

LES FRUITS DE LOISIR: NEKE EVROPSKE PREDODŽBE I ZABLUDE O IRSKOJ MUZICI

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Abstrakt: Historija recepcije irske tradicionalne muzike u Evropi porijeklo vuče iz njenog statusa utočišta od tvrdnji o ozbiljnom karakteru umjetničke muzike. Proučavajući Beethovenove aranžmane irskih narodnih pjesama u poređenju sa onima Thomasa Moorea, te suprotstavljajući sadašnju popularnost irske tradicionalne muzike u Evropi (prije svega u Njemačkoj) skromnoj ili nikakvoj recepciji drugih modaliteta irske muzike, možemo ustvrditi da je percepcija irske muzike u Evropi u najboljem slučaju nepotpuna, a u najgorem pogrešna.

Ključne riječi: tradicionalna muzika; Thomas Moore; Ludwig van Beethoven; *Les Fruits de Loisir* (Hoffmann); *The Last Rose of Summer* (Moore); Axel Klein.

Evropska recepcija irske muzike od početka devetnaestog stoljeća predstavlja primjer “etnomuzikološke supstance” (Dahlhaus, 1989, 40) kao definirajućeg činioca muzičkog diskursa. U Francuskoj, Njemačkoj i Poljskoj, “irsku muziku” možemo percipirati kao idealizovani konstrukt koji je, indirektno kroz medij irske poezije, animirao evropsku muzičku imaginaciju kao koncept romantičkog “drugog” nasuprot apsolutnom statusu umjetničke muzike. Međutim, direktna komunikacija između irske muzike i evropskih kompozitora u ranom devetnaestom stoljeću većinom je bila ograničena na obrade i varijacije tradicionalnih irskih napjeva – obrada koje su uveliko koristile “neprijelazni” karakter irske muzike, nasuprot “prijelaznom” razvoju apsolutne muzike. Do kraja devetnaestog stoljeća popularnost takvih obrada (i napjeva

koje su one predstavljale) je bila tolika da je bilo kakva druga zamisao o irskoj muzici (u kontekstu apsolutne muzike) postala gotovo u potpunosti strana konceptu irske muzike kao evropskog konstrukta. Također, u Irskoj je formativna uloga tradicionalne muzike kao izraza kulturalnog nacionalizma urušila skoro svaku vrijednost koja se eventualno mogla pripisati irskoj simfoniji, irskom klavirskom koncertu ili pak bilo kojem drugom evropskom žanru koji nije privilegovao korištenje tradicionalnih melodija.

Ovakav status “muzičkog pitanja” učvrstio se krajem dvadesetog stoljeća, kada je zvuk Irske (kao međunarodni fenomen) postao sinonimom za zvuk irske tradicionalne muzike. Čak štoviše, popularnost irske tradicionalne muzike u Evropi (a možda posebno u Njemačkoj), prerasla je u globalni fenomen koji za sobom ostavlja skrivenu muzičku historiju – historiju irskog doprinosa evropskim muzičkim žanrovima koji se i u zemlji i na međunarodnom nivou malo uzima u obzir. Implikacije ovog kulturalnog pomračenja za Irsku i za Evropu čine temelj ovog rada. U vrijeme kada se evropski identitet testira do tačke pucanja, možda je prikladnije nego ikad istražiti prirodu irskog muzičkog identiteta u širem muzikološkom kontekstu.

1. Neke evropske predodžbe o irskoj muzičkoj kulturi

U članku pod naslovom *Germany wants more Irish culture. Why can't we deliver?* [Njemačka želi više irske kulture. Zašto to ne možemo omogućiti?] objavljenom u *The Irish Times* 23. oktobra 2010. godine, Derek Scally započinje:

“Kad bi bista Felixa Mendelssohna imala stopala, pomjerala bi se uz muziku koja je odjekivala kroz svodove dvorane ispod irske ambasade u Berlinu. U starom domu Banke Mendelssohn, novi tradicionalni irski muzički sastav Cirrus daje sve od sebe, a uskoro čak i zamjenik njemačkog ministra u drugom redu klati nogom u ritmu muzike.

Ova večer je dobrodošlo skretanje pažnje sa ‘propasti i mraka’ o Irskoj u njemačkim medijima, ali sve to baš i nije onako kako se čini (...) Vladine agencije rade ogroman posao pro-

movirajući Irsku u inostranstvu, ali, gledajući izvana, čini se da postoji zabrinjavajući jaz između stvarnosti i usluga koje država plaća za promociju onoga što Irsku čini jedinstveno irskom.”¹ (Scally, 2010)

Scally u nastavku istražuje kontrast između tradicionalne irske muzike u Njemačkoj, “gdje je glad za irskom kulturom gotovo nezasitna”, i “apatije” irske vlade u smislu inicijative za poduhvatom promocije i, doslovno, prodaje tradicionalne muzike za zainteresirano inostrano tržište. On iznosi uvjerljive argumente kad kaže da je tradicionalna muzika roba čiji je tržišni potencijal nerazvijen u Evropi (a prije svega u Njemačkoj), bez obzira na općenitiju naklonjenost tradicionalnoj muzici kao vodećem segmentu irske kulture, tako da sama muzika, kao živi izraz irske kulture i historije ostaje nedovoljno kapacitirana kao sredstvo za privlačenje evropskih turista u Irsku. Na kraju ovog članka Scally citira izvođačicu tradicionalne muzike (i bivšu članicu sastava *Clannad*), Moyu Brennan, u žarkom argumentu u korist ovog teksta: “U Irskoj imamo banku koja se naziva kulturom, toliko bogatu da bi druge države vrlo rado mogle crpiti iz nje. To je kovčeg s blagom koji još nije otvoren.”² (Scally, 2010)

Ova projekcija irske muzike kao turističke robe, kao komercijalnog resursa sličnog prirodnoj izvorskoj vodi ili irskom maslacu (oba proizvoda imaju značajan udio u izvoznoj ekonomiji između Irske i Njemačke), teško da će osramotiti one čiji posao je iskorištavati Irsku kao turističku destinaciju kontinentalnih Evropljana. Ipak, jednačina koju Scally i Brennan postavljaju između irske muzike i ekonomskog obogaćivanja vrijedna je daljnjeg razmatranja. Ona počiva na autoritetu i

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[“If the bust of Felix Mendelssohn had feet they would have been tapping along with the music echoing through the vaulted hall below the Irish Embassy in Berlin. In the old home of the Mendelssohn Bank, the new traditional Irish music group Cirrus give it their all and soon even the German junior minister in row two is jiggling his foot in time with the music. The evening is a welcome distraction from the doom and gloom about Ireland in the German media, but it's not quite what it seems (...) Government agencies do tremendous work promoting Ireland abroad but, looking in from outside, there appears to be a worrying gap between the reality and the lip service the State pays to promoting what makes Ireland uniquely Irish.”]

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[“We have a bank in Ireland called culture, so rich that other countries would dearly love to be able to draw on it. It's a treasure chest that hasn't been opened yet.”]

ugledu tradicionalne muzike kao neizmjereno popularnog izvora zabave u Njemačkoj, koji je zauzvrat potkrijepljen konceptom kulturalne autentičnosti koji muzici samoj daje status nedostižan za bilo koju drugu vrstu irske muzičke prakse. Za mnoge Evropljane (ne gledajući pritom šire) zvuk Irske *jeste* njena tradicionalna muzika. Irski jezik je dugo čekao da bude prepoznat kao lako razumljivi potpis irskog identiteta; irska muzika, nasuprot tome, uživa međunarodni ugled kojem može parirati tek nekolicina činilaca irske kulture, s izuzetkom irske književnosti na engleskom jeziku. W. B. Yeats (1865–1939) je u svom obraćanju povodom osnivanja National Theatre Society, objavljenom 1905. godine, nehaljno izdvojio “seljanina koji ima svoje narodne pjesme i svoju muziku” iz općenitog naboja umjetničkog života “u službi svrhe” (Yeats, 2005, 23). Nije teško uočiti da se ono što se nekada možda i moglo činiti neobičnim odbacivanjem irske muzičke kulture i njenog političkog odjeka – sada mora iščitavati drugačije. Možemo opravdano tvrditi da je Yeats – ma koliko nenamjerno – bio besramno u pravu, i to u mjeri koju nije mogao ni predvidjeti. To je zato što je neviđena ekspanzija popularne zabave u poslijeratnoj Evropi bila izrazito prijemčiva narastanju irske muzičke tradicije (ili određenih aspekata te tradicije) predvođene muzikom kao rekreativnom alternativom, te je odvrćala pažnju od visoke ozbiljnosti drugih umjetničkih formi. U tom smislu, irska tradicionalna muzika je također “dobrodošlo skretanje pažnje sa ‘propasti i mraka’”, da se pozovemo na Scallyevu formulaciju (2010). U ovom vrlo uskom, ali i iznimno moćnom smislu, irska muzika je “drugo”, umirujuće utočište od ozbiljnih preokupacija evropske historije samom sobom. Pravo je malo čudo što ona općinjava maštu evropskih naroda u mjeri u kojoj to čini čak nepogrešivo. I u tom smislu tradicionalna muzika preuzima ulogu neoromantičke verzije Irske (stavljajući sve sumorne irske probleme na jednu stranu), što turistička industrija ne može a da ne prihvati. To ostaje slučaj čak i kad – kako Scally tvrdi – ostaje mnogo toga za dostići na polju komercijalnog iskorištavanja ovog resursa.

Moja je namjera u ovom radu istražiti historiju evropskih muzičkih ideja koje su u pozadini ove problematike, ako ni zbog čega drugog, onda zato što recepcija irske muzike u Evropi

možda nije toliko komplikovana koliko se čini da sadašnje stanje sugerije. S tim u vezi, postoje tri činioca čiji uticaj na prijenos irske muzike u Evropi u devetnaestom stoljeću pomaže objasniti konsolidaciju i konvencionalno razumijevanje sadašnjeg trenutka, prema kojem je u Evropi (a posebno u Njemačkoj) irska muzika jednaka tradicionalnoj muzici, a tradicionalna muzika je autentična muzika. Ti činioci su: (1) cirkulacija i uticaj spisa Thomasa Moorea (1779–1852) u Evropi, (2) odnos između Beethovenovih (1770–1827) obrada irskih narodnih pjesama i njemačkog muzičkog idealizma, i (3) “neprijelazno” stanje irske muzike (uključujući i određene Mooreove pjesme) nakon evropskog muzičkog romantizma. Sva tri činioca doprinose jednačini postavljenoj između značenja termina “irskog”, tradicije i kulturalne autentičnosti predloženih u ovom eseju. Međutim, ove jednačine su za uzvrat istisnule druge vidove irske muzičke prakse, a ponajviše tvrdnju Irske o učešću (čak kao nacionalne države) u diskursu evropske umjetničke muzike. U pokušaju da se napravi razlika između ove tvrdnje, koja za mnoge ljude ostaje neopravdana i neistražena, i konvencionalnog prijema irske muzike u Evropi (kao prirodnog resursa velike ljepote, koji olakšava muke kontinentu), ukratko navodim jedan relativno nov kontraargument o prirodi irskog muzičkog diskursa i njegovom djelimičnom iščeznuću. Iz navedenog proizlazi da ovo alternativno čitanje svoje porijeklo ima u Njemačkoj. U tom pogledu, postojeća percepcija “posuđene” muzičke kulture (u vezi sa težnjama i dostignućima Irske drugačijim od domene popularnih i tradicionalnih modusa) izuzetno je relevantna za probleme ovdje opisane historije recepcije.

