

Brian Locke

“The Periphery Is Singing Hit Songs”: The Globalization of American Jazz and the Interwar Czech Avant-Garde

The years between the two World Wars saw some of the most abrupt changes in the history of Europe, particularly with the tremendous political, social, and economic upheavals of the period. One of the most vibrant cultural influences at this time, however, was imported from the New World. Along with the new sense of freedom and democracy throughout Central and Eastern Europe came an imagined America, captured perhaps most strikingly in the overpowering sounds, images, and associations of jazz. By the time the new music reached audiences and composers in Prague, it had travelled through multiple levels of what can be considered one of the earliest processes of globalization. Although the distribution of American popular music was an inherently impersonal and anonymous system, many musicians throughout Europe found an individual, subjective voice in the new cultural stimulus. As the careers of three Prague composers—Erwin Schulhoff, Emil František Burian, and Jaroslav Ježek—reveal, jazz could be used for multiple purposes, showing not just the individual's attitude towards the music, but also the larger societal relationship with culture, both at home and abroad.

The development of popular music in the Prague musical community, in both its concert-hall and music-hall incarnations, closely paralleled the larger tensions between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, between ideas of the modern and the traditional, that were running through Czech society at the time. Emerging as a new democracy in the interwar period after almost three centuries of Austrian domination, the Czechs were anxious to “catch up” with the latest artistic developments in the rest of Europe, in order to make up for the perceived backwardness of the Habsburg era.¹ While for the majority of the musical community of Prague this desire was manifested in a closer acquaintance with European modernism, for the

younger generation of composers and audiences, the exploration and assimilation of imported American culture was of the utmost importance. Although at times the proponents of jazz used it only as a tool with which to dismantle the structures of Czech musical tradition, a few individuals assimilated the vocabulary of jazz to reflect the specific character of the new, cosmopolitan society of interwar Prague.²

Popular music had existed in the Czech lands in various forms inherited from the nineteenth century, particularly in popularized songs and dances in folk-style, *Singspiel* couplets, and a strong tradition of brass band ensembles.³ Just prior to World War One, Prague saw the establishment of a number of cabaret venues such as Montmartre and Alhambra, and performers such as Karel Hašler and the comedic ensemble Červená sedma (Červený's Seven, 1907-22), whose work can be viewed as a synthesis of satire, operetta, folk-like songs, and the earliest imports from Tin Pan Alley.⁴ In this respect, Prague cabaret was similar to contemporaneous endeavors in the German-speaking world. The critical changes which occurred with regard to Czech popular music after 1918 resemble those underway elsewhere in Europe. As Gendron, Kater, Cook, and others have shown, jazz entered the European listening experience with the arrival of African-American troops in France and Germany after the war.⁵ While the first bands to tour the Continent, such as those of Will Marion Cook and James Reese Europe, did not include Prague in their itineraries, their activities and those of other ensembles in Paris and London strongly influenced the Czech musical sphere. In the first few months of independence, however, the effect was still somewhat indirect, consisting mainly of a rejuvenation of pre-existent traditional genres, now with more fashionable rhythms; Josef Kotek notes that until 1920, no one in the Czech musical community knew how to play the saxophone.⁶ Quickly, however, new groups sprang up in the city, playing original light dance-band tunes and arrangements of foreign hits in translation for growing numbers of fans. The new composer-performers Jara Beneš and R.A. Dvorský capitalized on the rage for the onestep, twostep, shimmy, and in 1920, the foxtrot, with English names such as *The Consumptive Ostrich*, *Republican Foxtrot*, *Wyomingian*, and *Sing-Sing*. Dvorský became something of an entertainment industry all by himself, composing, performing, publishing sheet music, and taking under his wing dozens of young Czech jazz performers who would enjoy fruitful careers in dance bands, all the way into the post-1945 era.

The sense of intercultural contact embodied by the Czech relationship to jazz between the wars is strange and problematic. Like that of other European societies, whose experience with the new music and dance came via Paris and London, the Czech discourse around jazz tended to conflate the images of those two cities, their imagined inhabitants, and lifestyles with those of Africa, urban America, and even the Wild West.⁷ This mixture of associations traces not only the path of the music from Africa and America to Europe, telescoping this long history into a single

moment, but also encompasses the issues of exoticism, primitivism, and depersonalization connected with jazz. The apparent absence of history in America and Africa enchanted the European mind, which saw this new development as an exciting way to dispense with Romanticism and its problems: the perceived sexuality of the dance also fit perfectly with the anti-intellectual trend in the new era. By the early 1920s, Paris was firmly established as the main European port of call for American culture, a factor that augmented the fascination with Parisian literature and music among the young intellectuals of Prague.⁸ It is also important to note that for the Czechs, the espousal of jazz, both popularly and in the context of art music, was a conscious effort to escape from the cultural hegemony of the Austro-German world; while most German cities also experienced a similar jazz craze, Czech audiences viewed the phenomenon as having arrived “express” from Paris.

The dawn of jazz in Europe coincided with the dance craze as popular entertainment for the urban working class; dance affected artistic thinking of the younger generation of Prague composers as well, in that ballet, pantomime, and even popular dances began appearing in the *œuvres* of several young artists, including those of Alois Hába and Bohuslav Martinů. When the latter had ballets successfully performed at Prague’s National Theatre in the late 1920s, dance as a musical genre became the object of scholarly discussion, linked closely with French culture and Stravinsky, neo-classicism, populism, “physiological music,” and perhaps most importantly, the de-intellectualization of art. This category of “physiological music,” intimately connected with the emancipation of the body that dance produced, was reinforced by the Eurocentric stereotype of Americans in general and of African-Americans in particular as physically oriented beings. As such, the entry of jazz into the Czech musical sphere served as a point of confluence for a wide spectrum of aesthetic and cultural trends, all (or most) craved by the modernist-oriented composers of the young generation. Each of these phenomena had as its core the purification of the mind through a less cerebral art, which in turn could be used as a tool to socialize “high” culture to the newly enfranchised urban population.

The first climactic moment of jazz in Prague was doubtless the occasion of Josephine Baker’s 1928 performance while on tour through Central Europe: the reception of this event reveals the ideological jumble surrounding the dancer and her music. Preceded by a series of reviews by Otakar Štorch-Marien in *Rozpravy Aventina*, Baker’s mythical status reinforced the confusion between African, African-American, Euro-American, and Parisian symbols. The programme from the concert can be seen in Figure 1. Baker’s dancing was described as a mixture of animalistic gestures from Africa and refinement from America, a renaissance of the naked female beauty, inseparable from the image of the Parisian revue.⁹ Similarly, Štorch-Marien’s review of her Prague performance referred to her as “a creature who always does what she likes,” not ruled by cultivated thoughts, capturing the audience through the movements of her body; the rhythm of

the music the critic found to be simply “wild,” where no psychological element existed.¹⁰ For musicians, the accomplishments of the Original Orpheans Band that accompanied her, as well as those of the British Jack Hylton and His Boys that followed eight months later, made an equally lasting impression. Although the critic at *Hudební věstník* deplored the audience’s approval of such undeserving, foreign compositions, the young composer Jaroslav Ježek assessed the performances with greater refinement.¹¹ Denying the rumors of the early demise of jazz, Ježek declared that Hylton’s performance demonstrated that there was something inexhaustible in the emotive quality of the music: “from a grey and strict Prague emanates a piece of frivolous and brilliant Paris, a piece of that laughing life of the dancing halls and bars of Western metropolises.”¹² Ježek’s commentary reflects the cosmopolitan attitude that he and other members of his generation had, not only towards the new music, but also towards the modern world as a whole.

Similar to their counterparts in other European musical communities after 1918, younger Czech composers were transfixed by the novelty of American jazz, symbolizing as it did a sense of freedom, modernity, exoticism, and cosmopolitanism, in a way totally unlike anything from the realm of art music. As the composer Emil František Burian wrote in 1927, “I’m terribly in love with today! Lots of people walk around me in the streets full of dirt and noise. The bars are drunk with the phosphorescence of girls and the smoke of cool guys. The periphery is singing hit songs. A concert of fabulous medleys without an arranger. Yes, all this is today. Beautiful, modern, eternally jazzy today.”¹³ In these respects, jazz was clearly a point of division between generations throughout the interwar era; although many composers experimented by incorporating certain jazz elements in their compositions, it was, by and large, the domain of a small number of artists.¹⁴ These individuals, who included Burian, Ježek, Erwin Schulhoff, and the emigré Bohuslav Martinů, each approached jazz in such unique and strikingly personal ways that they in no way can be said to form a unified group. Nevertheless, the commonalities of their individual experiences with jazz reveal certain tendencies in the Prague musical community and its overall attitude towards the confluence of modernism with cosmopolitanism and popular culture.

