianistic skills were not given particular attention at either of these major institutions through the majority of the nineteenth century. Likewise, music theory was not taught as rigorously at the Conservatory as

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[145] Josef Srb-Debrnov, "Naše hudební ústav," *Dalibor*, 4, no. 8 (1882): 57

[146] Marta Ottlavá and Martin Pospíšil, "Soukromé hudební školy v Praze 19. století a otázka české školy operní," *Ceské kultuře 19. Století,* 432.

some might have wished, and was comprised mostly of exercises rather than analysis of any real music and with little discussion of form.

Another result of the private music school environment, coupled with growing nationalist feeling in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the proposal of an opera or singing schools for the express purpose of training performers to sing in Czech with accurate declamatory emphasis and style. There was a hope that a stronger reservoir of competent Czech opera singers might encourage the growth of the burgeoning Czech-language opera repertory. Some of the notable individuals who made proposals for the establishment of such a school include Emanuel Meliš, Jan Neruda, František Pivoda, Jan Procházka and Bedřich Smetana. Although their proposals featured differing plans about the logistical details for such a school, all of these musical and intellectual leaders felt that an educational enterprise of this nature would be beneficial to the cause of Czech music and, more philosophically, Czech nationalism. Eventually, after several calls for such an institution throughout the 1860s, an opera school was attached to the Provisional Theater, under Smetana's direction. The school was short-lived, however, due to Smetana's subsequent resignation and Maýr's reappointment. Maýr did not wish to continue the school, and so it was closed.

It is interesting to contrast the forces behind the private music schools and the long-demanded opera school with those behind the Prague Conservatory. While some private schools were likely opened to address apparent deficiencies in the Conservatory's curriculum—namely, in piano and in Czech-language singing—it is equally probable that some of these schools were opened to assist the financial situations of their faculties. No value judgment should be placed on these teachers who were trying to make a living in a city with a rich musical life, but relatively few paying positions for musicians and music teachers, but nonetheless we must keep this

motive in mind even as we consider the possible contributions of these schools to the overall musical oeuvre in the Czech lands during this period. While they may have assisted considerably in the development of Czech musicians, it is unlikely that many of these institutions were established with a broader ideological goal than the immediate needs of their faculty and students.

The discussion surrounding the proposed—and eventually realized, albeit for a short time—opera school is somewhat different, in that it was both pragmatic and philosophical in its bases. Meliš, Pivoda, and Smetana were all working to some extent to expand national consciousness through music. While there were probably personal motivations at play as well—both Pivoda and Smetana benefitted financially from teaching in the private school sector, and as a publisher Meliš was not unconscious of what made for good circulation for his periodical *Dalibor*—there is a definite connection between the nationalist movement and the desire for an opera school to assist in the creation of a stronger Czech performing force.

In contrast with both the private schools and the opera school, the Conservatory was established only to meet a musical need. There was no financial benefit to the founders—rather, there was a cost—and while a sense of national consciousness existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was manifesting in a different way than the nationalist movement of the late nineteenth century. While the need for and existence of private schools never dissipated entirely—the financial needs of musicians and teachers did not vanish, nor is it likely that every potential teacher and student would ever feel that one institution, such as the Prague Conservatory, could meet the demands of every music student in the city—the opera school's existence was so short-lived that it is nearly impossible to judge the impact of a nationalistically motivated institution in comparison with the Conservatory. Furthermore, that discussion—even

if it were possible—might not be particularly productive. The benefit or detriment of various motivating factors in the establishment of Prague's musical institutions is not as important as the acknowledgement of this variety in contemplating the meaning of music in the nineteenth century to Czech identity, both then and in our own time.

Today the Prague Conservatory is still an incredibly active and respected institution. During the twentieth century the Conservatory weathered the intense political changes brought about by the two World Wars amazingly well and continued to expand their curriculum to include drama, dance, and other performance-related subjects. For over 200 years this establishment has had a profound impact on musical life in the Czech lands and internationally. Perhaps more than any other single institution or organization connected with Czech music, the Prague Conservatory has been a locus for the creators of Czech musical identity, and yet it was essentially an apolitical musical institution, even amid the prevalent nationalist movement. This is not surprising if one takes the broad view that music is frequently detached from political or social agendas. However, considering the emphasis given to nationalism in the historiography and discussion of Czech music—particularly music from the nineteenth century, but also Czech musical culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries—then it is significant to consider the "purity" of the Conservatory's objectives and purpose.

While the nationalist period in the second half of the nineteenth century certainly influenced some of the Conservatory's activities (in that some individual students and teachers were involved in the nationalist movement or were influenced by nationalist music), the faculty of the Conservatory never lost its international makeup, and international repertory was a continuous part of the curriculum and performances. This reflects similar repertory and personnel demographics to those in the Conservatory's professional counterparts housed in the

various opera venues in Prague. Although Antonín Dvořák, one of the most famous Czech nationalist composers, was involved with the Conservatory from 1891 until 1904, his professional life was more frequently focused elsewhere, and the Conservatory was largely detached from the political and social currents of the nationalist movement. The Prague Conservatory began in an effort to make high-quality orchestral music available to Czechs. From its inception the Conservatory's founders and directors were cosmopolitan in their scope and willingly looked to their European neighbors, such as France, for ideas about what might or might not be successful. International faculty and students have always been an important part of the Conservatory community, and this internationalism has enriched the musical life of Prague, and the entirety of the Czech lands, for over two centuries.

Chapter 4: Amateur Artistic Organizations

The foundation of various artistic societies and amateur performance groups in Prague and the surrounding region reflected a desire for community that was motivated by several factors. The earliest of these organizations, which were established in the first decade of the nineteenth century, were seemingly concerned more with artistic identity than with political or ethnic identities. For example, *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách* was concerned about the quality of music and musicianship available in Prague. A possible reason for the inclusion of "Czech lands" in the name of this organization is the members' desire to see skilled Czech musicians remain in the Czech lands, rather than working abroad, as many Czech musicians did during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If that is the case, this objective might have reflected a desire to bolster Czech music simply because that is where the members of the society lived, worked, and experienced music, rather than an awareness of Czech identity as a characteristic to be fostered through music. At this time, the idea of Czechness was practically non -existent as a political identity and was still being renewed as a cultural identity through the efforts of the national revival movement. Nonetheless, *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách* recognized a void in what was available for their musical consumption and strove to remedy this deficiency.

Společnosti pro zvelebení duchovní hudby v Čechách (The Society for the Improvement of Church Music in the Bohemia) shared a similar desire for quality musicians and performances, but with a clearly-stated sacred objective.. As with *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách*, the priority was not the Bohemian identity of musicians nor a perceived Bohemian quality to music, but rather, the expertise of the musicians and—for this organization specifically—the sacred nature of the music with which they were concerned. Both societies

were fostering communities with shared values, but neither was defined by their ethnic, political, or nationalist identity.

By the 1860s the desire to produce nationalist music was overtly expressed through the establishment of the *Hlahol* (resounding noise or babble) male choruses in Prague, Plzn, and Nyrmburk. These choruses were largely amateur, although the Prague branch enjoyed the directorship of several professional musician-composers, including Bedřich Smetana, Karl Bendl, and Karl Kittl. Their repertory was often newly-composed and emphasized folk ideas and melodies, part-songs, and Czech language. As with many of the choral societies that became prevalent throughout Europe during the nineteenth century, such as the German Männergesangverein and the English oratorio societies, *Hlahol* provided a sense of artistic community for its participants, as well as a regional, ethnic, and nationalist community due to the nature of the repertory and the perception of its participants and audiences.

Umělecká beseda (Artistic Society) was founded in the early 1860s at nearly the same time as the *Hlahol* choruses. This organization encompassed visual and literary artists as well as musicians and composers. Although there was a clear nationalist objective in the output of many of Umělecká beseda's members, there were also members who did not subscribe to the nationalist point of view. The overarching connection for *Umělecká beseda* was a sense of artistic camaraderie and a desire to navigate the uncertain patronage opportunities available during this period. While a sincere artistic altruism likely existed among the members of *Umělecká beseda*, there was also a necessary commercial awareness as they sought commissions, directorships, and teaching appointments. The idea of artists finding a place in an industrial society may have been a more powerful inspiration for some members of *Umělecká beseda* than that of Czechs finding a place within the European community.

In this chapter I will discuss the objectives and impact of *Hlahol* and Umělecká beseda, whose membership and audiences represented both the artistic elite and also the middle-class patrons of music in Prague during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Umělecká beseda

In a commemorative publication celebrating the 30th anniversary of *Umělecká beseda,* Otakar Hostinský, recalling the spirit of the times in which the organization began and the energetic purpose to which its founders aspired, borrowed the words of Jan Neruda to call *Umělecká beseda* the "artistic lungs of the nation."[147] This colorful imagery gives a sense of the importance that artistic life played in the overall cultural and political definition of the Czech people during the second half of the nineteenth century, as they began to aspire toward political independence and to assert a distinct cultural existence. The role of artistic societies in the dissemination of Eastern European nationalism has been well documented.[148] What is less frequently discussed, but is significant to an understanding of this burgeoning Czech identity, is that the agenda of *Umělecká beseda* was not exclusively nationalistic. *Umělecká beseda* exemplifies the reality that many Czechs during this period—arguably the most overtly nationalistic period in nineteenth-century Bohemia—perceived themselves as cosmopolitan Europeans, aspiring toward universal rather than nationalist works, and they worked to construct a Czech identity that encompassed this cosmopolitanism and would gain them recognition as contributing members of the broader European community.

The 1860s was a fertile period of cultural renewal after the failed political uprising of 1848 and the intellectually restrictive period of Bachian absolutism. Although aspirations for

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[147] "Uměleckými plícemi národa českého" Hostinský, Otakar, "První krok [The First Step], in *Vzpominky na pamět' Třicetileté činnosti Umělecké besedy: 1863-1893* [Remembrances on the Memory of Thirty Years' Activity of Umělecká beseda], ed. Jaromir Hrubý (Prague: Umělecké besedy, 1894), 6.

[148] See particularly *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe*. ed. Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen. Volume 9 of *National Cultivation of Culture*. ed. Joep Leerssen (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015).

political independence were not completely dead, and nationalistic fervor was a vital motivating force, the overarching aim for many Czechs was intellectual freedom, regardless of the direction in which that might lead an individual. *Umělecká beseda* was founded in 1861 by a group of artists who sought this kind of intellectual freedom by aiming to present their works to the public and also to foster an exchange of artistic thought with Czech and foreign colleagues.[149] The goal was more complex than the simple promotion of Czech art; rather *Umělecká beseda* strove to promote Czech art abroad and to develop a richer artistic culture domestically through the introduction of both Czech and foreign works, in order to be both the "powerful protector of domestic art and critical mediator of foreign art."[150] If there was a nationalist desire, it appears to have been in the service of developing a reciprocal respect abroad for Czech artists to match the respect already felt in Bohemia for many great foreign works. Even the most nationalistic artists did not eschew artistic exchange with their colleagues from abroad, and for some of these nationalists the goal of Czech art was to regain international recognition among their peers. Recollections of the first meeting from poet Vítězslav Hálek address the dichotomy of the nationalist spirit and the desire for international recognition:

> I said that this particular national moment was the least developed for our artists; detrimental indifference was characteristic among a large portion of them. There was nothing that could bring them to our side or that could help their intent. National bastards are among this large portion of artists and because nothing is

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[149] The initial meeting, at which the intentions and name of the society were decided, took place in 1861, but it was not until the spring of 1863 that the statutes were officially recognized by the government. For this reason, *Umělecká beseda* currently gives the 1863 date as its founding, but the activity of the organization predates this by almost two years. The organizationwas open to artists in all media, and some of their most well-known members included: the writer Karel Sabina (librettist for Smetaná's *The Bartered Bride* and *The Brandenburgers in Bohemia*), the poet Eliška Krásnohorská (librettist for Smetaná's *The Secret, The Kiss, The Two Widows,* and *The Devil's Wall*), music critic Otakar Hostinský, painter Josef Mánes, composers Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák, and Zděnek Fibich, along with many others.

[150] "Mocnou záštitou umění domácího a kritickým prostředníkem umění cizího." Otakar Hostinský,"The First Step," in *Vzpominky,* 6.

> given from our side to theirs, they quickly become a non-nation, and this does not serve to honor our name abroad.[151]

At its heart, *Umělecká beseda* wanted to promote beauty and artistic vision wherever it might be found, and in its statutes the organization's purpose is stated as "the growing of attractive art generally. The aim of this sight to be reached through noble entertainment and also through the reciprocal self-education of members."[152]

An illustrative example of this objective in action was *Umělecká beseda's* first large undertaking: a festival honoring the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth.[153] This may seem like an incongruous undertaking for a group of Czech artists who were attempting to promote Czech art, but it demonstrates both the homage that nineteenth-century Czechs were willing to pay to great artists—of any origin—and also to their confidence in their ability to contribute something of value to the European artistic discourse. The festival included productions of Shakespeare's plays, concerts of musical works inspired by Shakespeare, including Berlioz's *Romeo et Juliette,* paintings of dramatic Shakespearian scenes, and living tableaux; in total more than 200 individuals participated in the production of the festival.[154] The large scope of the festival gave *Umělecká beseda* an opportunity to demonstrate both solidarity among the varying branches of the arts and also the quality of work that could be produced in Prague. In addition it indicated the influence of broad nineteenth-century movements, such as literary Romanticism, on Czech art and music, which dated from the early 1800s, when Czechs were as fascinated by

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[151] *Umělecká beseda's* 30th Anniversary (Prague: Umělecká beseda, 1893), 159.

[152] "pěstovaní pěkných umění vůbec. Cíle toho hledí dosáhnouti ušlechtilou zábavou i vzájmným sebe vzděláním údův." Jaromir Hrubý,, "Umělecká Beseda 1863-1893," in *Vzpominky,* 159.

[153] It is interesting to note that an annual Shakespeare Festival, dating back to 1890, is still one of the highlights of the Czech dramatic calendar today. The current festival was instigated shortly after the Velvet Revolution by the Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. The festival initially took place only in Prague, where plays are staged in one of the many open-air courtyards of the Prague Castle, but has since expanded to Brno, Ostrava, and Bratislava. The productions involve some of the most critically-acclaimed Czech actors, directors, and scenists.

[154] Otakar Hostinský, "The First Step," in *Vzpominky,* 9. Many of these participants took part in the living tableaux or the procession of Shakespearian characters, depicted in Karl Purkyně's 1864 *Procession of Personages from Shakespeare's Plays I-VI* (*Průvod Shakespearový Část I-VI*).

Byron as any other European nation and continued into the 1840s with Berlioz's fervent popularity during his time in Prague. This festival was a continuation of the long-standing Romanticism that influenced nationalist and non -nationalist Czechs alike. The festival was a great triumph, deemed by Hostinský to be both "the first success of the young organization [and] simultaneously the first magnificent artistic display of Czech Prague…"[155]

Figure 20a: Karl Purkyně, *Procession of Personages from Shakespeare's Plays I-VI*, 1864. Oil painting on canvas[156].

Figure 21b

[155] Hostinský, "The First Step," 5.
[156]. Pavel Drábek, "Shakespeare in the Czech Lands," *Shakespeare in Prague: Imagining the Bard in The Heart of Europe,* (Columbus, OH: Columbus Museum of Art, 2017), pulished in conjuction with an exhibition of the same title, organized by and presented at the Columbus Museum of Art, February 10-May 21, 2017, 20.

Figure 21c

Figure 21d

Figure 21e

Figure 21f

After this auspicious beginning *Umělecká beseda* was involved in several projects over the next decade that succeeded through the determination of its members, as financial support was almost entirely through membership fees and ticket sales to public events. This nineteenth-century crowd-sourcing model was common among Czech cultural institutions, as there were few members of the wealthy ruling class who truly considered themselves ethnically Czech, and even those with a genuine interest in the promotion of Czech culture often spent little time in Prague, remaining disconnected from the developing cultural milieu of the city. Despite this financial obstacle, *Umělecká beseda* managed to start several chapters throughout rural Bohemia and to begin a program of annual monetary awards for winning works of art. *Umělecká beseda* was organized into departments of visual arts, plastic arts, literature, and music. In its first decade, the music department was not as active as the leadership had envisioned, partially due to budget constraints, but it did establish a mixed choir in 1866 and founded the publication *Hudební matice* in 1871. The music department also hosted subscription concerts, popular concerts consisting of "light" music, and recitals. Other enterprises undertaken by *Umělecká beseda* included literary publications, lecture series and exhibitions, all of which enriched the cultural life of Prague and made art and music accessible to the average citizens of Prague. While many of these enterprises focused on domestic art and music, *Umělecká beseda* also purchased several works of art from foreign painters and sculptors to expand its collection, launched a celebratory commemoration of the 400th birth of Michelangelo, and during the 1880s presented several important concerts given by musicians from abroad, including Hans von Bülow, Pytor Ilyich Tchaikovsky, and Camille Saint-Säens.[157]

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[157] Both Hans von Bülow and Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky donated the proceeds of their concerts to *Umělecká beseda*; their generous donations played a crucial role in the continued existence of the organization during a difficult financial period.

Umělecká beseda was not, however, immune to difficulties. They were drastically impacted by the financial panic of 1873, as was most of Europe and North America, and their activities naturally had to be constrained due to lack of funding. [158] There were also political divides that impacted the society. During the latter half of the nineteenth century there was a deep gulf between the two most vocal Czech political parties: the Old Czechs, more formally known as the Czech National Party (*Národní strana*) and the Young Czechs, or the National Liberal Party (*Národní strana svobodomyslná*). The primary differences between the parties, which both sought greater political and cultural independence for Czechs within the framework of the Austrian Empire, was the Old Czechs' desire to work with Czech nobility to enact change and the Young Czechs' belief that active participation in the political process was more effective than abstention as a form of resistance. Unfortunately, many members of the *Umělecká beseda* leadership were also members of the Young Czech party during this period, and in 1874 a public break between the two divisions was carried out in social settings, public speeches, and the press.[159] Although *Umělecká beseda* denied a specific affiliation with either party, once the idea

[158] The financial panic of 1873 was a global depression (or recession, depending on which markets are being considered) that affected most of North America and Europe. Although the causes of this economic downturn are complex, two major factors were the failure of railroads in the United States and in Central Europe. These failures led to the crash of both the American and Viennese stock markets, as well as the failure of several banks and the default of several bonds, many of which were related to railway expansion. Although the depression lasted only a few years in most countries, the impact of the initial panic was felt throughout the remainder of the decade.

[159] In January of 1874 an article in *Národní listy* (which was associated with the Young Czechs) accused the Old Czechs of "zapírají a zalhávají, že nejsou Staročeši svázáni a spleteni s ultramontáaskou stranou rakouskou…[continuing to deny and to lie [saying] that the Old Czechs aren't entertwined with the Ultramontist Austrian party…]." "Hlasy z lidu," *Narodní listy,* 14, no. 13, January 14, 1874 http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mzk/view/uuid:fa971e0c-435d-11dd-b505-00145e5790ea?page=uuid:83afe6bf-435f-11dd-b505-00145e5790ea&fulltext=Staročeši.In November of that year *Narodní listy* published an article that characterized the Old Czechs as "kouše rváti vůl , pntnjou se se šlechtou a klerikálr biting, bellowing oxen, twining around the aristocracy and the clerics]" "Hlasy časopisův," *Narodní listy,* 14, no. 308, November 6, 1874. http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mzk/view/uuid:faa5eb3e-435d-11dd-b505-00145e5790ea?page=uuid:83db8aa5-435f-11dd-b505-00145e5790ea&fulltext=Staročeši.

Smetana recorded his thoughts on the rivalry between the two factions in a diary entry from January 1869, describing the Old Czech party as "feudal and clerical," and the Young Czechs as "liberal," and "consist[ing] of men of letters, artists and journalists." He characterized their split as "becom[ing] more bitter, from month to month…the Old Czechs, wherever they go in politics, in social life, or in the arts, endeavor to suppress everything

had taken hold in the mind of the public several members who aligned themselves with the Old Czechs left the organization. This decline continued over the next few years until 1879, at which time a reconciliation of sorts had been reached between the two parties, and *Umělecká beseda* regained many members who had left and also began several new projects.[160]

It is important to note that *Umělecká beseda* continued uninterruptedly until the middle of the twentieth century and resumed its activities after the 1989 revolutions.[161] While Czech nationalism has been a common thread in the Czech experience during the ensuing 150 years since *Umělecká beseda's* establishment, the variability of what Czech nationalism has meant during this lengthy period indicates that the organization's sustainability is based more broadly. Nationalism was a vital part of the founding and existence of *Umělecká beseda*, given the climate of political and cultural revolution of Prague during the 1860s, but it was not the exclusive impetus. The broader artistic goals of *Umělecká beseda* allowed artists from several different media to collaborate on artistic projects and to work toward the enrichment of Czech culture and the public education of the growing middle class through the promotion of both domestic and foreign art. This enrichment was not sought at the expense of other nations, nor did the members of *Umělecká beseda* claim superiority for Czech art; they simply sought the liberty to produce art and to cultivate an appreciation for it.

