‘Pavel Haas is one of the most fascinating composers of the twentieth century, whose life was tragically short. Čurda combines detailed analyses and sensitive interpretations with guile and acumen to produce a study of Haas which is the finest and fullest we have in English.’

Stephen Downes, Royal Holloway, University of London

‘Anyone with an interest in twentieth-century music will want to read this important study of Pavel Haas, a remarkable composer in whose work the central tendencies of the age were crystallized. Although the author rightly tries to put the works composed in the Terezín/Theresientstadt camp into the context of Haas’ entire oeuvre, he also makes clear the exceptional power of the pieces Haas composed there in the years before his untimely death. This is a masterly and authoritative book.’

Michael Beckerman, New York University
The Music of Pavel Haas

The Czech composer Pavel Haas (1899–1944) is commonly positioned in the history of twentieth-century music as a representative of Leoš Janáček’s compositional school and as one of the Jewish composers imprisoned by the Nazis in the concentration camp of Terezin (Theresienstadt). However, the nature of Janáček’s influence remains largely unexplained and the focus on the context of the Holocaust tends to yield a one-sided view of Haas’s oeuvre. The existing scholarship offers limited insight into Haas’s compositional idiom and does not sufficiently explain the composer’s position with respect to broader aesthetic trends and artistic networks in inter-war Czechoslovakia and beyond. This book is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive (albeit necessarily selective) discussion of Haas’s music since the publication of Lubomír Peduzzi’s ‘life and work’ monograph in 1993. It provides the reader with an enhanced understanding of Haas’s music through analytical and hermeneutical interpretation as well as cultural and aesthetic contextualisation, and thus reveals the rich nuances of Haas’s multi-faceted work which have not been sufficiently recognised so far.

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The Ashgate Studies in Theory and Analysis of Music After 1900 series celebrates and interrogates the diversity of music composed since 1900, and embraces innovative and interdisciplinary approaches to this repertoire. A recent resurgence of interest in theoretical and analytical readings of music comes in the wake of, and as a response to, the great successes of musicological approaches informed by cultural studies at the turn of the century. This interest builds upon the considerable insights of cultural studies while also recognizing the importance of critical and speculative approaches to music theory and the knowledge-producing potentials of analytical close readings. Proposals for monographs and essay collections are welcomed on music in the classical tradition created after 1900 to the present through the lens of theory and analysis. The series particularly encourages interdisciplinary studies that combine theory and/or analysis with such topical areas as gender and sexuality, post-colonial and migration studies, voice and text, philosophy, technology, politics, and sound studies, to name a few.

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Contents

Illustrations ix

Introduction 1

1 Music and avant-garde discourse in inter-war Czechoslovakia 29

2 ‘From the Monkey Mountains’: the body, the grotesque, and carnival 56


4 Rhythmic layers and musical form: Janáčekian elements in Haas’s compositional practice 115

5 Haas’s Charlatan: a tragi-comedy about old comedians, modern individualists, and uncanny doubles 165

6 Four Songs on Chinese Poetry: grief, melancholy, uncanny reflections, and vicious circles in songs from Terezín 209

Conclusion 246

Bibliography 253
Index 264
Illustrations

Figures

2.1 Advertisement for the ‘2nd Eccentric Eight O’Clock of Artists’ 72
2.2 ‘1st Eccentric Carnival of Artists in Brno’ 73
4.1 Berg’s schema comparing developmental strategies used by Smetana and Janáček 119
4.2 Janáček’s model of ‘sčasovací layers’ stemming from a semibreve ‘sčasovací base’ 122
4.3 Janáček’s example of the emergence of metric groupings from the interaction of two rhythmic layers 123
4.4 Ostinato rhythms and form in ‘Landscape’ 126
4.5 Motivic material in ‘Landscape’ 127
4.6 Formal functions: differentiation and unification 129
4.7 Rhythm and form in Study for Strings 130
4.8 Rhythmic layers and form in Study for Strings 138
4.9 Large-scale proportions in the Study for Strings 139
4.10 Form of allegro moderato with reference to rhythm, tempo, and tonality 144
4.11 Motivic material of the movement 144
4.12 Pavel Haas, Šarlatán: Návrhy libreta [Charlatan: Sketches of the Libretto] 156
5.1 Illustration to Chapter 23: ‘How Eisenbart cured the Gluttony Count’ 168
5.2 Haas’s drawing of the scene. Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score. 177

