Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ nr 34 (3/2017), s. 51–73 DOI 10.4467/23537094KMMUJ.17.027.7856 www.ejournals.eu/kmmuj

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Zdeněk Fibich (1850–1900) and his Songs to Goethe: Forgotten Settings?

Goethe's Reception among Bohemian Composers

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, considered as one of the most prolific writers of all time, stood as a literary inspiration for numerous music composers throughout the long 19th century.¹ Although the largest tribute to Goethe's words was made by German-speaking composers, attention to the poet was paid also by musicians from the Czech lands.² Hitherto, this area of research has been neglected and yet there is need to examine how Goethe has been received in the Czech lands and perhaps also how art song developed here in comparison to Austria and Germany.

All composers mentioned in this paper are primarily connected with Prague, the Bohemian capital. Jan Theobald Held (1770–1851), a reputable doctor in Prague and amateur musician was the first Czech resident that musically engaged with Goethe's poems *Nähe des Geliebten* and *Der Fischer*. Fifteen years later in 1815, Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850) began working on forty-one musical settings published privately around 1818

¹ This research paper could not be presented without the financial support of Student's grant FF UP Olomouc, IGA 2016, "Osobnosti druhy a žánry novější české a evropské hudby".

² By the Czech lands I mean Bohemia and Moravia, areas constituting the state from the 11th century.

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as *Gedichte von Goethe für den Gesang mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, ops. 53-61. Interest in Goethe's work marginally appears in compositions by Václav Jindřich Veit (1806–1864),³ who was inspired to set *Totentanz* (op. 14)⁴ and *Der König in Thule* (op. 37).⁵ The composer I will discuss more carefully, Zdeněk Fibich (1850–1900), was for a long time seen as the last Bohemian composer who had undertaken Goethe's literary legacy in the 19th century. Nonetheless, a few months back I came across a reference to settings of *Heidenröslein (sine opus)* and *Gefunden (sine opus)* by Otakar Ostrčil (1879–1935) composed in 1898⁶ and Bohuslav Martinů's (1890–1959) Goethe settings⁷ from 1914, forgotten for a long time, which bear testimony to the prevailing 19th century mood.

Fibich's Goethe Settings

Zdeněk Fibich, born in the year of Tomášek's death and whose name is strongly associated with opera and melodrama, made his first compositional attempts with songs, a genre which he wrote all his creative life. Like Schubert, Fibich was inspired by German poets during his teenage years. The first song *Das Hüttental wird stiller* (H. 806) was created in 1863 to the text by Christoph Tiedge soon followed by those of Rückert, Heine and Eichendorff. Fibich produced almost three dozen of songs before his enrolment into Leipzig Conservatoire in October 1865. However, only four preserved songs document Fibich's dynamic compositional activities that time. Apart from *Ich will meine Seele tauchen* (H. 77) published in 1901,⁸ manuscripts of Rückert's *Wunsch* (H. 15) and two Heine settings *König Wiswamitra* (H. 18) and

³ A. Hnilička, Vácslav Jindřich Veit, "Světozor" 1898-99, vol. 33, No. 8, p. 92.

⁴ The ballade set for a low voice and piano was dedicated to a bass singer Strakatý, who also premiered the setting. Hoffman's Publishing House in Prague released the setting.

⁵ The song, most probably originating from 1840s, was published in a collection *Six Songs for Mens Chorus (6 vierstimmige Gesänge für Männerst)*, Breitkopf und Härtel, Leipzig 1854.

⁶ O. Ostrčil, *Písně na texty německý básníků*, ed. M. Kratochvílová, Academus Edition, Praha 2015.

⁷ Čtyři malé písně na Goethův text (Four little songs on Goethe's texts), Opus No. H. 94, 1914 (unpublished), sig. PBM Ab 84.

⁸ Z. Fibich, Zwei Gesänge, F. A. Urbánek, Praha 1901.

Ende (H. 22) are to be found in the book of songs dated between 1865 and 1871.⁹ The composer's interest in Goethe can be traced as early as 1865 to the duet *Gefunden* (H. 816).¹⁰ The song is one of the first that were written during his musical studies in Leipzig, a place famous at the time for a great amount of public song concerts. The Leipzig period further prompted Fibich's interest in German Lied.¹¹ Apart from settings to Heine which can be traced throughout Fibich's life, three songs for voice and piano, two duets and a composition for solo and choir to Goethe's texts were created until the spring 1867. Regrettably, all these settings have been lost.