2. Irska muzika i evropska kultura: Mooreov paradoks

Dereku Scallyju se i može oprostiti to što je zamišljao da bi Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) tapkao uz muziku tokom irskog *Tradfesta* u Berlinu 2010. godine, no istina je mogla biti i drugačija: u pismu sestri Fanny Hensel (1805–1847) od 25. augusta 1829. godine kompozitor je komentarisao muzičke impresije koje je stekao tokom turneje po Škotskoj i Velsu:

“Završio sam sa nacionalnom muzikom! Deset hiljada đavola je odnijelo svu narodnost! ... u holu svakog glasovitog prenočišta sjedi harfist i neumorno svira takozvane narodne melodije; to je nečuveno, vulgarno, neuštmano [*falsch*] smeće, uz koje istovremeno ide vergl! Bilo ko, kao i ja sam, ko ne može izdržati Beethovenove nacionalne pjesme, bi trebao doći ovdje, slušati kako ih viču grubi, nazalni glasovi praćeni čudnim, zgužvanim prstima, a pritom ne gundati.”³ (prema Gelbart, 2007, 248)

Bilo bi teško iz ovakvog ispada ne zaključiti da su, bar za Mendelssohna, ovakva osjećanja označila kraj njemačke očaranosti velikim “drugim” utjelovljenim u narodnoj muzici – “drugim” kojeg sam Mendelssohn aksiomatski označava kao “nacionalnu muziku” i u razuzdanoj suprotnosti spram autoritativne pozicije *Kunstmusik* [umjetničke muzike], zane-marujući pritom sopstvenu apoteozu modalitetnosti u djelima kao što su *Fingalova spilja* i *Škotska simfonija*. Razočarenje i prijezir koji karakteriziraju Mendelssohnovo shvatanje ruralne muzičke kulture, što je uočljivo u ovom pasusu, značajno oslabljuju romantičnost i ushit ranijeg njemačkog interesovanja za ideal barda u književnosti i muzici. Kao što tvrdi Matthew Gelbart, Mendelssohnovo omalovažavanje izraz je uvjerenja ne samo u superiornost njemačke umjetničke muzike, već i u njeno univerzalno stanje.⁴ Uistinu, model “centar-periferija” muzičkog mišljenja, koji Gelbart locira kod navedene generacije njemačkih kompozitora romantizma (posebno kod Mendelssohna i Schumanna), za sobom povlači drastično nazadovanje narodne muzike od njenog idealizovanog statusa kao iskonskog i univerzalnog supstrata evropske umjetnosti, ka shvatanju iste kao izraza nacionalne kulture,

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[“No national music for me! Ten thousand devils take all folkishness! ... a harper sits in the hall of every reputed inn playing incessantly so-called folk melodies; that is infamous, vulgar, out-of-tune [*falsch*] trash, with a hurdy-gurdy going at the same time! Anyone, who, like myself, cannot endure Beethoven’s national songs, should come here and listen to them bellowed out by rough, nasal voices, and accompanied with awkward, bungling fingers, and not grumble.”]

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Gelbart primjećuje da je u takvim odjeljcima Mendelssohn “koristio izraz ‘nacionalna muzika’ (pa čak i ‘narodna’ u ovom kontekstu) kao prevashodno nešto lokalno i grubo, koje je u direktnoj suprotnosti sa historijom apsolutne umjetničke muzike do koje je njemu toliko bilo stalo” (Gelbart, 2007, 248).

u kojoj se, marginalno ili lokalno, ona neizbježno povinuje univerzalnoj snazi njemačke muzičke imaginacije. Moglo bi se, na primjer, pomisliti na Schumannovu (1810–1856) recepciju Chopina (1810–1849), u kojoj je njemački kompozitor priznao postojanje poljske “fiziognomije” u Chopinovim ranijim radovima, koja će (barem za Schumanna) sretno iščeznuti u tački stapanja sa velikom tradicijom njemačke umjetničke muzike (Schumann, 1888, 188).

Mendelssohnovo odbacivanje “nacionalne muzike” u njegovom pismu iz 1829. godine, čini se, krije dugotrajnu njemačku preokupaciju “narodnošću” koja porijeklo vuče od entuzijastične recepcije koju su uživale osijanske krivotvorine Jamesa MacPhersona (1736–1796) u njemačkim književnim krugovima tokom 1770-ih i 1780-ih godina. Čak i ako su u MacPhersonovim “prijevodima” sa galskog jezika škotska imena i mitovi zamijenjeni njihovim originalnim irskim prototipima (do te mjere da su “Irska” i “Škotska” bili efektivno međusobno zamjenjivi pojmovi u Njemačkoj kasnog osamnaestog stoljeća, kao što je to ranije često bio slučaj), to u njemačkim napisima nije oslabilo uticaj galske kulture kao protoromantičkog stimulusa. Zanos za Ossianom (i težnja da se sam Ossian asimilira kao “njemački” bard) oblikovala je njemački književni idealizam preko pola stoljeća. Od Herdera (1744–1803) do Goethea (1749–1832) osijanski karakter je predstavljao određeni stupanj poetske emancipacije i imaginativne regeneracije koja je bila od neosporne važnosti u domenu specifično njemačke književnosti. Bilo je neizbježno da će takva promjena klime u njemačkom načinu pisanja uskoro dobiti odgovarajući odjek u njemačkoj muzici. Na kraju devetnaestog stoljeća, *ossianische Gesang* bila je redovna pojava u njemačkoj muzičkoj mašti. Njemačke varijante MacPhersonove poezije i stihovi napisani tako da oponašaju njegov bardovski sadržaj postali su opća mjesta. Beethoven, Schubert (1797–1828) i Schumann – veliki arhitekti njemačkog muzičkog romantizma – kultivisali su radikalno stiliziranu muzičku dikciju koja je odgovarala onome što su doživljavali kao čistoću, originalnost i prirodnost osijanske poezije. Sam koncept “narodne pjesme”, prilagođen iz Herderovog suštinski lingvističkog shvatanja ovog fenomena, nastao je kao odomaćena njemačka umjetnička forma. U tom procesu, njemačka muzika je *zamišljala* galsku

narodnu pjesmu. Kad su Schubert i Schumann komponovali na osijanske stihove, njihova melodijska i harmonijska invencija, kao i ovisnost o njihovoj strofičnoj strukturi, ipak su nastale samostalno. Nisu obrađivali škotske narodne pjesme. Nisu aranžirali škotske ili irske melodije, kao što su to učinili Haydn (1732–1809) i Beethoven (i samo tada za strano tržište). Naprotiv, njemačka muzika, angažirajući samu ideju “narodne pjesme”, zaustavila se na granicama vlastitog lirskog genija, kao da se time željelo razlikovati izvorni ideal od njegovog kasnijeg maštovitog života. Galska muzika (irska muzika, škotska muzika) odlučno je ostala udaljena od ovoga.

Objavljivanjem i distribucijom djela *Irish Melodies* [*Irske melodije*] Thomasa Moorea između 1808. i 1834. godine, ova njemačka asimilacija idealiziranih galskih prototipa prisvajana je na obje suparničke strane. Mooreove *Melodije* nisu samo bile popularne na kontinentu: njihov uspjeh (koliko god da je to bilo kontroverzno na britanskim otocima) nadišao je egzotično stanje evropskog romantizma predstavljajući irsku muziku ne kao idealnu, već naprosto kao zvučnu formu. Moore je jednim potezom preokrenuo normativno stanje evropske pjesme angažujući irsku muziku kao preduslov vlastitog tekstovnog predloška, procesa koji je proturječio konvenciji kontinentalne vokalne muzike *prima le parole* [prvo riječi]. Moore je izjavio da je njegova otvorena namjera objavljivanja *Melodija* bila “stihovno protumačiti dirljivi jezik muzike moje zemlje”, praksa koja je irsku muziku neizbježno politizirala kao izraz otuđenja i gubitka (Balfé, 1865, v). Prijelaz iz (irske) muzike u (englesku) poeziju koji je proizašao iz ovog procesa iznio je sudbonosne (i često plodonosne) posljedice za recepciju muzike u Irskoj, no u Evropi, Mooreovi stihovi i muzika koja ih je inspirisala često su vodili odvojen život.⁵ S tim u vezi, dužni smo priznati šta je doprinijelo paradoksu Mooreovog uticaja u Evropi. Dok je irska muzika inspirisala poeziju *Irskih melodija*, ipak je Mooreova poezija, a ne same melodije, inspirisala Hectora Berlioza (1803–1869), Roberta Schumanna, Frédérica Chopina i mnoštvo manje značajnih kompozitora

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Za čitanje Mooreovog literarnog i muzičkog uticaja u Evropi vidi: White, 2008, 35–78. O Mooreovim pjesmama i njihovim muzičkim i književnim izvorima vidi: Hunt, 2017, *passim*.

širom Evrope u njihovoj obnovi vokalno-instrumentalne muzike. Julian Rushton je u vezi s tim primijetio da “Mooreov književni i muzički uticaj u ovom periodu moramo postaviti na nivo uticaja Goethea i Shakespearea” (Rushton, 1995, 240).⁶ Osim *Melodija*, Mooreova orijentalna pjesma *Lalla Rookh* (1817) nije bila ništa manje uticajna kao katalizator u razvoju vokalno-scenske evropske muzike. Schumannovo uvjerenje da je Mooreova epska pjesma “od početka namijenjena za muziku”, nesumnjivo je nadahnulo njegov vlastiti proboj kao dramskog kompozitora, ponajviše njegovu postavku djela (u njemačkom prijevodu) *Paradise and the Peri* (*Das Paradies und die Peri*, op. 50, 1843), drugog dijela *Lalla Rookh* (White, 2008, 57–67). U svim tim poduhvatima njemačka recepcija Moorea bila je književnog karaktera, međutim to je u velikoj mjeri uticalo i na muziku koju su pisali sami njemački kompozitori. Kasniji muzički život irskih melodija na koje je Moore napisao stihove problem je sam po sebi.