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that is carried out in the name of the Young Czech Party…." See Brian Large, *Smetana,* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 218.

[160] In preparation for the 1878 diet elections the Old Czechs realized that their abstention from government processes was not producing results, so they reached a compromise with the Young Czechs: individuals from the respective parties would campaign on their individual platforms, but would enter the Reichsrat as a single coalition: the Czech Liberals.

[161] *Umělecká beseda* valiantly managed to survive both world wars—even during Nazi occupation—and the transition to Communism. However, it shared the fate of many artistic organizations and endeavors during the years of Normalization (the period from 1969-87, during which liberal reforms of the 1960s were systematically undone in an attempt to restore the strength of Soviet rule), finally dissolving in 1972. According to *Umělecká beseda* historian Rudolf Matys, "…besední myšlenka nezemřela nikdy, a tak už krátce po Listopadu 1989 byla její činnost znovu obnovena…" ["the idea of Beseda never died, and so only a short time after November 1989 its activity was again renewed"], and the organization is still active at the time of this study. For Matys's entire article see: "Několik řádků o historii Umělecké besedy," *Umělecká Beseda*, 2018, http://www.umeleckabeseda.cz/umelecka-beseda/historie.

Hlahol

The singing society *Hlahol* can, perhaps, be connected more overtly with the nationalist cause than *Umělecká beseda*. There are both general reasons for this, associated with the nature and role of singing societies during the period of nationalism, and reasons specific to *Hlahol's* inception and role within the musical and cultural life of Bohemia. In an article regarding choral societies in the context of Czech nationalism, Karel Šima, Tomáš Kavka, and Hana Zimmerhaklová point out that patriotic singing in public spaces within the context of choral societies was perceived as acceptable long before other overt nationalist expressions.[162] The first two registered choral associations in the Czech lands were established during Bach Absolutism, a period characterized by censorship.[163] The acceptance of singing as a non -threating expression of patriotic or cultural identity goes some way toward explaining the significant role that these societies played in the construction of nationalist identity. Within the Czech lands, where musicianship was already a defining aspect of identity for many Czechs, this may have been a natural extension of the musician-self into a communal musical identity.

[162] Šima and Kavka cite the recollections of Servác Heller, a journalist, and Ladislav Quis, a lawyer, who both report the freedom with which collective singing took place. Heller described his experience at the 1859 memorial of the poet Karel Hynek Mácha, which culminated in the guests singing patriotic songs. Quis discussed an even more public example of collective singing as he relates how he joined a group of fellow students carrying a revolutionary flag and singing patriotic songs. They paraded to a park where they sang and danced freely and apparently with great enjoyment. See Karel Šima, Tomáš Kavka, and Hana Zimmerhaklová, "By Means of Singing to the Heart, by Means of Heart to the Homeland," in *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe*. ed. Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen. Volume 9 of *National Cultivation of Culture*. ed. Joep Leerssen (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015), 202–3.

[163] Only after the provisional association law of 1849 were such societies allowed to be established. The first devoted to singing was *Svatopluk*, founded in 1849 in the town of Zdar nad Sazavou. Significantly, the Prague *Akademischer Männergesangverein* was established the same year in Prague, and several more singing societies were established throughout the 1850s. While singing societies are often associated with the nationalist movement, and the division of German versus Czech communities, at the beginning of the choral-society movement in Bohemia these ethnic lines were practically non-existent.

Hlahol specifically made its identity as a "Czech" organization known from the beginning, by adopting as its motto the phrase "*Zpěvem k srdci, srdcem k vlasti (*Through singing to the heart, through the heart to the homeland)," (see Figure 21 below) leaving no doubt that its agenda reflected the growing nationalism of the second half of the nineteenth century. We cannot, however, take for granted the extent this manifestation of national consciousness superseded other motivations. *Hlahol* was founded in 1861—within only a few months of *Umělecká beseda* —primarily through the efforts of the renowned Czech tenor Jan Ludvik Lukes. In 1860, after attaining considerable success in his career as a soloist in Prague, Lukes turned his career toward less artistic matters, acquiring a brewery and overseeing its operation. Still requiring some outlet for his musical impulses, Lukes founded an amateur choir, which rehearsed weekly in the brewery. This group, comprised of 120 male singers, first performed publicly at the funeral of Vaclav Hanka in January of 1861 under the name *Hlahol*, and immediately found a demand for their services at other public events.[164]

Figure 21: Josef Mánes, Flag of Prague *Hlahol*, 1862.[165]

[164] Hlahol added a female choir in the 1870s, and the groups sometimes performed mixed works together from that point forward.Vaclav Hanka (1791-1861) was a literary historian and the director of the Czech Museum Library. He was part of the Czech linguistic revival and studied with Josef Dobrovský, but he is probably best remembered for his forgery of several medieval documents (see footnote 52 in Chapter 1). In spite of this infamous deceit, Hanka's reputation had not entirely disintegrated before his death, and his funeral was an important public occasion, which presented an excellent debut opportunity for Hlahol.

[165] Část Obrázková," *Památník Zpěváckého Spolku Hlaholu V Praze, Vydaný na Oslavu 50tileté Činnosti. 1861-1911.* [Memorial of the Singing Society Hlahol in Prague Published for the Celebration of 50 Years of Activity], ed. Rudolf Lichtner (Prague: Circulation of Prague Hlahol, 1911), 141.

The organization was supported almost entirely by membership fees. A variety of membership options were available allowing for participation as a singer, in an administrative role, or merely as a financial contributor. Interestingly, the voting power of the society was held only by the performing members, rather than by a governing board or by the financial contributors who were not involved in performance. The statues indicated that performing members should vote on "all matters of the society," which might have included the appointment of new conductors or the arrangement of a concert series:

> **Rules for members**
>
> **A) Each performing member has the right:**
>
> 1. To vote in all matters of the society;
> 2. To make proposals, however only written in the book of requests with a personal signature;
> 3. To have a share in all entertainments of the society;
> 4. To look, at their pleasure, into the society's books and documents;
> 5. To host members of other singing societies at rehearsals.[166]

This type of democracy could be analogous to one aspect of *Hlahol's* social agenda: self-governance for Czechs, or in this case the performers who would be impacted by the decisions and therefore held the power to make them, rather than the members who contributed financially but had no practical stake in the decisions. Another interpretation of this policy could be the primacy of the musical performance, even, perhaps, over social agendas.

Lukes led weekly rehearsals, and the choir performed at public events such as the opening of the Czech Assembly. *Hlahol* also arranged stand-alone concerts that were unconnected with other civic events. In their early concerts *Hlahol* programmed works by Slavic

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[166] Translation of section 7, article A, *Stanovy českého zpěváckého spolku "Hlahol" v Praze* [Statutes of the Czech singing society "Hlahol" in Prague] (Prague: Anton Renna, 1861) held at the Czech Museum of Music, Prague.

composers almost exclusively. Many pieces in their repertory were composed by members of the society, or by composers closely affiliated with it, and beginning in 1862 the society honored members who had made compositional contributions with an annual award. Many of these early concert pieces were secular and overtly patriotic in content, but sacred music was not entirely neglected, and it was not unusual for a concert to consist entirely of a mass or oratorio. Šima, Kavka, and Zimmerhaklová have identified the most prominent categories of repertory in Czech singing societies during this period, many examples of which can be found in the *Hlahol společenský zpěvník český* (Czech Societal Songbook of *Hlahol*).[167] They define patriotic songs from *Hlahol's* early period as including satirical songs and songs with love themes as well as straightforward lyrics celebrating love of the homeland. Additionally, some patriotic songs mixed the idea of love and patriotism by personifying the homeland as a lover whose exemplary qualities are extolled. One of the most important examples of the "straightforward" type of patriotic song is "Kde domov můj," which was composed by František Škroup and is now the national anthem of the Czech Republic (see Figure 22 below). The program of *Hlahol*'s first concert of the 1862 season (see Figure 23 below) is a mixture of choral songs, solos, quartets, and even recitations.

[167] *Hlahol společenský zpěvník český* was published in 1861 with texts compiled by Josef Barák, H. Přerhof, and Josef Vilímek. There is no musical notation in this collection—merely text—, which leaves a great deal to be desired in terms of performance practice for the songs in this collection, but one can imagine that some of the songs had well-known tunes associated with them, and perhaps each choral society developed arrangements to suit their needs. An earlier compilation of similar songs, *Společenský zpěvník český* (The Czech Societal Songbook) was published in 1851 with texts arranged by Dr. J Pichl and music arranged by Josef Zvonař. This collection includes musical notation for each song, ranging from unison to four-part arrangements. While it is uncertain how much this songbook was used by Hlahol and other choral societies, it seems likely that members of Prague Hlahol would have been aware of the collection, and it is possible that they used it as a source for some repertory.

1. Kde domov můj.

Pro tři hlasy.

Andante con moto. Fr. Škroup.

Kde do-mov můj? Kde do-mov můj? Vo-da hu-čí

po lu - či-nách, bo-ry šu-mí po ska-li-nách,

v sadě skví se ja-ra květ, zem-ský ráj to na po-

Společenský Zpěvník. VI. vydání 1

— 2 —

hled; a to je ta krá-sná ze-mě, ze-mě če-ská

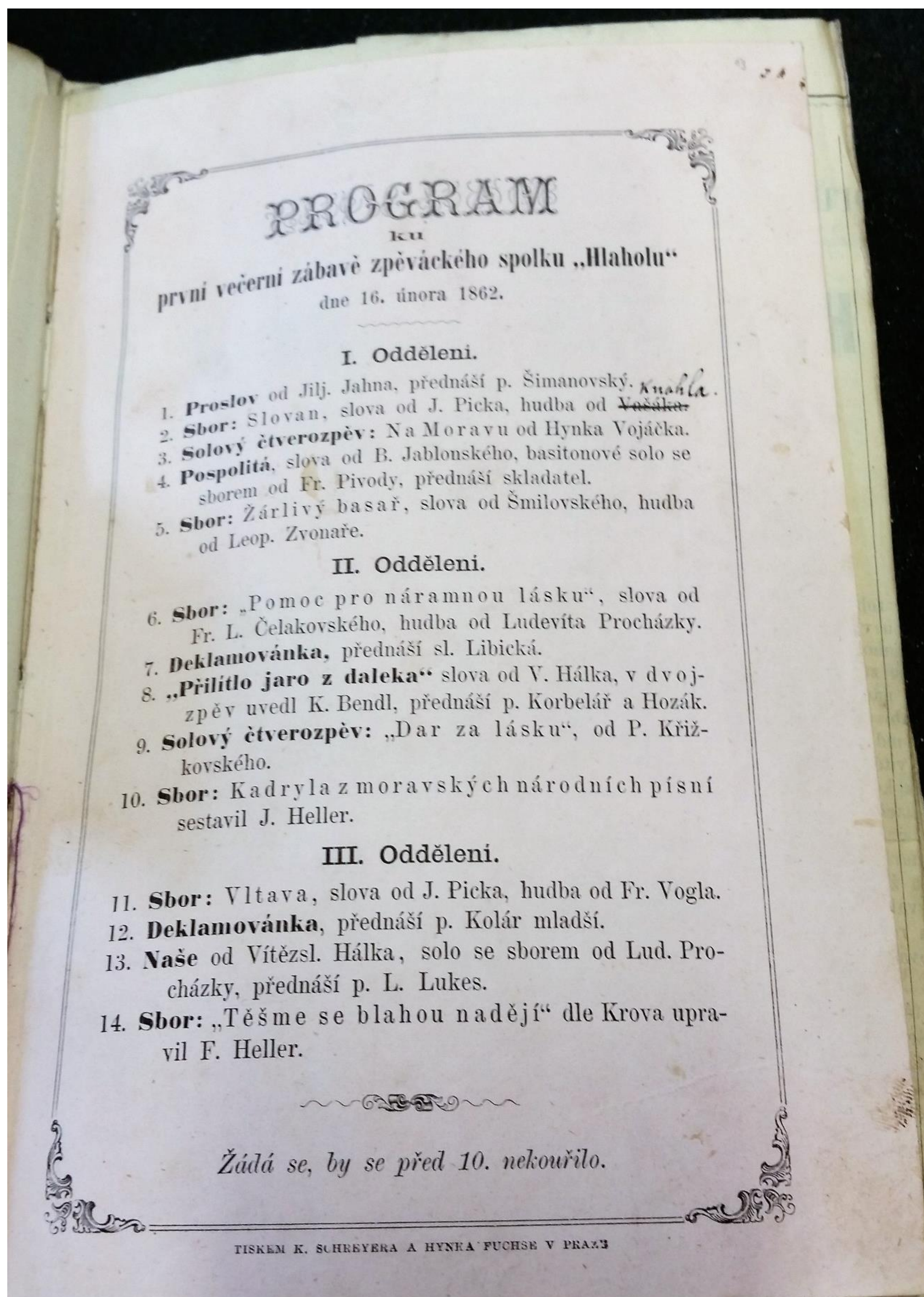
do-mov můj, ze-mě če-ská, do-mov můj!

Kde domov můj? — V kraji znáš-li bohumilém — Duše útlé v ěle čilém, — Mysl jasnou, znik a zdar, — A tu sílu, zdoru zmar: — 'o je Čechů slavné plémě, — Mezi Čechy domov můj!

Tyl.

Figure 22: “Kde domov můj.” Source: *Společenský zpěvník český,* 1851, digitized by Google.[168]

[168] Translation of “Kde domov můj:” 1. Where is my home? Where is my home[land]? Water roars through the grasslands, the pine groves murmur around the crags, in the orchards spring flowers are radiant, earthly Paradise to the eye; and it is this beautiful land, Czech land, my home, Czech land my home! 2. Where is my home? If you are familiar, in this land of God, with delicate spirits in agile bodies, of clear mind, vital and successful, and with a force that is the downfall of defiance, it is the glorious race of the Czechs, among the Czechs is my home!



PROGRAM

ku

první večerní zábavě zpěváckého spolku „Hlaholu“

dne 16. února 1862.

I. Oddělení.

1. **Proslov** od Jilj. Jahna, přednáší p. Šimanovský.
2. **Sbor:** Slovan, slova od J. Picka, hudba od ~~Vašáka~~.
3. **Solový čtverozpěv:** Na Moravu od Hynka Vojáčka.
4. **Pospolitá**, slova od B. Jablonského, basitonové solo se sborem od Fr. Pivody, přednáší skladatel.
5. **Sbor:** Žárlivý basař, slova od Šmilovského, hudba od Leop. Zvonaře.

II. Oddělení.

6. **Sbor:** „Pomoc pro náramnou lásku“, slova od Fr. L. Čelakovského, hudba od Ludevíta Procházky.
7. **Deklamovánka,** přednáší sl. Libická.
8. **„Přilítlo jaro z daleka“** slova od V. Hálka, v dvojzpěv uvedl K. Bendl, přednáší p. Korbelář a Hozák.
9. **Solový čtverozpěv:** „Dar za lásku“, od P. Křižkovského.
10. **Sbor:** Kadryla z moravských národních písní sestavil J. Heller.

III. Oddělení.

11. **Sbor:** Vltava, slova od J. Picka, hudba od Fr. Vogla.
12. **Deklamovánka**, přednáší p. Kolár mladší.
13. **Naše** od Vítězsl. Hálka, solo se sborem od Lud. Procházky, přednáší p. L. Lukes.
14. **Sbor:** „Těšme se blahou nadějí“ dle Krova upravil F. Heller.

Žádá se, by se před 10. nekouřilo.

TISKEM K. SCHREYERA A HYNKA FUCHSE V PRAZE

Figure 23: Photograph of *Hlahol* Program, February 16, 1862. Source: *Programy "Hlaholu" rok I-XVI* [Programs of "*Hlahol*" years I-XVI], held at the Czech Museum of Music.

Program For The first evening entertainment of the singing society "Hlahol"

February 16, 1862

1st section

1. **Speech** from Jilj. Jahn, presented by Mr. Simanovský
2. **Chorus:** Slav, words by J. Picek, music by Vašak/Knahl
3. **Solo quartet:** In Moravia by Hynek Vojáček
4. **Communal(??):** words by B. Jablonský, bass solo with chorus by Fr. Pivoda, presented by the composer
5. **Chorus**: Jealous Bassist, words by Smilovský, music by Leop. Zvonař

2nd section

6. **Chorus:** "Help for the sake of tremendous love," words by Fr. L. Čelakovský, music by Ludevít Procházka
7. **Declamation:** presented by Miss Libicek
8. **"Arrival of spring from afar,"** words by V. Hálek, arranged in two parts by K. Bendl, presented by Misters Korbelar and Hozak.
9. **Solo quartet**: "Gift for love," by P. Křižkovský
10. **Chorus**: Quadrille from Moravian national songs, arranged by J. Heller

3rd part

11. **Chorus:** Vltava, words by J. Picek music by Fr. Voleg
12. **Declamation:** presented by Mr. Kolár Jr.
13. **Of ours**, by Vitezsl. Hálek, soloist Lud. Procházka, with choir presented by Mr. L. Lukes.
14. **Chorus:** "We look forward with good hope," from Krova adapted by F. Heller

Figure 24: Translation of *Hlahol* Program, February 16, 1862. Source: *Programy "Hlaholu" rok I-XVI*.

Although it was not the first singing society registered in the Czech lands, within the first few years of its existence *Hlahol* quickly became the model for singing societies throughout Bohemia and Moravia, likely due to its influential status in the Prague musical and artistic community, possibly coupled with its overt nationalism, which would have been attractive to many middle-class Czechs during this period. Branches of *Hlahol* emerged in other towns, operating under the loosely-woven umbrella of the original Prague organization, and other singing societies imitated *Hlahol's* structure and aesthetic by choosing a symbolic name and inspirational slogan, performing patriotic repertory, and operating as a member-comprised democracy. These societies provided a public symbol for a large segment of Czech society, from whom their members were often drawn: professionals of the middle class, civic minded, tending toward self -government or at the very least a more equal representation.[169]

Despite the early and unqualified success of the *Hlahol* organization, it was not immune to criticism. As it gained a larger following in Prague, some of the technical deficiencies in Lukes's leadership became clear; in spite of his vocal prowess and musicianship, reviews, such as this one printed in the music journal *Dalibor*, suggest that his conducting left something to be desired:

> The mass of Zvonař was conducted by Mr. Lukes, well-known as an excellent soloist and one of the directors of *Hlahol*. *Hlahol* performed for the public, performed a new composition, performed a proper composition; the true spirit of the composition, however, Mr. Conductor did not understand… Further the entire mass could have been yet still better studied, concerning smoothness in oral presentation, nuance in piano and forte, and other signs [musical markings]. We could for ourselves—simply stated—have been better pleased with Mr. *Heller*, likewise a director of *Hlahol*, behind the music stand of the conductor at this production! He may be an excellent singer, but he cannot be a conductor…resolution in the tempo, precision, or toiling before the stand are

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[169] It is important to remember that the ethnic background of residents of the Czech lands, whether Czech or German, was of little consequence in relation to taxation and bureaucracy from Vienna. Although ethnic Germans may not have been disenfranchised linguistically or culturally, they were still part of a "vassal" state whose resources primarily supported the Viennese.