Title	Form	Date of Composing	Place of Composing	Opus No.	Manuscript
Gefunden	Soprano, Bass and Piano	1865	Leipzig	Hud. 816	Unknown
Lebt wohl, geliebte Bäume	Soprano and Tenor	4 June 1866	Leipzig	Hud. 820	Unknown
Incidental music to the Drama Clavigo	Voice and Choir	24 November 1866	Leipzig	Hud. 829	Unknown
Am Flusse	Voice and Piano	27 February 1867	Leipzig	Hud. 838	Unknown
Es ist ein Schnee gefallen	Voice and Piano	1 March 1867	Leipzig	Hud. 839	Unknown
Erster Verlust	Voice and Piano	May 1867	Libáň	Hud. 846	Unknown
Zigeunerlied	Voice and mixed Choir	3 June 1869	Žáky	Hud. 115	Unknown
An den Mond	Voice and Piano	10 June 1869	Žáky	Hud. 116	Museum of Music Prague, S80/443

⁹ Z. Fibich, Písně, manuscript, sig. HHO ČMH S80/433.

¹⁰ V. Hudec, Zdeněk Fibich Tématický katalog, Edition Bärenreiter, Praha 2001, p. 667.

¹¹ Id., Fibichovo skladatelské mládí. Doba příprav, SPN, Praha 1966, p. 41.

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Nachtlied	Voice and Piano	August 1869	Jilemnice	Hud. 887	Destroyed
Von den Bergen	Voice and Piano	August 1869	Jilemnice	Hud. 119	Unknown
Nähe des Geliebten	Soprano and Alto	1872	Unknown	Hud. 172	Unknown
Wanderers Nachtlied II.	Choir	1873	Unknown	Hud. 185	Unknown
Mignon	Melodram (?)	1900 (?)	Unknown	Hud. 524	Sketch; Museum of Music Prague, XLII D 221

Table 1: Fibich's Settings to Goethe.

After a brief and for Fibich musically disappointing stay in Paris between July 1868 and March 1869, the composer returned to live with his parents at the hunter's lodge. Situated at the edge of a forest in the village of Žáky, this place offered the young musician the perfect habitat to compose his works. In this environment, he returned to Goethe's literary legacy. The creation of *Zigeunerlied* (H. 115), a gypsy song for a solo and choir from the play Götz von Berlichingen, was followed by the setting of An den Mond (H. 116). Songs Nachtlied (H. 887) and *Von den Bergen* (H. 119), dating back to August 1869, correspond with Fibich's encounter with his first wife Růžena Hanušová. During his summer vacation of 1869, the young composer stayed with the family of a miller and baker Josef Hanuš in Jilemnice, a village located at the foot of the Krkonoše Mountains. Here, Fibich met Hanuš's daughter Růžena (1851–1874) whom he married in 1873. The stay in Jilemnice prompted Fibich's compositional activities. Apart from number of vocal pieces, Fibich composed two piano Bagatelles, Serenade and Overture Krakonoš. All the compositions are believed to have been destroyed by the composer most probably during the time he was revising his work in 1897.¹² The apex of Fibich's song settings to Goethe

¹² Id., Zdeněk Fibich, SPN, Praha 1971, p. 19.

arose in 1871. Fibich was well aware of the impending relocation of his family to Prague following his father's retirement. Therefore, the young musician intensively worked on his compositions to be able to demonstrate to Prague's audience his abilities and musical knowledge gained abroad.¹³ Just before the departure of Fibich's family to Prague in May 1871, the composer set to music nine poems from *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (H. 134), dated between 16 and 21 April.

Title	First line	Date	Book and Chapter	Main Key
Lied der Mignon	Heiß mich nicht reden	16 April	Book 5, Chap. 16	B♭ major
Lied der Mignon	So lasst mich scheinen	17 April	Book 8, Chap. 2	G major
Lied der Mignon	Kennst du das Land	17 April	Book 3, Chap. 1	A♭ major
Lied der Mignon	Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt	18 April	Book 4, Chap. 11	C major
Lied des Harfners	An die Türen will ich schleichen	18 April	Book 5, Chap. 14	F# minor
Lied des Harfners	Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen aß	19 April	Book 8, Chap. 8	E minor
Philines Lied	Singet nicht in Trauertönen	19 April	Book 5, Chap. 10	D major
Des Harfners Lied	Wer sich der Einsamkeit ergibt	20 April	Book 1, Chap. 3	F# minor
Des Harfners Ballade	Was hör' ich draußen von dem Tor	21 April	Book 1, Chap. 8	B♭ major

Table 2: Fibich's Settings Aus Goethes Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahren, 16-21 April 1871.