3. Djela bez broja opusa: Beethovenove irske intervencije

Ludwig van Beethoven je obradio ukupno 71 irski napjev (od kojih je njih osam duplo obrađen) koje mu je dostavio škotski izdavač George Thomson između 1809. i 1815. godine, od kojih su sve osim njih sedam dovršene do 1813. godine. Uprkos kritičkom stavu Barryja Coopera prema ovim pjesmama sredinom 1990-ih godina i njihove (veoma) recentne rehabilitacije kroz seriju CD-a produciranih prije četiri godine u Dublinu, potrebno je istaći da je ove obrade od samog početka zasjenio uspjeh Mooreovih *Irskih melodija* što bi moglo objasniti nedostatak historije njihove recepcije od tada (Cooper, 1995, 65–81)⁷. One su bez sumnje važna epizoda u narativu njemač-

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Važno je dodati da je pojam *mélodie* korišten u Francuskoj da bi se označile solo pjesme nakon što je Berlioz 1829. komponovao ciklus kratkih pjesama (*Irlande*) sastavljen od devet muzičkih uobličavanja Mooreovih stihova (iz *Irskih melodija*) u prevodu Thomasa Gouneta.

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Za podatke o Beethovenovim snimcima koje je izdao DIT 2014. godine, vidi: Beethoven's Irish Songs, 2020. Beethovenove obrade je izvorno objavio Thomson 1814. i 1816. godine.

kih reakcija na irsku muziku (čemu ću se još vratiti), no one također ilustruju ne samo uspjeh koji su uživale Mooreove obrade (dok njegove vlastite pjesme nisu opale u popularnosti) nego još specifičnije – što bih ovdje želio snažno potcrtati – organski idealizam koji je pokretao Beethovenovu maštu kroz djelovanje generičkih modela koji su privilegovali (i radikalno preoblikovali) instrumentalnu muziku. Beethovenovi kasniji savremenici ili gotovo savremenici (kao što je bio slučaj sa Mendelssohnom) aksiomatski su razlikovali *Kunstmusik* (ili “višu muziku”) njegovih simfonija, gudačkih kvarteta, klavirskih sonata i kamerne muzike (pažljivo sakupljane i katalogizirane kao niz visoko značajnih i veoma uticajnih dijelova opusa) od njegovih aranžmana narodnih pjesama pisanih po rutinskim narudžbama, koji niti za Beethovena niti za njegove urednike nisu zaslužili niti privilegiju broja opusa (Gelbart, 2007, 224, 234-235). Ovu bismo razliku u načinu na koji je Beethoven gledao na svoje originalne kompozicije nasuprot aranžmanima narodnih pjesama mogli dalje produbiti konstatacijom da su njegove irske obrade pisane za strano (zapravo britansko) tržište, bez intencije da formiraju organski razvoj njegovog genija. To ne znači da je Beethoven bio ravnodušan prema tim obradama, već ide u prilog tvrdnji da je njegova zamisao o narodnoj muzici, nanovo osmišljena u *Odi radosti* koja kruniše *Devetu simfoniju*, bila zapravo romantički izum koji je prednjačio pred njegovim susretima sa melodijama koje mu je obezbijedio Thomson. Kada je Beethoven dramatično ujedinio riječi i muziku u ovom djelu, čime je zapravo njegov doprinos simfonijskom žanru doveden do njegovog utopijskog kraja, okrenuo se Schilleru i njegovim sredstvima mašte. Još jednom je njemački kompozitor radije idealizovao muziku “naroda” nego da se usmjerio na pravu stvar. U tom je procesu marginalni status Beethovenovih irskih narodnih pjesama doveden do krajnosti. Bez obzira na magnitudu kompozitorovog uticaja na njemačke muzičke tokove tokom devetnaestog stoljeća (i kasnije), njegov odnos prema irskoj muzici je imao malo uticaja na njenu recepciju u Evropi. A kada ovaj odnos iznova osmotrimo, naići ćemo na određeni stupanj nekompatibilnosti između Beethovenovog muzičkog diskursa i samih napjeva, koja je bila tu od samog početka. U tom smislu, Barry Cooper, koji se bavi proučavanjem Beethovenove muzike, navodi prepisku između kompozitora i nje-

govog izdavača nastalu u trenutku kada je Thomson zatražio od njega da revidira originalne obrade koje mu je Beethoven poslao. Jedna rana obrada pjesme *Tis but in Vain* (1810), na primjer, iznjedrila je sljedeću prepisku između izdavača i kompozitora (prvo Thomson): “Ovdje su ritornella za klavir, iako pristojna, previše briljantna. Rulade bi trebalo zamijeniti, jer je pjesma nježnog i žalobnog karaktera. Dozvolite mi onda da Vas zamolim za ritornella u jednostavnom, lebdećem i kantabilnom stilu.”⁸ (Cooper, 1995, 69) Na to je Beethoven odgovorio (na francuskom):

“Nisam navikao da ispravljam svoje kompozicije; to nikada nisam radio, duboko uvjeren da bi bilo kakva djelimična promjena promijenila karakter kompozicije. Žao mi je što ste Vi sada na gubitku, ali ne možete kriviti mene, jer je na Vama bilo da me bolje upoznate sa ukusom u Vašoj zemlji i slabim sposobnostima Vaših izvodača. Sada, naoružan Vašom informacijom, komponovao sam ih u potpunosti nanovo i nadam se, u maniru koji odgovara Vašim očekivanjima.”⁹ (Cooper, 1995, 69-70)

Kakve god da je ustupke, isprovocirane od strane Thomsona, Beethoven napravio u “karakteru” melodija, teško je ne uočiti nepovezanost između kompozitorove tehnike i originalnih melodija, što se i suviše revnosno manifestuje kad slušamo ove pjesme danas, dva stoljeća nakon što su komponovane. Jedan muzički konstituent nepromjenjivo sprječava drugi, što je problem koji se dodatno pogoršava čistotom i/ili jednostavnošću dikcije koju su u međuvremenu ove melodije uživale (u Njemačkoj ponajviše, no i drugdje). Beethovenove obrade su, da tako kažemo, irska muzika nehotice ispjevana njemačkim akcentom.

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[“Here the ritornellos for the piano, though fine, are much too brilliant. The roudade should be replaced, for the song is of a tender and plaintive character. Allow me then, to ask you for ritornellos in a simple, flowing and cantabile style.”]

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[“I am not accustomed to retouching my compositions; I have never done so, thoroughly convinced that any partial change alters the character of the composition. I am sorry that you are the loser, but you cannot blame me, since it was up to you to make me better acquainted with the taste of your country and the meagre facility of your performers. Now, armed with your information, I have composed them entirely anew and I hope, in a manner that answers your expectations.”]

4. U “neprijelaznom” raspoloženju: varijacije na irsku melodiju

Ako je Beethoven irsku muziku iscrtao prema kalupu vlastite umjetnosti, evropski kompozitori u vrijeme njegovog uspona postupali su drugačije. Zapravo, njemački i italijanski kompozitori koji su se naselili u Irskoj od ranog osamnaestog stoljeća su dugo bili naviknuti na aranžiranje irskih melodija za različite kombinacije instrumentalnih sastava (najranija postojeća zbirka “najslavnijih irskih melodija” za violinu, obou i kontinuo objavljena je u Dublinu 1724. godine). Bez obzira na to, romantika i utočište irskog napjeva u dugom devetnaestom stoljeću (i kao direktna posljedica njemačkog suvereniteta u domenu instrumentalne muzike) sačinjava posebnu kategoriju evropske kompozicije u vezi sa irskom muzikom, što je pažnju naučnika koju zaslužuje dobilo tek nedavno. S obzirom na dokaze koje ovo istraživanje predložava, ne čini se pretjeranim dodati da su evropski kompozitori općenito (a posebno njemački kompozitori) formirali naviku “slušanja” irske muzike kroz jednostavan postupak korisnog pisanja idiomatskih varijacija (pogotovo za klavir) na tradicionalne irske melodije predstavljene kao teme od kojih je ostatak takvih kompozicija ovisio. Jedan rani primjer ovog tematsko-varijacijskog pristupa irskoj muzici kompozitora Frederica Hoffmanna (?) je objavljen u Dublinu oko 1810. godine. Hoffmannova kompozicija naslovljena je *Les Fruits de Loisir or The Groves of Blarney* [Plodovi dokolice ili šume Blarneya] i za tri godine prethodi obradi iste melodije kao *The Last Rose of Summer* [Posljednja ruža ljeta] Thomasa Moorea u petom svesku *Irskih melodija* (1813).¹⁰ Ono što je uočljivo uhu kao i oku tokom Hoffmannovih varijacija jeste “neprijelazan” status irske melodije nasuprot (tada) savremenom idiomu pisanja za klavir. Uprkos uzavreloj i raznovrsnoj klavirskoj figuraciji, melodija ostaje netaknuta. Ukrašena je ali nije razvijena. Ta je melodija u potpunosti formirana, konačna verzija (kao što je bila), koja je ostala nepromijenjena

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Jedna kopija Hoffmannovih varijacija sačuvana je u Nacionalnoj biblioteci Irske (broj Add Mus 6171); NLI katalog bilježi da ih je objavio Paul Alday u Dublinu 1810. godine. Ova kopija je dostupna online na službenoj stranici Nacionalne arhive irskih kompozitora (Hoffmann, 1810).

u stotinama obrada koje je dobila od evropskih kompozitora u stoljeću koje je uslijedilo.