Much like Stravinsky, Milhaud, and Poulenc, Prague musicians often used jazz as a tool within the context of European modernism, mostly assimilated into the vocabulary of neo-classicism. The connections between neo-classicism and the European conception of jazz were manifold, particularly with regard to the short dances in simple forms common to both, but also in the mutual sense of anti-romanticism and asceticism.¹⁵ Most jazz compositions, if not for solo piano, involved almost exclusively traditional orchestral instruments. With notable exceptions (particularly Ježek), few composers attempted to replicate the sound, instrumentation, structure, or even the improvisational technique of jazz, opting instead to incorporate syncopated rhythms, major/minor third alternations and riff-

Cena 1 Kč



Cena 1 Kč

JOSEPHINA BAKEROVÁ

VE VELKÉM SÁLE LUCERNY

PROGRAM:

I.

The Original Orpheans Band, Savoy Hotel London.

DIRIGENT TEDDY SINCLAIR.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Longing for Someone | . aranžováno od F. Guarantea |
| 2. Madonna | . aranžováno od Bove-Guarantea |
| 3. „Tambourine Chinois“ | |
| 4. Crawford: So blue | . aranžováno od I. trumpetisty |
| 5. Drdla: Souvenir | . klarinet solo, Ch. Revnue |
| 6. Monte Carlo | . moderní foxtrott |
| 7. San | . orig. arrangement cel. orchestru |
| 8. Sphinx | . moderní foxtrotové arrangement |
| 9. My blue heaven | . Goldberg, aranž. II. trumpetistou |
| 10. Tannhäuser | . aranžováno od Langea |
| 11. Klavírní solo | . Frank Herbin |
| 12. Under the moon | . groteska |

PŘESTÁVKA.

II.

Josephina Bakerová za doprovodu Savoy-jazzorchestru.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Ruská fantazie | . Orchest. Arrangement Langeův |
| 2. V pralese | Tančí Josephina Bakerová, zpívá |
| | M. Jeník, tenor. Nár. div. v Praze, |
| | s lask. svolením správy divadla |
| 3. Hit-diddle-diddle | . Groteska orchestru |
| 4. Kuřátko | . Groteskní tanec |
| 5. F. Guarante: Supplication | . Saxofonové solo B. Barton |
| 6. Josephina Bakerová zpívá. | |
| 7. Hallelujah | . Orig. arrangement orchestru |
| 8. Charleston Josephiny Bakerové. | |
| 9. Gounod: Faust | . Orchest. Arrangement Langeův |

Změna programu vyhražena.

Neopomeňte navštívit také **KABARET-RESTAURANT V LUCERNĚ**, kde bude vystupovati též

JOSEPHINA BAKEROVÁ.

PAMĚTI JOSEPHINY BAKEROVÉ – jediné české vydání, které právě vyšlo, **OBDRŽÍTE ZDE!**

Figure 1: Program from the 1928 concert of Josephine Baker in Prague. Baker's main numbers were the dance "V pralese" ("In the Jungle"), accompanied by the operatic tenor Miloslav Jeník, a charleston, and an unidentified song (no. 6 in the second half, "Josephine Baker sings"). It is not clear whether she would have danced throughout the second half. Note also the jazz arrangements of excerpts from Tannhäuser and Faust. Source: the author's private collection.

like instrumental solos—in essence, only the most external characteristics of the music—in a hybrid with neo-classicism. Martinů, whose experimentation with jazz took place almost entirely during his extended Parisian sojourn (1923-40), created convincing replications of modern dances (as in *La Revue de cuisine* and the Sextet for Winds and Piano) using instruments from the realm of art music. His use of jazz-inspired elements is closely tied to his admiration for the work of Les Six and Stravinsky; Martinů's characteristic folk-like style, in which angular rhythms are blended with a neo-classical clarity, also complicates the picture, in that certain rhythmic or melodic devices may stem from one of several possible sources of inspiration, including jazz. Even though his music was relatively successful among the younger composers in Prague, many in the Czech musical establishment refused to allow such a compositional vocabulary, so wholly removed from that of traditional 19th-century models, to be considered "Czech." As is shown by the problematic reception of many of the composer's works performed in Prague throughout the late 1920s, both Martinů's jazz-like tendencies and his neo-classical influences were still classified as "foreign" and were therefore unable to represent Czech culture, either at home or abroad.¹⁶

At the same time that American popular music was making its first post-war forays into the Czech lands, Erwin Schulhoff (1894-1942) was touring Germany with several of his own virtuoso piano compositions based on popular dance types. According to Josef Bek, jazz-influenced works such as *Pittoresken*, *Ironien*, and the *Jazz-Suite für Kammerorchester* served as an alternate stream to his predilection for Viennese expressionism.¹⁷ Much of this creative inspiration came as a result of Schulhoff's nonconformist tendencies, as well as his involvement with the Dada movement in Leipzig during these years. Although it would be some time after Schulhoff's return to Prague in October 1923 before these pieces were accepted in the Czech musical community, neither were Schulhoff's efforts completely accepted by the German-Bohemians of the city. Since independence from Austria in 1918, this governing class had turned into a minority, particularly in Prague, where their beleaguered position left them with progressively fewer cultural venues. Despite Schulhoff's compositional and pianistic brilliance, he was refused a teaching position by the German Academy of Music, leading him with increasing certainty towards the Czech musical community.¹⁸ By the early 1930s, Schulhoff's name was appearing with greater frequency in association with Czech cultural endeavours, including appearances as a pianist in Burian's Voice-band, Hába's quarter-tone masterclass, and Ježek's jazz orchestra at the Liberated Theatre (*Osvobozené divadlo*), than among the German Bohemians. Although he continued to use the techniques of jazz as a means of expression throughout the 1920s, Schulhoff tried only once to replicate a jazz orchestra in his ensemble works.

The 1930 jazz oratorio *H.M.S. Royal Oak* was Schulhoff's sole large-scale work that did not use standard orchestral instrumentation as a means

to distance the new composition from the original medium of inspiration—the jazz band.¹⁹ The specific orchestra in the work is based on the model of Paul Whiteman, who by this point was no longer *en vogue*, even among Europeans: the instrumentation consisted of soprano, alto, and tenor saxophones (doubling on clarinets), two trombones and sousaphone, percussion, piano, celesta, banjo, and two accordions. Over the course of the thin dramatic action, which takes place during a mutiny on a cruiser where the captain has forbidden his sailors to play jazz, Schulhoff inserted a series of tangos, slow-foxes [*sic*], waltzes, and sentimental songs that hearkened back to cabarets of a decade before.²⁰ Unfortunately for the composer, his attempt to wed somewhat old-fashioned jazz techniques with oratorio led to a total of three productions (two of them for radio), and the piece has not been performed since. Like many of his contemporaries, including Martinů, Schulhoff virtually abandoned jazz as a stimulus by the 1930s, turning instead to a more aggressively socialist political stance and large-scale symphonic genres, of which the 1932 cantata *Komunistický manifest* for children's choir and brass ensemble is a representative example. In the final analysis, Schulhoff found that the hybrid between jazz and European concert music had a limited life span, dependent almost entirely on the fashion of the day and the open-mindedness of both the critics and the concert-going audience.

It was Schulhoff's younger Czech contemporary, Emil František Burian (1904-1959), who combined his efforts in “hybrid jazz” with a revolutionary aesthetic creed. Commencing his career as a performing artist in his teenage years, Burian thereafter styled himself as a composer, lyric tenor, pianist in both classical and jazz idioms, drummer, choral conductor, writer on music, librettist, actor, director, aesthetician, and theorist of the theatre. That all of these transformations took place before his twenty-fifth birthday is one of the most astounding aspects of his prodigious creativity. He was a unique phenomenon in the history of music in Prague. While not all of Burian's early projects were successful or of lasting value—and occasionally amounted to little more than vain sloganeering—his voluminous writings reveal that the young artist sought to create a new aesthetic, encompassing all the arts and their relation to a modern, cosmopolitan society. Taking on such gigantic issues as the legacy of Wagner, the crisis of the theatre, and the role of popular culture in art music, Burian's artistic plan in many ways spoke for his generation in the late 1920s, at a time when many others were not yet in a position to make themselves heard.

Contemporary with the entrance of jazz into the Czech cultural sphere, a potent artistic force developed in the form of *Devětsil*, a group of Czech poets, playwrights, and authors founded by Karel Teige in 1920. *Devětsil*'s mandate was the conceptualization of a new, optimistic understanding of life and artistic work which they termed Poetism.²¹ Subject to “a synthetic organization of reality, in order to be able to satisfy every poetic hunger that afflicts this century,” Poetism “sought out in films, the circus, sport, tourism, and in life itself the expressive possibilities which were not to be

Figure 2: Ervín Schulhoff around 1930. Source: Ervín Schulhoff. Symphonies Nos. 4 and 6. Program booklet to the CD, 2. Prague Radio Symphony Orchestra conducted by Vladimír Válek. Supraphon CD 11 2162-2 031, 1997.