Musical examples

2.1 Opening ostinato. Pavel Haas, String Quartet No. 2 ‘From the Monkey Mountains’, Op. 7, 1925. 59
2.2 Blues scale inflections in the opening theme. Haas, String Quartet No. 2, first movement, bb. 3–10, violin 1. 59
2.3 Janáčekian texture. Haas, String Quartet No. 2, first movement, b. 44. 60
Illustrations

2.4 ‘Birdsong’ motive. Haas, String Quartet No. 2, first movement, bb. 48–52.

2.5 Contrasting middle section. Haas, String Quartet No. 2, first movement, bb. 90–7.


2.8 ‘Horse trot’ theme in quavers. Haas, String Quartet No. 2, second movement, bb. 24–32.


2.11 ‘Rumba’ theme (viola), Haas, String Quartet No. 2, fourth movement, bb. 19–22.

2.12 Pavel Haas, male chorus Karneval [Carnival], Op. 9, bb. 19–21. Two manuscript scores deposited in the Moravian Museum, Brno.


2.16 Folk dance allusion. Haas, String Quartet No. 2, fourth movement, bb. 10–2.


2.18 Bedřich Smetana, Prodaná nevěsta [The Bartered Bride], ‘Skočná’: (a) 138–43 (opening) and (b) 223–30 (middle section).


2.21 Quotation of Haas’s early song. Haas, String Quartet No. 2, fourth movement, bb. 205–12.

3.1 Interlocking ostinato patterns in ‘Praeludium’. Pavel Haas, Suite pro klavír [Suite for Piano], first movement, bb. 1–4.

3.2 Small-scale middle section (b) of ‘Praeludium’. Haas, Suite for Piano, first movement, bb. 22–32.

3.3 Contrasting section of ‘Praeludium’ (A’/B). Haas, Suite for Piano, first movement, bb. 39–41.
3.4 Opening bars of ‘Con molta espressione’. Haas, Suite for Piano, second movement, bb. 1–9. 98
3.5 Transition (quasi B). Haas, Suite for Piano, second movement, bb. 38–48. 100
3.6 The ‘Ragtime’ theme. Haas, Suite for Piano, third movement, bb. 1–8. 102
3.7 Motoric ending of ‘Danza’. Haas, Suite for Piano, third movement, bb. 94–104. 102
3.8 The ‘flute’ tune. Haas, Suite for Piano, fourth movement, bb. 1–3. 103
3.9 The (St Wenceslas) chorale theme and the folk-like theme. Haas, Suite for Piano, fourth movement, bb. 12–9. 104
3.10 The introductory phrase of ‘Postludium’. Haas, Suite for Piano, fifth movement, bb. 1–8. 105
3.11 The main theme of ‘Postludium’. Haas, Suite for Piano, fifth movement, bb. 9–16. 106
3.12 Contrasting slow section. Haas, Suite for Piano, fifth movement, bb. 58–64. 106
3.13 Accumulation and distortion of motivic material in the recapitulation. Haas, Suite for Piano, fifth movement, bb. 99–108. 107
4.1 Rhythmic strata in Janáček’s music. Leoš Janáček, String Quartet No. 1 ‘Inspired by Leo Tolstoy’s “Kreutzer Sonata”’, 1923. 118
4.2 Janáček, String Quartet No. 1, third movement, bb. 1–7. 124
4.3 Transition from ‘a’ to ‘b’ through cessation and reinvigoration of the ostinato rhythm. Pavel Haas, String Quartet No. 2, Op. 7 ‘From the Monkey Mountains’, 1925. 126
4.4 Opening ostinato and a ‘mirroring’ tetrachordal motive. Pavel Haas, Studie pro smyčcový orchestr [Study for Strings], 1943. 131
4.5 Theme 1 in 3/4. Haas, Study for Strings, bb. 17–30. 133
4.6 Transition from Fugue to Theme 2. Haas, Study for Strings, bb. 118–9, 122–7. 134
4.7 Small-scale recapitulation (a’) and transition to slow middle section (B). Haas, Study for Strings, bb. 139–144. 135
4.8 Theme 3, the structural dominant. Haas, Study for Strings, bb. 201–8. 136
4.9 Coda. Haas, Study for Strings, bb. 236, 239, 242–7. 137
4.11 Diatonicism v. symmetry in Theme 1. Score and analytical reduction (foreground and middleground). String Quartet No. 3, first movement, bb. 16–22. 147
4.12 Problems of continuity in Development 1. Score and analytical reduction (foreground and middleground). String Quartet No. 3, first movement, bb. 32–43. 148
4.13 Discontinuities in the exposition. String Quartet No. 3, first movement, bb. 35–7, 43, 47, 58–9. 153