Odnosi između melodije i varijacija koje je ista inspirisala mogu pomoći da se osvijetli pojam “neprijelaznog”, koji opisuje stalnost tradicionalnog repertoara. *The Last Rose of Summer* je naslov Mooreovih stihova; u jednom ranom izdanju sakupljača, izdavača i kompozitora Smolletta Holdena (?–1813) melodija se pojavila pod imenom *The Groves of Blarney* oko 1803. godine; zbirka *Ancient Music of Ireland* Edwarda Buntinga (1773–1843), u kojoj se pojavljuje ova melodija tada naslovljena kao *The Young Man’s Dream*, smatra se njenim prvim printanim izvorom, te se ona sama pojavljuje u (oskudnom) aranžmanu za klavir (1796–1797). Upravo je Bunting transkribirao melodiju od harfista Denisa Hempsona (1695–1807) tokom festivala *Belfast Harp* 1792. godine, iako se ova transkripcija – onako kako je to prikazano u Buntingovoj verziji iz 1796–1797 – doduše u detaljima, ne i u suštini – značajno razlikuje od verzije koju su popularizovali Holden i Moore.¹¹ Ovaj mali hronološki pregled izvora ilustruje generalno načelo irske tradicionalne muzike koje se teško može previdjeti ako želimo razumjeti historiju njene recepcije nakon 1800. godine; naime, kada melodija jednom počne cirkulisati kroz domen muzičke notacije, njen prenos nakon toga biva učvršćen i tačan. Ovaj princip je u značajnoj mjeri spriječio usmenu predaju repertoara, barem sudeći prema utvrđenim formama nagoviještenih u doba Buntingovih publikacija. Kao uvjerljiv dokaz navedenog može poslužiti sama *The Last Rose of Summer*, čija je muzička morfologija ostala neizmijenjena od 1810. godine do danas. (Kao kontrast ovome, skoro svaka melodija iz Buntingovih zbirki koje je adaptirao Moore, uključujući i ovu, prošla je značajne promjene od izvora do pjesme, što je proces koji zapravo reflektuje usmenu tradiciju.)

Međutim, postoje još dva aspekta pojma “neprijelazan” koja se mogu primijeniti na ovo predstavljanje irske muzike u Evropi devetnaestog stoljeća. Prvi od njih se tiče čitanja odnosa “centar-periferija” u muzičkom iskustvu, podstaknutog or-

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Za više detalja o vezi izvora između Buntinga, Holdena i Moorea, vidjeti: Ní Chinnéide, 1959, 109–134.

ganskim idealizmom i suverenosti njemačke instrumentalne muzike širom kontinenta između 1800. i 1918. godine. Prestiž povezan sa “umjetničkom muzikom” (ili “višom muzikom”) u Njemačkoj tokom devetnaestog stoljeća zahtijevao je (ili povlačio za sobom) odgovarajuće olakšanje od ozbiljnog posla originalnog komponovanja kada se radilo o aranžmanima ili varijacijama irskih napjeva. (Kao javna ličnost, politički i društveni značaj umjetnika kao heroja utjelovljen u Beethovenu, u konačnici će se bez zaostatka proširiti na Richarda Wagnera, 1813–1883.) Umjetnička muzika je bila u domenu javne svijesti, psihološkog uvida i historijske interpretacije. “Narodna muzika” je bila utočište nevinosti. U ovom binarnom uparivanju, sadašnje vrijeme evropskog muzičkog diskursa bi moglo predstavljati i djelovati kroz “narodnu muziku” kao zvučna ikona romantičke “drugosti”. Narodna muzika, a posebno irska muzika, postala je muzički objekt uključen u dijalektičku vezu sa olujom i nagonom njemačke muzičke imaginacije. Malo čudo je možda to što su njeni privlačni potpisi modalne čistote tako pažljivo sačuvani. A kada je evropski kompozitor susreo irski napjev (da tako kažemo), to je uradio kroz medij muzičkog kompromisa, odnosno kao salonski eksponat ili ekspresivnu reminiscenciju. U takvim prilikama, ozbiljan posao originalnog komponovanja nije bio u igri.

Drugi neprijelazni aspekt irske tradicionalne muzike bila je (i dalje jeste) njena *organska* neprijelaznost, u čijoj potvrdi je pripomoglo i njeno kolanje Evropom. Tradicionalna irska muzika nosi i promovise ponavljanje (do te mjere da ono potvrđuje njeno porijeklo iz ranog osamnaestog stoljeća, posebno iz ugla njene povezanosti sa fiksiranim plesnim formama), ali nije prilagođena razvoju. Njeni potpisi su suviše formirani i dovršeni da bi s lakoćom omogućili takav kompozitorski impuls. Ali čak i kada bismo osporili njenu dovršenost (ili ograničenost, u zavisnosti od tačke gledišta), teško bismo pogriješili ili potcijenili taj dokaz o evropskoj muzičkoj historiji koji – kao što je slučaj sa *The Last Rose of Summer* – glasno potvrđuje *a priori* stanje irske muzike u kontekstu njenog evropskog kasnijeg života. Ovo stanje, na koje je nedavno u svom istraživanju, te katalogu evropskih obrada *The Last Rose of Summer* ukazao Axel Klein, ohrabrilu je podžanr kompozicija (često promovisanih pod naslovima kao što su *Souvenir d'Irlande* ili *Erinnerungen*

an Irland) u kojima je “domaća” tehnika pojedinih kompozitora igrala ulogu domaćina njihovom “prisjećanju” na Irsku kroz variranje irskog napjeva (Klein, 2017, 132-145).¹² U slučaju *The Last Rose of Summer*, Klein katalogizira 205 djela raznih kompozitora između 1810. i 1913. godine (većina, iako ne sve, bazirane su na samom napjevu) i pripisuje njenu nevjerovatnu popularnost u drugoj polovini devetnaestog stoljeća pojavljivanju pjesme u (njemačkoj) operi *Martha* (1847) Friedricha von Flotowa (1812–1883). Sudeći prema broju instrumentalnih varijacija na dati napjev objavljenih u Njemačkoj i Francuskoj nakon velikog uspjeha opere, čini se da je *Martha* djelovala kao jedinstven poticaj, no prije i nakon *Marthe*, sama melodija skreće pažnju na neprijelaznu prirodu “irskog napjeva”, čak i u onim obradama u kojima kompozitorova tehnika u potpunosti odstupa od morfologije melodije. Tako se u Mendelssohnovoj klavirskoj fantaziji na *The Last Rose of Summer* (1827) napjev periodično vraća svom originalnom ruhu i tempu kao ponovnoj potvrdi protiv ornamentalnih (i često atematskih) “varijacija” koje mu se pridružuju.

5. Nečujna umjetnost: irski muzički identitet u Evropi

Suverenitet irske muzike kao egzotičnog “drugog” u Evropi, potpisan i kao utočište od visoke ozbiljnosti apsolutne muzike, bio je drugačije konstruisan u samoj Irskoj – prvenstveno kao označilac kulturalnog nacionalizma, a svakako i kulturalne autonomije. Međutim, irska tradicionalna muzika je također

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O podžanru muzičkih “prisjećanja” ili “suvenira” Irske Klein piše kako slijedi: “Ako bi, međutim, strani kompozitor koristio irsku tradicionalnu melodiju u devetnaestom stoljeću, to je moglo imati dva moguća značenja: ili je kompozitor želio dodati ‘egzotični’ element svojoj muzici ili je on/a također bio/la putujući izvođač koji je namjeravao pozdraviti svoju irsku publiku ljubaznom gestom uvažavanja – dok je svojoj publici kod kuće donosio/la ‘suvenir kompoziciju’ sa svojih putovanja. Neki kompozitori kao što su Ferdinand Ries, François-Joseph Dizi, Louis Spohr i Frédéric Kalkbrenner pisali su djela inspirisana irskom tradicionalnom muzikom nakon posjeta ili kratkotrajnih boravaka u Engleskoj, te nisu miješali englesku sa irskom muzikom (...). Postoje suvenir kompozicije koje uopće nisu suvenir, kao što su *Reminiscences of Ireland* (Reminiscencije na Irsku) Carla Czernya opus 675 za klavir komponovane 1842, koje je kompozitor napisao bez da je ikada kročio na irsko tlo.” (Klein, 2017, 129)

bila konstruisana kao samozadovoljno (iako moćno) poricanje umjetničke muzike. U očito beskrajnoj hronici žalbi koje je ovo poricanje potaknulo, možda možemo kao primjere navesti dva široka razmatranja (jedno iz 1936. i drugo iz 2005. godine) koja mogu biti reprezentativna. Prvo pripada Aloysu Fleischmannu (1910–1992), kompozitoru i muzikologu njemačkog porijekla koji je svoju cjelokupnu karijeru proveo u Corku, na jugu Irske (gdje su njegovi roditelji emigrirali iz Münchena tokom 1880-ih):

“Čini se da se irska narodna pjesma i bardska muzika sedamnaestog i osamnaestog stoljeća učvrstila u narodnoj imaginaciji, davši ovoj zemlji reputaciju muzičke kulture koju ona još uvijek ne posjeduje. Lijepo uobličene fraze kao što su ‘naš narod koji voli muziku’ i ‘naše muzičko naslijeđe’ su ovu legendu učinile uobičajenom frazom. Niko ne voli čuti da je *ovo* zemlja bez muzike, zemlja koja bukvalno gladuje za muzikom.”¹³ (Fleischmann, 1936, 41)

Drugo razmatranje je ono Axela Kleina, njemačkog muzikologa koji živi i radi u Frankfurtu, a čije bavljenje irskom umjetničkom muzikom (kao historičara i kritičara) neizbježno uključuje akutnu svjesnost kulturalno opresivnog stanja tradicionalne muzike: “Ono što preostaje je tužna činjenica da je Irska jedna od malobrojnih zemalja u kojima su ljudi uskraćeni za vlastito klasično muzičko naslijeđe. Jednostavnim jezikom rečeno, dok skoro svaka zapadna zemlja može slušati svoju muzičku prošlost, Irska – s izuzetkom njene narodne tradicije – ne može.” (Klein, 2005, 27)

Formiranje identiteta koji je irska muzika postigla u Evropi tokom dugog devetnaestog stoljeća ne bi mnogo doprinijelo njenom kulturnom autoritetu da je isti ovisio samo o Mooreovim pjesmama i drugim napjevima rasparčanim po analima njemačke i francuske salonske muzike kako je stoljeće proticalo.

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[“Irish folk-song and the bardic music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems to have fixed itself on the popular imagination, lending to this country a reputation for musical culture that it does not yet possess. Nicely-turned phrases, such as ‘our music-loving people’ and ‘our heritage of music’ have made this legend a household word. Nobody likes to hear that *this* is the land without music, a land that is literally music-starved.”]

Ali ovaj autoritet se produbio u drugoj polovini dvadesetog stoljeća. Romantička “drugost” i utočište irske muzike u Evropi postalo je princip recepcije isključivo lociran unutar same tradicije kao nanovo osmišljena i reanimirana alternativa rivalskim prisvajanjima popularne kulture i kolapsu njemačkog muzičkog suvereniteta (umjesto da ostane trajni i živi izraz muzejske kulture). Iako se danas popularnost irske tradicionalne muzike u Njemačkoj pojavljuje kao *donnée* (kao u odlomcima iz članka Dereka Scallyja u *Irish Timesu*, citiranim pri početku ovog članka), kulturni značaj takve popularnosti ostaje do značajne mjere neistražen. Neoromantičko stanje irske tradicionalne muzike (kao rekreacijske distrakcije od stresa urbane kulture) je očito privlačno ukoliko je suditi po njenom ogromnom (iako nedovoljno iskorištenom) uspjehu kao izvozne robe, no komercijalni potencijal irske muzike još je daleko od poželjnog ukoliko tražimo objašnjenje njenog uspjeha u drugim uvjetima.