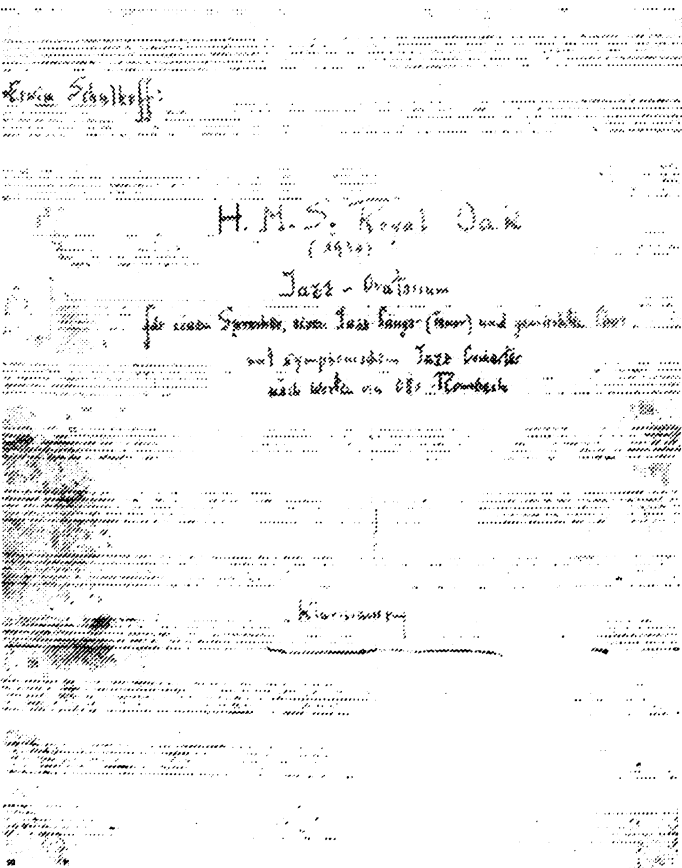


Figure 3: Title page for the Jazz oratorio H.M.S. Royal Oak by Ervín Schulhoff. Originally composed to a German text by Otto Rombach, it was translated for a performance on Czechoslovak Radio in 1935 by Karel Balling. Source: Josef Kotek. Kronika české synkopy: půlstoletí českého jazzu a moderní populární hudby v obrazech a svědectví současníků, vol. 1: 1903-1938, 83. Praha: Supraphon, 1975.

found in mere pictures and poems” in order to express what may be termed a lyrical, naturalistic view of life.²² Obsessed with images of the cosmopolitan and the urban, and drawing on inspiration from the Futurists and Dadaists, the Poetists rejected the dry academicism of Czech (and European) tradition in favor of the everyday, the improvisational, the sentimental, and the grotesque. In musical terms these tenets manifested themselves in a predilection for jazz, revues, music-halls, popular dance, street song, and urban sounds such as car horns and tram noises.²³ Burian had the fortune to be intimately involved with *Devětsil* in the early stages of the formation of this aesthetic and was treated as a creative equal and musical authority: through him, the members of *Devětsil* had access to the elusive new music—jazz.

Burian theorized his personal contribution to the Poetist project as *Polydynamika*, a general aesthetic of art wherein opposing elements were not blended into a harmonious *Gesamtkunstwerk* but were instead liberated to create tension through contrasts and irregularities.²⁴ Musically, for Burian, this aesthetic was encapsulated best by the way in which members of a jazz band played “off” each other as an ensemble, both melodically and harmonically (illustrated in Figure 5). In a conscious rejection of Wagner, whose aesthetic of dense polyphony and homogeneity, according to Burian, produced a sensation of sluggishness and fatigue in the public, *Polydynamika*, a “harmony of diversities,” would “exploit the details of the perception of the different elements of art” and intensify the audience’s aesthetic response.²⁵ Such a similar harmony of diversities explained for Burian the popularity of jazz. The various elements, encompassing rhythm, polytonality, timbre, and form, as well as declamation, melodrama, dance, lighting, and spatiality, would interact in an ongoing counterpoint that involved the public in the creation of the modern artwork.²⁶ With the Poetist predilection for city sights and sounds and the multiplicity of the *Polydynamika* technique, he was ready to introduce jazz, dance, and street song into the vocabulary of Czech musical modernism in a way unlike any previous attempts during the interwar period.

In 1928 Burian published the extensive monograph *Jazz*, a continuation of *Polydynamika*, fleshed out in an applied form. *Jazz* contains everything from an anti-romanticist manifesto, a Eurocentric history of jazz, an unscientific ethnography of African and African-American dance, discussions of Josephine Baker, Křenek’s *Jonny spielt auf*, and others of his contemporaries, to a complete instructional manual and reference guide for the new music (see Figure 6).²⁷ In this work, Burian tackled almost every aesthetic issue of his generation, particularly the desire to replace worn-out concert-hall values with the dynamic culture of the streets. The very manner in which he described jazz is anti-establishmentarian and reflective of the *Polydynamika* technique in its disunity:

A serious “secession” gentleman walked along the muddy street. He slipped. He moved in a dance rhythm of madmen and trained animals. This gentleman walked quite seriously. *Chaplin* dances



Figure 4: Emil František Burian around 1929. Source: Frontispiece to Jan Kučera, ed., E. F. Burian: Bubu z Montparnassu. Pictorial programme from the world première production. Praha: Státní Opera Praha, 1999.

Figure 5a: Graphic notation of the interaction of poetry (“poesie”) and music (“hudba”) from Burian’s essay “Polydynamika.” Source: E. F. Burian, “Polydynamika.” Tam-Tam hudební leták č.4 (Oct.-Nov. 1925), 7.

E. F. Burian:

Polydynamika.

Hymnus tančící hmoty, vyjadřovaný dynamickým kontrapunktem, rozřídíme na další skupenství:
Hudba a hudba, t. j. dynamické elementy ryze hudební, násobeny d. e. rovněž hudebními.
Hudba a jiná odvětví umění.
Hudba a poesie. (Stat III.)
Celek, první předpoklad. Dynamická kalkulace, jako v násobení hudby hudbou.

Rytmus:

poesie: — — — — — } jednoduchý obrazec.
hudba: — — — — — }

Ald. k obrazcům složitějším:

poesie: — — — — — }
hudba: — — — — — }

p.: — — — — — }
h.: { — — — — — }

Dále:

Poesie rozložená v arytmiické prvky.
Hudba, sloučená v polyrytmické účiny.

Dynamika:

poesie: ————— }
hudba: ————— } jednoduchý obrazec.

Housle

Piston

Trombon

Drums

—————

—————

—————

—————

} současně.

Figure 5b: Burian’s graphic notation of jazz as polydynamika, depicting violins, piston-valve trumpets, trombones and drums, “simultaneously.” Source: E.F. Burian, Jazz (Praha: Aventinum, 1928), 27.

over the abyss on his hand and his left side. *Chagal* [sic] started sketches dancing. *Stravinsky* wrote *Le sacre du printemps* and Blacks played *rag-times* and *jazz*. Yes, the Black man was bewitched by the culture of the renaissance European. It also happened that we were bewitched by a barbaric religion.²⁸

Although at times Burian was able to distinguish between African, African-American, Euro-American, and European “streams” of jazz with some lucidity, his prose often assumes an interchangeability among cultural products that is symptomatic of the European imagination at this time. Beyond the typical ethnocentrism of Burian’s rhetoric, it is easy to see that he viewed jazz as a liberating element in multiple facets of music, predominantly for its inherently polydynamic character; that jazz supposedly best captured the sounds of the street made the new music doubly important. Furthermore, the new instruments that jazz introduced, particularly the drum set, the saxophone, and other inventions such as the violinophon, as well as new improvisational techniques, offered a welcome expansion of the orchestrational palette, itself a key component of *Polydynamika*. Burian advocated using the principles of jazz as building blocks for new, improvisation-based genres, wherein multiple media could join to form artistic works according to the personal taste of the listener.²⁹ The diminished importance of the individual creator that Burian perceived in jazz improvisation is akin to his generation’s call for the de-intellectualization of art, in that both phenomena sought to remove cultural power from the romanticist establishment and the subjectivist approach it advocated.³⁰ Alongside the destruction of subjectivism and the de-personalization it suggests run the trends of populism and the mechanization of art. The latter, via new instruments, popular films, and in particular the dancing body, led directly back to jazz. The concatenation of cultures, genres, and aesthetics was, for Burian in 1928, encapsulated by Ernst Křenek in his jazz opera *Jonny spielt auf*, in which the young Czech composer found symbols of “jazz, film, radio, sport and revue. Brevity, speed, an easy conclusion, adventure, *naturalism and sentiment*.”³¹

Engaged with members of *Devětsil* in debates regarding the artistic uses of the word, Burian wanted to create an ensemble that would fulfill his aesthetic of *Polydynamika*, juxtaposing spoken text, jazz rhythms, vocal contour, and verbal meaning.³² The result was Voice-band, a group of eight to twelve performers, by stipulation trained in oratory but *not in music*, who, under Burian’s direction, delivered modern Czech poetry using choral recitation over a period of two and a half years. Making its debut in April 1927, Voice-band performed poetry by several of the *Devětsil* poets in a non-melodic, recitative-like chant, articulated in syncopated rhythms that were meant to evoke popular jazz dances, often to the accompaniment of Burian at the piano or the drums (see Figure 7). Burian, faithful to *Polydynamika*, provoked the interplay between the declaimed text and its meaning, often distorting words from their typical pronuncia-



a) "Dancing Blacks"

TANČUJÍCÍ ČERNOSÍ

Figure 6 (this page and opposite): Four images from Burian's *Jazz*. Source: E. F. Burian, *Jazz* (Praha: Aventinum, 1928), 33, 37, 54, 149, respectively.