> requirements of a good conductor. Finally we must mention regarding the solo quartet that they do not stand up to benevolent criticism either…We put it to the well-known committee of the singing society *Hlahol* warmly from the heart that they would in the society (or in the committee of good musicians) confer regarding to whom, of both gentlemen directors, should belong the conducting of this or that choir, or else the choice is sometimes erroneous and a good thing, like Mr. Zvonař's mass, is often lost along with success. We write this in benefit of the fortune of our *Hlahol* sine ira et studio.[170]

Lukes's tenure was short-lived, possibly due to the increasing level of the performance ability of the choir, coupled with his own lack of conducting ability. He was immediately followed in the role of director by Bedřich Smetana, who had recently returned from Sweden and was enthusiastic about the young choral society. Smetana, whose contributions to Czech music often take on mythical proportions, was, in fact, strongly influenced by the works of such Romanticists as Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner, like many other nationalist composers during this period in various European countries. It is not surprising, then, that under Smetana's leadership *Hlahol* expanded its repertory to include French and German works and was a notable participant in the Shakespeare festival produced by *Umělecká beseda* in 1864, performing Berlioz's *Romeo et Juliette.*

Unfortunately, Smetana's involvement with *Hlahol* ended abruptly when performing members became upset with him regarding extracurricular activities for *Umělecká beseda***.** Smetana was heavily involved in both organizations, and although the two societies enjoyed

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[170] "Mši Zvonař dirigoval p. Lukes, známý a též jeden ze h Hlaholu. Hlahol vystoupil u veřejnost, proved novou skladbu, proved důkladnou skladbu, pravého ducha skladby však p. dirigent nepochopil…Dále bohla býti celá mše přec ještě lépe prostudována, co se týče uhlazenosti v přednesu, nuance v piano a forte a jiných znamínek. Přáli bychom sobě—at' se už naprosto vyjádříme—raději p. *Hellera*, taktéž ředitele Hlaholu, při takých produkcích za pultem dirigentovým! Nespomůže tu výtečný zpěvák jenom, tím dirigent nemusí býti…ráznost v taktování, precisnost, ne pachtění se před pultem jsou požadavky dobrého dirigování. Konečně se musíme zmíniti o solovém kvartetu and pravíme, že neobstojí ani při shovívavé kritice…Klademe tudíž slavnému výboru zpěváckého spolku Hlaholu vřele na srdce, by se vespolek (neb pozůstává výbor z dobrých hudebníků) poradil, kterému z obou pánů ředitelů by přislušelo dirigování toho neb onoho sboru, neb volba je někdy chybná a dobrá věc, jakou je p. Zvonařova mše, ztrácí tím často na dobrém úspěchu. Psali jsme toto ve prospěch statečného našeho Hlaholu sine ira et studio." "S," *Dalibor časopis pro hudbu, divadlo a umění vůbec,* 32, no. 5 (1862): 255, accessed July 5, 2017, http://bluemountain.princeton.edu/bluemtn/cgi-bin/bluemtn?a=d&d=bmtnabd18621110-01.2.5.4&e=--1888-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-mayr------#.

several successful collaborations, there seems to have been some conflict regarding *Hlahol's* involvement in *Umělecká beseda* performances among some members. Since the performing members did hold, at least according to the letter of the statutes, the majority of *Hlahol's* decision-making power, this disagreement ultimately resulted in Smetana's resignation.

Throughout the remaining decades of the nineteenth century *Hlahol* was directed by several eminent Czech composers, including Karl Bendl and Karl Knittl. This is significant, because neither is affiliated as strongly with the Czech nationalist movement as Smetana or Antonín Dvořák**,** and their programming for *Hlahol* reflected their cosmopolitan approach. Knittl invested in presenting large-scale works by non -Czech composers (for instance, Beethoven's *Missa solemnis* and Berlioz's *Reqiuem*) alongside important domestic works, such as Dvořák's *Stabat mater* and *The Specter's Bride*. Both Bendl and Knittl studied at the Prague Organ School. Knittl went on to teach at the Prague Conservatory, and Bendl had a successful career abroad as well as in Prague.

It is important to recognize that at its beginning, *Hlahol* was fulfilling a musical void, as much as a political or social one. Lukes wanted an outlet for singing, and Prague lacked an institutional choral performance ensemble to meet the needs of public occasions. The underlying impetus for *Hlahol's* early success was a desire for beautiful choral music. The influential Czech musicologist Zdeněk Nejedlý discussed the roots of singing societies such as *Hlahol* in his history of the organization:

> The impact of music can be strong for the listener; it is doubly powerful for those who *perform* the music…I hear a beautiful composition, but after some minutes this subsides, and perhaps for years I do not have the opportunity of hearing it again. There is not here, perhaps, any artist who would perform it for me, or whom I could ask about it. Therefore, I long to perform it myself, and I attempt it, at that time, when the performance is not the most perfect, but nevertheless in this way the concept of the composition arises in me

> again, and already I want to voice it. From all this arose eager amateurs in choral music.[171]

While these musical desires cannot be exclusively or consistently separated from nationalistic agendas—the longing, for instance, to hear a song in one's own language, or a composition by a fellow countryman—this purely artistic desire is an important aspect of *Hlahol* that is not always emphasized. Undoubtedly, the members of *Hlahol* wanted to promote Czech music and to strengthen Czech national awareness in, perhaps, the most deliberate manner of any of the amateur artistic organizations active in Prague during the nineteenth century, yet even this most-nationalistic organization cannot be defined only by its nationalism. Additionally, there were precedents for this kind of amateur choral singing dating back to the literary brotherhoods of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In most towns throughout Bohemia, literary brotherhoods existed during this period as quasi-guardians of sacred music. The specific religious affiliation of these guild-like organizations varied depending on region and time, but they were often responsible for commissioning, transcribing, preserving, and performing sacred music in worship services and on feast days. The *kancionals,* or hymnals, produced by these fraternities are fascinating because they typically employ vernacular Czech. Just as with nineteenth-century singing societies, the members were usually educated professionals: artisans, teachers, and occasionally minor aristocrats. These societies were prevalent until the forced Catholicization of the Czech lands after 1620 and represented an important musical contribution to Czech society.

[171] Je-li účinek hudby silný I u posluchače, jest dvojnásobně mocný u toho, kdo hudbu *provozuje*…Slyším krásnou skladbu, ale ta za několik minut dozní a snad po léta nemám příležitosti, slyšeti ji znova. Není tu snad ani umělců, kteří by mí ji provedli, neb nemohu je o to žádati. Proto toužím po tom, abych si skladbu sám proved a pokouším se o to í tehdy, když provedení není nejdokonalejší, ale přece takové, ž eve mně znova vzbuzue představu skladby, jižjsem chtě rozezvučeti. Z toho všeho vzniká horlivost *ochotniků* v pěstování hudby." Zděnek Nejedlý, "History of Prague Hlahol 1861-1911" in *Památník,* 3-4. These remarks by Nejedlý, made in his contribution to a history of *Hlahol*—an organization traditionally seen as purely nationalistic—are particularly significant due to Nejedlý's tendency toward involvement with social agendas and his often-biased views toward a nationalist narrative.

Another example of social singing that predates nationalist organizations are the temporary and permanent choirs, which came together throughout Bohemia during the eighteenth century in what Nejedlý refers to as the "cult" of oratorio:

> At the end of the 18th century the cult of Handel, the great German master, proceeded also in Germany. It is not however only the cult of one master, but the cult of a direction: great choral works. Interest turned from Handel and singing toward the still unknown works of Bach, the movement finding however support also from such contemporary masters of the first ranks as Haydn. Haydn's own oratorios "The Creation" and "The Seasons" received the liveliest support for the creation of entire ranks of choral institutes, [both] occasional and permanent, thus in them singing societies could honor one of the first of their founders and masters. Haydn's oratorios went throughout the world in this measure, and soon it wasn't only in Germany and other musical cities, which would be carrying on at least one of these. These oratorios are however for superior choirs, and as such a *combined choir* was essential for their execution…This necessity, a combined choir of all singers, which a city had at their disposal, produced an established choir, in essence of dilettantes, because a number of strictly school singers would in no way be sufficient for it. The desire for oratorio led however also to the *stabilization* of that kind of choir, which met although only for exceptional kinds of ceremonial productions, and under the auspices of some kind of expert musical society, but nevertheless was also always at disposal immediately, to them this kind of enterprise was necessary. An example for us can be *Prague* where the supporting musical society "Societa," founded in the year 1803, conceived to give oratorios (at Christmas and Easter), naturally according to the relationship of that time with Germany. Haydn's "Creation" was the inaugural activity for Easter in 1803, the next year after they performed Handel's "Messiah." The example was in effect also in rural Bohemia, where in aristocratic palaces orchestral resources were available: the year 1806 Haydn's "Creation" was performed in Roudnice and it was already—throughout Bohemia.[172]

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[172] "Na konci 18. Století kult Händela velkého německého mistral, přechází i do Německa. Není to však jen kult jednoho mistra, nýbrž kult směru: velkých děl sborových. Zájem obrací se od Händela i zpet, k dosud nepoznanému *Bachovi*, hnutí nalézá však podporovatele i u současného mistral první řáu, u Haydna. *Haydn* svými oratorii "Stvoření světa" a "Roční počasí" dal nejživější popud k vytvoření celé řady sborových institucí, příležitostných i stálých, takže v něm pěvecké spolky mohou ctíti jednoho z prvních svých zakladatelů a mistrů. Haydnova oratoria šla světem do té miry, že záhy nebylo v Německu I jinde hudebního města, jež by nebylo provozovalo aspoň jedno z nich. Tato oratoria jsou však převahou sborová, takže k jich provedení bylo nutno *sestaviti sbor*, tím spíše, poněvadž tehdejši divadla měla sbor na takový úkol *naprosto* nedostatečný. Tato nutnost, sestaviti sbor ze všech zpěváků, jež město mělo k disposici, vyvolala sama zřizování sborů v podstatě diletatských, nebot' počet přísně školených zpěváků byl by na to nijak nestačil. Touha po oratoriích vedla však I *k ustáleni* takových sborů, jež se sice scházely jen k výjimečným takovým slavnostním produkcím, a to pod záštitou některého z odborných spolků hudebních, avšak přece byly vždy k disposici, jakmile jich k takovému podniku bylo zapotřebí. Příkladem nám může býti *Praha*, kde podpůrný Hudební spolek "Societa," založený r. 1803, počal dávatí oratoria (o vánocích a velkonocích), ovšem podle tehdejších poměrů německy. Haydnovým "Stvořením" zahájena činnost o velikonocích r. 1803, příští rok pak proveden Händelův "Messias." Příklad účinkoval i na českém venkově, kde na šlechtických zámcích byly k disposici prostředky orkestrální: r. 1806 provedeno Haydnovo stvoření v Roudnici a to již—po česku." Zděnek Nejedlý, "History of Prague Hlahol," 6. When Nejedlý mentions the organization "Societa," he is referring to the Prague *Tonkünstler-Societät*, which was founded in 1803 and held several benefit concerts featuring oratorios.

Group singing may have been viewed as a non -threating expression of patriotism, but it was not limited to patriotic content and certainly not to the nationalist period. The social aspects of corporate singing were attractive to various groups of Czechs at different periods in history, because shared language, shared musical goals, camaraderie, and regular group contact help establish community and communal identity. For the literary societies of the sixteenth-century, shared values expressed in singing were the counterpart to religious beliefs and worship practices. For oratorio singers, the experience of grand performances and social engagement was an enticing motivation for participating in these occasional spectacles of choral song.

Another interesting fact to consider is that even the director who is arguably perceived to be the most nationalistic—Smetana—was responsible for greatly expanding foreign repertory. This is important because it reveals a depth to the construction of Czech identity that goes beyond simply being recognized as Czech, but further encompasses a desire to be recognized as Czech artists, capable of making serious artistic contributions. If it was enough to be Czech, then simple peasant songs and patriotic jingles would have sufficed, but the members of *Hlahol* understood the long-standing tradition of music education and musical excellence in Bohemia and the cultural cosmopolitanism that should have been their heritage. They fought for this identity even on the relatively localized level of singing societies.

Perhaps an even more compelling factor in understanding Czech musical life during this period is an examination of the repertory performed by *Hlahol* during the 50-year period from 1861–1911 (Appendix C).[173] Out of 211 composers whose works were programmed during this

[173] Hlahol's performance repertory during this timeframe is surveyed in *Památnik*, which was written in commemoration of the organization's 50th anniversary; significantly, this period coincides with the rise and peak of nineteenth-century Czech nationalism, therefore allowing us to evaluate the influence of the nationalist agenda (and other motivations) on programming.

time, more than 70 were of ethnicities other than Czech. This is a significant percentage of foreign works to be included in the programming of such an overtly nationalistic group, and this demonstrates that the intellectual and artistic communities in Prague were interested in cultural experiences that embraced more than just a nationalist perspective.

110 **Přehled provedených skladeb.**

Skladatelů bylo zastoupeno 211 a provozováno od:

K. Bendla	102	skladeb	446	krát
J. Zvonaře	37	„	130	„
J. Kličky	31	„	144	„
A. Dvořáka	28	„	101	„
B. Vendlera	27	„	43	„
L. Procházky	26	„	72	„
A. Tovačovského	19	„	144	„
E. Vašáka	18	„	129	„
J. Pauknera	16	„	39	„
E. Rutteho	16	„	21	„
A. Piskáčka	14	„	17	„
Mendelssohna	13	„	23	„
K. Knittla	13	„	31	„
B. Smetany	12	„	139	„
K. Slavíka	11	„	40	„
R. Schumanna	11	„	18	„
V. Veita	10	„	73	„
V. Horáka	10	„	32	„
J. B. Förstera	9	„	24	„
Zd. Fibicha	9	„	14	„
P. Křížkovského	8	„	82	„
J. Maláta	8	„	40	„
Fr. Vogla	8	„	34	„
A. Rubinsteina	8	„	18	„
A. Thomase	7	„	40	„
V. Blodka	7	„	15	„
E. Chvály	7	„	11	„
J. Brahmse	7	„	8	„
Ch. Gounoda	6	„	28	„
L. Beethovena	6	„	19	„

Figure 25: 211 composers were represented [in the total list of works performed from 1861-1911] and engaged from: number of compositions (*skladeb*) and times performed (*krát*).[174]

[174] "Část Spolková: Přehled provedený skladeb," [Survey of performed compositions] in *Pamatník* 1911.

The abbreviated list shown in Figure 25 above indicates that even among the composers whose works were most often programmed, several foreign composers' works were presented often enough to be included in the top 15%, including Beethoven, Schumann, and Brahms, all definitively from the Austro-Germanic tradition. Certainly, the influence of specific directors can be seen in the varied programming, but additionally the transition from a guileless proclamation of nationalist identity toward an attempt to stand alongside other European artists with a cosmopolitan view of the world and a legitimized Czech voice is visible in the progression from straightforward patriotic choruses to complicated, large-scale works by successful domestic and foreign composers. Of the large-scale works listed, only two were performed during the first decade of *Hlahol's* existence, and it was not until the 1880s that this type of work became frequent. Of the two large works performed in the 1860s, one is Pavel Křížkovský's cantata *Sv. Cyrill a Methoděj* (SS. Cyril and Methodius)—an unsurprising homage to Slavic history—but the other is Mendelssohn's *Antigone*, demonstrating the importance of foreign music even in *Hlahol's* early years.[175] Taking the 50-year period as a whole, the two composers whose large works were most often programmed are Bach and Dvořák, representing two extremes in style period as well as relationship to nationalism. In considering how music has impacted perceptions of Czech identity, it is significant to acknowledge that the social motivations of nationalism were not the only impetus for the kinds of activities we see from organizations such as *Hlahol*. This

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[175] Pavel Křížkovský was a composer and choirmaster who worked primarily in Brno (the capital of Moravia, which makes up the eastern part of the current-day Czech Republic). He was also an Augustinian friar. Interestingly, Křížkovský was born in Silesia, which was predominantly German during this period, and he founded the Brno Männergesangverein (a Germanic-style singing society). However, Křížkovský was very much in sympathy with the nationalist cause and wrote many nationalist compositions before rejecting secular music in his later career, as he became more heavily influenced by the Cecilian movement. He exemplifies the complex interplay between Austro-Germanic culture and Czech nationalism that was pervasive in the Czech lands during the nineteenth century. Today Křížkovský is primarily known for his cantata *Sv. Cyril a Methoděj* and as Leoš Janáček's choirmaster. Cyril and Methodius were missionaries to the Slavs in the ninth century and are credited with the first Slavic translation of the Bible and the invention of the Glagolitic alphabet, which developed into current-day Cyrillic. Additionally, they advocated for the use of Slavic liturgy, rather than Latin, and were granted permission for this by Pope Adrian II, setting a precedent for Slavic linguistic identity and separation from Western Europe.

suggests that while nationalistic music was an important part of Czech cultural identity in the nineteenth century, it was not the only defining characteristic.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Sometimes viewed as an exotic land to the East, sometimes seen as a Western neighbor with easy cosmopolitanism, the Czech lands have filled various roles throughout history in relation to the European community. With identity markers rooted in myth and legend, artistic achievement, religious rebellion, and the quest for knowledge, Czechs have a complex and fascinating communal identity. While musical traditions are present in nearly every culture and at every time in history, for Czechs, musicality has sometimes come to the forefront as a banner for change, as it did in the nineteenth century, or as a means of connecting with the world, as it has for guides and tourists alike in twenty-first century Prague. This aspect of Czech identity is fascinating because it seems straightforward at first glance, yet there are hidden currents beneath the surface. Nationalism attracts a great deal of scholarly and popular attention because it is connected with memorable music. Smetana's *Ma Vlast* is a beautiful example of programmatic music open to the myriad interpretations of its listeners, and as an American scholar my first childhood encounters with "classical" music included Dvořák's Ninth Symphony.

However, nationalism is just one part of the conversation. There is a rich history of musical activity in the Czech lands, which of course encompasses the folk songs and popular music that one may suppose precedes a strong nationalist music culture, but which is also comprised of international traditions throughout the medieval and Renaissance periods, unique religious music belonging to specific Czech sects, and the cosmopolitan style of the Classical period. This musical history informed the music of the nineteenth century, even as that music eclipsed its predecessors in fame and programming popularity.

In this study I have considered how music and musicality are intertwined with Czech identity, which is far more complex than a nationalistic narrative can imply. As an exploration of

salient ideological periods has demonstrated, the political importance of Bohemia, dating to medieval times, has created an international exchange of ideas and values among Czech monarchs such as Charles IV, which imbued Prague with a cosmopolitan environment and Bohemians with international connections and ideas beyond their own cultural traditions. This sense of pan-Europeanism persisted to a certain extent even through more regionally-centered periods and created an easy international atmosphere in this capital city, which benefited from both indigenous and foreign innovations. Some scholars have argued that the Czech sense of international-connectedness has persisted into our own era. Thomas Masyrk, the first President of Czechoslovakia, believed that a Czech desire for democracy existed, and that this desire was related, to some extent, to a sense of international community. Others, such as Peter Rutland and Tom Nairn, find traces of this outward-looking cosmopolitanism in the Velvet Divorce that transformed Czechoslovakia into the separate countries of Slovakia and the Czech Republic in 1991.[176]

The Czech esteem for universality can be seen in the reign of the "Father of Czechs," Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV. Although born in Bohemia, Charles harvested ideas and inspiration from his international education, impacting the artistic culture of his homeland, as well as wider Europe. This universality did not eclipse Czech identity, but rather became a vital aspect of it, even as the self-determination of the Hussites came to the fore only a few decades after Charles's reign. Although the Hussite confrontation with Rome could perhaps be viewed as a separatist movement, Jiří of Poděbrady, the only Hussite king ever to be elected in Bohemia, was also the author of a proposal for an international alliance of Christian states. Even in their

[176] Nairn, "A Civic-Nationalist Divorce: Czechs and Slovaks and Rutland, "Thatcherism, Czech-style: Transition to Capitalism in the Czech Republic."

quest to validate convictions that were firmly Czech, Czechs were still interested in making connections with their neighbors.

During the reign of Rudolf II, Prague held a privileged position as the court city of the Habsburg Empire and as a significant center of cultural achievement. This period remains an important source of inspiration for Czechs, and some of the mysterious and intriguing qualities of this reticent monarch—who chose to hold his court in Prague rather than Vienna—have been embraced as a part of the identity of this European capital. Significantly, the milieu of cosmopolitanism once again pervaded this era that would be formative for later Czechs, particularly those who were responsible for the establishment of Prague's musical institutions during the long nineteenth century. This pattern of cosmopolitanism and internationalism is key to understanding the context of musical culture during the nationalist period, which although a relatively brief moment in Czech history, has become nearly synonymous with Czech music.

These important historical perspectives, when contrasted with the bleak period of Counter-Reformation in the Czech lands, helped set the stage for eighteenth-century awakeners and their revivalist activities. The universality of Enlightenment values mapped onto the ideals of previous internationalist eras motivated Czech awakeners to resume a place in the greater European community. While nationalists also wanted a place in the European community, there were significant differences in the means and objectives of the two movements. The national revival was based in philosophical intellectualism, focused on literary and cultural revival, and gave rise to the practical revision of the languishing Czech language. The nationalist movement had overt political goals, focused on folk ideals, and strove for an autonomous Czech community. For the purposes of this study, the distinction between these two movements is significant due to the impact that they each had on Czech musical institutions and activities.

Of the three institutional examples I have examined, two were established during the height of the national revival—public opera venues and the Prague Conservatory—while the amateur arts organizations *Umělecká beseda* and *Hlahol* were conceived during the nationalist period. Over a century transpired between the opening of the first public opera theater in 1724 and the charter of *Umělecká beseda* in 1863, merely one year after the opening of the Provisional Theater, the first tangible step toward a Czech national theater. While eighteenth-century opera venues were concerned with public entertainment, civic pride, and profit margins, the Provisional Theater was subsidized by the state, until funds could be raised by private citizens for a proper national theater and had a specific social and political agenda.