As Fibich's first encounter with Goethe reflects the beginning of his concentrated musical studies abroad, the creation of Fibich's first song cycle matches his farewell to these years. Only two more settings to the German poet appeared after the cycle. Song *Nähe des Geliebten* better known in its Czech translation *Myslím na Tebe* (H. 172/7),¹⁴ produced in 1872, and the second *Wanderers Lied* "Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh" (H. 185). The latter setting, for male or mixed choir, composed at the year of Fibich's marriage to Růžena Hanušová in 1873, concluded the composer's adolescent life and his musical adaptations to Goethe's poems for good.

Overall, twenty-one Fibich's vocal pieces were inspired by Goethe's literary work. Among them are fifteen songs, four duets, two settings for voice and choir and one piece for mixed choir. For his settings Fibich chose mostly intimate lyrical texts, already set to music by Schubert, Schumann and Robert Franz.¹⁵ 14 out of 21 vocal compositions to Goethe were set by Schubert and 11 by Schumann. The inspiration from these two composers is noticeable in two aspects: firstly, in the choice of poems and secondly, in the compositional approach which I will discuss later. Initially, poems with regular strophic patterns were chosen to train Fibich's early compositional approach. Fibich also worked with a wide range of poems by diverse authors, what taught him to musically differentiate various genres of songs. He often chose lyrical and love themes, poems celebrating nature as well as folk motives, literary themes which were characteristic for his time. Throughout the song settings, Fibich broadened his melodic invention and imaginative thinking, alongside his understanding of the need for unity between words and music. Like his predecessors, Fibich inclined to express melodically poetic meanings, and set out to capture the pinnacle of the mood and poetic atmosphere. According to Fibich himself, this was "the highest task of a modern composition in the genre of song".¹⁶

¹⁴ The Czech translation corresponds to the first line of the verse "Ich denke dein", a title under which this song is known even in the Fibich's *Thematic Catalogue* ed. by Vladimír Hudec, p. 220.

¹⁵ V. Hudec, Zdeněk Fibich..., op. cit., p. 25.

¹⁶ Z. Fibich, *V Přírodě*, "Dalibor" 1860, III., No. 16, pp. 123-4, in: V. Hudec, *Zdeněk Fibich…, op. cit.*, p. 41.

Aus Goethes Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren

To show some examples of Fibich's Lieder, I am going to talk about Fibich's settings to Goethe's Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre. As already mentioned, Fibich chose to compose nine songs from Goethe's Bildungsroman as he drew to the end of his student years. His decision to first set a unified group of songs to Goethe was not unusual among composers in the 19th century. For example, Schubert and Wagner composed their opus 1 to texts by Goethe. Like Schumann more than two decades earlier, Fibich selected the same poems for his series and omitted the Spottlied as a part of the novel. The settings, with the exception of two Mignon's songs, were never published before or after the composer's death nor are there any audio recordings of the settings. Only the handwritten transcript by Fibich leaves us with hope that these songs might have been performed in public, perhaps by a soprano singer Betty Hanušová-Fibichová, the composer's wife, and the bass singer Karel Čech, who often performed Fibich's music.¹⁷ Nonetheless, unlike characters from his operas which were often written for particular performers, none of the settings to Wilhelm Meister reveal a dedication or a comment suggesting an intended performer. Furthermore, the composer never effusively enforced his work. In fact, to publish or compose at any cost was a feature truly unfamiliar to Fibich who believed that quality would reveal itself.¹⁸ His afore mentioned comment, "unsuitable for print", from the transcript of his collection of Songs, does not suggest any intentions to perform it widely or distribute these settings even in his later days. Lied was a form highly popular at the time which provided Fibich with the unnecessary intermediate step on his journey to the creation of more extensive vocal compositions, most notably opera. Fibich was aware of the need to compose greater compositions to Bohemian themes and in the original language in order to be able to approach Prague, the veritable musical centre, and more importantly define his identity as a Czech composer. Therefore, as a part of a first opera to Czech libretto

¹⁷ V. Hudec, Fibichovo skladatelské mládí..., op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁸ J. Kopecký, Fibich, Zdeněk, in: Český hudební slovník osob a institucí, [online] http://www.ceskyhudebnislovnik.cz/slovnik/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&action=record_detail&id=7521 [accessed: 20.10.2015].