4.15 The final part of Development 3 (a retransition to the recapitulation of Theme 1). Score and middle-ground reduction of the counterpoint of outer voices. String Quartet No. 3, first movement, bb. 136–46. 154

4.16 The final cadence. String Quartet No. 3, first movement, bb. 150–7. 155

5.1 Pentatonic ostinato and anticipation of the Peregrination Song (see Example 5.4). Haas, Šarlatán, piano reduction. 173


5.3 Amarantha’s theme. Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (DMH MM, sign. A 22.687 a), p. 61. 174


5.5 Pustrpalk’s entry. Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (DMH MM, sign. A 22.687 b), p. 186. 178

5.6 Pustrpalk’s declaration of love (the ‘sweet dragon’ theme). Haas, Šarlatán, piano reduction (DMH MM, sign. A 22.688), p. 80. 179


5.8 Return of the opening four-note motive. Haas, Šarlatán, piano reduction (DMH MM, sign. A 22.688), pp. 106–7: (‘Silence! Silence! Don’t wake up my wife! And mind you, not a word now! My wife must not know about it!’) 186


5.10 Bakalář’s song. Haas, Šarlatán, piano reduction (DMH MM, sign. A 22.688), p. 159. 188

5.11 Jochimus’s sinister proclamation. Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (DMH MM, sign. A 22.687 c), p. 448. 191


5.13 Pustrpalk’s song. Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (MZM, sign. A 22.687 c), pp. 548–9. 194

5.14 Jochimus’s arrival prior to the operation (Act 3; Scene 2): ‘I’m Jochimus. (Pustrpalk is startled.)’ Haas, Šarlatán, piano reduction (DMH MM, sign. A 22.688), p. 186. 196

5.15 The ‘death’ motive (‘Pustrpalk charges with his sword against the auditorium as if it was an invisible enemy . . . ’). Haas, Šarlatán, piano reduction (DMH MM, sign. A 22.688), p. 257. 197
6.1 Agency and voice-leading in the opening vocal phrase. Pavel Haas, Čtyři písně pro bas (baryton) a klavír na slova čínské poezie v překladu Bohumila Mathesia.

6.2 Hymn to St Wenceslas: the oldest version found in the Latin-Czech Catholic Gradual from 1473.

6.3 Agency, rhythmic layers and metric groupings in the second vocal phrase. Haas, Four Songs, i, bb. 9–16.

6.4 Signs of the uncanny (mirrors, rifts, and shadows) in voice-leading structure. Haas, Four Songs, i, bb. 20–2.

6.5 ‘Cries of wild geese’: self-mirroring and overlapping tetrachords. Haas, Four Songs, i, bb. 27–8.