In the intervening period between the opening of the Sporck Theater and the first performance of the Provisional Theater, the venue that dominated opera in Prague was the Estates Theater. Its founder, Count Nostic, was motivated by patriotism, just as the donors to the National Theater would be a century later, but his patriotism was a mixture of both Czech and Imperialistic pride. Regardless, the Estates Theater became a setting for distinguished operatic performances and an important chapter in the careers of multiple significant musical figures, such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Carl Maria von Weber, and Gustav Mahler. It was also the stage upon which the first professionally-produced Czech opera, *Dráteník*, debuted, paving the way for Czech-language opera during the nationalist period, during which the genre became an important cultural expression of the political and social agenda.

By the mid-nineteenth century the consumerist demand for Czech opera, coupled with the shifting political climate after the 1848 revolutionary movement, brought the dream of a truly Czech national theater to the first steps of fruition. The Provisional Theater opened in 1862 as a placeholder for the grand national theater envisioned by the Prague musical community.

Although it was a modest venue, the Provisional Theater staged productions with great enthusiasm and kept pace with contemporary trends. Significantly, under the leadership of both Jan Maýr and Bedřich Smetana, the Provisional Theater produced far more foreign operas than Czech or Slavic operas. This seems an obvious thing to have occurred given the available repertory, yet we so rarely consider the wealth of international music available in Prague during the nationalist period.

Although it took two decades, fundraising for the National Theater finally paid off. The incredible attendance of more than 60,000 Czechs at the laying of the corner stone demonstrates the profound significance of musical in the cultural identity of the Czech people. The National Theater was seen as a representation of the people themselves, and it is understandable that the growing Czech-language repertory could be viewed as restoring a voice to the silenced Czechs. However, the National Theater also proudly presented Wagnerian opera, *verismo* works by Verdi and Leoncavallo, and French opera lyrique. It is also worth remembering that the Estates Theater and the Neues Deutsches Theater continued to present foreign repertory. Czech history is firmly entrenched in international relationships and the value of music in Czech culture assisted in the preservation of their rich musical life is spite of the fact that they were fighting for cultural recognition and political autonomy.

The Prague Conservatory was conceived in the first decade of the nineteenth century, when the national revival was still in full swing. It is impossible to say if the founders of the Conservatory, made up of members from *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách*, had any idea of the far-reaching implications of establishing such an institution, or if they merely perceived a need and determined to address it. Whatever the case, these nobles with a concern for the music of the Czech lands managed to improve the quality and quantity of orchestral musicians and

opera singers available in Prague within a very short timeframe, and the influence of their decision touched, in one way or another, nearly every notable personality in Prague's musical community throughout the remainder of the century. The Conservatory became a nexus for international composers and performers as well, hosting visitors such as Richard Wagner, Hector Berlioz, Clara Schumann, and Franz Liszt, and attracting foreign faculty such as Giovanni Gordigiani, who was instrumental in restoring quality to Italian opera productions in Prague.

The establishment of the Conservatory also created an environment in which private music schools competed to fill apparent gaps in the Conservatory's curriculum. Not all of these schools held the same rigorous educational standard, but some—including those of Josef Proksch and František Pivoda—prepared several students for successful careers teaching and performing in the Czech lands and abroad. The same atmosphere, coupled with increasing nationalist feeling, gave rise to several proposals for an opera school to train Czech singers in anticipation of the hoped-for needs of the growing Czech-language opera repertory. However, despite the fervor of nationalist feeling, this project never gained a sustainable position.

What is fascinating about the lack of support for the opera school, when contrasted with the ongoing administration of the Prague Conservatory by *Jednota pro zvelebení hudby v Čechách*, is that a group of nobles with primarily musical motivations made a meaningful contribution to the education and careers of the musicians and composers who helped shape the Czech nationalist movement, not because they were espousing nationalism themselves, but because the musical identity of Czechs was so fiercely intertwined with their cultural and political identities.

This can be even more clearly demonstrated in the establishment and actions of amateur arts organizations, such as the artists' organization *Umělecká beseda* and the choral society

Hlahol. These organizations were both established in the early 1860s, when the nationalist movement was gaining momentum, and both organizations initially had overt nationalist agendas, yet their artistic activities were the means through which they hoped to achieve these agendas. Demonstrating the artistic value of Czech creations and performances was an avenue for asserting a Czech voice in the larger European community. For many Czechs, musical endeavors were evidence of cultural heritage and an active step toward gaining international respect as a separate community, not just a sublimation of the Austrian Empire.

Although promoting Czech artists, writers, and musicians was undoubtedly the priority for *Umělecká beseda*, this organization nevertheless undertook several internationally-connected projects, hosting international performers or celebrating the artistic endeavors of international masters, such as Shakespeare. Individuals in the Czech artistic community understood that celebrating the achievements of non -Czechs did not diminish the Czech perspective, but rather, lent credibility to their own artistic achievements. The ability to recognize excellence in others was not seen as a betrayal of the important work being produced by Czech artists, writers, and musicians.

Likewise, Prague *Hlahol's* performance repertory contained many international works, in addition to Czech folk songs and patriotic music. The ability to perform challenging works by internationally-acclaimed composers was a mark of success for this singing society and was not seen as a conflict with their self-proclaimed role as a representative of the Czech lands. Although *Hlahol's* motto was "Through singing to the heart, through the heart to the homeland," they recognized that programming was not limited to only Czech music, but rather, that the act of performance itself, as a group of Czechs, was a reclamation of a musical heritage that is threaded

throughout Czech history and that has defined segments of the Czech community well before and well after the mid-nineteenth century.

After examining the origin and activities of these entities, two important observations emerge: first, that the musical aspect of Czech life has historically been international in its scope and that this internationalism continued throughout the nineteenth century, even during the period of political nationalism; second, that the high value placed by Czechs on their musical life created a circumstance in which music became the face of the nationalist movement, not necessarily because of the profundity of the nationalist music being created, but rather because of the preexisting importance of music in the identity and activities of the Czech people. These observations are not at odds with the predominant emphasis placed on nationalist Czech music, but they help to contextualize the centrality of nationalist music in nineteenth century Czech life. If we recognize that musicality was a facet of Czechness already in place by the mid-nineteenth century, we can easily understand why 60,000 Czechs traveled to Prague to witness the symbolic placement of the National Theater's cornerstone; we can make sense of *Hlahol's* iconic motto; and we can understand that music was a defining boundary for a community that was seeking clarity in their cultural and political future.

One of the greatest detriments of privileging a nationalist narrative when considering Czech music in the nineteenth century is the individuals whose contributions are neglected: František Škroup, who composed the first publically recognized Czech-language opera and who is responsible for the current national anthem of the Czech Republic; Bedřich Weber, who led the Prague Conservatory for three decades, impacting hundreds of musicians through his textbooks, his teaching, his compositions, and his conducting; Zdeněk Fibich, whose cosmopolitan compositional style may have cost him acclaim and even teaching positions, but

who continued to compose according to his musical ideals. I believe these individuals represent Czechness as faithfully as their more celebrated colleagues, Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák, but they also show us a side of Czech music that was interested in maintaining a dialogue with the rest of Europe as they promoted Czech achievement. Whether or not every Czech is truly a musician, it seems clear that music has been a means of defining identity for many Czechs, both in the past and in our own time.

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Appendix A: List of Operas Performed at the Estates Theater under Carl Maria von Weber[177]

Operas	**Language/style**	**Date of Estates Theater Premiere**
Ferdinand Cortez, Spontini	French	September 9, 1813
Les aubergistes de qualité, Charles-Simon Catel	French	September 19, 1813
Joseph, Etienne-Nicolas Méhul	French	September 26, 1813
La vestale, Spontini	French	October 3, 1813
Les deux journées, Cherubini	French	October 17, 1813
Uthal, Méhul	French	October 19, 1813
Faniska, Cherubini	French	November 7, 1813
Le billet de loterie, Nicolas Isouard	French	November 21, 1813
Carlos Fioras, Ferdiand Fränzl	German	December 19, 1813
Medea, Jiří Benda	German Melodrama	December 28, 1813
Cendrillon, Isourad	French	January 1, 1814
Jean de Paris, Adrien Boildieu	French	January 1, 1814
Don Giovanni, Mozart	Italian	January 15, 1814
Le cantatrici villane, Valentino Fioravanti	Italian	January 30, 1814
Adolphe et Clara, ou Les deux prisonniers, Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac	French	February 6, 1814
Das Hausgesinde, Anton Fischer	German	February 13, 1814
Sargino, ossia L'allievo dell'amore, Ferdinando Paer	Italian	March 7, 1814
Die Verwandlungen, Fischer	German	March 12, 1814
Fanchon, Friedrich Himmel	German	March 27, 1814
Aline, Henri-Montan Berton	French	April 19, 1814
Die Schweizerfamilie, Joseph Weigl	German	May 10, 1814
Devce v Dubovem Udoli, Ebell	German	May 24, 1814
Ostade oder Adrian von Ostade, Weigl	German	June 4, 1814
Le prince de Catane, Isouard	French	June 12, 1814
Raoul Barbe-bleue, André-Ernest-Modeste	French	June 19, 1814

[177] Compiled using information from Zdeněk Němec, *Weberova Pražská Léta.* (Prague, CZ Mazáč, 1944), 168-206.

Grétry		
Le jugement de Midas, Grétry	French	June 23, 1814
Les deux petits Savoyards, Dalayrac	French	June 26, 1814
Le petit matelot, Pierre Gaveaux	French	July 22, 1814
Samson, Wenzel Müller	German Melodrama	July 31, 1814
Le nozze di Figaro, Mozart	Italian	August 1, 1814
Le calife de Bagdad, Boiledieu	French	August 7, 1814
Camilla, Paer	Italian	August 14, 1814
Das unterbrochene Opferfest, Peter von Winter	German	September 14, 1814
Poche ma buone, ossia Le donne cambiate, Paer	Italian (may have been presented in the German translation)	October 3, 1814
L'amor marinaro ossia Il corsaro, Weigl	Italian (may have been presented in the German translation)	October 16, 1814
Clemenza di Tito, Mozart	Italian	October 25, 1814
Das Neusonntagskind, Müller	German	October 25, 1814
Fidelio, Beethoven	German	November 27, 1814
Héléna, Méhul	French	January 4, 1815
Axur re d'Ormus, Salieri	Italian	January 20, 1815
Die Schwestern von Prag, Müller	German	February 3, 1815
Die Teufelsmühle am Wienerberg, Müller	German	April 7, 1815
Die Wette, Bernhard Anselm Weber	German	April 8, 1815
Elisene, Prinzessin von Bulgarien, Jan Josef Rössler	German	April 20, 1815
Alpenhirten, Friedrich Wollank	German	May 7, 1815
Agnes Sorel, Vojtěch Jírovec	German	May 15, 1815ed
Babylons Pyramiden, Winter	German	June 23, 1815
Le nouveau seigneur de village, Boieldieu	French	August 3, 1815
Wirth und Gast, Meyerbeer	German	October 22, 1815
Die Jugend Peter des Grossen, Weigl	German	December 26, 1815
Joconde, ou Les coureurs d'aventures, Isouard	French	January 11, 1815
Richard Coeur-de-lion, Grétry	French	February 5, 1816

L'Échelle de soie, Isouard	French	February 11, 1816
Der Apotheker und der Doktor, Dittersdorf	German	February 21, 1816
Athalie, Schulz	German	May 21, 1816
Haus zu verkaufen, Ludwig Maurer	German	June 3, 1816
Das Sternenmädchen im Meidlinger Walde, Ferdinand Kauer	German	August 4, 1816
Faust, Spohr	German	September 1, 1816
Das Wirtshaus von Granada, Michael Umlauf	German	October 6, 1816
Lodoïska, Cherubini	French	November 15, 1816
Hieronymus Knicker, Dittersdorf	German	December 5, 1816
Marie von Montalban, Winter	German	December 15, 1816
Iphigénie en Aulide, Gluck	French	December 15, 1816
Silvana, Weber	German	December 15, 1816
Hanns Klachl von Przelautsch, Jan Tuček	German	February 27, 1817
Deux mots, ou Une nuit dans la forêt, Dalayrac	French	February 27, 1817
Die Zauberflöte, Mozart	German	March 13, 1817
Tancredi, Rossini	Italian	March 22, 1817
Almazinde, Gottlob Bierey	German	May 1, 1817
Das Donauweibchen Part 1, Kauer	German	May 12, 1817
Agnese, Paer	Italian	May 15, 1817
Das Donauweibchen Part II, Kauer	German	May 17, 1817
Der Spiegel von Arkadien, Franz Süssmayer	German	July 6, 1817
Le trésor supposé, ou Le danger d'écouter aux portes, Méhul	French	July 24, 1817
Moses, Seyfried	German melodrama	August 31, 1817
Palmira regina di Persia, Salieri	Italian	October 19, 1817
Dämona, das kleine Höckerweibchen, Tuček	German	October 29, 1817
Le poète et le musicien, ou Je cherche un sujet, Dalayrac	French	November 25, 1817
Das Labyrinth, oder Der Kampf mit den Elementen, Winter	German	December 13, 1817
L'italiana in Algeri, Rossini	Italian	January 23, 1818
Zaubergürtel von Swetard, Fischer	German	March 1, 1818

Der Fagottist, oder Die Zauberzither, Müller	German	April 2, 1818
Doktor Fausts Mante, Müller	German	April 17, 1818
Orestes, Conradin Kreutzer	German	May 6, 1818
Das lustige Beylager, Müller	German	July 24, 1818
Sémiramis, Catel	French	July 28, 1818
Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen, Müller	German	July 28, 1818

Appendix B: List of Operas Performed at the Provisional and National Theaters

Provisional Theater Repertory

Operas Premiered (chronological)	**Language/style**	**Date of Provisonal Theater Premiere**
<u>Under the direction of Jan Maýr (1861-1866)</u>		
Les deux journées, ou Le porteur d'eau, Cherubini	French	November 20, 1862
La muette de Portici, Auber	French	March 1, 1863
Il barbiere di Siviglia, Rossini	Italian	March 19, 1863
Otello, Rossini	Italian	May 2, 1863
L'éclair, Fromental Halévy	French	August 9, 1863
Le pardon de Ploërmel/Dinorah, Meyerbeer	French	September 13, 1863
Vladimír, bohů zvolenec (Vladimir, Chosen of the Gods), Fr. Skuherský	Czech	September 27, 1863
La dame blanche, Adrien Boieldieu	French	October 25, 1863
La neige, ou Le nouvel Eginhard, Auber	French	December 6, 1863
Orphée aux enfers, Offenbach	Operetta	December 13, 1863
La Juive, Halévy	French	January 6, 1864
Lucia di Lammermoor, Donizetti	Italian	February 14, 1864
Norma, Bellini	Italian	March 17, 1864
Semiramide, Rossini	Italian	June 25, 1864
Don Giovanni, Mozart	Italian	July 14, 1864
Rigoletto, Verdi	Italian	September 10, 1864
Le maçon, Auber	French	October 26, 1864
Les Hugenots, Meyerbeer	French	October 30, 1864
Robert le diable, Meyerbeer	French	November 26, 1864
Orfeo ed Euridice, Gluck	Italian	December 17, 1864
Linda di Chamounix, Donizetti	Italian	January 5, 1865
Le nozze di Figaro, Mozart	Italian	January 26, 1865
Der Freischütz, Adophe Adam	German	February 23, 1865

Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Otto Nicolai	German	March 4, 1865
La sonnambula, Bellini	Italian	April 7, 1865
Fra Diavolo, ou L'hôtellerie de Terracine, Auber	French	May 3, 1865
Maria di Rohan, Donizetti	Italian	May 14, 1865
Le mariage aux lanterns, Offenbach	Operetta	May 20, 1865
Ernani, Verdi	Italian	September 10, 1865
La chanson de Fortunio, Offenbach	Operetta	October 6, 1865
Templáři na Moravě (Templars in Moravia), Karl Šebor	Czech	October 19, 1865
Dívčí ústav (Girls' Institute), Franz Suppé	Operetta	November 4, 1865
Braniboři v Čechách (The Brandenburgers in Bohemia), Smetana	Czech	January 4, 1866
Le serment (ou Les faux monnoyeurs), Auber	French	January 31, 1866
La belle Hélène, Offenbach	Operetta	February 4, 1866
Armide, Gluck	French	April 11, 1866
Jean de Paris, Boieldieu	French	April 30, 1866
Prodaná nevěsta (The Bartered Bride), Smetana	Czech	May 30, 1866
Le postillon de Lonjumeau, Adam	French	June 27, 1866
Zhizn' za tsarya (A Life for the Tsar), Glinka	Russian	August 29, 1866
La Juive, Halévy	French	October 10, 1866
La muette de Portici, Auber	French	November 7, 1866
Le pardon de Ploërmel/Dinorah, Meyerbeer	French	November 23, 1866
Les diamants de la couronne, Auber	French	December 4, 1866

Under the direction of Bedřich Smetana (1866-1874)

Der Freischütz, Weber	German	September 28, 1866
Die Zauberflöte, Mozart	German	October 3, 1866
Prodaná nevěsta (The Bartered Bride), Smetana	Czech	October 27, 1866
Braniboři v Čechách (The Brandenburgers in Bohemia), Smetana	Czech	November 28, 1866

Guillaume Tell, Rossini	French	December 14, 1866
Zhizn' za tsarya (A Life for the Tsar), Glinka	Russian	January 4, 1867
Templáři na Moravě (Templars in Moravia), Šebor	Czech	January 18, 1867
Troubadour, Verdi	Italian	January 20, 1867
Fra Diavolo, ou L'hôtellerie de Terracine, Auber	French	January 26, 1867
Ruslan i Lyudmila (Ruslan and Lyudmila), Glinka	Russian	February 16, 1867
Don Giovanni, Mozart	Italian	March 8, 1867
Le Brasseur de Preston, Adam	French	March 22, 1867
Svédové v Praze (The Swedes in Prague), Jan Škroup	Czech	April 22, 1867
Il barbiere di Siviglia, Rossini	Italian	April 28, 1867
Daphnis et Chloé, Offenbach	Operetta	May 11, 1867
Dráteník (The Tinker), Škroup	Czech	May 18, 1867
Le violoneux, Offenbach	Operetta	May 18, 1867
Otello, Rossini	Italian	June 10, 1867
Rigoletto, Verdi	Italian	July 10, 1867
Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann, Suppé	Operetta	June 27, 1867
Drahomíra, Šebor	Czech	September 20, 1867
Les Pantins de Violette, Adam	French	December 6, 1867
Don Sebasitan, Donizetti	Italian	December 26, 1867
Šotek (The Imp), Stanisław Duniecki	Polish	June 8, 1867
Les Hugenots, Meyerbeer	French	June 14, 1867
Halka, Stanisław Moniuszko	Polish	February 28, 1868
Lejla, Bendl	Czech	January 4, 1868
Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Otto Nicolai	German	March 5, 1868
Robert le diable, Meyerbeer	French	March 20, 1868
Lora, František Skuherský	Czech	April 13, 1868
Dalibor, Smetana	Czech	May 16, 1868
Un ballo in maschera, Verdi	Italian	June 30, 1868
La traviata, Verdi	Italian	July 15, 1868

Le premier jour du bonheur, Auber	French	September 1, 1868
Nevěsta husitská (The Hussite Bride), Šebor	Czech	September 27, 1868
Norma, Bellini	Italian	October 29, 1868
Le nozze di Figaro, Mozart	Italian	November 6, 1868
Nabucodonosor, Verdi	Italian	December 7, 1868
Lod' v přistavu, nebo Veselí plavci (Ship in port or the Happy bather), Ivan Zajc	Croatian	December 30, 1868
Orfeo ed Euridice, Gluck	Italian	January 12, 1869
Gustave III, ou Le bal masque, Auber	French	January 26, 1869
Jessonda, Spohr	German	February 26, 1869
Zajatá (The Woman Captive), Hynek Vojáček	Czech	March 13, 1869
Die Entführung aus dem Serail, Mozart	German	April 6, 1869
Lazzarone neapolšti (Beggars of Naples)*,* Zajc	Croatian	April 20, 1869
Don Pasquale, Donizetti	Italian	June 15, 1869
Crispino e la comare, Luigi and Federic Ricci	Italian	July 20, 1869
Roméo et Juliette, Gounod	French	August 29, 1869
Pout' do Mekky (Pilgrimage to Mecca), Zajc	Croatian	September 10, 1869
Le domino noir, Auber	French	November 12, 1869
Le fidèle berger, Adam	French	December 17, 1869
Fidelio, Beethoven	German	January 21, 1870
La Cenerentola, ossia La bontà in trionfo, Rossini	Italian	February 4, 1870
Unos Sabinek (Abduction of the Sabine), Zajc	Croatian	May 23, 1870
Les Brigands, Offenbach	Operetta	July 30, 1870
Břetislav, Bendl	Czech	September 18, 1870
Mikuláš, Josef Rozkošný	Czech	December 5, 1870
Le Châlet, Adam	French	January 25, 1871
Semiramide, Rossini	Italian	April 13, 1871
Die Somnambule, Zajc	German	April 28, 1871
Geneviève de Brabant, Offenbach	Operetta	May 13, 1871
La princesse de Trébizonde, Offenbach	Operetta	June 9, 1871