Bukovín, also appear songs composed to their initial Czech texts or to translations from German.¹⁹

The first question to be raised in relation to the Wilhelm Meister settings is whether Fibich meant to create a song cycle as claimed by the Czech musicologist Vladimír Hudec or it was intended as a song set. As obvious from the table two, the timeline of the creation of these settings does not follow the order of the poems in Goethe's book. In fact, first of the Mignon's songs were set followed by the four settings of Harper. *Philines Lied* was placed between the four Harper's settings. Additionally for Lied der Mignon "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt", written as a duet sung by Mignon and Harper in the novel, Fibich set it for solo voice and piano as with the rest of the songs. The song was published in Sborník skladeb skladatelův českoslovanských in 1883.²⁰ In the 1890s, when preparing a selection of songs *The Spring Rays* (H. 300), the only one to be chosen from Wilhelm Meister song set was Mignon's Lied "Kennst du das Land".²¹ By publishing these songs outside the cycle, Fibich made it clear that he valued these Mignon's Lieder more than the others and that he did not intend to rework the series in order to publish it as a cycle.

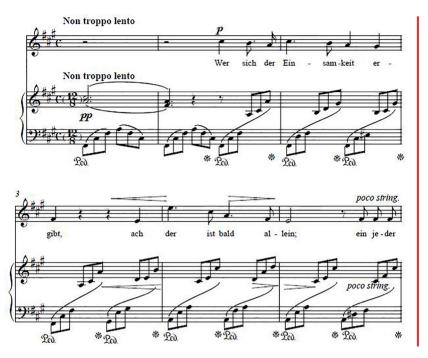
On the other hand, the song set is unified by Bb major key employed for the initial and final songs. Fibich composed the three Harper's songs, which speak about his sorrow and guilt, with minor keys, while his female counterpart Mignon is represented in major tonalities as a means of creating contrast between both characters. Two Harper's songs are set in the F# minor, a key in the 18th century related with death and afterlife²² as "peace in a silent grave" is what Harper wishes for in *Wer sich des Einsamkeit* (Ex. 1).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Z. Fibich, Sborník skladeb skladatelův českoslovanských, F. A. Urbánek, Praha 1883–1884, No. 1.

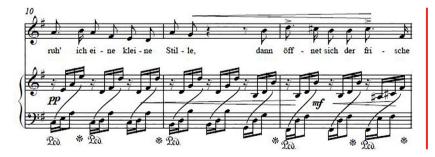
²¹ Id., The Spring Rays (H. 300), F. A. Urbánek, Praha 1893.

²² S. Youens, *Mendelssohn's Songs*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to Mendelssohn*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 189-205.



Ex. 1: Z. Fibich, Wer sich des Einsamkeit, bb. 1-6.

Fibich employs an ostinato accompaniment to show Harper's constant rumination from which he cannot escape. In a similar manner is a repetitive pattern in piano employed in Mignon's song *So lasst mich scheinen* (Ex. 2).



Ex. 2: Z. Fibich, So lasst mich scheinen, bb. 10-12.

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Song, set in G major key, pinpoints Mignon's reconciliation when she speaks of leaving all her toil and sorrow behind. As a mantra or a prayer repeats the ostinato pattern which carries Mignon's hope to be as untroubled as a child again once her life's pilgrimage reaches its end. Another aspect Fibich uses to underline the simplicity of a setting is doubling the vocal melody in the piano part as is demonstrated on the earlier song of *An den Mond* (Ex. 3).



Ex. 3: Z. Fibich, An den Mond, bb. 1-10.

Although the poem is not a part of the *Wilhelm Meister's* book, the setting deserves a note. Here Fibich set to music only first three out of the nine stanzas, a sole feature in his Goethe settings.

The best known and very often set *Lied der Mignon* "Kennst du das Land" proves Fibich's major strength; his ability to combine musical drama with a lyrical melody (Ex. 4).