JOSEPHINE BAKEROVA

b) "Josephine Baker"

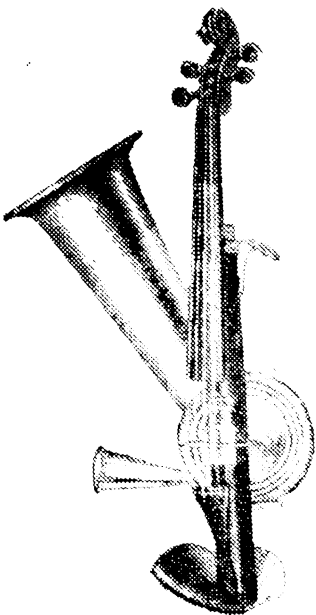
tion within a formalized poetic context, and creating new associations through the juxtaposition with syncopated rhythms, polyphonic phrasing, and an idiosyncratic vocal contour (see Figure 8). Received enthusiastically by the younger generation of artists from all disciplines, as much for their modern experimentalism as for their references to jazz, Voice-band toured successfully, often performing with the participation of a modern dance ensemble, thereby adding a further element to the polydynamic mix.³³

The year 1929 marked a focal point in Burian's compositional career, witnessing the completion of his largest work to date, the jazz opera *Bubu z Montparnassu* (*Bubu of Montparnasse*). Begun in 1927 amidst work on the *Jazz* monograph, the opera was a synthesis of the Poetist ideal of the lyric sentimentality of the urban street and Burian's own passion for jazz and *Polydynamika*. Set in Paris, the opera revolves around three troubled char-



GILDA GRAYOVÁ TANČÍ BLACK-BOTTOM.

c) “Gilda Gray dances the Black-bottom”



d) “Violinophon”

VIOLINOFON.

acters: Mořic (also known as Bubu), a pimp and thief who has occasional pangs of conscience; Berta, a prostitute of Mořic’s who longs for an end to her life of depravity; and Petr Hardy, an innocent engineering student freshly arrived from the country. The stage action had many deliberate references to the newly popularized genre of film, already used by Křenek and Weill in modern opera; such an aesthetic of drama was also in line with *Devětsil*’s predilection for multimedia (see Figure 9).³⁴ The performance of the opera took place on multiple planes, one occupied by dancers throughout the drama. Musically, Burian employed sentimental and mundane street songs that contrast not only with the miserable lives of the street people, but also with the sweetly lyrical world of the protagonist Hardy, whose music contains references to waltzes and impressionism. In vocal characterization, the composer exaggerated the difference

in social realms by notating glissandi and tremolos in the vocal parts of the prostitutes and gang-members, matching their slang speech, against which the protagonist's operatic conventionality seems out of place. While the score uses jazz initially to evoke all aspects of the Parisian demi-monde, including a disruptive foxtrot and a grotesque tango to describe thugs and drunks, respectively, as the drama progresses Burian resorts increasingly to the expressionist vocabulary of his modernist Czech colleagues.³⁵ All of these elements coalesce into a dramatic "harmony of diversity" in the climactic final scene, wherein the stage is divided between Mořic's jail cell and Petr Hardy's garret, each character singing in their own style simultaneously with Berta, who sings offstage through a megaphone. Even the final drowning of the heroine is perceived through a Poetistic lens of the mundane, reducing the sense of tragedy to the level of desensitization that the modern world has imparted to all things.

Revolutionary in its time, *Bubu z Montparnassu* was not given the opportunity to make an impact: it was dropped from the 1929-30 National Theatre season, as a result of pressure from the administration who disagreed with the "lascivious action" of the plot.³⁶ The work brought to a



Figure 9: Photograph of the world première of Burian's *Bubu z Montparnassu*, March 20, 1999. On the far left are Katarina Vasar as Berta and Jiří Hruška as Petr Hardy. Source: Colour program of *Bubu z Montparnassu*, Státní Opera Praha, 1999.

close an extraordinarily creative period in the life of one of the most prolific Czech composers of the 1920s; its fate symbolizes both the excitement of Burian's generation with the new impulses of avant-garde modernism, populism, and cosmopolitanism, as well as the continued hesitancy of the musical establishment to accept these phenomena.³⁷ Burian turned away from jazz composition, adopting a more ascetic style that reflected his increasingly radical left-wing politics. Over the 1930s, he turned his attention to provocative, agit-prop theatre projects, where he continued to use Voice-band, albeit in a somewhat less jazzy mode of expression.³⁸ Burian attempted to use jazz as a conceptual tool to overhaul the romanticist establishment; failing this, he abandoned the new music, in search of something more directly proletarian. Throughout the 1930s, the musicians of the younger generation would follow Burian's lead in seeking to incorporate jazz into a new concept of musical theatre.

In contrast to Schulhoff and Burian, Jaroslav Ježek (1906-1942) continued to use jazz to the end of his life, either as an element in art-music compositions, or more notably, as a replication of American jazz as heard on imported recordings, films, or in performances by the occasional live band. Ježek's fascination with jazz, whether in its American or subsequent European guises, started extraordinarily early in his career. Prior to his conservatory graduation in 1928, alongside a series of compositions in more traditional genres (which contained references to jazz), Ježek had already contributed jazz-influenced popular music to numerous stage works.³⁹ Starting in 1927, he composed incidental music for, among others, Cocteau's *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel* (performed as *Svatebčané na Eiffelce* at the Divadlo Dada with Burian in the cast), Goll's *Assurance contre le suicide* (*Pojištění proti sebevraždě*), and G.K. Chesterton's *The Man who was Thursday* (*Kamarád Čtvrtek*), to which he added traditional preludes and interludes as well as modern dances. While many of the basic elements of the jazz idiom were in place at this time in his oeuvre, his expressive style in these early works had more in common with the prevailing European ideas of light dance music than with a replication of American jazz.⁴⁰ Thus, the young composer's 1928 trip to Paris was crucial to his development, in that it served to acquaint him with a multiplicity of new sounds and influences, learned directly from live bands and the latest recordings.

Ježek's limited exposure to live jazz was similar to most enthusiasts in Prague, who could hear American bands only by travelling to Western European cities, or less expensively, by listening to any of the numerous recordings distributed throughout Europe at this time by American companies. Within this context, Ježek's music stands apart from that of his contemporaries with regard to his reception of imported jazz and American culture, in that his study of recordings is well documented.⁴¹ Indeed, Ježek's assimilation of jazz elements into most of his compositions went beyond the majority of European efforts at this time. Particularly in his music for the jazz orchestra of the Liberated Theatre (*Osvobozené divadlo*)

in Prague, one can witness Ježek's effort to make this music his own, creating a sense of agency that went against the depersonalizing trend that attracted so many neo-classicists to popular music in the first place. The portrait of Czech life presented by the Liberated Theatre, while decidedly left-wing, was just as firmly Western and cosmopolitan in its outlook, largely as a result of Ježek's music. As the 1930s and the First Czech Republic drew to a close, the Liberated Theatre's repertoire, dramatic and musical, paralleled the resurgence of nationalism in Czech culture, often conceived in direct opposition to the threat of fascism within and outside Czech borders.