6.6 ‘Cadenza’: dysphoric undertones and the rising moon. Haas, Four Songs, ii, bb. 70–8.


6.10 Affective expression, directionality and agency. Haas, Four Songs, iii, bb. 25–33.


6.17 ‘Thinking of our meeting’: another uncanny sensation. Haas, Four Songs, iv, bb. 33–42.

Tables

1.1 Vocabulary of Neoclassicism

3.1 The form of ‘Praeludium’ with respect to key, tempo, intervallic transformation and vertical gesture

3.2 The form of ‘Con molta espressione’

3.3 Formal outline of the ragtime theme

6.1 First song: text and translation

6.2 Second song: text and translation

6.3 Third song: text and translation

6.4 Fourth song: text and translation
Introduction

In the case of Pavel Haas (1899–1944), a number of factors have conspired to push the music of a highly accomplished composer to the verge of oblivion. As a student of Leoš Janáček and a life-long resident of Brno (Moravia), Haas had limited opportunities to have his music performed in the Czechoslovak capital Prague (Bohemia) or abroad and thus build a reputation on a national or even international level. During the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, the composer was banned from performance, imprisoned in Terezín (Theresienstadt) and eventually killed in Auschwitz due to his Jewish origins.\(^1\) Little was done in the following Communist era to revive his musical legacy.\(^2\) It was not until the 1990s that Haas’s works became more broadly available to scholars, performers, and audiences. Although Czech composer and musicologist Lubomír Peduzzi had continuously published academic articles on various aspects of Haas’s work since the late 1940s, his seminal ‘life and work’ monograph on the composer only appeared in 1993.\(^3\) Most of Haas’s works only survived in manuscripts until 1991, when the publishing house Tempo Praha (in collaboration with Bote & Bock Berlin) started producing modern editions revised by Peduzzi.\(^4\) CD recordings of Haas’s music were first distributed internationally by Channel Classics (‘Composers from Theresienstadt’, 1991), Decca Records (‘Entartete Musik’ series, 1994), and Koch Schwann (‘Böhmen & Mähren: Musik Jüdischer Komponisten’, 1994). In the present day, most of Haas’s major works are available in the form of printed editions and CD recordings. New recordings and concert performances (mostly of chamber pieces and songs) continue to emerge and Haas’s music is no longer as one-sidedly associated with Terezín and Jewishness as it was in the 1990s.

However, despite these continuing efforts, much remains to be done in terms of deepening and broadening the critical understanding of Haas’s work. Very few substantial pieces of academic research have appeared since the publication of Peduzzi’s monograph. On the whole, the vast majority of available scholarship focuses on the works Haas composed during the Second World War. In Anglophone academic literature, Haas is mentioned almost exclusively in the context of music in Terezín (a selective overview of the relevant literature will be presented below). Arguably, the traumatic and tragic shadow of the Holocaust threatens to
2 Introduction

obscure the rich nuances of Haas’s multi-faceted work. It is one of the objectives of this book to offer a more balanced view of Haas’s work and draw attention to aspects that have been overlooked so far.

Peduzzi positioned Haas in the history of twentieth-century music as a composer whose stylistic development was informed by Janáček on the one hand and Stravinsky on the other. In other words, Peduzzi argued that Haas achieved a synthesis between Janáček’s idiosyncratic style, rooted in the local folk-music tradition, and the Stravinskian strand of international (‘Western’) musical modernism. While this assessment is essentially correct, it does not take into account the ‘middle-ground’ context of Czechoslovak music, arts, and culture of the time. In order to fill this gap, Chapter 1 contains a survey of avant-garde movements, discourse platforms, ideas, and networks in inter-war Czechoslovakia, with regard to contemporary developments in other national contexts.