Ex. 4: Z. Fibich, Lied der Mignon "Kennst du das Land".



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Ex. 4: Z. Fibich, Lied der Mignon "Kennst du das Land".

Fibich was a melodic composer. His understanding of singing, which mirrors in his songs, was perhaps based on his initial knowledge of folk songs which was subsequently broadened when studying the 19th century Lied composers. The mid-register span of the vocal line allows the singer to employ various colours in order to grasp Mignon's evolution. It is interesting to see how Fibich responded to the drama of the poem. The mood of the initial two stanzas is outlined by the major key of Ab. The broken chord at the beginning induces an impression of a dream which takes Mignon back to her childhood. Sweet memories briefly suggest bitterness with the sudden switch to minor chords on the words "dunkeln Laub" ("dark leafage"), an anticipation of Mignon's grief. The tension softens on the repetitive questioning "Kennst du das Land" ("Do you know the land") so it can find its apex on the words "There I would like to go with you, my beloved". To emphasise Mignon's urgency and expectation for an answer which does not come, Fibich repeats both lines twice. The poem finds its pinnacle in the third stanza. As a contrast, Fibich places the last part in the parallel Ab minor key which corresponds with the growing darkness of the poem. Unhappy Mignon recalls her journey from Italy and pleads with Wilhelm to take her there. In a contrasting way to previous settings Fibich shows his ability to use the piano independently in order to create the exalted atmosphere of the poem. The patterns in the accompaniment change throughout the setting to mirror Mignon's confusion as she fluctuates between the past and present. Marked "con orrore" ("with horror"), the third stanza brings darkness on the second line which recalls a mysterious but surely painful reminiscence from Mignon's past. Above the distressed piano figure of thirty-second notes, the tension culminates to the melodic apex on a fortissimo Eb prolonged for two and half bars above the word "Fluth". Then the appeasement follows to quietly ask "Do you know it, indeed?" for the last time.

On 21 April 1871, Fibich created the last setting to *Wilhelm Meister*. The poem in Goethe's collected poetry known as *Der Sänger* which Schumann entitled *Ballade des Harfners*, a title taken over by Fibich for his setting. Occupied with the final poem, the young composer decided to take a challenge and close the song set with a through composed setting, for Fibich an unexplored form even outside this cycle. Perhaps not as confident with his own compositional skills or resonating with Schumann's Lied, Fibich in his adaptation alters the setting of his predecessor to create his own version. Both settings use the Bb major key, 4/4 metre and the harp-like arpeggio effect, to frame the song (Ex. 5a).



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Ex. 5a: Z. Fibich, Ballade des Harfners "Was hör ich draußen", bb. 1-8.



Ex. 5b: Z. Fibich, Ballade des Harfners "Was hör ich draußen", bb. 16-27.

Since there are three characters in the ballade, Fibich musically depicts each of them in a different manner (Ex. 5b).

The king's questioning is raised in the piano tacet after hearing music from the outside depicted by the arpeggio piano introduction. His short motif reappears when the narrator describes the king's appreciation of the singer's music in the stanza 3. Throughout the setting the vocal line oscillates between the elemental intervals of the narrator who guides us through the tale and cantabile singing of the protagonist. His entrance before the king is accompanied with a trumpet-like fanfare combining a semiquaver with a crotchet repeated three times each a third higher (bars 20-22). Alteration of the pattern to a dotted quaver and semiguaver motif reappears above the word "knights" in the stanza 4. Fibich's inspiration from Schumann's and Schubert's settings mirrors the constant change of the accompaniment similar to the one we have seen in the setting of "Kennst du das Land". Arpeggios alternate with blocks of chords or broken chords sometimes changed to melodic treble. In the third and repetitively sixth stanza appear sextuplets running through both piano hands underscoring the Harper's performance. This figuration was a commonly used feature in settings of this poem by diverse composers. By combining the accompanimental patterns, Fibich underscores differences between the three characters of the setting.

Conclusion

Fibich's romantic personality is reflected in his Lieder. In the twenty-one Goethe settings composed between 1865 and 1873, we can trace the early compositional approach of the young music student, his development and, finally, the rise of his first song set on the threshold of his new life as a composer. Regardless that, the song cycle *Aus Goethes Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahren* represents the peak of Fibich's preparation in the genre of Lied, they remind in the shadow of his larger compositions. This brief paper is a starting point when capturing Fibich's Goethe settings. A broader research on Fibich and the Lied needs to be done in order to clarify ongoing questions and to contribute to a broader perception of the 19th century song studies.