Mesdames de la Halle, Offenbach	Operetta	July 7, 1871
Hexe von Boissy, Zajc	German	July 28, 1871
Svatojanské proudy/ Vltavská víla (The Rapids of St. John/The Vltava Nymph), Rozkošný	Czech	October 3, 1871
Faust, Gounod	French	October 24, 1871
La dame blanche, Boieldieu	French	November 15, 1871
L'éclair, Halevy	French	December 1, 1871
Mislav, Zajc	Croatian	December 26, 1871
Flotte Burschen, Suppé	Operetta	April 13, 1872
Čarovný prsten nebo Morilla (The Magical Ring or Morilla), Julia Hoppa	Operetta	June 13, 1872
La boule de niege, Offenbach	Operetta	July 19, 1872
Il matrimonio segreto, Domenico Cimarosa	Italian	December 17, 1872
Iphigénie en Aulide, Gluck	French	April 5, 1872
Zakletý princ (The Enchanted Prince), Vojtěch Hřímalý	Czech	May 13, 1872
Le chien du jardinier, Grisar	French	November 7, 1872
Le maçon, Auber	French	March 7, 1873
Rektor a general (Rector and General), Skuherský	Czech	March 28, 1873
Javotte, Émile Jonas	Operetta	May 11, 1873
La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein, Offenbach	Operetta	July 11, 1873
La colombe, Gounod	French	October 22, 1873
Le pré aux clercs, Ferdinand Hérold	French	November 14, 1873
Galathée, Victor Massé	Operetta	December 17, 1873
Dvou vdov (Two Widows), Smetana	Czech	March 27, 1874
Bukovín, Fibich	Czech	April 16, 1874
Les braconniers, Offenbach	Operetta	June 28, 1874
Barbe-bleue, Offenbach	Operetta	August 8, 1874
Under the direction of Jan Maýr (1874-1881)		
Le roi l'a dit, Léon Delibes	French	October 9, 1874
Král a uhlír (King and Charcoal Burner), Dvořák	Czech	November 24, 1874

Si j'étais roi, Adam	French	January 15, 1875
La fille de Madame Angot, Charles Lecocq	Operetta	February 4, 1875
Giroflé-Girofla, Lecocq	Operetta	March 31, 1875
Madame l'archiduc, Offenbach	Operetta	May 30, 1875
Cagliostro, Johann Strauss	Operetta	July 19, 1875
La belle Hélène, Offenbach	Operetta	August 6, 1875
Die Fledermaus, Strauss	Operetta	September 7, 1875
Bianca und Giuseppe, oder die Franzosen vor Nizza, Kittl	German	September 20, 1875
Nizhegorodtsï, Eduard Nápravník	Russian	November 5, 1875
Le prophète, Meyerbeer	French	December 5, 1875
Ariadne auf Naxos, Jiří Benda	German	December 12, 1875
Medea, Benda	German	December 22, 1875
Vanda, Dvořák	Czech	April 17, 1876
Astorga, J.J. Abert	German	October 17, 1876
Hubička (The Kiss), Smetana	Czech	November 7, 1876
Das goldene Kreuz, Ignaz Brüll	German	December 9, 1876
Graciella, Lecocq	Operetta	January 27, 1877
Hamlet, Ambroise Thomas	French	April 2, 1877
Der Seekadett, Richard Genée	Operetta	April 15, 1877
Le Roi Carotte, Offenbach	Operetta	May 27, 1877
Le Docteur Miracle, Lecocq	Operetta	August 5, 1877
Indická princezna (Indian Princess), Bendl	Czech	August 26, 1877
Záviš z Falkenštejna (Záviš of Falkenstein), Rozkošný	Czech	October 14, 1877
L'Africaine, Meyerbeer	French	December 8, 1877
Šelma sedlák (The Cunning Peasant), Dvořák	Czech	January 27, 1878
Prinz Methusalem, Strauss	Operetta	February 24, 1878
Mignon, Thomas	French	June 2, 1878

Nanon, die Wirtin vom goldenen Lamm, Genée	Operetta	June 5, 1878
Les dragons de Villars, L. Maillart	Operetta	August 23, 1878
Tajemství (The Secret), Smetana	Czech	September 17, 1878
Die schöne Galathée, Suppé	Operetta	October 10, 1878
Le petit duc, Lecocq	Operetta	November 23, 1878
Guido et Ginevra, ou La peste de Florence, Halévy	French	February 5, 1879
Boccaccio, Suppé	Operetta	March 12, 1879
Jarmila, Theodor Bradský	Czech	March 28, 1879
Les cloches de Corneville, Robert Planquette	Operetta	May 2, 1879
Le grand Casimir, Lecocq	Operetta	July 5, 1879
Die letzten Mohikaner, Genée	Operetta	August 14, 1879
Zmařená svatba (The Frustrated Wedding), Šebor	Czech	October 25, 1879
La Camargo, Lecocq	Operetta	November 30, 1879
La jolie Persane, Lecocq	Operetta	February 27, 1880
Una note a Firenze, Ladislav Zavrtal	Italian	March 20, 1880
Gräfin Dubarry, Carl Millöcker	Operetta	April 18, 1880
Donna Juanita, Suppé	Operetta	October 17, 1880
La petite mademoiselle, Lecocq	Operetta	March 1, 1881
Tvrdé palice (The Stubborn Lovers), Dvořák	Czech	October 2, 1881
Černohorci (The Montenegrins), Bendl	Czech	October 11, 1881
Ruy Blas, Filippo Marchetti	Italian	October 25, 1881
Blanik, Fibich	Czech	November 25, 1881
Glücklich ist, wer vergisst!, Strauss	Operetta	February 17, 1882
Der Wildschütz, oder Die Stimme der Natur, Lortzing	German	March 20, 1882
Le jour et la nuit, Lecocq	Operetta	April 15, 1882
Der Carneval in Rom, Strauss	Operetta	July 22, 1882
Dimitrij, Dvořák	Czech	October 8, 1882
Čertova stěna (The Devil's Wall), Smetana	Czech	October 20, 1882

La part du diable, Auber	French	November 28, 1882
Die Afrikareise, Suppé	Operetta	June 1, 1883
Starý ženich (The Elderly Suitor), Bendl	Czech	October 20, 1883

Operas Premiered (by language)	**Language/style**	**Date of Provisonal Theater Premiere**
Under the direction of Jan Maýr (1861-1866)		
Il barbiere di Siviglia, Rossini	Italian	March 19, 1863
Otello, Rossini	Italian	May 2, 1863
Lucia di Lammermoor, Donizetti	Italian	February 14, 1864
Norma, Bellini	Italian	March 17, 1864
Semiramide, Rossini	Italian	June 25, 1864
Don Giovanni, Mozart	Italian	July 14, 1864
Rigoletto, Verdi	Italian	September 10, 1864
Orfeo ed Euridice, Gluck	Italian	December 17, 1864
Linda di Chamounix, Donizetti	Italian	January 5, 1865
Le nozze di Figaro, Mozart	Italian	January 26, 1865
La sonnambula, Bellini	Italian	April 7, 1865
Maria di Rohan, Donizetti	Italian	May 14, 1865
Ernani, Verdi	Italian	September 10, 1865
Les deux journées, ou Le porteur d'eau, Cherubini	French	November 20, 1862
La muette de Portici, Auber	French	March 1, 1863
L'éclair, Halévy	French	August 9, 1863
Le pardon de Ploërmel/Dinorah, Meyerbeer	French	September 13, 1863
La dame blanche, Boieldieu	French	October 25, 1863
La neige, ou Le nouvel Eginhard, Auber	French	December 6, 1863
La Juive, Halévy	French	January 6 1864
Le maçon, Auber	French	October 26, 1864

Les Hugenots, Meyerbeer	French	October 30, 1864
Robert le diable, Meyerbeer	French	November 26, 1864
Fra Diavolo, ou L'hôtellerie de Terracine, Auber	French	May 3, 1865
Le serment (ou Les faux monnoyeurs), Auber	French	January 31, 1866
Armide, Gluck	French	April 11, 1866
Jean de Paris, Boieldieu	French	April 30. 1866
Le postillon de Lonjumeau, Adolphe Adam	French	June 27, 1866
Les diamants de la couronne, Auber	French	December 4, 1866
Der Freischütz, Adam	German	February 23, 1865
Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Otto Nicolai	German	March 4, 1865
Vladimír, bohů zvolenec (Vladimir, Chosen of the Gods), Fr. Skuherský	Czech	September 27, 1863
Templáři na Moravě (Templars in Moravia), Šebor	Czech	October 19, 1865
Braniboři v Čechách (The Brandenburgers in Bohemia), Smetana	Czech	January 4, 1866
Prodaná nevěsta (The Bartered Bride), Smetana	Czech	May 30, 1866
Zhizn' za tsarya (A Life for the Tsar), Glinka	Russian	August 29, 1866
Orphée aux enfers, Offenbach	Operetta	December 13, 1863
Le mariage aux lanterns, Offenbach	Operetta	May 20, 1865
La chanson de Fortunio, Offenbach	Operetta	October 6, 1865
Dívčí ústav (Girls' Institute), Suppé	Operetta	November 4, 1865
La belle Hélène, Offenbach	Operetta	February 4, 1866

Under the direction of Bedřich Smetana (1866-1874)

Troubadour, Verdi	Italian	January 20, 1867
Don Giovanni, Mozart	Italian	March 8, 1867
Il barbiere di Siviglia, Rossini	Italian	April 28, 1867
Otello, Rossini	Italian	June 10, 1867

Rigoletto, Verdi	Italian	July 10, 1867
Don Sebasitan, Donizetti	Italian	December 26, 1867
Un ballo in maschera, Verdi	Italian	June 30, 1868
La traviata, Verdi	Italian	July 15, 1868
Norma, Bellini	Italian	October 29, 1868
Le nozze di Figaro, Mozart	Italian	November 6, 1868
Nabucodonosor, Verdi	Italian	December 7, 1868
Orfeo ed Euridice, Gluck	Italian	January 12, 1869
Don Pasquale, Donizetti	Italian	June 15, 1869
Crispino e la comare, Ricci and Ricci	Italian	July 20, 1869
La Cenerentola, ossia La bontà in trionfo, Rossini	Italian	February 4, 1870
Semiramide, Rossini	Italian	April 13, 1871
Il matrimonio segreto, Cimarosa	Italian	December 17, 1872
Guillaume Tell, Rossini	French	December 14, 1866
La Juive, Halévy	French	October 10, 1866
La muette de Portici, Auber	French	November 7, 1866
Le pardon de Ploërmel/Dinorah, Meyerbeer	French	November 23, 1866
Fra Diavolo, ou L'hôtellerie de Terracine, Auber	French	January 26, 1867
Le Brasseur de Preston, Adam	French	March 22, 1867
Les Hugenots, Meyerbeer	French	June 14, 1867
Les Pantins de Violette, Adam	French	December 6, 1867
Robert le diable, Meyerbeer	French	March 20, 1868
Le premier jour du bonheur, Auber	French	September 1, 1868
Gustave III, ou Le bal masque, Auber	French	January 26, 1869
Roméo et Juliette, Gounod	French	August 29, 1869
Le domino noir, Auber	French	November 12, 1869
Le fidèle berger, Adam	French	December 17, 1869

Le Châlet, Adam	French	January 25, 1871
Faust, Gounod	French	October 24, 1871
La dame blanche, Boieldieu	French	November 15, 1871
L'éclair, Halévy	French	December 1, 1871
Iphigénie en Aulide, Gluck	French	April 5, 1872
Le chien du jardinier, Grisar	French	November 7, 1872
Le maçon, Auber	French	March 7, 1873
La colombe, Gounod	French	October 22, 1873
Le pré aux clercs, Hérold	French	November 14, 1873
Der Freischütz, Weber	German	September 28, 1866
Die Zauberflöte, Mozart	German	October 3, 1866
Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Nicolai	German	March 5, 1868
Jessonda, Sportz	German	February 26, 1869
Die Entführung aus dem Serail, Mozart	German	April 6, 1869
Fidelio, Beethoven	German	January 21, 1870
Die Somnambule, Zajc	German	April 28, 1871
Hexe von Boissy, Zajc	German	July 28, 1871
Zhizn' za tsarya (A Life for the Tsar), Glinka	Russian	January 4, 1867
Ruslan i Lyudmila (Ruslan and Lyudmila), Glinka	Russian	February 16, 1867
Šotek (The Imp), Duniecki	Polish	June 8, 1867
Halka, Stanisław Moniuszko	Polish	February 28, 1868
Lod' v přistavu, nebo Veselí plavci (Ship in port or the Happy bather), Zajc	Croatian	December 30, 1868
Lazzarone neapolšti (Beggars of Naples), Zajc	Croatian	April 20, 1869
Pout' do Mekky (Pilgrimage to Mecca), Zajc	Croatian	September 10, 1869
Unos Sabinek (Abduction of the Sabine), Zajc	Croatian	May 23, 1870
Mislav, Zajc	Croatian	December 26, 1871

Prodaná nevěsta (The Bartered Bride), Smetana	Czech	October 27, 1866
Braniboři v Čechách (The Brandenburgers in Bohemia), Smetana	Czech	November 28, 1866
Templáři na Moravě (Templars in Moravia), Šebor	Czech	January 18, 1867
Svédové v Praze (The Swedes in Prague), Škroup	Czech	April 22, 1867
Dráteník (The Tinker), Škroup	Czech	May 18, 1867
Drahomíra, Šebor	Czech	September 20, 1867
Lejla, Bendl	Czech	January 4, 1868
Lora, Fr. Skuherský	Czech	April 13, 1868
Dalibor, Smetana	Czech	May 16, 1868
Nevěsta husitská (The Hussite Bride), Šebor	Czech	September 27, 1868
Zajatá (The Woman Captive), Vojáček	Czech	March 13, 1869
Břetislav, Bendl	Czech	September 18, 1870
Mikuláš, Rozkošný	Czech	December 5, 1870
Svatojanské proudy/ Vltavská víla (The Rapids of St. John/The Vltava Nymph), Rozkošný	Czech	October 3, 1871
Zakletý princ (The Enchanted Prince), Hřímalý	Czech	May 13, 1872
Rektor a general (Rector and General), Skuherský	Czech	March 28, 1873
Dvou vdov (Two Widows), Smetana	Czech	March 27, 1874
Bukovín, Fibich	Czech	April 16, 1874
Daphnis et Chloé, Offenbach	Operetta	May 11, 1867
Le violoneux, Offenbach	Operetta	May 18, 1867
Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann, Suppé	Operetta	June 27, 1867
Les Brigands, Offenbach	Operetta	July 30, 1870
Geneviève de Brabant, Offenbach	Operetta	May 13, 1871
La princesse de Trébizonde, Offenbach	Operetta	June 9, 1871
Mesdames de la Halle, Offenbach	Operetta	July 7, 1871
Flotte Burschen, Suppé	Operetta	April 13, 1872

Čarovný prsten nebo Morilla (The Magical Ring or Morilla), Hoppa	Operetta	June 13, 1872
La boule de niege, Offenbach	Operetta	July 19, 1872
Javotte, Jonas	Operetta	May 11, 1873
La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein, Offenbach	Operetta	July 11, 1873
Galathée, Massé	Operetta	December 17, 1873
Les braconniers, Offenbach	Operetta	June 28, 1874
Barbe-bleue, Offenbach	Operetta	August 8, 1874

<u>Under the direction of Jan Maýr (1874-1881)</u>

Una note a Firenze, Zavrtal	Italian	March 20, 1880
Ruy Blas, Marchetti	Italian	October 25, 1881
Le roi l'a dit, Delibes	French	October 9, 1874
Si j'étais roi, Adam	French	January 15, 1875
Le prophète, Meyerbeer	French	December 5, 1875
Hamlet, Thomas	French	April 2, 1877
L'Africaine, Meyerbeer	French	December 8, 1877
Mignon, Thomas	French	June 2, 1878
Guido et Ginevra, ou La peste de Florence, Halévy	French	February 5, 1879
La part du diable, Auber	French	November 28, 1882
Bianca und Giuseppe, oder die Franzosen vor Nizza, Kittl	German	September 20, 1875
Ariadne auf Naxos, Benda	German	Decemebr 212, 1875
Medea, Benda	German	December 22, 1875
Astorga, Abert	German	October 17, 1876
Das goldene Kreuz, Brüll	German	December 9, 1876
Der Wildschütz, oder Die Stimme der Natur, Lortzing	German	March 20, 1882
Král a uhlír (King and Charcoal Burner), Dvořák	Czech	November 24, 1874
Vanda, Dvořák	Czech	April 17, 1876

Hubička (The Kiss), Smetana	Czech	November 7, 1876
Indická princezna (Indian Princess), Bendl	Czech	August 26, 1877
Záviš z Falkenštejna (Záviš of Falkenstein), Rozkošný	Czech	October 14, 1877
Šelma sedlák (The Cunning Peasant), Dvořák	Czech	January 27, 1878
Tajemství (The Secret), Smetana	Czech	September 17, 1878
Jarmila, Bradský	Czech	March 28, 1879
Zmařená svatba (The Frustrated Wedding), Šebor	Czech	October 25, 1879
Tvrdé palice (The Stubborn Lovers), Dvořák	Czech	October 2, 1881
Černohorci (The Montenegrins), Bendl	Czech	October 11, 1881
Blanik, Fibich	Czech	November 25, 1881
Dimitrij, Dvořák	Czech	October 8, 1882
Čertova stěna (The Devil's Wall), Smetana	Czech	October 20, 1882
Starý ženich (The Elderly Suitor), Bendl	Czech	October 20, 1883
Nizhegorodtsï, Nápravník	Russian	November 5, 1875
La fille de Madame Angot, Lecocq	Operetta	February 4, 1875
Giroflé-Girofla, Lecocq	Operetta	March 31, 1875
Madame l'archiduc, Offenbach	Operetta	May 30, 1875
Cagliostro, Strauss	Operetta	July 19, 1875
La belle Hélène, Offenbach	Operetta	August 6, 1875
Die Fledermaus, Strauss	Operetta	September 7, 1875
Graciella, Lecocq	Operetta	January 27, 1877
Der Seekadett, Genée	Operetta	April 15, 1877
Le Roi Carotte, Offenbach	Operetta	May 27, 1877
Le Docteur Miracle, Lecocq	Operetta	August 5, 1877
Prinz Methusalem, Strauss	Operetta	February 24, 1878
Nanon, die Wirtin vom goldenen Lamm, Genée	Operetta	June 5, 1878
Les dragons de Villars, Maillart	Operetta	August 23, 1878

Die schöne Galathée, Suppé	Operetta	October 10, 1878
Le petit duc, Lecocq	Operetta	November 23, 1878
Boccaccio, Suppé	Operetta	March 12, 1879
Les cloches de Corneville, Planquette	Operetta	May 2, 1879
Le grand Casimir, Lecocq	Operetta	July 5, 1879
Die letzten Mohikaner, Genée	Operetta	August 14, 1879
La Camargo, Lecocq	Operetta	November 30, 1879
La jolie Persane, Lecocq	Operetta	February 27, 1880
Gräfin Dubarry, Millöcker	Operetta	April 18, 1880
Donna Juanita, Suppé	Operetta	October 17, 1880
La petite mademoiselle, Lecocq	Operetta	March 1, 1881
Glücklich ist, wer vergisst!, Strauss	Operetta	February 17, 1882
Le jour et la nuit, Lecocq	Operetta	April 15, 1882
Der Carneval in Rom, Strauss	Operetta	July 22, 1882
Die Afrikareise, Suppé	Operetta	June 1, 1883

National Theater Repertory

Operas Premiered (chronological)	**Language/style**	**Date of National Theater Premiere**
<u>Under the administration of František Šubert</u>		
Libuše, Smetana	Czech	June 11, 1881
Les Hugenots, Meyerbeer	French	June 19, 1881
L'Africaine, Meyerbeer	French	June 6, 1883
Dimitrij, Dvořák	Czech	November 20, 1883
Prodaná nevěsta (The Bartered Bride), Smetana	Czech	November 23, 1883
Šelma sedlák (The Cunning Peasant), Dvořák	Czech	November 26, 1883
V studni (In the Well), Vilém Blodek	Czech	December 2, 1883
Hubička, Smetana	Czech	November 30, 1883
Starý ženich (The Elderly Suitor), Bendl	Czech	December 7, 1883
Karel Škréta, Bendl	Czech	December 11, 1883
Carmen, Bizet	French	January 3, 1884
La Juive, Halevy	French	January 6, 1884
Faust, Gounod	French	January 11, 1884
Troubadour, Verdi	Italian	January 22, 1884
Lucrezia Borgia, Donizetti	Italian	January 26, 1884
Aida, Verdi	Italian	February 15, 1884
Dvě vdovy (Two Widows), Smetana	Czech	March 5, 1884
Nevěsta messinská (The Bride of Messina), Fibich	Czech	March 28, 1884
Husitská nevěsta (The Hussite Bride), Karl Šebor	Czech	April 3, 1884
Tvrdé palice (The Stubborn Lovers), Dvořák	Czech	April 18, 1884
Ženichové (The Bridegrooms), Karel Kovařovic	Czech	May 13, 1884
Un ballo in maschera, Verdi	Italian	June 16, 1884
Crispino e la comare, Federico and Luigi Ricci	Italian	July 21, 1884
La Traviata, Verdi	Italian	August 14, 1884
Ernani, Verdi	Italian	August 20, 1884
Il barbiere di Siviglia, Rossini	Italian	August 22, 1884