Chapter 2 demonstrates that the Czech avant-garde movement known as Poetism, which itself drew on the contemporary Parisian avant-garde, was a major influence on Haas’s works from the 1920s. The examination of Haas’s String Quartet No. 2 ‘From the Monkey Mountains’, Op. 7 (1925) and other relevant pieces shows that Haas engaged with the characteristic topoi of Poetism and that there is a strong affinity between the composer’s predilection for rhythmic vitality, humour, caricature, and the grotesque and Poetism’s emphasis on physicality, sensuality, and ‘everyday’ art (from fairground, circus, and carnival to jazz-band music and silent-film slapsticks).

Some of the key features of Haas’s style, already observed in his 1925 string quartet (ambiguous play with meaning, grotesque and caricature-like exaggeration and distortion, and collage-like juxtaposition of incongruous elements) reappear in the Suite for Piano, Op. 13 (1935). The discussion of the latter work in Chapter 3 demonstrates the continuity of these features in Haas’s work and explains their development over time. Since the suite is also representative of Neoclassical tendencies, which became increasingly apparent in Haas’s music from the 1930s onward, this chapter also explains how the perceived Neoclassical virtues (previously discussed in Chapter 1), such as economy of means, concision, clarity of line and contour, diatonicism, and rhythmic vitality, manifest themselves in this piece.

Chapter 4 examines the importance of rhythmic and metric procedures in Haas’s music with reference to Janáček’s theory and compositional practice of sčasování (‘metro-rhythms’). It will be observed that Haas’s use of Janáčekian techniques (such as repetition, superimposition, and montage) raises questions of fragmentation, discontinuity, development, and stasis, which have been discussed mostly in the area of Stravinsky studies. Case studies used to illustrate these issues include the first movement of String Quartet No. 2 (1925), the one-movement Study for Strings (1943), and the first movement of String Quartet No. 3, Op. 15 (1937–38). Although the analyses of these works focus primarily on the relationship between rhythm and form, attention is also paid to issues of pitch structure (especially the duality of diatonicism and pitch symmetry). This chapter thus provides a comprehensive discussion of Haas’s compositional technique with regard to the broader problems of early twentieth-century modernist musical syntax.
Chapter 5 contains a critical reading of Haas’s opera *Charlatan* (1934–37), which is one of the composer’s key works. While the themes of fairground and carnival, which feature prominently in the opera, provide continuity with Haas’s earlier works, *Charlatan* places greater emphasis on the terrifying aspect of the grotesque and on uncanny imagery suggestive of internal conflicts within human subjectivity, thus anticipating features that would appear in some of Haas’s later works. Particularly fascinating (and highly characteristic of the composer’s lifelong fascination with semantic ambiguity) is the opera’s tragi-comical genre, which combines elements of farce, tragedy, and horror. This chapter also sheds new light on the idea (originally proposed by Michael Beckerman) that *Charlatan*, because of its dark undertones, is a kind of commentary on the historical context of the late 1930s, marked by the rising threat of Nazism.6

Haas’s Four Songs on Chinese Poetry (1944) contain a poignant reflection of the composer’s experience of incarceration in the concentration camp of Terezín. Chapter 6 explores the meanings encoded in the piece, the strategies of signification employed to convey them, and the relationship between the author and the protagonist of his work. The analysis demonstrates how psychological phenomena such as trauma, grief, and melancholy are portrayed in Haas’s music through patterns of declamation and expressive gestures. The related notion of agency is used to discuss the significance of linear motion, circular motion, and stasis in the piece. The preceding analysis of *Charlatan* is of immediate relevance to the discussion of uncanny imagery (symmetrical ‘mirrors’, parallel ‘shadows’, enharmonic ‘doubles’) in the Four Songs. Finally, this chapter offers an explanation of the semantic ambiguity that arises from cyclic alternation between oppositional images and moods throughout the cycle (day/night; light/darkness; motion/stasis; and so on).