Not only was Ježek an avid collector of American jazz recordings, but he also internalized the gestures and nuances of jazz to such an extent that he was able to transfer that language as a whole to a multitude of new compositions. In co-operation with the comedian playwrights Jiří Voskovec and Jan Werich (formerly of *Devětsil*, see images in Figure 11), Ježek founded a permanent jazz orchestra that would accompany the political satires the theatre presented. In this regard, the composer had access to a performing ensemble on a long-term basis, such that he could experiment over the progression of a whole decade.⁴² Ježek, then, seems to be a unique manifestation in that he alone tried to replicate the jazz idiom *as a whole*, in its most current form, with jazz musicians rather than classical ones. This attitude also meant a continuous revision of his gestural and orchestrational language during his decade at the Liberated Theatre. He



Figure 10: Jaroslav Ježek around 1934. The Czech word “ježek” means “hedgehog” and the iconography often included hedgehog imagery. Source: Frontispiece to Václav Holzknecht. Jaroslav Ježek & Osvobozené divadlo. Praha: SNKLHU, 1957.



Figure 11: Jiří Voskovec and Jan Werich dressed for roles in Osel a stín and Golem at the Liberated Theatre, 1931-33. Source: Václav Holzknecht. Jaroslav Ježek & Osvobozené divadlo. Praha: SNKLHU, 1957. Plates 80, 70, and 71.

took as his initial model Paul Whiteman, then Jack Hylton, then Duke Ellington and Benny Goodman in the 1930s (see Figure 12). The result was one of the closest examinations of American culture in Central Europe during the inter-war period.

Between 1928 and 1938, Ježek supplied the music for twenty plays, each co-written by (and starring) Voskovec and Werich (see table below). After the unanticipated popularity of Ježek’s entr’actes for the first two plays, the comedians decided to take a risk in creating a genre altogether new to Prague audiences. With the première of *Fata Morgana* in December 1929, the *jazzová revue* was born, in which music, dance, and film merged with a sharper level of political and cultural satire (see Figure 13). Not only did Ježek’s ensemble play more often during the dramatic action, but much of the dance music was performed on the stage itself, alongside the newly organized “Jenčíkovy Girls,” a troupe of modern dancers named after the avant-garde choreographer, Joe Jenčík.⁴³ The success of the com-

	Title	Translation	Première	Performances
1	Premiéra Skafandr	<i>The Diving Suit</i>	Première 12 Oct 1928	61
2	Líčení se odročuje	<i>Court is Adjourned</i>	19 Oct 1929	37
3	Fata Morgana	—	10 Dec 1929	117
4	Ostrov Dynamit	<i>Dynamite Island</i>	11 Mar 1930	101
5	Sever proti Jihu	<i>North against South</i>	01 Sep 1930	158
6	Don Juan & Comp.	—	13 Jan 1931	114
7	Golem	—	04 Nov 1931	186
8	Caesar	—	08 Mar 1932	191
9	Robin zbojník	<i>Robin Hood</i>	23 Nov 1932	82
10	Svět za mřížemi	<i>World behind Bars</i>	24 Jan 1933	167
11	Osel a stín	<i>The Ass and the Shadow</i>	13 Oct 1933	187
12	Slaměný klobouk	<i>Straw Hat</i>	27 Feb 1934	83
13	Kat a blázen	<i>Hangman and Madman</i>	19 Oct 1934	115
14	Vždy s úsměvem	<i>Always with a Smile</i>	01 Jan 1935	108
15	Panoptikum	<i>The Wax Museum</i>	09 Apr 1935	120
16	Balada z hadrů	<i>Ballad from Rags</i>	28 Nov 1935	245
17	Nebe na zemi	<i>Heaven on Earth</i>	23 Sep 1936	107
18	Rub a líc	<i>Heads or Tails</i>	18 Dec 1936	189
19	Těžká Barbora	<i>Heavy Barbara</i>	05 Nov 1937	179
20	Pěst na oko aneb Caesarovo finale	<i>A Fist in the Eye, or Caesar’s Finale</i>	08 Apr 1938	90
[21]	Hlava proti Mihuli	<i>Hlava vs. Mihule</i>	1938/39	0 ¹¹
Films				
	Pudr a benzin	<i>Greasepaint and Gasoline</i>	1931 ⁴⁵	
	Peníze nebo život	<i>Your Money or Your Life</i>	1932	
	Hej, rup!	<i>Hip Hip Hooray</i>	1934	
	Svět patří nám	<i>The World Belongs to Us</i>	1937	

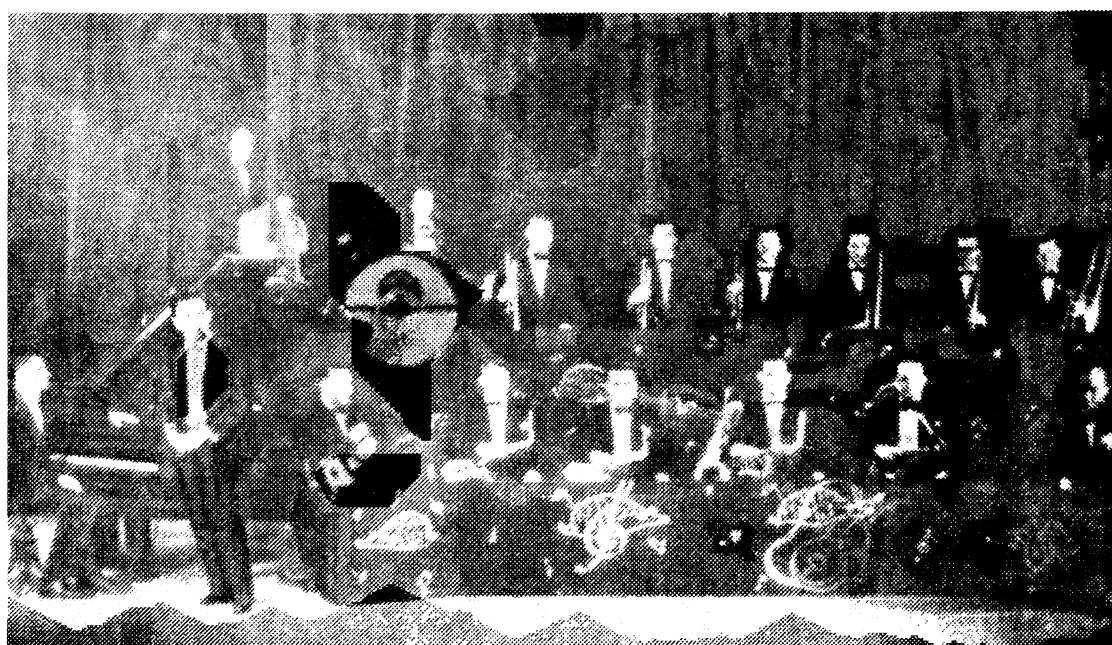


Figure 12: The Liberated Theatre orchestra in 1929 and 1934. Note the central placement of the violins in the earlier ensemble and their virtual absence in 1934. Source: Václav Holzknecht. Jaroslav Ježek & Osvobozené divadlo. Praha: SNKLHU, 1957. Plates 113 and 114.

bination in *Fata Morgana* was absolute, with 117 performances and an intensity of reaction to ensure ongoing public interest in their theatrical venture: of the remaining seventeen jazz revues, only two productions stopped before a hundred performances, with the most successful, *Balada z hadrů*, reaching 245.

Ježek's contributions continued to revolve around set pieces, either preludes, interludes, or dances, as well as an increasing number of songs,