Takvo objašnjenje bi bez daljnjeg uključivalo kulturu oživljavanja narodne muzike širom Evrope i SAD-a od 1960-ih do danas, a njime bi se jednako trebala objasniti praktična re-invenција irske tradicionalne muzike kao umjetnosti ansambla kroz djelovanje (i čisto muzičku umješnost) bendova kao što su *The Chieftains*, *Planxty* i *Clannad* (kao i muzičara pojedinaca kao što su Donal Lunny, Christy Moore, Bill Whelan i Moya Brennan, između ostalih) tokom istog perioda.¹⁴ Ali ovaj nara-tiv bi također zahtijevao odjek odgovora sa kontinenta, mimo egzistencijalne (i manifestne) privlačnosti irske tradicionalne muzike kao zvučne slike same Irske. Ako je irska muzika u Evropi tradicionalna muzika (ili neotradicionalna muzika, s obzirom na njenu novootkrivenu apsorpciju drugih muzičkih žanrova, prvenstveno rock muzike, kao i njene odlučno i stilski proširene instrumentalne palete, u nekim primjerima oslonjene na onu samog kontinenta), teško možemo ostati pri Fleischmannovom strastvenom insistiranju iz 1936. godine da je Irska bila (ili jeste) “Das Land ohne Musik” [zemlja bez muzike]. No umjesto toga, mogli bismo biti izazvani da predložimo da je Irska – barem u smislu evropske historije recepcije – “Das Land ohne Kunstmusik” [zemlja bez *umjetničke* muzike].

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Vidjeti: White i Boydell, 2013. za podatke o ovdje navedenim ansamblima i muzičarima.

Kleinov rad tokom proteklih dvadeset godina još jednom značajno osvjetljava frazu “irska muzika”, jer ispituje, inicijalno sa zahvalne pozicije njemačkog i njemački obrazovanog muzikologa, skrivenu historiju irskog muzičkog diskursa *drugačijeg od onog koji je u saglasnosti sa romantičkim suverenitetom same tradicije*. Iako Klein sasvim sigurno nije usamljen u ovom poduhvatu, njegove monografije i katalozi o irskoj umjetničkoj muzici u dvadesetom stoljeću i o irskim snimcima klasične muzike, njegove biografske studije o irskim kompozitorima u Evropi, zajedno sa neprekidnim prilivom članaka, eseja, leksičkih unosa i recenzija, čine značajnu (i strpljivo postignutu) disoluciju aksiomatske jedinačine koja još postoji između irske muzike i irske tradicionalne muzike.¹⁵ “Kako stvari stoje”, piše Klein u nedavno objavljenom eseju naslovljenom *No State for Music* [Nema zemlje za muziku] “moramo pronaći objašnjenje zašto većina Iraca misle da nemaju historiju klasične muzike” (Klein, 2016, 48).

Ne bih želio omekšati ovaj imperativ, niti umanjiti njegov značaj na kraju eseja zaokupljenog recepcijom irske muzike u Evropi, ali tvrdim da je preovlađujuća domaća indiferentnost prema irskoj umjetničkoj muzici (to jeste, irskoj historijskoj i savremenoj zabavljenosti klasičnim evropskim žanrovima) komplikovana i čak ratifikovana evropskom historijom recepcije koju sam ovdje prikazao. U Njemačkoj, “gdje je glad za irskom kulturom skoro nezasitna” (Scally, 2010), i širom Evrope, irski muzički krajolik ostaje tradicionalni zvučni krajolik, barem u onoj mjeri koliko bilo kakvo nacionalno predstavljanje vrijedno tog imena nastavlja biti relevantno. Ova trajna evropska očaranost irskim muzičkim “drugim” teško da će biti zamijenjena, koliko god da osuđujemo njen naizgled ograničavajući uticaj na domaćem tlu.

6. Predodžbe i zablude

Godine 2016. u Dublinu je objavljena knjiga pod naslovom *The Invisible Art: A Century of Irish Music, 1916-2016* [Nevidljiva umjetnost: stoljeće irske muzike] (Dervan, 2016). Ista godina je također označila stogodišnjicu Uskrsnjeg ustanka

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Vidi: Axel Klein, 2020. za cjelokupan popis Kleinovih publikacija.

u Dublinu koji se pokazao ključnim u irskom osamostaljenju od britanske vladavine i njenom putu ka osamostaljenju šest godina kasnije. Kao što je slučaj sa svim stogodišnjicama (a takav slučaj je i u centralnoj Evropi), bilo je mnogo osvrtnja unazad, mnogo manje ili više osuđivačkih procjena stanja u kojem se trenutno nalazimo u odnosu na ono kakvo je nekad bilo. U ovom kolektivnom poduhvatu, *The Invisible Art* je bila još značajnija zbog stavova koji su govorili o postojanju skrivene muzičke historije, cijelog jednog stoljeća irskog bavljenja artificijelnim i generičkim preokupacijama evropske umjetničke muzike koja je u međuvremenu nekako nestala. Samu knjigu je pratio trosedmični niz koncerata u National Concert Hallu u Dublinu, koji su predstavljali muziku kojom se sama knjiga bavila. Pokazalo se da većina ove muzike nikada nije izvedena u Irskoj ili je obavijena velom tišine odmah po premijernom izvođenju. I na početku i na kraju ovog stoljeća muzičke historije, mogu se pronaći imena koja bi evropska konstitucija muzičkog interesa mogla prepoznati: Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924) na jednom kraju stoljeća, na primjer, te Gerald Barry (1952) na drugom. Važno je potcrtati da su to dva kompozitora čija su djela kolala i bila izvedena prvenstveno *izvan* Irske, uprkos stoljeću koje ih dijeli. Zapravo, kako god da su irski kompozitori doprinijeli Evropi (i općenito zapadnoj muzičkoj kulturi), zavisilo je to od samog statusa irskog egzilanta. Na domaćem tlu se stupanj političke, kulturne i (možda iznad svega) obrazovne ravnodušnosti prema irskoj umjetničkoj muzici tokom proteklog stoljeća produbio do stupnja koji je u ostatku Zapadne Evrope bez premca. To znači da, kakve god zablude o irskoj muzici i dalje postoje, ne mogu se pripisati historiji ideja izloženih u ovom radu. Nevjerovatna je činjenica da se od 1905. godine nije pojavila nijedna historija irske muzike, a ne ohrabruje ništa više ni zapažanje da ne postoji nijedna profesura iz irske muzike na bilo kojem irskom univerzitetu ili koledžu, niti na jugu niti na sjeveru. (Da postoji, takva bi pozicija do sada skoro aksiomatski iz svog vidokruga isključila irsku umjetničku muziku tokom protekla četiri stoljeća). Još jedan način uobličavanja ovih diskutabilnih ili obeshrabrujućih činjenica jeste tvrdnja da, dok irska tradicionalna muzika uživa povećano prisustvo u irskom kulturnom životu (a samim tim i u Evropi i Sjevernoj Americi), irska umjetnička muzika općenito ostaje nečujna.

Kad govorimo o irskom muzičkom identitetu u svijetu globalno, ona je također periferna zvučnoj reprezentaciji (kao što je i bila) irskog kulturnog senzibiliteta. Zvuk irske umjetničke muzike je zvuk neotkrivene zemlje. U ovom (irskom) stanju (muzičkih) odnosa, nije iznenađujuće da bi fasciniranost i utočište koje pruža tradicionalna muzika, rekonfigurisana na nov i maštovit način i kod kuće kao i vani, trebali uživati blistavu prednost. Sve drugo što irska muzička imaginacija može dokučiti ili proizvesti, posve je sporedno. Ona uživa “čast nepostojanja”, da citiramo razočaranu formulaciju savremenog kompozitora Raymonda Deana (1953), između ostalih (Deane, 1995, 199). U srži ove čudne tišine nalazi se nemogućnost razlikovanja između irske muzike i muzike u Irskoj. Ovo se zanemarivanje, k tome, proteže izvan granica kulturne propagande ili rehabilitacije. Irska muzička baština je dio njene kulturne i posebno političke historije, i pogrešno tumačenje njene energične i često prelijepe obrade irskih napjeva kao cijelu priču ne bi trebalo tolerisati. Irska muzika je mnogo više od *les fruits de loisir* [plodova dokolice].

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LES FRUITS DE LOISIR: SOME EUROPEAN CONCEPTIONS AND MISCONCEPTIONS OF IRISH MUSIC

Harry White

Abstract: The reception history of Irish traditional music in Europe originates in its status as a mode of refuge from the claims of high seriousness embodied in art music. By examining Beethoven's arrangements of Irish folksong by comparison with those of Thomas Moore, and by contrasting the present-day popularity of Irish traditional music in Europe (above all, in Germany) with the silent or non-reception of other modes of Irish music, we can argue that the perception of Irish music in Europe is incomplete at best, and at worst misconceived.

Keywords: traditional music; Thomas Moore; Ludwig van Beethoven; *Les Fruits de Loisir* (Hoffmann); *The Last Rose of Summer* (Moore); Axel Klein.

The European reception of Irish music since the beginning of the nineteenth century represents an exemplary instance of “ethnomusical substance” (Dahlhaus, 1989, 40) as a defining agent of musical discourse. In France, Germany and Poland, we can perceive “Irish music” as an idealized construct which, through the indirect medium of Irish poetry, animated the European musical imagination as a romantic “other” in contrast to the absolute condition of art music. But direct encounters between Irish music and European composers in the early nineteenth century were generally confined to arrangements and variations of traditional Irish airs, arrangements which pressed home the intransitive condition of Irish music, in

contrast to the transitive development of absolute music. By the end of the nineteenth century, the popularity of such arrangements (and the airs which these represented) was such that any other musical conception of Ireland (in terms of absolute music) became almost completely extraneous to the meaning of Irish music as a European construct. In Ireland, too, the formative role of traditional music as an expression of cultural nationalism eclipsed whatever value might attach to an Irish symphony or an Irish piano concerto or any other European genre which did not privilege the domestic claim of the traditional air.

This state of musical affairs became consolidated in the late twentieth century, by which time the sound of Ireland (as an international phenomenon) had become synonymous with the sound of Irish traditional music. The popularity of Irish traditional music in Europe, moreover (and perhaps especially in Germany) has expanded into a global phenomenon which leaves a hidden musical history in its wake. This is the history of Irish contributions to European musical genres which both domestically and internationally remain of little account. The implications of this cultural eclipse for Ireland and for Europe form the basis of this paper. At a time when European identity is being tested to breaking point, it is perhaps more opportune than ever to examine the nature of Irish musical identity in a broader musicological context.