Der Freischütz, Weber	German	September 2, 1884
La muette de Portici, Auber	French	September 5, 1884
Marta, Friedrich von Flotow	German	September 21, 1884
Don Giovanni, Mozart	Italian	September 27, 1884
Norma, Belinni	Italian	October 5, 1884
Die Entführung aus dem Serail, Mozart	German	October 15, 1884
Lucie, Donizetti	Italian	November 1, 1884
Orfeo ed Euridice, Gluck	Italian	November 6, 1884
Mignon, Ambroise Thomas	French	November 15, 1884
Lakmé, Léo Delibes	French	November 30, 1884
Lohengrin, Wagner	German	January 12, 1885
Le chien du jardinier, Albert Grisar	French	January 14, 1885
Svatojanské proudy (*Vltavská víla*) (The Rapids of St John (The Vltava Nymph)), Josef Rozkošný	Czech	February 6, 1885
Braniboři v Čechách (The Brandenburgers in Bohemia), Smetana	Czech	April 9, 1885
Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Otto Nicolai	German	April 25, 1885
Tajemství (The Secret), Smetana	Czech	May 12, 1885
Popelka (Cinderella), Rozkošný	Czech	May 31, 1885
Le postillon de Lonjumeau, Adolphe Adam	French	June 20, 1885
Manon, Massenet	French	September 19, 1885
Demon, Anton Rubinstein	German	October 18, 1885
Mefistofeles, Arrigo Boito	Italian	December 9, 1885
Alessandro Stradella, Flotow	German	December 30, 1885
Roméo et Juliette, Goudnod	French	January 6, 1886
Zakletý princ (The Enchanted Prince), Vojtěch Hřímalý	Czech	January 28, 1886
Cesta oknem (The Way through the Window), Kovařovic	Czech	February 11, 1886
Guillaume Tell, Rossini	French	February 27, 1886
Rigoletto, Verdi	Italian	March 5, 1886
Le fidèle berger, Adam	French	March 18, 1886
Die Königin von Saba, Karl Goldmark	German	April 2, 1886
Černohorci (The Montenegrins), Bendl	Czech	May 8, 1886

Spanilá mlynářka (The Beautiful Miller), Josef Klička	Czech	June 10, 1886
Ruslan i Lyudmila (Ruslan and Lyudmila), Glinka	Russian	June 20, 1886
Die Jagd, Lortzing	German	July 16, 1886
Halka, Stanisław Moniuszko	Polish	September 19, 1886
Robert le diable, Meyerbeer	French	September 26, 1886
Mirra, Ladislav Zavertal	Italian	November 7, 1886
Zar und Zimmermann, oder Die beiden Peter, Lortzing	German	November 26, 1886
Dalibor, Smetana	Czech	December 5, 1886
Le nozze di Figaro, Mozart	Italian	January 22, 1887
Das Glöckchen des Eremiten, Louis Maillart	German	February 4, 1887
Svatá Ludmila (St. Ludmila), Dvořák	Czech	February 25, 1887
Etienne Marcel, Saint-Saëns	French	March 19, 1887
L'elisir d'amore, Donizetti	Italian	April 12, 1887
Patrie!, Émile Paladilhe	French	April 28, 1887
Král a uhlíř (King and Charcoal Burner), Dvořák	Czech	June 15, 1887
Natalie, Jindřich Hartl	Czech	June 17, 1887
Die Zauberflöte, Mozart	German	September 23, 1887
La fille du regiment, Donizetti	French	November 12, 1887
Fidelio, Beethoven	German	December 2, 1887
Le pardon de Ploërmel/Dinorah, Meyerbeer	French	December 16, 1887
Otello, Verdi	Italian	January 7, 1888
Harold, Eduard Francevič Nápravník	Russian	March 23, 1888
Le roi l'a dit, Delibes	French	April 17, 1888
Zampa, ou La fiancée de marbre, Ferdinand Hérold	French	September 13, 1888
Zhizn' za tsarya (A Life for the Tsar), Glinka	Russian	September 21, 1888
Les contes d'Hoffmann, Offenbach	French	October 18, 1888
Le prophète, Meyerbeer	French	November 8, 1888
Yevgeny Onegin, Tchaikovsky	Russian	December 6, 1888
Les pêcheurs de perles, Bizet	French	January 17, 1889

Jakobín (The Jacobin), Dvořák	Czech	February 12, 1889
Le chevalier Jean, Victorin de Joncieres	French	March 27, 1889
Hans Heiling, Marschner	German	April 28, 1889
Urvasi, Wilhelm Kienzl	German	May 27, 1889
Das goldene Kreuz, Ignaz Brüll	German	July 12, 1889
Das Nachtlager in Granada, Conradin Kreutzer	German	August 18, 1889
Oberon, Weber	German	September 6, 1889
Krakonoš, Rozkošný	Czech	October 18, 1889
Rusalka, Alexander Sergeyevich Dargomïzhsky	Russian	November 23, 1889
La favorite, Donizetti	French	December 6, 1889
Merlin, Goldmark	German	January 23, 1890
Le maçon, Auber	French	February 6, 1890
Asrael, Alberto Franchetti	Italian	March 30, 1890
Čertova stěna (The Devil's Wall), Smetana	Czech	May 12, 1890
Le Brasseur de Preston, Adam	French	May 24, 1890
Iphigénie en Aulide, Gluck	French	June 6, 1890
La dame blanche, François-Adrien Boieldieu	French	October 29, 1890
Amaranta, Hanuš Trneček	Czech	November 16, 1890
Cavalleria rusticana, Pietro Mascagni	Italian	January 4, 1891
Tannhäuser, Wagner	German	January 28, 1891
Le domino noir, Auber	French	February 14, 1891
Lejla, Bendl	Czech	May 2, 1891
Straszny dwór, (The Haunted Manor), Moniuzsko	Polish	October 29, 1891
La clemenza di Tito, Mozart	Italian	November 19, 1891
Bliženci (The Twins), Karel Weis	Czech	January 17, 1892
La petite fonctionnaire, Andre Messager	French	February 26, 1892
Dítě Tábora (The Child of Tábor), Bendl	Czech	March 13, 1892
L'amico Fritz, Mascagni	Italian	April 18, 1892

Djamileh, Bizet	French	September 17, 1892
Pikovaya dama (The Queen of Spades), Tchaikovsky	Russian	October 11, 1892
Noc Šimona a Judy (Night of Simon and Judy), Kovařovic	Czech	November 5, 1892
Philémon et Baucis, Gounod	French	November 28, 1892
Debora, Josef Foerster	Czech	January 27, 1893
Pagliaci, Leoncavallo	Italian	February 10, 1893
I Rantzau, Mascagni	Italian	May 2, 1893
Cornill Schut, Antonio Smareglia	Italian	May 20, 1893
Falstaff, Verdi	Italian	November 16, 1893
Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg, Wagner	German	February 7, 1894
Blaník, Fibich	Czech	April 4, 1894
Manon Lescaut, Puccini	Italian	April 24, 1894
Stoja, Rozkošný	Czech	June 6, 1894
Das Glöckchen des Eremiten, Maillart	Operetta	August 8, 1894
Der Waffenschmied, Lortzing	German	August 25, 1894
Benvenuto Cellini, Berlioz	Italian	October 10, 1894
Mara, Ferdinand Hummel	German	November 28, 1894
Medici, Leoncavallo	Italian	January 5, 1895
Don Pasquale, Donizetti	Italian	January 25, 1895
Famiglia modello, Francesco Benizzo	Italian	February 13, 1895
Bouře (The Tempest), Fibich	Czech	March 1, 1895
Matka Míla (Mother Míla), Bendl	Czech	June 25, 1895
Dráteník (The Tinker), Škroup	Czech	July 10, 1985
La bruja, Ruperto Chapí	Spanish	November 13, 1895
Hänsel und Gretel, Humperdinck	Operetta	December 3, 1895
Hedy, Fibich	Czech	February 12, 1896
Cristoforo Colombo, Franchetti	Italian	June 10, 1896
Mayskaya noch' (May Night), Rimsky-Korsakov	Russian	August 31, 1896

Nozze istriane, Smareglia	Italian	October 14, 1896
Roméo et Juliette, Gounod	French	October 30, 1896
Dubrovsky, Nápravník	Russian	December 13, 1896
La vivandière, Benjamin Godard	French	February 25, 1897
Das Heimchen am Herd, Goldmark	German	March 13, 1897
Andrea Chénier Umberto Giordano	Italian	May 5, 1897
Perdita, Josef Nešvera	Czech	May 21, 1897
Kamilla, Ludvík Čelanský	Czech	October 23, 1897
Šarka, Fibich	Czech	December 28, 1897
U božích muk (At the Wayside Cross), Stanislav Suda	Czech	January 19, 1898
La Bohème, Puccini	Italian	February 27, 1898
Psohlavci (The Dog Heads), Kovařovic	Czech	April 24, 1898
Na večer Bílé soboty (On the Eve of White Saturday), Antonín Horák	Czech	September 21, 1898
Satanela, Rozkošný	Czech	October 5, 1898
Eva, Foerster	Czech	January 1, 1899
Selská bouře, Ludvík Lošťák	Czech	April 26, 1899
Knyaz' Igor (Prince Igor), Borodin	Russian	June 8, 1899
Stáňa, Jan Malát	Czech	June 30, 1899
Wygląd dusz (The Phantom)	Polish	October 31, 1899
Čert a Káča (The Devil and Kate), Dvořák	Czech	November 23, 1899
Babička,(Grandmother), Horák	Czech	March 3, 1900
Pád Arkuna (The Fall of Arkona), Fibich	Czech	November 9, 1900

Operas Premiered (by language)	**Language/style**	**Date of National Theater Premiere**
<u>Under the administration of František Šubert</u>		
Libuše, Smetana	Czech	June 11, 1881
Dimitrij, Dvořák	Czech	November 20, 1883

Prodaná nevěsta (The Bartered Bride), Smetana	Czech	November 23, 1883
Šelma sedlák (The Cunning Peasant), Dvořák	Czech	November 26, 1883
V studni (In the Well), Vilém Blodek	Czech	December 2, 1883
Hubička, Smetana	Czech	November 30, 1883
Starý ženich (The Elderly Suitor), Bendl	Czech	December 7, 1883
Karel Škréta, Bendl	Czech	December 11, 1883
Dvě vdovy (Two Widows), Smetana	Czech	March 5, 1884
Nevěsta messinská (The Bride of Messina), Fibich	Czech	March 28, 1884
Husitská nevěsta (The Hussite Bride), Karl Šebor	Czech	April 3, 1884
Tvrdé palice (The Stubborn Lovers), Dvořák	Czech	April 18, 1884
Ženichové (The Bridegrooms), Karel Kovařovic	Czech	May 13, 1884
Svatojanské proudy (*Vltavská víla*) (The Rapids of St John (The Vltava Nymph)), Josef Rozkošný	Czech	February 6, 1885
Braniboři v Čechách (The Brandenburgers in Bohemia), Smetana	Czech	April 9, 1885
Tajemství (The Secret), Smetana	Czech	May 12, 1885
Popelka (Cinderella), Rozkošný	Czech	May 31, 1885
Zakletý princ (The Enchanted Prince), Vojtěch Hřímalý	Czech	January 28, 1886
Cesta oknem (The Way through the Window), Kovařovic	Czech	February 11, 1886
Černohorci (The Montenegrins), Bendl	Czech	May 8, 1886
Spanilá mlynářka (The Beautiful Miller), Josef Klička	Czech	June 10, 1886
Dalibor, Smetana	Czech	December 5, 1886
Svatá Ludmila (St. Ludmila), Dvořák	Czech	February 25, 1887
Král a uhlíř (King and Charcoal Burner), Dvořák	Czech	June 15, 1887
Natalie, Jindřich Hartl	Czech	June 17, 1887
Jakobín (The Jacobin), Dvořák	Czech	February 12, 1889
Krakonoš, Rozkošný	Czech	October 18, 1889
Čertova stěna (The Devil's Wall), Smetana	Czech	May 12, 1890
Amaranta, Hanuš Trneček	Czech	November 16, 1890
Lejla, Bendl	Czech	May 2, 1891
Bliženci (The Twins), Karel Weis	Czech	January 17, 1892

Dítě Tábora (The Child of Tábor), Bendl	Czech	March 13, 1892
Noc Šimona a Judy (Night of Simon and Judy), Kovařovic	Czech	November 5, 1892
Debora, Josef Foerster	Czech	January 27, 1893
Blaník, Fibich	Czech	April 4, 1894
Stoja, Rozkošný	Czech	June 6, 1894
Bouře (The Tempest), Fibich	Czech	March 1, 1895
Matka Míla (Mother Míla), Bendl	Czech	June 25, 1895
Dráteník (The Tinker), Škroup	Czech	July 10, 1985
Hedy, Fibich	Czech	February 12, 1896
Perdita, Josef Nešvera	Czech	May 21, 1897
Kamilla, Ludvík Čelanský	Czech	October 23, 1897
Šarka, Fibich	Czech	December 28, 1897
U božích muk (At the Wayside Cross), Stanislav Suda	Czech	January 19, 1898
Psohlavci (The Dog Heads), Kovařovic	Czech	April 24, 1898
Na večer Bílé soboty (On the Eve of White Saturday), Antonín Horák	Czech	September 21, 1898
Satanela, Rozkošný	Czech	October 5, 1898
Eva, Foerster	Czech	January 1, 1899
Selská bouře, Ludvík Lošťák	Czech	April 26, 1899
Stáňa, Jan Malát	Czech	June 30, 1899
Čert a Káča (The Devil and Kate), Dvořák	Czech	November 23, 1899
Babička,(Grandmother), Horák	Czech	March 3, 1900
Pád Arkuna (The Fall of Arkona), Fibich	Czech	November 9, 1900
Les Hugenots, Meyerbeer	French	June 19, 1881
L'Africaine, Meyerbeer	French	June 6, 1883
Carmen, Bizet	French	January 3, 1884
La Juive, Halevy	French	January 6, 1884
Faust, Gounod	French	January 11, 1884
La muette de Portici, Auber	French	September 5, 1884

Mignon, Ambroise Thomas	French	November 15, 1884
Lakmé, Léo Delibes	French	November 30, 1884
Le chien du jardinier, Albert Grisar	French	January 14, 1885
Le postillon de Lonjumeau, Adolphe Adam	French	June 20, 1885
Manon, Massenet	French	September 19, 1885
Roméo et Juliette, Goudnod	French	January 6, 1886
Guillaume Tell, Rossini	French	February 27, 1886
Le fidèle berger, Adam	French	March 18, 1886
Robert le diable, Meyerbeer	French	September 26, 1886
Etienne Marcel, Saint-Saëns	French	March 19, 1887
Etienne Marcel, Saint-Saëns	French	March 19, 1887
Patrie!, Émile Paladilhe	French	April 28, 1887
La fille du regiment, Donizetti	French	November 12, 1887
Le pardon de Ploërmel/Dinorah, Meyerbeer	French	December 16, 1887
Le roi l'a dit, Delibes	French	April 17, 1888
Zampa, ou La fiancée de marbre, Ferdinand Hérold	French	September 13, 1888
Les contes d'Hoffmann, Offenbach	French	October 18, 1888
Le prophète, Meyerbeer	French	November 8, 1888
Les pêcheurs de perles, Bizet	French	January 17, 1889
Le chevalier Jean, Victorin de Joncieres	French	March 27, 1889
La favorite, Donizetti	French	December 6, 1889
Le maçon, Auber	French	February 6, 1890
Le Brasseur de Preston, Adam	French	May 24, 1890
Iphigénie en Aulide, Gluck	French	June 6, 1890
La dame blanche, François-Adrien Boieldieu	French	October 29, 1890
Le domino noir, Auber	French	February 14, 1891
La petite fonctionnaire, Andre Messager	French	February 26, 1892
Djamileh, Bizet	French	September 17, 1892
Philémon et Baucis, Gounod	French	November 28, 1892
Roméo et Juliette, Gounod	French	October 30, 1896
La vivandière, Benjamin Godard	French	February 25, 1897

Troubadour, Verdi	Italian	January 22, 1884
Lucrezia Borgia, Donizetti	Italian	January 26, 1884
Aida, Verdi	Italian	Februray 15, 1884
Un ballo in maschera, Verdi	Italian	June 16, 1884
Crispino e la comare, Federico and Luigi Ricci	Italian	July 21, 1884
La Traviata, Verdi	Italian	August 14, 1884
Ernani, Verdi	Italian	August 20, 1884
Il barbiere di Siviglia, Rossini	Italian	August 22, 1884
Don Giovanni, Mozart	Italian	September 27, 1884
Norma, Belinni	Italian	October 5, 1884
Lucie, Donizetti	Italian	November 1, 1884
Orfeo ed Euridice, Gluck	Italian	November 6, 1884
Mefistofeles, Arrigo Boito	Italian	December 9, 1885
Rigoletto, Verdi	Italian	March 5, 1886
Mirra, Ladislav Zavertal	Italian	November 7, 1886
Le nozze di Figaro, Mozart	Italian	January 22, 1887
L'elisir d'amore, Donizetti	Italian	April 12, 1887
Otello, Verdi	Italian	January 7, 1888
Asrael, Alberto Franchetti	Italian	March 30, 1890
Cavalleria rusticana, Pietro Mascagni	Italian	January 4, 1891
La clemenza di Tito, Mozart	Italian	November 19, 1891
L'amico Fritz, Mascagni	Italian	April 18, 1892
Pagliaci, Leoncavallo	Italian	February 10, 1893
I Rantzau, Mascagni	Italian	May 2, 1893
Cornill Schut, Antonio Smareglia	Italian	May 20, 1893
Falstaff, Verdi	Italian	November 16, 1893
Manon Lescaut, Puccini	Italian	April 24, 1894
Benvenuto Cellini, Berlioz	Italian	October 10, 1894
Medici, Leoncavallo	Italian	January 5, 1895
Don Pasquale, Donizetti	Italian	January 25, 1895

Famiglia modello, Francesco Benizzo	Italian	February 13, 1895
Cristoforo Colombo, Franchetti	Italian	June 10, 1896
Nozze istriane, Smareglia	Italian	October 14, 1896
Andrea Chénier Umberto Giordano	Italian	May 5, 1897
La Bohème, Puccini	Italian	February 27, 1898
Der Freischütz, Weber	German	September 2, 1884
Marta, Friedrich von Flotow	German	September 21, 1884
Die Entführung aus dem Serail, Mozart	German	October 15, 1884
Lohengrin, Wagner	German	January 12, 1885
Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Otto Nicolai	German	April 25, 1885
Demon, Anton Rubinstein	German	October 18, 1885
Alessandro Stradella, Flotow	German	December 30, 1885
Die Königin von Saba, Karl Goldmark	German	April 2, 1886
Die Jagd, Lortzing	German	July 16, 1886
Zar und Zimmermann, oder Die beiden Peter, Lortzing	German	November 26, 1886
Das Glöckchen des Eremiten, Louis Maillart	German	February 4, 1887
Die Zauberflöte, Mozart	German	September 23, 1887
Fidelio, Beethoven	German	December 2, 1887
Hans Heiling, Marschner	German	April 28, 1889
Urvasi, Wilhelm Kienzl	German	May 27, 1889
Das goldene Kreuz, Ignaz Brüll	German	July 12, 1889
Das Nachtlager in Granada, Conradin Kreutzer	German	August 18, 1889
Oberon, Weber	German	September 6, 1889
Merlin, Goldmark	German	January 23, 1890
Tannhäuser, Wagner	German	January 28, 1891
Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg, Wagner	German	February 7, 1894
Das Glöckchen des Eremiten, Maillart	German	August 8, 1894
Der Waffenschmied, Lortzing	German	August 25, 1894
Mara, Ferdinand Hummel	German	November 28, 1894
Hänsel und Gretel, Humperdinck	German	December 3, 1895

Das Heimchen am Herd, Goldmark	German	March 13, 1897
Ruslan i Lyudmila (Ruslan and Lyudmila), Glinka	Russian	June 20, 1886
Harold, Eduard Francevič Nápravník	Russian	March 23, 1888
Zhizn' za tsarya (A Life for the Tsar), Glinka	Russian	September 21, 1888
Yevgeny Onegin, Tchaikovsky	Russian	December 6, 1888
Rusalka, Alexander Sergeyevich Dargomïzhsky	Russian	November 23, 1889
Pikovaya dama (The Queen of Spades), Tchaikovsky	Russian	October 11, 1892
Mayskaya noch' (May Night), Rimsky-Korsakov	Russian	August 31, 1896
Dubrovsky, Nápravník	Russian	December 13, 1896
Knyaz' Igor (Prince Igor), Borodin	Russian	June 8, 1899
Halka, Stanisław Moniuszko	Polish	September 19, 1886
Straszny dwór, (The Haunted Manor), Moniuzsko	Polish	October 29, 1891
Wygląd dusz (The Phantom)	Polish	October 31, 1899
La bruja, Ruperto Chapí	Spanish	November 13, 1895

Appendix C: List of Works Performed by Hlahol from 1861-1911, Listed by Composer[178]

PŘEHLED PROVEDENÝCH SKLADEB PŘI VÝKONECH HLAHOLSKÝCH

V MINULÝCH 50 LETECH (1861—1911).