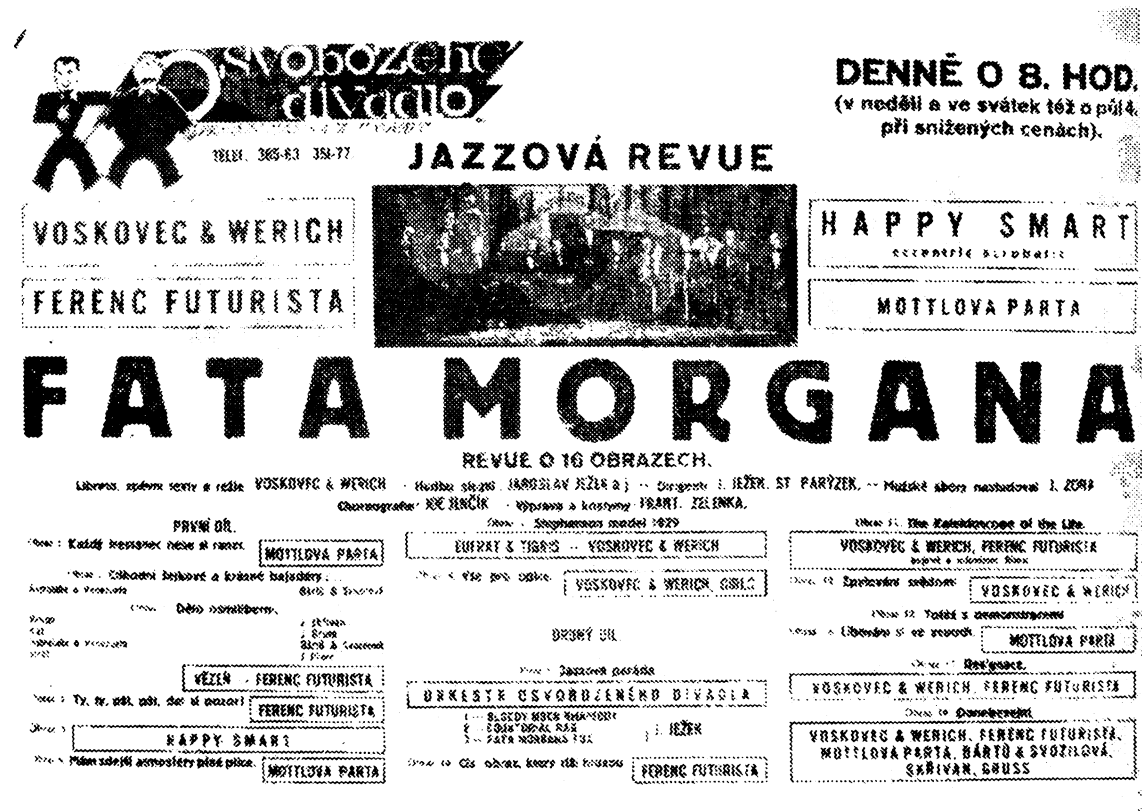


Figure 13: Poster for the performance of Fata Morgana at the Liberated Theatre in 1929. Note the three jazz numbers in the middle of the program for the “Orkestr Osvobozeného divadla” and the centrally placed photograph of the ensemble. Source: Josef Kotek. *Kronika české synkopy: půlstoletí českého jazzu a moderní populární hudby v obrazech a svědectví současníků*. Vol. 1: 1903-1938. Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1975. p.112.

usually sung by the main duo of Voskovec and Werich. These songs, while often in the style of one of the popular dances (such as blues, foxtrots, rumbas, or the perennial favourite *Mercedes-tango*), also included a large number of waltzes, comic cabaret songs, operatic parodies, and, significantly, marches. This last category, mostly satirical in nature (such as the *March of the 100% Men*), grew to immense popularity, particularly as a result of their anti-fascist lyrics, and represents not so much a stylistic retrenchment as a reflection of the growing nationalist feeling in Prague at the time. The predominance of so many songs meant that Ježek’s music was necessarily subservient to the demands of the comedians’ text. One of the most common places for Ježek’s orchestra to demonstrate its prowess in jazz during the vocal numbers, however, was in the interludes between the verses. In these, the listener would get a brief vignette of the jazz world, which in each case would appear as an instrumental variation upon the vocal melody immediately prior to it. Like most European jazz composers, however, Ježek almost always shied away from letting his instrumentalists improvise: thus, even in the richly soloistic texture of the later songs and dances, audible in the many recordings cut for Ultraphon

in the 1930s, the listener hears the illusion of improvisation, behind which lies a significant degree of compositional control.

The large body of purely instrumental numbers for the jazz orchestra of the Liberated Theatre, interspersed throughout the plays as preludes and dances for the chorus of Jenčičovy Girls, lay at the heart of Ježek's unfettered exploration of the jazz idiom. Without the constraints of a text or the necessity of balancing against a solo voice, the composer could more closely approximate the formal techniques of an American jazz band. Interestingly, Ježek gave English titles to most of these preludes and dances, such as *Spring on Broadway*, *Rubbish Heap Blues*, *City Lights*, and *Echoes of the Music Hall*, which conjure up scenes of urban America in a manner quite unrelated to the Czech satirical plays of which they are a part. In the absence of any specific link to the plots at hand, such instrumental numbers could easily have been written independently from their use in the theatre, and, as such, may be taken to represent their composer's personal communion with American culture.⁴⁶

Throughout Ježek's instrumental jazz repertoire, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact American sources of inspiration for the individual pieces, most of which represent a blend of assimilated gestures and techniques. A select few, however, stand apart in that their American antecedents are openly identified: the *Carioca* from *Kat a Blázen* is modelled directly on the similar dance by that name from the 1933 movie *Flying Down to Rio*,



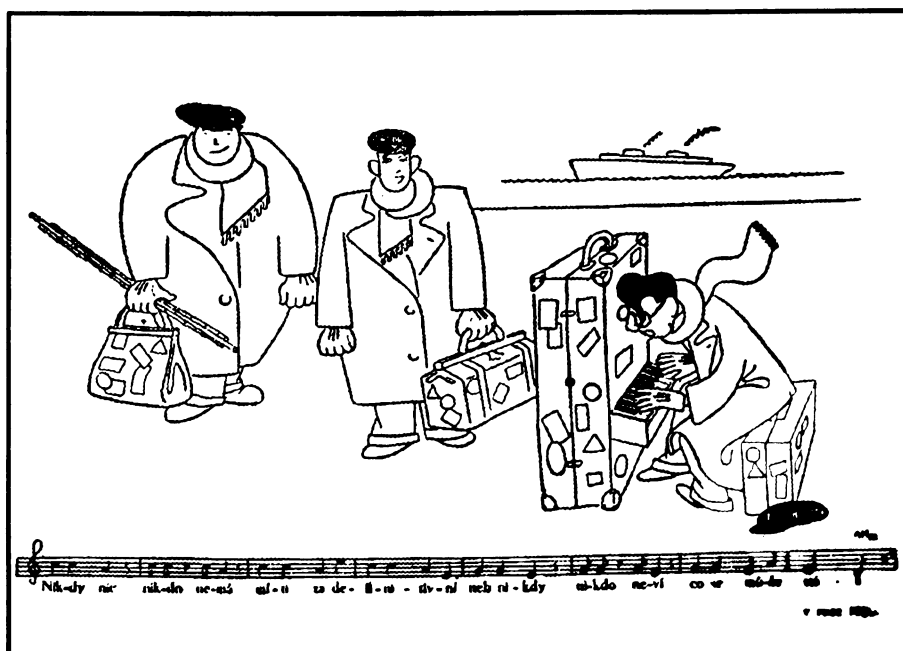
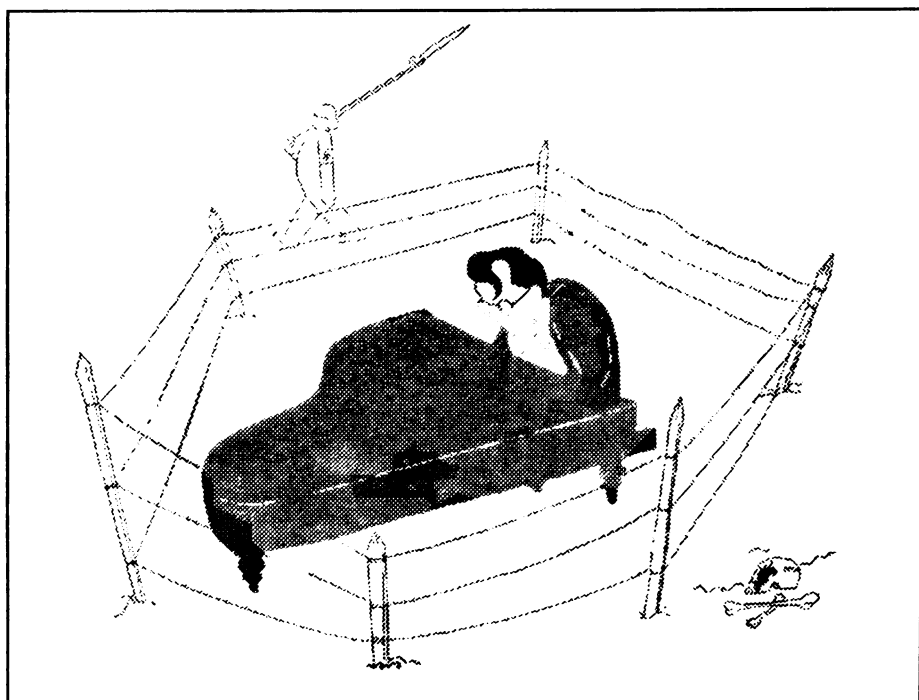
Figure 14: The Jenčičovy Girls dancing the Carioca in *Kat a blázen*, 1934.
Source: Holzknicht, Václav. Jaroslav Ježek & Osvobozené divadlo. Praha: SNKLHU, 1957. Plate 123

with music by Vincent Youmans. In the film, an American audience is treated to this Brazilian showpiece, wherein the dancing couples must keep their foreheads touching at all times; a surviving photograph from the Liberated Theatre shows that this choreographic detail was retained in its performance by the Jenčíkovy Girls (see Figure 14). A comparison between the two *Cariocas* reveals much more: not only did Ježek assimilate the specific musical traits of Youmans's *Carioca* to a startling degree of accuracy, but he also synthesized these elements to create a composition of much greater dramatic scope. While Youmans's *Carioca* is made up of a series of repeated musical units without much ongoing variation, Ježek employed an intricate web of tonal and textural changes, with dramatic transitions between the sections. Ježek also changed the sound of the jazz orchestra in his *Carioca* from Youmans's model, whose group included flutes, clarinets, and a substantial string section; conversely, Ježek's ensemble is dominated by trumpets and saxophones, which play off each other in a close-knit antiphony. The surface similarities between the two *Cariocas* are many, not least of which is the pervading rumba rhythm, which is especially pronounced in Ježek's work. Evidently, Ježek sought to reinterpret this inherited musical vocabulary for his own creative ends: in his hands, the *Carioca* was transformed from a mildly flirtatious showpiece into a highly nuanced composition pervaded by a strong sense of musical and dramatic shape.