The works studied here are selected in such a way as to reflect most of the chronological stages of Haas’s career from 1925 to 1944, to represent a variety of different genres, and to address as many of the issues raised by Haas’s music as possible. However, a number of works and thematic areas will inevitably be left unaddressed. Future research may shed more light on Haas’s studies with Janáček through the study of archival sources (lecture notes and study pieces), and his early compositions such as Čínské písně (Chinese Songs), Op. 4 (1919–21),7 and Zesmutnělý scherzo (Saddened Scherzo), Op. 5 (1921).8 Of particular interest among Haas’s early works is his song cycle *Fata Morgana*, Op. 6 (1923) for tenor, piano, and string quartet, which combines in a fascinating way Janáčekian compositional idiom with the eroticism, exoticism, and mysticism of poetry by Rabindranath Tagore. Haas’s predilection for unusual instrumental combinations also manifests itself in his song cycle *Vyvolená* (The Chosen One), Op. 8 (1927), for tenor, flute, violin, French horn, and piano on the words of Jiří Wolker. A potential study focusing specifically on Haas’s song cycles should also consider the Sedm písní v lidovém tónu (Seven Songs in Folk Tone), Op. 18 (1939–40), for tenor/soprano and piano, a piece of masterful and witty folkloric stylisation, based on poems by František Ladislav Čelakovský.
Still awaiting critical examination is Haas’s music for theatre and film (detailed further on in this chapter). The present discussion of Haas’s engagement with the themes of the Czech avant-garde would find a logical continuation in an analysis of *Předehra pro Rozhlas* (*Overture for Radio*), Op. 11 (1930–31), a humorous, quasi-Futurist celebration of the new technological medium, scored for a small orchestra and a quartet of male voices. The study of Haas’s Psalm 29, Op. 12 (1931–32) for organ, baritone, female choir, and a small orchestra (a contemporary counterpart of the Overture) might bring insight into Haas’s attitude towards religion. Haas’s Suite for Oboe and Piano, Op. 17 (1939) and his unfinished Symphony (1940–41), both composed during the Nazi occupation but before his deportation to Terezín, are relatively well known as poignant manifestations of patriotism and have received some attention in the existing scholarship, which, however, does not exhaust the possibilities of critical interpretation. It will have to be left to future research to fill these (and other) gaps in the knowledge of Haas’s music.

This book aspires to enhance the knowledge and understanding of Haas’s music through analytical and hermeneutical interpretation, as well as cultural and aesthetic contextualisation, rather than heuristic and historiographical documentation. In this respect, it will contribute relatively little to the foundational work of Peduzzi. Most of the chapters are based on close reading of the musical score, using a variety of methodologies from the fields of music analysis and semiotics (including theoretical approaches to semantic ambiguity, musical topics, markedness and correlation, gesture and agency, and so on). In most cases, however, analysis is in the service of a broader, hermeneutical enquiry, which interprets the work in question through a specifically designed conceptual, contextual, and/or intertextual framework. The focus on the text of Haas’s works is determined partly by personal preference and partly by the fact that there is very little archival material other than musical scores and drafts. Moreover, virtually no personal or business correspondence, diaries, or other documents are extant that might bring insight into Haas’s personality, intellectual outlook, socio-cultural affiliations, and so on.

Biographical and historiographical information relevant to discussions of particular works will be provided in the corresponding chapters of this study. However, since there is no comprehensive historiographical account of Haas’s life and work available in English, it seems pertinent to include a brief summary of Haas’s personal background and his professional affiliations.