SESTAVIL FRANTIŠEK BÖHM, T. Č. ARCHIVÁŘ.

Zkratky v následující části se vyskytující.

m. = mužský sbor.
ž. = ženský sbor.
sm. = smíšený sbor.
m. d. = mužský dvojsbor.
ž. d. = ženský dvojsbor.
sm. d. = smíšený dvojsbor.
m. v. = mužský sbor s průvodem varhan.
ž. v. = ženský sbor s průvodem varhan.
m. k. h. = mužský sbor s průvod. klavíru a harmonia.
sm. k. h. = smíšený sbor s průvodem klavíru a harmonia.
m. d. o. = mužský dvojsbor s průvod. orchestru.
sm. o. v. = smíšený sbor s průvod. orchestru a varhan.
sm. 8 hl. = smíšený sbor osmihlasý.
sm. 16 hl. = smíšený sbor šestnáctihlasý.
sm., dět., 2 hous., v. = smíšený sbor a dětský, dvoje housle a varhany.
m., 4 l. r. = mužský sbor s průvodem 4 les. rohů.
m. k. = mužský sbor s průvodem klavíru.
ž. k. = ženský sbor s průvodem klavíru.
sm. k. = smíšený sbor s průvodem klavíru.
m. o. = mužský sbor s průvodem orchestru.
ž. o. = ženský sbor s průvodem orchestru.
sm. o. = smíšený sbor s průvodem orchestru.

Číslo uvedené za sborem značí kolikráte byl proveden.

Anacker. Pohřební píseň. m. 1.
Bach Jan Seb. Motteto I. sm. 5 hl. 1. Motteto V. sm. 8 hl. 1. Motetto VI. sm. 8 hl. 3. Mše H- moll. sm. o. 2.

[178] Reproduced from the compilation by František Böhm, "Část Spolkova: Přehled provedený skladeb," in *Památník* (Prague: Circulation of Prague Hlahol, 1911), 99-109.

Balakirev Mili. Kantáta k odhalení pomníku Glinkova sm. o. 1.
Bargiela Wald. Jaro. ž. 1.
Bartoš Jos. Smrt. sm. o. 1. Tři husaři. m. k. 1.
Bazin Fran. Křižáci na moři. m. 16. Návrat plavců. m. 3. Hymna Slovanů. m. 2. Hannibalův přechod přes Alpy m. 2.
Bella Jan Lev. Už Slovensko vstává m. 1. Žalmy tatranského Slovana m. 1. Tu es Petrus. m. d. 2.
Bendl Kar. Anakreonská. m. 5. Bětulinka. m. 1. Bílá růže. ž. k. 2. Bože můj! Otče můj! m. 3. Cikánský párek. ž. 2. Černohorci. sm. o. 1. Dárek z pouti. m. 5. Dech jara. ž. 1. Dělnická m. o. 1. Dívky předoucí. ž. k. 1. Dobrou noc. ž. k. 2. Dvé milenců. ž. 1. Ebrejská elegie. m. k. 2. m. o. 1. Horalova modlitba. sm. 1. Chorál národa českého. m. 29. Jarní. ž. 1. Jeptiška. ž. k. 2. Jezdec před bojem. m. 1. Kališníci. m. o. 4. Kantáta ku sté ročnici P. J. Šafaříka, m. 1. Kozácká m. 1. Letní večer. ž. 3. Lovecká. m. 1. Mezi kvítím. m. 8. Milenko drahá dobrou noc. m. 5. Milostná píseň. ž. 1. Missa vocalis. sm. 2. Modlitba. sm. 3. Moravské národ. ž. 1. Můj růženec. m. 1. Na nebi měsíc s hvězdami. ž. 2. Na nebi plno hvězdiček ž. k. 1. Na Moravu. m. 1. Na vlnách. sm. k. 1. Národ sobě. m. o. 3. Nitra. m. 1. Nové jaro. m. 4. Obžinky. sm. 2. O muzice. m. 1. O zavzni prosbo vroucí. m. 1. Pijácká. m. 15. Po bitvě bělohorské. m. k. h. 10. m. o. 2. Pochod z národ. písní českých. m. 7. Pochod Táborů. m. 14. Pomláska. m. k. 2. Pomněnka. ž. 3. Pomsta. vil. ž. k. 1. Postilion m. 1. Probuzení. m. 16. Ptáče. ž. k. 1. Půda vlastenecká. m. 1. Přání milenců. m. 2. Rusálky na zvědách. ž. k. 5. Růže sem. ž. 2. Růžinko má dřímej. m. 10. Růžinky stesk. m. 1. Růžoví dnové. ž. 1. Římská panichida. m. (dle Brucha.) 1. Salve m. 52. Skřivánek. ž. 2. Slavnostní kantáta. m. r. Slavnostní pochod z op. „Břetislav". m. o. 2. Slavnostní sbor. m. 3. Slovácká z Puchova. m. 1. Směs z národ. písní srbských. m. 1. Smrt Prokopa Velkého. m. 3. Společná. m. 10. Stříbrné lesa pramének. ž. 1. Svoji k svému. m. 39. Svorný zpěv. m. o. 2. Svůj vonná růže dechla žel. ž. k. 2. Sv. Václave. m. (harmonisoval.) 6. Šťastné manželství. m. 1. Štědrý den. sm. o. 1. Švanda dudák. sm. o. 7. Tambor. m. 3. Tatranská fijaločka. m. 3. Ten slavík ani neuleh! ž. 1. Tichému geniovi. m. 2. Touha ž. 1. Trojlístek z národ. písní I. sm. k. 5. Trojlístek II. sm. k. 4. U pomníku. m. 4. Válečná. m. 17. Večerní klid. ž. 2. Vojáci. m. 1. Vokální mše z D- moll. m. 1. V přírodě m. 13. V tom světě vše utonulo. ž. 2. Zastaveníčko m. 2. Z českého lidu. sm. k. 1. Zkamenělá schránka. m. 18. Zlatá hodinka. sm. 12. S nebe se snáší andělé. m. 3. Zpěv. vil nad vodami. ž. o. 4. ž. k. 1. Zpěv. ženců. m. 5. Z přírody ž. k. 1.
Beethoven Lud. van. Božská moc a prozřetelnost. m. 1. „Fantasie pro klavír smíš. sbor a orchestr." op. 80. 1. Missa solemnis. sm. o. 5. Modlitba pod hvězdami. m. 5. Prosba. m. 1. Závěr symfonie č. IX. z D- moll. sm. o. 6.

Bergman J. A. Dožij - dopij. m. 2. Hádání. m. 2. Ptáče m. 3. Večerní píseň. m. 1.
Berlioz Hector Requiem. sm. o. 4. Romeo a Julie. sm. o. 1. Te Deum. sm. o. 2. Tristia. sm. k. housle a cello. 1. Za svobodu Francie. sm. 1.
Blodek Vil. Ach ty Labe. m. 2. Kosmopolitický pochod. m. 4. Pijácká. m. 3. Společná. m. 1. Starý ženich. m. 3. Večerní. m. 1. Žnecká. m. 1.
Blümel Kar. Mně zdálo se. m. 1. Tak tmavomodrá. m. 1.
Bortňanský Dim. Gospodi. sm. 2. Koncert č. VI. sm. k. 1. Sláva otci i synu. sm. d. 3.
Bossi Enrico. Canticum canticorum. sm. o. v. 2.
Bradáč Ot. My chceme být. sm. v. 1.
Bradský Václ. Th. Kalendár a ne farár. m. 4. Tatry. m. 6.
Brahms Joh. Marianské písně. sm. 1. Milostné písně. sm. k. 2. Píseň Fingalova. ž. harfa a 2. les. rohy. 1. Přípitek. sm. k. 1. Zahučaly hory. sm. 1. Zahradník. ž. harfa a 2. les. rohy. 1. Zvuk harfy. ž. harfa a 2. les. rohy. 1.
Bruch Max. Římská panichida. sm. o. 3. Vítězný zpěv Římanův. m. k. 1.
Buchta Al. Kytice z národ. slov. písní. m. 1.
Bull Olle. Pastýřčina neděle. m. 1.
Čajkovský Petr Iv. Otče náš. sm. 5. Slavnostní kantáta. sm. o. 1.
Černý Frant. Maloruské národ. písně. m. 5.
David Felic. Poušť. m. o. 3.
Davidov St. Chvalitě Hospoda s nebes. sm. 1.
Delibes Leo. Máj. sm. 1. Zpěv vojínů. m. 11.
Douša Kar. Dudák. ž. 1. Jarní. ž. 1. Krejčí. ž. 1. Na Podsrp půjdu dnes. ž. 1. Missa in honor. s. Venceslai. sm. 1. U božích muk. ž. 1.
Dowland John. Anglické dva madrigaly. sm. 2. Lásky královna. sm. 2. Srdce mé plno žalosti. sm. 2.
Drahlovský Jos. Č. Čáry. m. 1. Kačena divoká. ž. k. 1. Moravské trojzpěvy. ž. k. 1. Rozmarýn. m. 4.
Drahorád Josef. Tatranské melodie. m. 1.
Durante Franc. Trojhlasá mše. m. 2.
Dvořák Ant. Dr. A já ti uplynu. ž. k. 7. Děvče v háji. m. k. 4. Divná voda. m. 1. Dyby byla kosa nabróšená. ž. k. 5. Hymna česk. rolnictva. sm. k. 1. Hymnus „Dědicové Bílé Hory". sm. o. 7. Já som guslar. sm. 2. Milenka travička. sm. 1. Mše. sm. v. 3. Napadly písně duši mou. sm. 2. Nepovím. sm. 2. Opuštěný. sm. 5. Prsten. ž. k. 5. Převozníček sm. 4. Slavnostní zpěv. sm. k. 1. Stabat mater. sm. o. 6. Svatební košile. sm. o. 8. Sv. Ludmila. sm. o. 1. Te Deum. sm. o. v. 1. Ukolébavka. m. 2. Večerní les rozvázal zvonky. sm. k. 1. Veleť ptáčku. ž. 7. Voda a pláč. ž. k. 4. Vyběhla bříza běličká. sm. 2. Zajatá. ž. 3. Zelenaj se. ž. k. 4. Žal. m. k. 6. Žalm. 149. m. o. 5.

Eisenhuth Gj. Ja te ljubim. m. 1.
Emmingrová K. Jediný. ž. 1. Pozdrav jarní. ž. 1.
Fibich Zd. Čtyři dvojzpěvy. ž. 1. Dva dvojzpěvy ž. k. 1. Jarní romance. sm. o. 4. Kantáta. m. d. 2. Melusina. sm. o. 1. Tichá noc. m. 1. Toužebný jara čas. ž. 1. U mohyly. sm. 1. Ždání. sm. 2.
Förster Ant. Ljubica. sm. 1. Pjevajmo m. 1.
Förster Jos. Brabançonne. m. 1. Hymna rakouská. m. (harmonisoval) 6. Po sňatku. m. 1. Před sňatkem. m. 1. Requiem. m. 1.
Förster Jos. B. Česká píseň. sm. 5. Fialy. ž. 2. Jarní slunko. sm. 4. Hymnus. m. d. 2. Hymnus andělů. sm. o. 2. Panna. ž. 2. Rodné brázdy. sm. 3. Skřivánek. sm. 2. Stabat mater sm. o. 2.
Führer. Salve regina. m. 2.
Franz Rob. Má vlasť. sm. 1. Opuštěná. sm. 2. V máji. sm. 2.
Gade Niels Wilh. Májový zpěv. m. 1. Pěvcova vlasť. m. 1. Plavba večerní. m. 5 hl. 8. Studenti. m. 5 hl. 9.
Gallus Jak. Hudba jest láskou naší. sm. 2.
Gedalge André. Jaro. ž. 1.
Genée Fr. Rich. Ballada o zamilov. žabci. m. 8. Vlašský salát. m. 3.
Gewaert F. A. Rybáři Dunkerští. m. 2.
Glazunov Alex. Korunovační kantáta. sm. o. 1.
Glinka Mich. Iv. Cherubinskaja. sm. 2. Urá. m. 3.
Gluck Ch. Mužský sbor z op. „Echo a Narcis." 1.
Gounod Charl. Franc. Gallia. sm. o. 3. Lovecká večerní. m. 5. Mravenec a cvrček. m. 2. Mučedníci. m. 5. Při kování. m. 1. Víno a krev. m. 12.
Grečaninov A. Noc. ž. 1. Vesna. ž. 1.
Gretry A. E. Sbor z op. „Lakomci". m. 1.
Grieg Edv. Hag. Halling. m. 3. Olav Trygwason. sm. o. 1. Před branou klášterní. ž. o. 1.
Hayden Jos. Čtvero ročních počasí. sm. o. 1. Stvoření světa. sm. o. 1.
Händl Georg. Fridr. Halleluja. sm. v. 6. Samson. sm. v. 1. Timotheus. sm. v. 1.
Hampejs Kar. Dva sbory. ž. k. 1.
Hartmann P. Dr. Večeře Páně. sm. o. v. 3.
Hasler Hans. Krása panenská. sm. 1. Má dívka. sm. 1.
Haslinger. Mše do C-dur. m. 1.
Hedenblad Ivar. Poklekni. sm. k. 1.
Heiss Eman. Kar. Kytičky. m. 5.
Heller Ferd. Kadryla z mor. národ. písní. m. 3. Kde domov můj? m. (harmonisoval). 2. Kdož jste Boží bojovníci. m. (harmonis.) 2. Těšme se blahou nadějí. m. (harmonis.) 3. Večerní. m. 2.
Hendrych Vinko. Povzbuzení ku zpěvu. m. 3.
Henschel Georg. Srbské nár. písně. sm. k. 2. Tři srbské nár. písně. sm. k. h. 2.
Hering. Uherské písně. ž. 1.
Hnilička Alois. Kantáta na oslavu Jungmannovu. m. 1. Lovecká. m. 2. Poslové m. 2.

Hofbauer J. Po Volze. m. 1.
Holan. Chvalozpěv. m. 1.
Horák Václ. Eman. Animas. m. 1. Co pláčete? m. 2. Dárek z lásky. m. 1. Naše zpěvy. m. 1. Píseň milosti. m. 1. Píseň při draní. m. 2. Salve m. 13. Stáza čarodějnice. m. 2. Vokální mše z C. m. 3. Vokální requiem do C-mol. 6.
Horejšek Václ. Pečlivá milá. m. 1.
Hrazdira C. M. Z luhů moravských. sm. k. 1.
Hubad Mat. Slovenske narodne pesmi. sm. 2.
Chvála Em. Červená voda. m. 3. Kvetení. ž. 1. Lešetínské zvony. sm. 2. Tři písničky. ž. 2. Zálety. ž. 1. Zelená travičko. ž. 1. Zkouška. ž. 1.
Ipavec G. Dr. Slovenec sem. m. 6.
Janáček Leoš. Ach, vojna, vojna. m. 2. Ó, lásko. m. 2. Otče náš. sm. v. 2 harfy. 1. Vyhrůžka. m. 1.
Javůrek Ant. Dr. A-Cis-E-A. m. 1. Klepny. m. 1. Na Moravu. m. 39.
Jelen Al. Dlouho buď zdráv! m. 3. Lásku k vlasti. m. 1. Milenka. m. 1. Vše jen ku chvále. m. 6.
Jenko Davor. Na prej. m. 2. Što čutiš. m. 2.
Jeremiáš Boh. Český prapor. sm. k. h. 2. Čtverlístek z nár. písní. m. 2. Přání. m. 2. Žně. sm. o. 1.
Jeřábek Jos. Česká ballada. sm. k. 1. Naše hodina. m. 3.
Jindřich Jindř. Píseň jarní. sm. 1.
Jiránek Al. Hrdličky. m. 1. Mračno. ž. 1. Ukolébavka. ž. k. 1.
Kaàn z Albestu Jindř. Nářek. m. 1. Při měsíčku. m. 1. Výstraha. m. 1.
Kadavý Jan. Vence zo slovenských piesní. m. 1.
Kalivoda J. V. Náš zpěv. m. 1.
Kastalskij A. Milosrdenství. sm. 1.
Kaván Frant. Večerní. m. 1.
Kjuj Caesar. Dvě růže. sm. 1.
Klička Josef. Ave Maria. sm. v. harfa 1. Ballada o české hudbě. sm. 11. Ballada o polce. sm. 8 hl. 6. Blaník. m. 1. Buď vítán, svátku české píle. m. 2. Dnes krásná noc. m. 3. Dobrou noc. ž. k. neb o. 2. Hej, Slované! m. (harmonis.) 23. Kdož jste Boží bojovníci? m. (harmonis.) 16. Kytice sloven. písní. ž. k. 2. Lumírův odkaz. m. o. 1. Měsíček. ž. k. neb. o. 4. Mládenci. m. 1. Naše hory. m. 6. Naše perla. m. 19. Náš zpěv. m. 1. Nová záře. m. o. 7. Pavouk. ž. 1. Pohřeb na Kaňku. sm. o. 6. Příchod Čechů na Říp. sm. o. 2. Rozevři se nebe. sm. d. 2. Slavnostní sbor. sm. 2. Spěte háje. ž. k. 1. Starý bodlák. ž. k. 5. Tři sbory pro ženské hlasy. 2. V přírodě. ž. k. 1. Výmluva. ž. k. 3. Zastaveníčko. m. 2. Zlatý prestol. sm. 4. Žalm (Hymnus). sm. o. v. 3. Žalm 47. sm. v. 4.
Kliebert Kar. Dr. Lesní klid. sm. k. 2.
Knahl Jan. Slovan. m. 19. Toť lásky hlas. m. 2.
Knittl Karel. Česká svatba. ž. 5. Hymna. sm. o. 1. Hymna „Ústř. Matice školské". m. 2. Kantáta na oslavu Komenského. m. 2. Lovecká m. 7. Otázky ž. 3. Pijácká. m. 1. Píseň práce. m. 1.