Abstract

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) is considered as one of the most influential cultural figures of his age. His literary work attracted composers throughout the 19th century and beyond. Goethe himself appreciated musical settings of his literary works, as, in his opinion, lyrical poetry without music did not seem complete.

One of the numerous composers who tackled Goethe's words was Zdeněk Fibich (1850–1900), a Bohemian composer whose name is strongly associated with the genres of opera and melodrama. However, only little is known about his primary compositional attempts in the area of songs. Inspired by settings of Schubert and Schumann the composer was addressed by German poets such as Rückert, Heine, Eichendorff and Goethe. Moreover, song settings to both German and Czech literary models were emerging throughout Fibich's life. Similarly to Schubert, Fibich's first Lieder are dated back to his teen hood. Gefunden, Fibich's first musical encounter with Goethe, was written as early as 1865. In my paper, I have examined nine settings to Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahren, which originated between 16 and 21 April 1871. Numerous reasons led me to examine these particular songs. Firstly, Fibich's Goethe settings have been neglected by musicologists as well as performers. None of eleven vocal pieces have been published or recorded to date. Secondly, there is need for a comparative study of these songs with other settings to Goethe. My research addresses the lacuna in the 19th century song studies while asking the following questions: Do the songs have much to offer in comparison to songs by Schubert, Schumann, Wolf and others? What stands behind the omission of the songs? This paper is a starting point in uncovering the significance of forgotten Fibich's Goethe settings.

Keywords

19th Century Song, Zdeněk Fibich, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Czech Lands

Abstrakt

Zdeněk Fibich (1850–1900) i jego pieśni do słów Goethego – opracowania zapomniane?

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) jest uważany za jedną z najbardziej wpływowych postaci kultury swego czasu, a jego dorobek literacki inspirował wielu kompozytorów dziewiętnastowiecznych i późniejszych. Sam Goethe cenił muzyczne opracowania swoich dzieł, gdyż jego zdaniem poezja bez muzyki nie wydawała się kompletna.

Jednym z wielu kompozytorów, którzy inspirowali się wierszami Goethego, był Zdeněk Fibich (1850-1900), czeski kompozytor, którego nazwisko mocno związane jest z gatunkami opery i melodramatu. Niewiele jednak wiadomo o jego pierwszych próbach kompozytorskich w dziedzinie pieśni. Zainspirowany opracowaniami Schuberta i Schumanna kompozytor cenił takich niemieckich poetów, jak Rückert, Heine, Eichendorff i Goethe. Ponadto podczas całego życia Fibich sięgał po teksty poetów niemieckich i czeskich. Podobnie jak w przypadku Schuberta, pierwsze Lieder Fibicha pochodzą z czasów, kiedy kompozytor był nastolatkiem. Gefunden, jego pierwsze muzyczne opracowanie tekstu Goethego, powstało już w 1865 roku. W niniejszym artykule przestudiowałem dziewięć opracowań tekstu Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahren, które powstały między 16 a 21 kwietnia 1871 roku. Do zbadania tych konkretnych pieśni skłoniły mnie liczne powody. Po pierwsze, utwory Fibicha do tekstów Goethego były długo zaniedbywane zarówno przez muzykologów, jak i wykonawców – dotychczas żaden z jedenastu utworów wokalnych nie został wydany ani zarejestrowany. Po drugie, potrzebne jest przeprowadzenie porównawczych studiów zestawiających te pieśni z innymi opracowaniami tekstów Goethego. Moje badania mają na celu wypełnić lukę, jaka powstała w badaniach nad gatunkiem pieśni w XIX wieku oraz odpowiedzieć na zaistniałe pytania: Jak pieśni Fibicha wypadają w porównaniu z pieśniami Schuberta, Schumanna, Wolfa i innych? Dlaczego dotychczas nie zostały przebadane? Ten artykuł został zamierzony jako punkt wyjścia dla ustalenia znaczenia zapomnianych pieśni Fibicha do tekstów Goethego.

Słowa kluczowe

pieśń w XIX wieku, Zdeněk Fibich, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, kraje czeskie

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