1. Some European Conceptions of Irish Musical Culture

In an article headed *Germany Wants More Irish Culture. Why Can't We Deliver?* published in *The Irish Times* on 23 October 2010, Derek Scally begins:

“If the bust of Felix Mendelssohn had feet they would have been tapping along with the music echoing through the vaulted hall below the Irish Embassy in Berlin. In the old home of the Mendelssohn Bank, the new traditional Irish music group Círrus give it their all and soon even the German junior minister in row two is jiggling his foot in time with the music.

The evening is a welcome distraction from the doom and gloom about Ireland in the German media, but it's not quite what it seems (...) Government agencies do tremendous work promoting Ireland abroad but, looking in from outside, there appears to be a worrying gap between the reality and the lip service the State pays to promoting what makes Ireland uniquely Irish.” (Sally, 2010)

Sally goes on to explore the contrast between traditional Irish music in Germany, “where the hunger for Irish culture is almost insatiable”, and the “apathy” of Irish government initiatives at home in the enterprise of promoting and indeed selling traditional music for a ready market abroad. He makes a persuasive case for traditional music as a commodity whose commercial potential has been underdeveloped in Europe (and above all in Germany), notwithstanding a more general assent to traditional music as a flagship of Irish culture, so that the music itself, as a living expression of Irish culture and history remains under-resourced as a means of attracting European tourists to Ireland. At the end of his piece, Sally quotes the traditional musician (and former member of *Clannad*), Moya Brennan, in ardent support of this reading: “We have a bank in Ireland called culture, so rich that other countries would dearly love to be able to draw on it. It's a treasure chest that hasn't been opened yet.” (Sally, 2010)

This projection of Irish music as a tourist commodity, as a commercial resource akin to natural spring water or Irish butter (both of which loom large in the export economy between Ireland and Germany) could hardly be said to dismay those whose business it is to exploit Ireland as a tourist destination for continental Europeans. Nevertheless, the equation which Sally and Brennan draw between Irish music and economic enrichment, is worth a moment's further scruple. It rests on the authority and prestige of traditional music as an immensely popular source of entertainment in Germany that is, in turn, underwritten by a concept of cultural authenticity that lends the music itself a status unavailable to (or unattained by) any other kind of Irish musical practice. For many Europeans (to look no further afield), the sound of Ireland is its traditional music. The Irish language has long been in abeyance as an

easily communicated signature of Irish identity: Irish music, by contrast, enjoys an international currency rivalled by few other agents of Irish culture, with the sovereign exception of Irish writing in English. W. B. Yeats (1865–1939), in an address on the formation of the National Theatre Society published in 1905 blithely exempted “the peasant, who has his folk-songs and his music” from the more general charge of artistic life “indentured to a cause” (Yeats, 2005, 23). It is not difficult to see that what might once have appeared a peremptory dismissal of Irish musical culture and its political resonances must now be read otherwise. We can justifiably argue that Yeats – however inadvertently – was uncannily right, and on a scale he could never have envisaged. That is because the unprecedented expansion of popular entertainment in post-war Europe has been strikingly receptive to the growth of an Irish musical tradition (or certain aspects of that tradition) predicated upon music as a recreational alternative to and distraction from the high seriousness of other art forms. In such terms, Irish traditional music is also “a welcome distraction from doom and gloom”, to invoke Scally’s own formulation (2010). In this very narrow but very powerful sense, it is an “other”, a soothing refuge from the grave preoccupations of European history itself. Small wonder, perhaps, that it captivates the European popular imagination to the extent that it unmistakably does. In this sense too, traditional music partakes of a neo-romantic version of Ireland (leaving all Irish matters of sombre concern decorously to one side), which the tourist industry cannot but acclaim. This remains the case even when – as Scally argues – much remains to be achieved in the enterprise of exploiting this balm commercially.

My intention in this paper is to explore the history of European musical ideas that underlies this state of affairs, if only because the reception of Irish music in Europe is not perhaps as uncomplicated as its present condition appears to suggest. To this end, there are three agents whose influence on the transmission of Irish music in Europe in the nineteenth century help to explain the consolidation and conventional understanding of the present moment, which is to say that in Europe (and especially in Germany) Irish music is traditional music, and that traditional music is authentic music. These

agents are respectively: (1) the circulation and influence of Thomas Moore's (1779–1852) writings in Europe, (2) the relationship between Beethoven's (1770–1827) Irish folksong settings and German musical idealism, and (3) the intransitive condition of Irish music (including certain of Moore's own songs) in the aftermath of European musical romanticism. All three agents contribute to the equations between Irishness, tradition and cultural authenticity proposed in this essay. But these equations in turn have eclipsed other modes of Irish musical practice, and most especially Ireland's claim to participate (not least as a nation state) in the discourse of European art music. In attempting to distinguish between this claim, which for many people remains unwarranted and unexamined, and the conventional reception of Irish music in Europe (that is, as a natural resource of great beauty, which gives relief to the careworn travails of the continent itself), I briefly enlist a comparatively recent counter-argument about the nature of Irish musical discourse and its partial eclipse. This alternative reading, as it transpires, also originates in Germany. In this respect, the abiding perception of a "borrowed" musical culture (in relation to Ireland's aspirations and achievements other than in the domain of popular and traditional modes) is acutely relevant to the problems of reception history discussed here.

2. Irish Music and European Culture: the Moore Paradox

Derek Scally may be forgiven for imagining that Felix Mendelssohn's (1809–1847) feet would have tapped along to the music heard during the Irish *Tradfest* which took place in Berlin in 2010, but the truth might well have been otherwise: in a letter of 25 August 1829 to his sister Fanny Hensel (1805–1847), the composer commented on the musical impressions he received during his tour of Scotland and Wales:

"No national music for me! Ten thousand devils take all folkishness! ... a harper sits in the hall of every reputed inn playing incessantly so-called folk melodies; that is infamous, vulgar, out-of-tune [*falsch*] trash, with a hurdy-gurdy going at the same

time! Anyone, who, like myself, cannot endure Beethoven's national songs, should come here and listen to them bellowed out by rough, nasal voices, and accompanied with awkward, bungling fingers, and not grumble." (cited in Gelbart, 2007, 248)

It would be hard not to conclude from such an outburst that for Mendelssohn at least, these sentiments marked the end of German enchantment with the great "other" of folk music, an "other" that Mendelssohn himself axiomatically designates as "national music" in unruly contrast to the supreme condition of *Kunstmusik* [art music] notwithstanding his own apotheosis of modality in such works as *Fingal's Cave* and the *Scottish Symphony*. The disillusion and contempt that characterise Mendelssohn's apprehension of peasant musical culture in this passage throw into sharp relief the romance and rapture of Germany's earlier engagement with the Bardic ideal in literature and music. As Matthew Gelbart has argued, Mendelssohn's disdain is expressive of a belief not only in the superiority of German art music, but also in its universal condition.¹ Indeed, the centre-periphery model of musical thought that Gelbart locates in the romantic generation of German composers (Mendelssohn and Schumann in particular) entails a drastic relegation of folk music from its idealised status as an originary and universal substratum of European art, to an expression of national culture, in which the marginal or local claim inevitably defers to the universal strength of the German musical imagination. One thinks, for example, of Schumann's (1810–1856) reception of Chopin (1810–1849), in which the German composer conceded the presence of a Polish "physiognomy" in Chopin's earlier works, which would (for Schumann at least) happily disappear into the melting pot of the great tradition of German art music (Schumann, 1888, 188).

Mendelssohn's disavowal of "national music" in his 1829 letter would seem to belie a long-standing German preoccupation with "folkishness" that originates in the enthusiastic reception

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Gelbart remarks that in such passages Mendelssohn "had come to use 'national music' (and even 'folk' in this particular context) as inherently local and coarse, directly opposed to the absolute art music history he cared so much about" (Gelbart, 2007, 248).

afforded to the Ossianic forgeries of James MacPherson (1736–1796) in German literary circles during the 1770s and 1780s. Even if MacPherson’s “translations” from the Gaelic substituted Scottish names and myths for their original Irish prototypes (to the extent that “Ireland” and “Scotland” were effectively interchangeable designations in late eighteenth-century Germany, as they had often been previously), this did not attenuate the impact of Gaelic culture in German letters as a proto-romantic stimulus. The rage for Ossian (and the impulse to assimilate Ossian himself as a “German” bard) shaped German literary idealism for over half a century. From Herder (1744–1803) to Goethe (1749–1832), the Ossianic lay represented a degree of poetic emancipation and imaginative regeneration of unrivalled importance in the enterprise of creating a specifically German literature. It was inevitable that such a sea-change in German letters would soon elicit a corresponding echo in German music. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the *ossianische Gesang* was a stable presence in the German musical imagination. German settings of MacPherson’s poetry and of verse written in emulation of its Bardic content became commonplace. Beethoven, Schubert (1797–1828) and Schumann – the great architects of German musical romanticism – cultivated a radically stylised musical diction answerable to what they perceived as the purity, originality and naturalness of Ossianic poetry. The very concept of “folksong”, adapted from Herder’s own essentially linguistic understanding of this phenomenon, came into being as a domesticated German art form. In this process, German music *imagined* Gaelic folksong. When Schubert and Schumann set Ossianic verse, their melodic and harmonic contrivances, as well as their strophic dependencies, were nevertheless self-made. They were not setting Scottish folksongs. They were not arranging Scottish or Irish melodies, as Haydn (1732–1809) and Beethoven had done (and only then for a foreign market). On the contrary: German music, in its engagement with the very idea of “folksong”, halted at the borders of its own lyric genius, as if to distinguish between an originary ideal and its imaginative afterlife. Gaelic music (Irish music, Scottish music) remained decisively at one remove.