Rychtář. m. k. 2. Touha po vlasti. m. (harmonis.) 3. Úryvek z písně „O zvonu". sm. k. h. 1. Večerní. m. 1. Výmluva ž. 2.
Koch von Langentreu. Rukavička. m. k. 3. Opuštěný. m. 1.
Kolešovský Zik. Ebrejské elegie. m. s prův. violoncell. 1.
Kompit Jos. Petrklíč. m. 1.
Kovařovic Kar. Můj první máj. m. 4. Naše píseň. m. 7.
Krawc-Jitrowski. Wbogi plějár. sm. 1. Zbožowny pastýr. sm. 1. Wojnski spěw. sm. 1.
Krejčí Jos. Jarní. m. 2. Již svítá. m. 1. Graduale z F-dur. m. 1. Mše vokální. m. 2. Offertorium z A-moll. m. 1.
Křídlo Bedř. Modlitba na Řípu. m. 3. Mrtvá láska. m. 2.
Křížkovský Pavel. Cyrill a Method. m. o. 6. Dar za lásku. m. 18. Odpadlý od srdca. m. 4. Odvedeného prosba. m. 35. Pastýř a poutníci. m. 1. Utonulá. m. 12. Výprask. m. 2. Zatoč se. m. 4.
Krug A. Touha sm. 1.
Kuba Lud. Ajta z Podhoří. m. 5. Bouře zuří na Balkáně. m. 1. Co jsi se tak zadumala. m. 5. Déšť se lije. sm. 2. Deštík čilý. m. 1. Dělej kytku. sm. 1. Kdo to libě v dáli pěje? sm. 2. Lov lovili měšťáci. m. 4. Onamo. m. 3. Sarafán. m. 1. Trojlístek. sm. 2. U Omera. m. 4. V onom černém lese. sm. 1. Vždyť jsem ti pravil. sm. 1.
Lábler Frant. Requiem. m. 10.
Lachner Frant. Při měsíčku. ž. 2. Střež se! ž. 2. Večerní píseň. ž. 2.
Laub Váša. Národní písně slovanské. ž. 1. Zamítnuté pozvání. m. 2.
Leo Leonardo. Buď milostiv, Spasiteli! m. 1.
Lev Jos. Česká muzika. m. 3. Lovecký pochod. m. 1. Vlaštovičky. m. 1. Za horami. m. 1.
Liadov A. Chorovodná. ž. 1. Svatební. ž. 1. Vologodská. ž. 1.
Limnander Arm. Nad hrobkou janičárů. m. 1.
Lisický Alois. Milý v cizině. sm. 1.
Liszt Fr. Dr. Hymna slov. apoštolů. m. v. 4. Christus. sm. o. 3. Osvobozený Prometheus. sm. 1. Píseň jezdců. m. 1. Pochod vojínů. m. 1. Zpěv studentů. m. 1. Legenda o sv. Alžbětě Uherské. sm. o 1.
Lotti Ant. Adoramus te. sm. 2. Crucifixus. sm. 8. hl. 3.
Löwe Jan K. Dr. Hus. sm. o. 3. Lovecký pochod. m. 4. Žalm. 121. m. 5.
Lžičar Slav. Čtverylka z horvatských písní. m. 1.
Macan Kar. Dívčí popěvek. ž. 2. Já jsem chudá dívčina. ž. 1. Kozácký pochod. m. 1. Otázka ž. 2.
Mahler Gust. Symphonie čís. 2. C-mol. sm. o. 2.
Malát Jan. Bělohradské zvony. sm. 6. Hajdaláci. m. 1. K nebesům leť, ty písni má. ž. 2. Sen. ž. 2. Sbírka čes. Már. písní. m. 9. sm. 4. Věno. m. 2. Vlastní silou. sm. 1. Zpěvy lidu českého. m. k. 9. sm. 3. ž. 1.
Massenet Jul. Husovi mstitelé. m. k. h. 1.
Mašek Albín. Válka. m. 1.

Měchura Leop. Eug. Balada o nešťastné žábě. m. 1. Na Kaňku. sm. 1. Pijácká. m. d. 1. Svržená fuga. m. 1. Sbor Tatarův. m. o. 1. Štědrý den. sm. 1. Večer v lese. sm. 1. Zpěv podloudníků. m. 2.
Měchura V. Podloudníci. m. 1.
Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Felix. Duryňská národní. m. 1. Kéž svoji bych lásku. m. 2. Lovecká. sm. 1. Motteto. ž. o. 1. Na rozloučenou. m. 1. Paulus. sm. 1. Pěvcům. sm. o. 1. sm. k. 2. Poutník. m. 1. Pozdrav. m. 3. Předtucha jara sm. 1. Sbory k Sofokleově Antigoně. sm. o. 3. sm. d. 1. Sofokleův Oidipus na Kolonu. m. d. o. 2. Žalm. 2. sm. 8. hl. 2.
Mokranjac St. Osma rukovet narodnih pesme na Kosova. sm. 3. Poseto nebe. sm. 2. Přímořské popěvky. sm. 1. Sedma rukovet narodnih pesme na Kosova. sm. 2.
Moniuzsko Stan. Balada z opery „Rokycana". sm. 1. Kozák. m. 2. Vojenská. m. 2.
Munktell H. Hymna ž. v. 1. Jabloň. ž. k. 1. Máj. ž. k. 1.
Musogorski P. M. Záhuba Sennacheribova. sm. o. 1.
Mysliveček Jos. Notturna 1—3. ž. k. 3.
Nápravník Ed. Čtverylka z rus. nár. písní. sm. k. 9. Lovecká. m. 2. Opuštěná. m. 1. Radostné cestování. m. 3. Vávra. m. 4. Vzhůru k zpěvu. m. 1. Zrušení slibu. m. 3.
Neděla. Zastavenička. m. 1.
Nejedlý Roman. Tatrám. m. 1. Vytrvej! m. 1.
Nesvadba Josef. Dřímej sladce. m. 43. Pražská Bětulinka. m. 3.
Nešvera Jos. De profundis. sm. o. 2. Dvě večerní písně. m. 1.
Neumann Frant. Pět písniček. ž. k. 2.
Nováček J. Zpěv mlatců. m. 3.
Novák Vil. Povzbuzení. m. 3. Pozdrav domovině. m. 2.
Novák Vítězslav. Jarní. m. 1. Moravské písničky. ž. k. 1. Neščasná vojna. sm. k. 1. sm. o. 1. Podzimní. m. 1. Primula veris. žk. 2. Ranoša. sm. k. 1. sm. o. 1. Vánoční ukolébavka. m. 1. Velebná noc. ž. k. 2.
Novotný Václav. Krása tvá! ž. 2. Lípy. sm. 2. Nové době. m. 2. Ohlasy z hájů moravských. ž. k. 2. Ráda tě mám! ž. 2. Starý přípitek. m. 4. Točení. m. 1. V háji. sm. 1.
Pacius F. Suomin zpěv. m. 1.
Palestrina G. P. Miserere. sm. 2. Panis angelicus. m. 1. Parce Deus. m. 1. Stabat Mater. sm. 3.
Palla H. Má láska. m. 6. Národní písně. m. 1. Oslava geniů. sm. o. 1. Pochod z národních písní. m. 2. Při pivě. sm. d. 3. Quodlibet z nár. písní. sm. d. 1. Slavný rok. m. 2. Vokální mše. m. 1.
Paukner Jos. Chaloupky. m. 1. Kdo má zpívat. m. 1. Kdyby moje potěšení. m. 1. Má láska. m. 1. Měj blahý sen. m. 3. Naše zlatá Praha. m. 8. Nevěsta předoucí. ž. k. 1. Okénko. m. 1. Poslední sklenka. m. 9. Povznesení. m. 3. Ruské nár. písně. ž. k. 1. Ta rosa lásky. ž. k. 2. Slavnostní sbor. m. 1. Ty, matko Slávo. m. 3. Večerní písně. m. 1. V háječku ž. k. 2.

Pech Jindř. Dvojzpěv. m. 1. Staročeský zpěv válečný. m. 1. Z večera. m. 1.
Picka Fr. Jarní večer. sm. k. 2. Pange lingua. m. 1. Smutná pohádka. m. 1. Točení. m. 1.
Piskáček Adolf. Bílý pták. sm. 1. Český žalm. m. 1. Dušičky. ž. k. 2. Ecce sacerdos magnus. sm. 1. Chorvatské nár. písně. ž. 1. Král Svedger. ž. o. 1. Krásná Marja. sm. o. 2. Moravské nár. písně. sm. 1. Moravské písně. ž. 1. Polské národ. písně. ž. 1. Slavnostní sbor. sm. o. 2. Stojan a tři víly. sm. 1. Švandovy dudy. ž. 1. Věčná pamět. m. 1.
Pivoda Frant. Dárek nejněžnější. sm. d. 1. Chorální výjev z nár. písní. sm. 2. Lásky spor a smír. sm. 1. Májová noc. sm. d. 2. Naše vlast ve světě jediná. m. 1. Pospolitá. m. 1. Rozmarynka. m. 3. Směs z národ. písní. sm. 1. Žnecká. sm. o. 1.
Polívka. V přírodě. ž. 1.
Pospíšil Karel. Vlasti. m. 1.
Pozděna Ad. Lovecká. m. d. 1.
Praus Arnošt. Čechové, Čechové. m. 2. Chorál Čechů. m. 14.
Procházka Jos. Kozácká. m. 1.
Procházka Ludevít Dr. Bože můj, Otče můj. m. 2. Děvče já ti udělám. m. 1. Ještě's naše Praho! m. 1. Naše. m. 1. Naše probuzení. m. 8. Národní. m. 1. Nitra. m. 2. Pečlivá milá. m. 1. Pomilování. m. 11. Pomoc pro náramnou lásku. m. 3. Pravý Čech. m. 1. Pri luni. m. 1. Staroslovenská. m. 1. Světla víc. m. 1. Tři jezdci. m. 1. Už Slovensko vstává. m. 5. Večerní zpěv. m. 1. Vlasti. m. o. d. 2. Vracení se od milé. m. 10. Zbezpečení. m. 4. Zpěv Čechů. m. 1. Zahučaly hory. m. 2. Z luhů slovenských. sm. 4. Žabí beseda. m. 1. Žalmy tatranského Slovana. m. 5. Žižkův dub. m. 1.
Raff J. Jaro. sm. 1.
Reger Max. Já s nebes výše přicházím. sm. dět. 2 housl. v. 1.
Riga Fran. Turnaj. m. d. 2.
Rillé L. Hlahol na cestách. m. 4. Návrat plavců. m. 2. Před přístavem. m. 3. V přístavu. m. 1.
Rimski-Korsakov. Letěly obláčky. ž. 3. Obláček. ž. 3. Odpočíval obláček. ž. 1.
Rozkošný Jos. R. Ballada. m. 1. Hanička. m. 4. Na nebi plno hvězdiček. sm. 1. Opuštěný. m. 11. Večerní klekání. m. 3. Večerní píseň. m. 2. Zlatá Praha. m. 1.
Rubinstein Ant. Jitro. m. o. 4. Klidné moře. m. 4. Lesní zvuky. m. 1. Na břehu mořském. ž. 1. Ptáče. ž. d. 1. Růže sem. ž. 1. Šťastná plavba. m. 4. Ztracený ráj. sm. o. v. 2.
Rublič Al. Dívce. ž. 1. Divná duma. ž. 1. Dobrá rada. ž. 1. Hubička. ž. 1. Marnivá. ž. 1. Nikdy zpět! ž. 2. Písnička. ž. 1. Pod ořechem. ž. 1. Sletují se ptáci. ž. 2.
Rudkovski. U nás jináče. m. 1.
Rupeldt Kar. Věnce ze slovenských písní. sm. 1.
Rutte E. Mir. Babí léto. ž. k. 2. Dudáček. ž. k. 2. Jarní dešť. ž. k. 1. Loď plachet má! m. 2. Má dívenka. m. 1. Matičce.

ž. 1. Náš kostelník. m. 1. Naše chaloupka. ž. 1. Odbytý. ž. 1. Poupátko. ž. 1. Racku bílý! m. 2. Stařeček ž. k. 1. Svatební. ž. k. 1. Vlasti zpěv. m. 2. Vojáci. ž. 1. Zenění. ž. 1.

Saint-Saëns Char. Lyra a harfa. sm. o. 1. Námořníci z Kermóru. m. 4. Potopa. sm. o. 1. Saltarella. m. 1. Titané. m. 1. Vojsko Gedeonovo. m. d. 1.

Schubert Frant. Bůh v přírodě. ž. 1. Jasná noc. m. k. 2. Noc v lese. m. 4. l. r. 6. Zastaveníčko. m. k. 1. Zpěv duchů nad vodami. m. 8 hl. 2.

Schumann Rob. Jitro. m. 1. Lekuta. m. 1. Ráj a Peri. sm. o. 2. Tábor cigánský. m. k. 2. Talisman. sm. 8 hl. 2. Tamburaši. ž. 3. U jezera. m. 1. Večerní píseň. ž. 1. Vojínova nevěsta. ž. 3. Vzhůru číš. m. 1. Zpěv večerní. m. 1.

Schlögl Ferd. Mohyla. m. 1.

Selmer J. Čiperný hoch. ž. k. 1. Mládí a jaro. m. 1. Při práci. ž. k. 1. Tři mužské sbory. m. 1. Za bouře. m. 1.

Skuherský Fr. Mše. sm. 1. Tři světýlka. m. 1.

Slavík Kar. Hasme, hoří! m. 3. Otčina. m. 9. Plavba na Vltavě. m. 1. Quodlibet z nár. čes. písní. m. 11. Rekův sen. m. 5. Slasti lásky. m. 1. 26. srpen. m. 1. Tam v dáli. m. 2. Vltava. m. 5. Země česká. m. 1. Zpěv český. m. 1.

Smetana Bedř. Má hvězda. ž. 1. Odrodilec. m. d. 4. Píseň česká. sm. k. h. o. 15. Píseň na moři. m. 10. Rolnická. m. 28. Sbor děvčat z „Čertovy stěny". ž. 1. Slavnostní sbor. sm. 16. Tři jezdci. m. 5. Tři ženské trojzpěvy. ž. 1. Věno. m. 45. Vlaštovičky. ž. 6. Západ slunce. ž. 7.

Sokolov Nik. Astry. ž. 1. Vesna. ž. 1.

Souček Jindř. Cikánova píšťalka. ž. 1.

Södrmann Aug. Pěj! m. 1. Pohár a ples. m. 3. Švédská svatba. m. 5. Válečná. m. 1. Za svítání. m. 2.

Stecker Kar. Missa solemnis. sm. o. v. 1.

Strauss Rich. Dr. Hymnus. sm. 16. hl. 1.

Suk Jos. Kéž by věděli. ž. k. 1. Máť moja. sm. 2. Pět zpěvů. ž. k. 2. Staza čarodějnice. sm. 1. Tři zpěvy. ž. k. 2. Víly. ž. k. 1. Zavedený ovčák. sm. 2.

Svoboda Dr. Touha. m. 1.

Sychra J. C. Valčík. sm. 1.

Šebor K. R. Pochod Templářů. m. o. 4. Sbor rytířů. m. o. 1. Slavnostní kantáta. m. 1.

Šístek Vojt. Osmý listopad. sm. 1.

Škroup Jan. Staročeská. m. 2.

Škroup — harmonisoval *Vašák.* Kde domov můj. m. 35.

Šmíd. Zastaveníčko. m. 1.

Štrébl Al. Kytičky. ž. 2. Poslední prosba. m. 1.

Thomas Am. Bruslaři. m. 2. Hymna Slovanů. m. 20. Kališníci. m. 1. Na Alpách. m. 1. Na oceaně. m. d. 2. Noc duchů. m. d. 6. Římský karneval. m. 8.

Tinel Edgar. Žalm. VI. m. 1.

Tomášek Václ. Na vlast. m. 3.
Tomkins Th. Pastýřův zpěv. sm. 1.
Tovačovský A. Dívčino pozdravení. m. 7. Husitská. m. 10. I. kytice z nár. písní slov. m. k. 3. Na horách. m. k. 1. II. kytice z nár .písní slov. m. k. 2. Naše písně m. 1. Přijde jaro, přijde. m. 1. Ruské nár. písně. m. k. 4. Orle, pestrý orle. m. 11. Směs z nár. písní srbských. m. k. 1. Směs z nár. písní ruských. m. 2. Srbské nár. písně. m. k. 9. Stráž u Vyšehradu. m. 8. Svorný duch. m. 11. Tichá noc. m. 2. Valečná m. 3. Vlasti. m. 64. Zvonky slovanské. m. 1. Žene mrak se. m. 3.
Tragy Dr. Smíření m. 1.
Trojan Jan. Otče náš, milý Pane. m. 2.
Wagner Rich. Letnice. m. o. 2.
Varlamov Al. Krásný Sarafan. m. 7.
Vašák Em. Animas. m. 2. Cesta z námluv. m. 1. Jen dál! m. 1. Kalina. m. 3. Kde děva má. m. 16. Miserere. m. 78. Nevěrný milý. m. 1. Odplata m. 1. Píseň slovanského plavce. m. 4. Plavba m. 1. Pochvala Vítova. m. 1. Požár m. 1. Při pivě. m. 3. Radostné cestování. m. 2. Slávozpěv. m. 1. Těžké orání. m. 1. Upřimnost nad krásu. m. 1. Zpěv svobody. m. 11.
Weinwurm Rud. Toskánské. m. k. 5.
Weiss Kar. Čekala jsem, nespala jsem. ž. 2. Hlídka pod Vyšehradem. m. 4. Lamentaci mám na srdci. ž. 2. Napadly písně v duši mou. ž. 1.
Veit V. J. Brouk a růže. m. 2. Jezdec před bojem. m. 1. Na cestách. m. 3. Na Prahu. m. 53. Pozdravení pěvcovo. m. 3. Serenada m. 3. Stará píseň. m. 3. Tři věnce. m. 1. Zde přítel. m. 3. Zpěv rusalek. ž. d. 1.
Vendler Boh. Bouře m. 3. Byla tichá noc. sm. 1. Byli jsme a budem! m. 3. Celoroční výživa. ž. k. 1. Dožij, dopij! m. 1. Hrajte dál! sm. 2. Chorý Jeník. sm. 1. Jen jedinkrát. ž. 2. Kolada. sm. k. 1. Kytice písní Troubských. sm. k 3. Májová. m. 1. Maliny. ž. k. 1. Nehněvej se! ž. 1. Oči tvoje! ž. k. 1. Odejdi do polí. sm. 1. Ořeší. ž. k. 2. Pod starým praporem. sm. 3. Políbení. ž. k. 2. Přeháňky. ž. k. 1. Rozhodná dívčina. ž. k. 1. Starost o milého. ž. 2. Ukolébavka. ž. k. 1. Utrhnu ti růži. sm. 1. Věrná milá. m. 2. V růžích sen. ž. 2. Vše v světě teď usnulo. ž. k. 1. Vyběravá. ž. 1.
Verdi G. Chvalozpěv ku P. Marii ž. 1.
Vilhar Mir. Liepa naše domovina. m. 8. Na vlnách m. 1. U zdroje Bosny. m. 1.
Vinter Ad. Gdě je slavská domovina. m. 1. Poslové bouře. m. 1. Radosti venkovské. m. 2.
Witte. Slza. m. 1.
Vittoria Tom. Agnus Dei. m. d. 4. Duo Serafim. ž. 3.
Vogl Fr. Cikáni. m. 13. Kovářská. m. 1. Mohyla. m. 1. Naše řeky. m. 2. Půda vlastenecká. m. 1. Stará píseň. m. 1. Vltava sm. 14. Zpěv jinochů. m. 1.

Vojáček Hyn. Důvěra nábožného. m. 1. Moravské národní m. 2. Na Moravu. m. 1. Písně Hostýnské. m. 1. Ples Čechů m. 1. Sláva. m. 1.

Volkmann Rob. Důvěra v Boha. sm. k. 1.

Vorel Jos. Čechie. m. 1. Proč nemohl dál. m. 1.

Vránek Fr. Chudej pacholíček. m. 4. Jel sedlák vorati. m. 1.

Zajc Iv. Černohorec. m. 1. Poputnica. m. 2. Slepac Marko. m. 1. Večer na Savi. m. 7.

Zöllner K. Fantasie cikánská m. k 3.

Zvonař Jos. Animas fidelium. m. 8. Běla krasavice. m. 1. Bradlec. sm. 4. Dvě písně ranní. m. 2. Chválu vzdejme. m. 3. Kdož jste Boží bojovníci. m. (harmonis) 1. Kristus příklad pokory. m. 2. Legenda o sv. Ludmile. m. 2. Lesní kaple. sm. k. 1. Mše do H- mol. m. 1. Otče náš, milý Pane. m. 1. Pán Bůh jest má síla i doufání. m. 1. Píseň o vlasti. m. 1. Píseň sv. Václava. m. (harmonis.) 1. Píseň svobody. m. 1. Píseň sv. Vojtěcha. m. (harmonis.) 14. Pěvec a pastýřka. m. 1. Pocestný. m. 3. Postní z r. 1573. m. (harmonis.) 1. Podskalská. m. 1. Překrásná jasnost slunce božího. m. 1. Přes vršiny hrobu. m. 26. Quodlibet z čes. nár. pís. m. 3. Ráno. m. 1. Ruská nár. m. 1. Requiem staročeské. m. 2. Slavnostní sbor. m. 1. Staročeský chorál ze 16. stol. m. (harmonis.) 3. Staročeské písně. m. (harmonis.) 1. Svornost v národu. m. 1. Šumí Labe. m. 3. Uslyšel jsi modlitby, Pane. m. 3. Večerní. m. 1. Vzájemná. m. 2. Vítězný pochod ze „Záboje“. m. 3. Žalm: Spi v pokoji. m. 20. Žárlivý basař. m. 8.

Želeński Lad. Chor strzelców. m. 3. Orlové. m. 1. Veselo żeglujmy. m. 1.

Rozličné. Ach Bože, Bože muoj. m. 1. Bože, Otče z velké milosti. m. 1. Bože můj, Otče můj. m. 1. Horo, horo vysoká jsi. m. 1. Marseillaissa. m. 1. Proč tak náramně truchlíš. m. Švédské nár. písně I. m. 2. Švédské nár. písně II. m. 1. Vstalť jest této chvíle. m. 1.