As an anonymous reviewer in the journal *Rozpravy Aventina* described the music of the Liberated Theatre in 1930:

Music is truly that element which makes this revue an international revue, since Ježek used American models in the creation of his orchestra and in the composing of pieces. He did not dwell on them, but took them only as a model, from which he could continue further into altogether new forms, which can be defined as 'Americo-Czech.'⁴⁷

The blending of stylistic elements from two widely divergent cultures in Ježek's music contributed to the larger artistic movement towards cosmopolitanism among the younger composers in Prague in the 1930s. While his music for jazz orchestra was one of the closest readings of American culture in the European context, he still included musical devices that his audience perceived as markers of "Czechness," particularly in the anti-fascist march songs but also in the "hot" compositions. This lasting commitment to jazz reveals not only his personal love of the music that extended beyond mere fashion but also the attempt to make it part of modern Czech culture, assimilated instead of merely imported. In this, Ježek and the Liberated Theatre succeeded: the musical and theatrical portrait of interwar Czech cosmopolitanism they presented achieved a pro-democratic, nationalist significance; Ježek's role, as purveyor of "Czech jazz," was heightened to heroic status by the young composer's death in American exile during the Nazi occupation (see illustrations in Figure 15).



*Figure 15: Two New Year's greeting cards by Adolf Hoffmeister depicting Ježek surrounded by fascism in 1935 and being forced into exile with Voskovec and Werich in 1939. Hoffmeister's 1935 caption quotes the title of that year's production, "Always with a Smile." The music below that of 1939, "Nobody ever knows anything definitively, nobody ever knows what will happen," quotes from the hit song from the 1931 film, *Pudr a benzin*. Source: Václav Holzknech. Jaroslav Ježek & Osvobozené divadlo. Praha: SNKLHU, 1957. pp. 41, 369.*

All three prominent jazz composers in Prague—Schulhoff, Burian, and Ježek—contributed to the formation of identity in the interwar Czechoslovak Republic. Although they did so through the assimilation of a cultural import from America, in no way did this detract from the impact of this music at home. Indeed, their idiosyncratic and often subjective use of jazz served to reverse the impersonal and anonymous process of jazz globalization. Schulhoff, starting with jazz as an outgrowth from Berlin Dadaism, eventually used the new music as a means to shift allegiances within the linguistic communities of Prague, from German to Czech. Nevertheless, his premature abandonment of jazz, as well as his early death, resulted in a long period of neglect for this intensely vibrant œuvre. Burian, whose agit-prop theatre of the 1930s and subsequent participation in Soviet-style socialist realism of the 1950s served to connect his name and music with the post-war communist regime, has retained a position of respect more as a theatrical innovator than a musical one. Ježek's popularity, meanwhile, has not diminished to the present day.⁴⁸ Despite its close modelling of American compositional and performance styles, Ježek's music for jazz orchestra has been regarded for generations as quintessentially Czech, assimilated and "indigenized" such that Africa, America, and Paris have receded into the distant background. With the participation of all three musicians and many others, the worlds of Czech popular music, art music, culture, and identity were permanently transformed by the introduction and exploration of jazz.

Notes

1. The common perception among the Czechs that Austro-German hegemony had served as a deterrent to entering the modern world was problematized by the existence of a highly active German-Bohemian community in all facets of modernist artistic activity, including the exploration of popular music.

2. I take my concept of globalization from Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: the Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford and Providence: Berg Publishers, 1994), 3-5. Stokes uses the term "indigenization" to describe the process by which the members of a local environment assimilate and adapt cultural forms received from abroad via globalization. In this scenario, the music is invested with new meaning and becomes an important (and empowering) part of the local identity. I take this to be one of the possible end-points in the globalization process.

3. Josef Kotek, *O české populární hudbě a jejích posluchačích: od historie k současnosti* [*On Czech Popular Music and Its Listeners: From History to the Present*] (Praha: Panton, 1990), 117-202.

4. Kotek records the arrival of a few modern dances, particularly, the boston, cakewalk, maxixe, and in 1913, the tango; alongside these there were oddities such as the bear dance, apache dance, "Wackeltanz," etc., which were little more than urbanized folk dances, or imagined exotic pantomimes. According to G. R. Opočenský, an observer at the *Montmartre* in 1913, Ema Revoluce and Jindra Venouček danced the "Alexander-Two steep" (i.e., *Alexander's Ragtime Band* by Irving Berlin) to great acclaim: this occurrence is considered by Kotek to be the earliest "proof of the pre-jazz infiltration in Bohemia." Josef Kotek, *Kronika české synkopy: půlstoletí českého jazzu a moderní populární hudby v obrazech a svědectví současníků* [*The Chronicle of Czech Syncopation: A Half Century of Czech Jazz and Modern Popular Music in Pictures and Witness Accounts*], Vol. 1: 1903-1938 (Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1975), 19-39. Cf. Kotek, *O české populární hudbě*.

5. Bernard Gendron, "Fetishes and Motorcars: Negrophilia in French Modernism," *Cultural Studies* 4/2 (1990): 141-55; Michael Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Susan C. Cook, *Opera for a New Republic: The Zeitopern of Krenek, Weill and Hindemith* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 41-55.

6. The prominent arranger and danceband leader R. A. Dvorský noted that in 1919 he still had to substitute the even more exotic "violinophon" for the saxophone for lack of players. František Alois Tichý was the first to incorporate a saxophone permanently in his instrumentation in autumn 1921. Kotek, *O české populární hudbě*, 197-99.

7. Gendron, 143-45; Kotek, *O české populární hudbě*, 194. Covers of various newly composed dances published in Prague at this time included, among others, Indians with tomahawks, a Canadian mountie, a semi-clad black slave, and images of the Parisian demi-monde.

8. In the first few years of Czech independence, the overriding cultural tendency throughout most artistic circles in Prague was to embrace French culture in all its facets, encapsulated by the virtual adoration of Cocteau and Apollinaire (the latter for his poem "Zone," which conflated Prague and Paris).

9. Otakar Štorch-Marien, "Kolem pařížských revuí" [Around the Parisian Revues], *Rozpravy Aventina* 2/10 (1926-27): 114-16. Štorch-Marien was the general editor of this very fashionable publishing-house journal that kept abreast of the latest developments in culture, both at home and abroad, reflecting the most cosmopolitan circles of Prague.

10. Otakar Štorch-Marien, "Taneční umění" [The Art of Dancing], *Rozpravy Aventina* 3/17 (1927-28): 213.

11. P.P., "Savoy-Orkestr," *Hudební věstník* 21/8 (Apr. 16, 1928): 3.

12. Jaroslav Ježek, "Jack Hylton and Hisboys" [sic], *Rozpravy Aventina* 4/15 (Jan. 1929): 152. Ježek's text reflects the Prague-Paris dichotomy of Apollinaire's "Zone."

13. Emil František Burian, "Můj jazz" [My Jazz], *Rozpravy Aventina* 3/14 (1927-28): 173. Burian's article was published in tandem with the release of his book *Jazz* by the same publisher.

14. Among the Czech composers who used elements from jazz or modern dances can be counted Vítězslav Novák (whose ballet *Nikotina* of 1929 has a recurrent tango), Vilém Petrželka (whose cantata *Námořník Mikuláš* of 1929 incorporates a jazz band), Otakar Jeremiáš (whose score to the 1931 film *Loupežník* includes a foxtrot), Jaroslav Křička (whose 1929 Zeitoper *Bílý pán* juxtaposes the Black Bottom with polkas, folk-like songs, and operetta-derived romantic music), and Alois Hába (whose *Four Modern Dances* of 1927 include a Shimmy, Blues, Boston, and Tango).

15. For a detailed discussion of the sense of de-intellectualization associated with neo-classicism and European jazz, see Joseph Auner, "'Soulless Machines' and Steppenwolves: Renegotiating Masculinity in Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*," *Princeton Journal of Women, Gender and Culture* 10/1-2 (1996): 58-72.