The publication and dissemination of Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies* between 1808 and 1834 entered a rival claim

to this German assimilation of idealised Gaelic prototypes. It is not only that Moore's *Melodies* were wildly popular on the continent: their success (controversial as this was in the British Isles) transcended the exotic condition of European romanticism by representing Irish music not as an ideal but as a sounding form. At one stroke Moore reversed the normative condition of European song by engaging Irish music as the express precondition for his own verse, a process that confounded the "words first" (*prima le parole*) convention of vocal music on the continent. Moore declared that his avowed intention in publishing the *Melodies* was to "interpret in verse the touching language of my country's music", an avocation that inevitably politicised Irish music as an expression of dispossession and loss (Balfe, 1865, v). The passage from (Irish) music into (English) poetry that resulted from this process would entail fateful (and often fruitful) consequences for the reception of music in Ireland, but in Europe, Moore's verse and the music that inspired it often thereafter led separate lives.² In this connection, we are bound to acknowledge what amounts to the paradox of Moore's influence in Europe. Whereas it was Irish music that inspired the poetry of the *Irish Melodies*, it was Moore's verse, and not the airs themselves that inspired Hector Berlioz (1803–1869), Robert Schumann, Frédéric Chopin and a host of lesser composers throughout Europe in their regeneration of vocal-instrumental music. Julian Rushton has observed in this regard that "we must count Moore at this time a literary and musical influence on the level of Goethe and Shakespeare" (Rushton, 1995, 240)³. Beyond the *Melodies*, Moore's oriental poem *Lalla Rookh* (1817) was no less influential as a catalyst in the development of vocal-dramatic European music. Schumann believed that Moore's epic poem "was intended for music from the start", a conviction that undoubtedly inspired his own breakthrough as a dramatic

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For a reading of Moore's literary and musical influence in Europe, see: White, 2008, 35–78. On Moore's songs and their musical and literary sources, see: Hunt, 2017, *passim*.

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It is relevant to add that the term *mélodie* has been used in France to designate art songs following the composition in 1829 of Berlioz's short song cycle (*Irlande*), which comprises nine settings of Moore's verse (from the *Irish Melodies*) translated by Thomas Gounet.

composer, namely his setting (in close German translation) of *Paradise and the Peri* (*Das Paradies und die Peri*, op. 50, 1843), the second part of *Lalla Rookh* (White, 2008, 57-67). In all such enterprises, the German reception of Moore was a literary one, however greatly this impacted upon the music written by German composers themselves. The musical afterlife of the Irish airs versed by Moore was to remain a separate matter.

3. Works without an Opus Number: Beethoven's Irish Interventions

Ludwig van Beethoven made 71 settings of Irish airs (eight of which are duplicate settings) supplied to him by the Scottish publisher George Thomson between 1809 and 1815, all but seven of which were completed by 1813. Notwithstanding Barry Cooper's critical comprehension of these songs in the mid-1990s and their (very) recent rehabilitation in a series of CDs produced four years ago in Dublin, it is fair to remark that these settings were eclipsed from the outset by the success of Moore's *Irish Melodies*, to say little of their muted reception history ever since (Cooper, 1995, 65-81)⁴. They are undoubtedly an important episode in the narrative of German responses to Irish music (to which I shall return), but they illustrate by contrast not only the success enjoyed by Moore's settings (until his own songs went into decline) but more especially – as I would wish to argue here – the organic idealism that animated Beethoven's imagination through the agency of generic models which privileged (and radically re-shaped) instrumental music. Beethoven's later contemporaries or near-contemporaries (as in the case of Mendelssohn) axiomatically distinguished between the *Kunstmusik* (or “higher music”) of his symphonies, string quartets, piano sonatas and chamber music (carefully retrieved and catalogued as a sequence of highly significant and hugely influential opus numbers), and the routine commissions represented by his folksong arrangements which, for Beethoven and his editors, did

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For information on the Beethoven recordings issued by the DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama (Dublin) in 2014, see: Beethoven's Irish Songs, 2020. Beethoven's settings were originally published by Thomson in 1814 and 1816.

not even warrant the privilege of an opus number (Gelbart, 2007, 224, 234-235). We might press this distinction between Beethoven's own regard for his original compositions and his folksong arrangements further by noting that his Irish settings were written for foreign (that is, British) consumption, and not intended to form part of the organic unfolding of his genius. This is not to suggest that Beethoven was indifferent to these settings, but it is to argue that in the end, his own conception of folk music, vitally reimagined in the *Ode to Joy* that crowns *The Ninth Symphony*, was a romantic invention, which took precedence over his encounter with the airs supplied to him by Thomson. When Beethoven dramatically reunited words and music in this work, which effectively brought his contribution to the symphonic genre to a utopian end, he turned to Schiller and his own imaginative reliances. Once again, a German composer had idealised the music of the "folk" rather than have recourse to the real thing. In this process, the marginal condition of Beethoven's Irish folksongs became more extreme than ever. Despite the magnitude of the composer's influence in German musical affairs throughout the nineteenth century (and ever since), his own engagement with Irish music had very little impact on its reception in Europe. And when we consider this engagement afresh, we stumble upon a degree of incompatibility between Beethoven's musical discourse and the airs themselves which was there from the start. In this regard, the Beethoven scholar Barry Cooper has cited correspondence between the composer and his publisher, which arose when Thomson requested him to revise the original settings Beethoven had sent him. An early setting of *Tis but in Vain* (1810), for example, elicited the following exchange between publisher and composer (Thomson first): "Here the ritornellos for the piano, though fine, are much too brilliant. The roulade should be replaced, for the song is of a tender and plaintive character. Allow me then, to ask you for ritornellos in a simple, flowing and cantabile style." (Cooper, 1995, 69) To which, Beethoven responded (in French):

"I am not accustomed to retouching my compositions; I have never done so, thoroughly convinced that any partial change alters the character of the composition. I am sorry that you are the loser, but you cannot blame me, since it was up to you

to make me better acquainted with the taste of your country and the meagre facility of your performers. Now, armed with your information, I have composed them entirely anew and I hope, in a manner that answers your expectations.” (Cooper, 1995, 69-70)

Whatever concessions Beethoven may have made to the “character” of the airs communicated to him by Thomson, it is hard to supervene the disconnect between the composer’s technique and the original melodies, which all too readily manifests itself when we listen to these songs now, two centuries after they first appeared. One musical constituent invariably impedes the other, a problem exacerbated by the purity and/or simplicity of diction which these airs have enjoyed (in Germany as well as elsewhere) in the interim. Beethoven’s settings, to coin a phrase, are Irish music conveyed through the inadvertence of a pronounced German accent.

4. In an Intransitive Mood: Variations on an Irish Air

If Beethoven drew Irish music too closely to the template of his own art, European composers in his wake did otherwise. In fact, German and Italian composers who had settled in Ireland since the early eighteenth century had been long accustomed to arranging Irish airs for various combinations of instrumental ensemble (the earliest extant collection of “the most celebrated Irish airs” for violin, oboe and continuo was published in Dublin in 1724). Nevertheless, the romance and refuge of the Irish air in the long nineteenth century (and in the immediate aftermath of German sovereignty in the domain of instrumental music) comprises a special category of European composition in relation to Irish music, which has only recently received the (scholarly) attention it deserves. Given the evidence that this research suggests, it is not too much to add that European composers in general (and German composers in particular) formed the habit of “listening” to Irish music through the simple expedient of writing idiomatic variations (especially for piano) on traditional Irish airs, which were first presented as the theme on which the remainder of such compositions explicitly depended. An early example

of this theme-and-variations approach to Irish music by the composer Frederic Hoffmann (?) was published in Dublin ca. 1810. Hoffmann's composition is entitled *Les Fruits de Loisir* or *The Groves of Blarney* and it predates by three years Thomas Moore's setting of the same melody as *The Last Rose of Summer* in the fifth volume of the *Irish Melodies* (1813).⁵ What strikes the ear as well as the eye throughout Hoffmann's variations is the intransitive condition of the Irish tune in apposition with the (then) contemporary idiom of the piano writing. For all the ebullience and versatility of the keyboard figuration, the tune remains intact throughout. It is adorned but not developed. Rather it is fully formed, a definitive version (as it were), which remained constant in the hundreds of settings it would subsequently attract from European composers for a century afterwards.

The relations between this air and the variations it inspired can help to gloss the term "intransitive" as one that describes a stable feature of the traditional repertory. *The Last Rose of Summer* is the title of Moore's lyric verse; *The Groves of Blarney* is the title under which the tune appeared in an early print from the collector, publisher and composer Smollett Holden (?–1813) ca. 1803; *The Young Man's Dream* is the title of the earliest printed source for the tune, namely Edward Bunting's (1773–1843) *Ancient Music of Ireland*, in which the tune first appears in a (rudimentary) arrangement for piano (1796–1797). It was Bunting who transcribed the air from the harper Denis Hempson (1695–1807) during the *Belfast Harp Festival* of 1792, even if this transcription – insofar as it is reflected in Bunting's 1796–1797 version – differs in significant detail but not in essence from the version popularised by Holden and Moore.⁶ This miniature source-study illustrates a general principle of Irish traditional music that can scarcely be overlooked if we are to understand

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A copy of Hoffmann's variations is held in the National Library of Ireland (call number Add Mus 6171); the NLI catalogue records that these were published by Paul Alday in Dublin in 1810. This copy is available online from the National Archive of Irish Composers (Hoffmann, 1810).

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For further details of the source relationship between Bunting, Holden and Moore, see: Ní Chinnéide, 1959, 109–134.

its reception history after 1800, namely, that once a tune entered general circulation through the agency of music notation, its transmission thereafter was consolidated and exact. This principle occluded the oral transmission of the repertory to a decisive degree, at least to judge by the fixed forms it assumed in the wake of Bunting's publications. As a compelling witness to this stability, one can summon *The Last Rose of Summer* itself, unchanged in its musical morphology between 1810 (at the latest) and the present day. (By instructive contrast, almost any tune from Bunting's collections adapted by Moore, including this one, underwent significant alterations from source to song, a process that more narrowly reflects the oral tradition.)

But there are two other aspects to the term "intransitive" that apply to this representation of Irish music in nineteenth-century Europe. The first of these concerns a centre-periphery reading of musical experience fomented by the organic idealism and sovereignty of German instrumental music across the continent between 1800 and 1918. The prestige attached to "art music" (or "higher music") in Germany during the nineteenth century required (or entailed) a corresponding relief from the serious business of original composition when it came to arranging or varying Irish airs. (As a public figure, the political and social significance of the artist-as-hero embodied by Beethoven would ultimately and unerringly extend to Richard Wagner, 1813–1883) Art music was the domain of public consciousness, psychological insight and historical interpretation. "Folk music" was the refuge of innocence. In this binary pairing, the present tense of European musical discourse could represent and act upon "folk music" as a sounding icon of romantic "otherness". Folk music, and in particular Irish music, became a musical object, engaged in a dialectical relationship with the storm and stress of the German musical imagination. Small wonder, perhaps, that its beguiling signatures of modal purity were so carefully preserved. And when the European composer encountered the Irish air (so to speak), he did so through the medium of a musical compromise, namely the salon show-piece or expressive reminiscence. On such occasions, the serious business of original composition was not in play.