16. The performance of Martinů's orchestral work *Half-time* at the 1925 festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) in Prague is a case in point: because of its daring, jazz-based mode of expression, the work and its composer were virtually disowned by the conservative Czech critics and as a result became separated from the other Czech contributions to the festival. Cf. Thomas D. Svatoš, "Martinů on Music and Culture: A View from his Parisian Criticism and 1940s Notes," Ph.D. diss., University of California-Santa Barbara, 2001.

17. Josef Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff: Leben und Werk*, trans. Rudolf Chadraba (Hamburg: Von Bockel Verlag, 1994), 51-52.

18. Ibid., 62-64.

19. See discussion in Bek, 110-13, as well as documentary materials in Kotek, *Kronika české synkopy*, 83-89.

20. Europeans tended to blend American dance types or create new ones altogether out of the basic expressive devices of jazz. Besides the slow-fox (also written "slowfox"), which seems to have been a simple tempo alteration of the original foxtrot, there were other concoctions such as the "Three-step," an elaboration of the Two-step. Cf. Kotek, *Kronika české synkopy*, 28-33.

21. Helena Valentová, "Bubu z Montparnassu: Lyrická opera E.F. Buriana," *Opus Musicum* 27/1 (1995): 3.
22. Vítězslav Nezval, "Kapka inkoustu," *ReD* 1/9 (1927/28), quoted in Valentová; Karel Teige, "The Poetist Manifesto," trans. G. S. Evans, in "Dreams and Disillusion: Karel Teige and the Czech Avant-Garde," <http://home.sprynet.com/~awhit/pmanifes.htm>.
23. Valentová, "Bubu," 3.
24. Bořivoj Srba, "Les Pièces phoniques d'Emil František Burian," in *Colloquium Bohuslav Martinů his pupils, friends and contemporaries* (Brno: Mazarykova Univerzita, 1993), 90.
25. Emil František Burian, *Polydynamika*, quoted in Srba, 91. The article was originally published serially under a variety of titles in Burian's own, short-lived journal *Tam-Tam*. Emil František Burian, "Estetika" [Aesthetics], *Tam-Tam* 1 (May 1925): 1-3; "Estetika v pokračování" [Aesthetics continued], *Tam-Tam* 2 (July 1925): 11-16; "Polydynamika," *Tam-Tam* 3 (Sept.-Oct. 1925): 10-14; 4 (Oct.-Nov. 1925): 7-12.
26. Danièle Monmarte, "Honzl et Burian: Structuralisme et *Gesamtkunstwerk*," in *L'Œuvre d'Art Totale* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995), 166-71.
27. Emil František Burian, *Jazz* (Praha: Aventinum, 1928).
28. *Ibid.*, 18.
29. *Ibid.*, 14.
30. For other examples of this in Burian, see his article "Maskovaný konservatismus" [Masked Conservatism], *Tam-Tam* 5 (1925): 24.
31. Burian, *Jazz*, 81. Emphasis in the original.
32. A left-wing workers' chorus, the *Dědrasbor* led by Josef Zora, was already experimenting with extended performance techniques, but Burian's vision lay closer to the *Polydynamika* aesthetic. Jan Mikota, "E.F. Burian a jeho Voice-band" [E.F.B. and his Voice-band], *Prolegomena scénografické encyklopédie* 14 (1972): 85-108.
33. Burian and his ensemble were invited by Alois Hába to participate in a concert of Czech music at the 1928 ISCM festival in Siena, where they were a smash hit. Hailed upon their return as much for their modern experimentalism as for their new-found cosmopolitanism, Voice-band toured Czechoslovakia with the participation of the modern dance ensemble of Jarmila Kröschlová.
34. The novel of the same name by Charles-Louis Philippe, published in 1901 and translated by J. Votrubová-Veselá in 1919, had been celebrated by *Devětsil* members Teige and Nezval as a masterfully artistic rendering of reality, describing the modern world in poetic pictures and multifaceted perceptiveness. Together with the music critic Ctibor Blatný, Burian transformed Philippe's somewhat unoperatic plot into a series of scenes designed not to tell a straightforward narrative but to provide dream-like, self-contained vignettes of the lives of his characters that are completed only in the minds of the audience members. Cf. Valentová, 4-6.
35. *Ibid.*, 6-7.
36. Vilém Pospíšil, *Opera Národního divadla v období Otakara Ostrčila* [Opera of the National Theatre in the Era of Otakar Ostrčil], vol. 5 (Praha: Divadelní ústav, 1983): 7-8.
37. Coming as it did on the cusp of Burian's departure for Brno and a career in theatre direction, the disappointment was enough to silence *Bubu z Montparnassu* for the composer's lifetime; he never returned to full-scale opera in his career, and the opera received its première a full seventy years after its completion, on March 20, 1999.
38. Known colloquially as *Děčko*, Burian's socialist theatre D33 began in 1932 in Prague, with the number in the title changing to that of the following year every season. Burian reintroduced Voice-band most prominently for the productions of D35 in 1935, and a single concert was given in 1944. Jarka M. Burian, "D34-D41," *The Drama Review* (1976): 95-116.
39. Václav Holzknecht, *Jaroslav Ježek a Osvobozené divadlo* [J. J. and the Liberated Theatre] (Praha: SNKLHU, 1957), 243. At his Conservatory audition in 1925, Ježek boldly chose to perform the Boston from Hindemith's *Suite 1922*, a composer and work not fully accepted by the Prague musical establishment at that point.

40. Indeed, references to various forms of Czech pre-jazz popular music, such as marches, waltzes, and polkas, would always appear in contrast to Ježek's more concentrated jazz efforts.

41. The so-called "Modrý pokoj" [Blue Room], Ježek's Prague apartment from the 1930s, has been preserved with all its contents, including the composer's extensive recording and sheet music collection, and is now maintained by the National Museum of the Czech Republic.

According to Martin Stokes, collecting music can be central to the identity of communities and individuals, even if the products are imported. Recordings enable both a sense of ownership for the purchaser and a potential for shared cultural experiences. That this musical activity takes place in an environment often geographically and culturally removed from its source of distribution, results in a process of self-identification with the imported media (or "indigenization") that is wholly idiosyncratic to the "new" local milieu. Stokes, 3-5.

42. The jazz orchestra of the Liberated Theatre fluctuated in both size and stylistic attributes over the ten years of its existence. According to Josef Kotek, the ensemble's history can be divided into three periods: 1929-33, 1933-35, and 1936-38. The first, 13-member ensemble included three saxophones, two trumpets, trombone, sousaphone, two violins, viola, piano, banjo and drums, and was based on the model of Paul Whiteman. The second, based on Duke Ellington's sound with 16 musicians, included four saxophones, three trumpets, two trombones, sousaphone, three violins, piano, banjo and drums. Finally, with the influence of recordings by Calloway, Henderson, Webb, Goodman and others, Ježek added a third trombone in 1936; the violins were used sparingly, with a slight degree of improvisation, in the songs only, and were absent from the "hot orchestral compositions" altogether. Cf. Kotek, "Jaroslav Ježek & orchestr Osvobozeného divadla 1930-1938," in *O české populární hudbě*, 287-306.

43. For a discussion of each play and its musical component, see Holzknecht, 105-43.

44. *Hlava proti Mihuli* was scheduled for performance when both comedians and composer were forced to flee to America in 1939: Ježek's music, already in rehearsal at the time, does not survive.

45. The films of Voskovec and Werich used music by Ježek, mostly reused from earlier plays, or vice versa.

46. According to a footnote in Holzknecht, the instrumental numbers were often rearranged or substituted from performance to performance. Cf. *ibid.*, 413.

47. "Fata Morgana-Internacionální revuí." *Rozpravy Aventina* 5/17 (Jan. 22, 1930): 203.

48. Witness to this popularity is the use of Ježek's music in two recent Czech films: *Pelíšky* (Cosy Dens, dir. Jan Hřebejk, 1999) contains a scene where two characters improvise a four-hand version of the foxtrot "Život je jen náhoda" [Life is pure chance] while the Warsaw Pact tanks invade Czechoslovakia in August, 1968; and the 2002 film *Tmavomodrý svět* (Dark-blue World, dir. Jan Svěrák) uses the blues of the same name from *Fata Morgana*, as well as "Pochod stoprocentních mužů" [March of the 100% Men].

Abbreviations of Journals and Newspapers

A – Der Auftakt

HRO – Hudební rozhledy (Brno)

HVě – Hudební věstník,

Věstník československých hudebníků,

Věstník československých hudebníků z povolání

K – Klíč

LUK – Listy pro umění a kritiku

P – Přítomnos

R – Rytmus

RA – Rozpravy Aventina

T-LHM – Listy Hudební matice,

Tempo-Listy Hudební matice,

Tempo-List pro hudební kulturu

TT – „Tam-Tam“ Hudební leták—Gazette Musicale

VPR – Vest Pocket Revue

Publishers

SNKLHU - Státní Nakladatelství Krásné Literatury, Hudby a Umění

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