The other intransitive aspect of Irish traditional music, which its European circulation helped to confirm, was (and is) its *organic* intransigence. Traditional Irish music bears and promotes repetition (to a degree that attests its early eighteenth-century origins, especially in relation to fixed dance forms), but it does not accommodate development. Its signatures are too well-formed and complete to facilitate such a compositional impulse. But even if one were to dispute this completeness (or this limitation, depending on one's point of view), one could scarcely mistake or underestimate the evidence of European musical history that – as in the case of *The Last Rose of Summer* – loudly confirms the *a priori* condition of Irish music in the context of its European afterlife. This condition, as Axel Klein has recently demonstrated in a magisterial survey and catalogue of European settings of *The Last Rose of Summer*, encouraged a sub-genre of composition (frequently marketed under such titles as *Souvenir d'Irlande* or *Erinnerungen an Irland*) in which the “domestic” technique of the composer played host to his “recollection” of Ireland through the agency of variations on an Irish air (Klein, 2017, 132-145).⁷ In the case of *The Last Rose of Summer*, Klein catalogues 205 works by various composers from 1810 until 1913 (most, although not all, of which are based on the air itself) and attributes its remarkable popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century to the song's appearance in a (German) opera by Friedrich von Flotow (1812–1883), *Martha* (1847). *Martha* appears to have acted as a unique stimulus, to judge by the number of instrumental variations on the air published in Germany and France in the aftermath of the opera's great success, but before and after *Martha* it is the

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On the sub-genre of musical “recollections” or “souvenirs” of Ireland, Klein writes as follows: “If, however, a foreign composer used an Irish traditional melody in the nineteenth century, this could have two possible meanings: either the composer wanted to add an ‘exotic’ element to his music or he/she was also a travelling performer and intended to greet his audience in Ireland with a kind gesture of acknowledgement – while later providing his audience back home with a ‘souvenir piece’ of his travels. Some composers like Ferdinand Ries, François-Joseph Dizi, Louis Spohr, and Frédéric Kalkbrenner wrote pieces inspired by Irish traditional music after visits to or short-term residences in England, and they did not confuse English with Irish music (...). There are souvenir pieces that aren't souvenirs at all, such as Carl Czerny's Reminiscences of Ireland Opus 675 for piano in 1842, written by the composer without his ever having set foot on Irish soil.” (Klein, 2017, 129)

melody itself that calls attention to the intransitive nature of “the Irish air”, even in those settings in which the composer’s technique completely departs the morphology of the tune. Thus, in Mendelssohn’s piano fantasia on *The Last Rose of Summer* (1827), the air periodically recurs in its original guise and tempo as a reassurance against the florid (and often athematic) “variations” that adjoin it.

5. An Inaudible Art: Irish Musical Identity in Europe

The sovereignty of Irish music as an exotic “other” in Europe and as a signature of refuge from the high seriousness of absolute music was differently construed in Ireland itself, most especially as a marker of cultural nationalism and indeed of cultural autonomy. But Irish traditional music has also been construed as a complacent (if powerful) disavowal of art music. In the apparently endless chronicle of complaint which this disavowal has stimulated, we can perhaps instance two widely-spaced observations (one from 1936 and the other from 2005) which are representative. The first is from Aloys Fleischmann (1910–1992), the German-born composer and musicologist who spent his entire working career in Cork, in the south of Ireland (where his parents had emigrated from Munich in the 1880s):

“Irish folk-song and the bardic music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems to have fixed itself on the popular imagination, lending to this country a reputation for musical culture that it does not yet possess. Nicely-turned phrases, such as ‘our music-loving people’ and ‘our heritage of music’ have made this legend a household word. Nobody likes to hear that *this* is the land without music, a land that is literally music-starved.” (Fleischmann, 1936, 41)

The second is from Axel Klein, a German musicologist living and working in Frankfurt, whose engagement with Irish art music (as an historian and critic) inevitably entails an acute awareness of the culturally oppressive condition of traditional music: “What remains is the sad fact that Ireland is possibly one of the very few countries in which the people are deprived

of their own classical musical heritage. To put it more plainly, whereas virtually every other Western country can listen to its own musical past, Ireland – apart from its ethnic traditions – cannot.” (Klein, 2005, 27)

The identity formation that Irish music achieved in Europe during the long nineteenth century would not count for much if its cultural authority solely depended on a handful of Moore songs and other airs scattered through the annals of German and French salon music as the century wore on. But this authority deepened in the second half of the twentieth century. The romantic otherness and refuge of Irish music in Europe became a principle of reception exclusively located within the tradition itself as a reimagined and reanimated alternative to the rival claims of popular culture and the collapse of German musical sovereignty (other than as an abiding and vigorous expression of museum culture). Although the popularity of Irish traditional music in Germany today appears as a *donnée* (as in the excerpts from Derek Scally’s *Irish Times* piece cited near the outset of this paper), the cultural significance of this popularity remains unresearched to a significant degree. The neo-romantic condition of Irish traditional music (as a recreational distraction from the [dis]stress of urban culture) exerts an appeal which is virtually self-evident, to judge by its enormous (if under-exploited) success as an export commodity, but the commercial potential of Irish music leaves something to be desired if we seek an explanation for this success in other terms.

Such an explanation would invariably engage the culture of folk music revival across Europe and the US from the early 1960s onwards, and it would likewise seek to comprehend the practical reinvention of Irish traditional music as an ensemble art through the agency (and sheer musical prowess) of bands such as *The Chieftains*, *Planxty* and *Clannad* (as well as individual musicians including Donal Lunny, Christy Moore, Bill Whelan, and Moya Brennan, among very many others) during

the same period.⁸ But this narrative would also require an answering echo from the continent, beyond the existential (and manifest) appeal of Irish traditional music as an auditory image of Ireland itself. If Irish music in Europe is traditional music (or neo-traditional music, given its newfound absorption of other musical genres, notably rock music, as well as its decisively and stylishly expanded instrumental palette, drawn in some instances from the continent itself), we can hardly maintain Fleischmann's impassioned insistence back in 1936 that Ireland was (or is) the "land without music" [Das Land ohne Musik]. But we might be prompted to propose instead that Ireland – at least in terms of European reception-history – remains "the land without *art* music" [Das Land ohne Kunstmusik].

Klein's work over the past twenty years affords another vital gloss on the phrase "Irish Music", because it probes, initially from the vantage point of a German and German-trained musicologist, the hidden history of Irish musical discourse *other than as an assent to the romantic sovereignty of the tradition itself*. Although Klein is assuredly no longer alone in this enterprise, his monographs and catalogues on Irish art music in the twentieth century and on Irish classical recordings, his biographical studies of Irish composers in Europe, together with a steady stream of articles, essays, lexical entries and reviews, comprise a formidable (and patiently achieved) dissolution of the axiomatic equation, which yet obtains between Irish music and Irish traditional music.⁹ "As things stand", Klein writes in a recently published essay entitled *No State for Music*, "we must find an explanation as to why the majority of Irish people seem to think they have no history of classical music" (Klein, 2016, 48).

I would not wish to soften this imperative or diminish its importance at the close of an essay preoccupied by the reception of Irish music in Europe, but I would argue that

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See: White and Boydell, 2013 for entries on the ensembles and musicians named here.

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For a complete list of Klein's publications, see: Axel Klein, 2020.

the pervasive domestic indifference to Irish art music (that is, Ireland's historic and contemporary engagement with classical European genres) is complicated and even ratified by the European reception history I have outlined here. In Germany, "where the hunger for Irish culture is almost insatiable" (Scally, 2010), and throughout Europe, the Irish musical soundscape remains a traditional soundscape, at least insofar as any national representation worth the name continues to be relevant. This abiding European enchantment with the Irish musical "other" is unlikely to be displaced, however much we might deplore its apparently restrictive influence at home.

6. Conceptions and Misconceptions

In 2016, a book entitled *The Invisible Art: A Century of Irish Music, 1916–2016*, was published in Dublin (Dervan, 2016). 2016 marked the centenary of the Easter Rising in Dublin which proved decisive in Ireland's emancipation from British Rule and its progression to independence six years later. As in all such centenaries (not least here in central Europe) there was a lot of looking back, a lot of more or less judicious assessment of how we stand now in the light of how things once were. In this collective enterprise, *The Invisible Art* was all the more remarkable on account of its declarations in favour of a hidden musical history, a whole century of Irish engagement with the artifice and generic preoccupations of European art music which had somehow gone missing in the interim. The book itself was accompanied by a three-week series of concerts representing the music it surveyed which took place in the National Concert Hall in Dublin. Most of this music, it transpired, had never been given before in Ireland or had lapsed into silence immediately after its premiere. At either end of this century of music, we find names which a European constituency of musical interest might recognize: Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924) at one end, for example, and Gerald Barry (1952) at the other. Two composers, it must be said, whose works have been predominantly circulated and performed *outside* Ireland, despite the century between them. In fact, whatever contributions Irish composers have made

to Europe (and to western musical culture generally) have generally depended on the condition of exile from Ireland itself. At home, the degree of political, cultural and (perhaps above all) educational indifference to Irish art music deepened over the past century to a degree unrivalled elsewhere in Western Europe. This means that whatever misconceptions still obtain about Irish music cannot be attributed to the history of ideas I have sketched in this essay. It is a remarkable truth that no history of Irish music has appeared since 1905, and it is perhaps no less dispiriting to add that there is not a single professorship of Irish music in any Irish university or college, north or south. (If there were, such a Chair would by now almost axiomatically exclude Irish art music over the past four centuries from its purview). Another way of framing these disagreeable or disheartening truths is to say that whereas Irish traditional music has enjoyed an incremental presence in Irish cultural life (and thereby in Europe and North America), Irish art music remains generally inaudible. It also remains peripheral to the soundtrack (as it were) of Irish cultural sensibility, to say little of Ireland's musical identity in the world at large. The sound of Irish art music is the sound of an undiscovered country. In this (Irish) state of (musical) affairs, it is hardly surprising that the enchantment and refuge of traditional music, newly and imaginatively reconfigured as it is both at home and abroad, should enjoy such lustrous precedence. Whatever else the Irish musical imagination may comprehend or produce lies offshore. It enjoys "the honour of non-existence", to cite the disillusioned formula of one contemporary composer, Raymond Deane (1953) among many (Deane, 1995, 199). At the heart of this strange silence lies a failure to distinguish between Irish music and music in Ireland. This is a dereliction which extends beyond the boundaries of cultural propaganda or rehabilitation. Ireland's musical estate is part of her cultural and indeed political history, and to mistake its vigorous and often beautiful cultivation of Irish airs for the whole story should not be endured. There is much more to Irish music than "the fruits of leisure".

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