**Haas’s social, national, and ethnic background**

Pavel Haas came from a lower-middle-class ‘assimilated’ Jewish family of mixed (Czech and Russian) national background with few artistic and intellectual affiliations. According to Peduzzi, Pavel Haas and his younger brother Hugo (a popular Czech actor in the inter-war era and a successful Hollywood director after the war) were sons of Zikmund Haas, a shoe seller who came to Brno in the 1890s from dominantly Czech rural regions of eastern Bohemia, and his Russian
wife Olga Epsteinová, who was ‘the daughter of a steam navigation company clerk from Odessa’. Before the First World War, the majority of Brno’s population was German. This situation changed with the foundation of the independent Czechoslovak state in 1918, although there was a strong German minority in Brno throughout the inter-war era. The family spoke Czech in private; Pavel and Hugo were sent to German primary school due to the political circumstances of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which required knowledge of German, but both continued their studies in Czech secondary schools. Thus, unlike many Jewish artists and intellectuals of the time, Haas and his brother were unambiguously Czech (rather than German) in terms of language, as well as social and professional affiliations (as will be seen). It should also be noted that Brno, as the urban centre of Moravia, is a geographical and cultural counterpart of Prague, the capital of Bohemia, as well as the Czech (previously Czechoslovak) state as a whole. In this sense, Haas was a Moravian (as opposed to Bohemian) composer.

Little can be established with certainty about Haas’s attitude to his Jewish origins. However, he did not come from a family of active worshippers and there is little evidence to suggest that he maintained particularly close contact (prior to his imprisonment in Terezin, where this was not a matter of choice) with Jewish culture, religion, or music, apart from his connection to his uncle Richard Reichner, a cantor in a synagogue in Kolín nad Labem (a city relatively distant from Brno). Peduzzi provided the following assessment of Reichner’s influence:

The boys [Pavel and Hugo] often spent their vacations with Reichner’s family and Pavel was apparently strongly engaged by what Hugo did not particularly care about: the synagogal chants. The plaintive and yet passionate Jewish songs sung by uncle Reichner in the synagogue influenced the perceptive boy for life.

Peduzzi suggests that these visits may have inspired the young composer to engage with Biblical themes in some of his early (mostly unfinished) works, such as Jonah (Jonáš, 1914), Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (Odchod Izraele z Egypta, 1915), or Psalm 19 (1916). He also points out that, when searching for suitable material for an opera, Haas considered works by Jewish writers, including Solomon An-sky’s The Dybbuk and Stanislav Lom’s Penitent Venus. Peduzzi concludes the following:

Without completing any of these projects (except for Psalm 19), Haas later (roughly in the mid-1920s) arrived at a purely musical solution: he assimilated the specifics of Hebrew melodies into [the range of] his own expressive means and used them to personalise his musical language.

Peduzzi refers particularly to ‘Preghiera’ and ‘Epilogo’ from Haas’s Wind Quintet, Op. 10 (1929), to which one may add the first movement of the unfinished Symphony (1940–41). In these pieces, melodic elements which may be perceived as ‘Jewish’ (melismatic delivery, ornamentation, modality) are
combined with ritualistic, quasi-religious character (call and response patterns, slow pacing, chant-like unisons).

However, it is noteworthy that references to Jewishness with regard to Haas and/or his music were extremely rare in contemporary newspaper articles and concert reviews. Out of more than 150 clippings from Czech and German newspapers (published between 1920 and 1938) which the composer himself compiled in a notebook entitled ‘Moje úspěchy a ne-úspěchy’ (‘My Successes and Non-successes’)
only four concert reviews contain a reference to ‘Jewish’ or, more obliquely, ‘racial’ elements in Haas’s music; Haas himself is always presented as a Moravian composer of Czech nationality and/or a student of Janáček’s – never as a Jewish composer.

Further discussion of these issues might also take into account Haas’s Psalm 29, Op.12 (1931–32) for organ, baritone, female choir, and small orchestra, which is the composer’s only (complete) piece of sacred music; his male choir 

Al S’fod
(Terezin, 1942), which is Haas’s only work on a Hebrew text; and his incidental music for Samson Raphaelson’s play 

The Jazz Singer
(produced in Brno in 1928 under the title Černý troubadour/The Black Troubadour), which tells the story of a synagogue cantor’s son who leaves the Jewish community to become a jazz singer.

Haas’s above-mentioned interest in An-Sky’s The Dybbuk, a play based on Jewish folk tales and customs and informed by the writer’s own ethnographic research, may be suggestive of the composer’s will to explore his Jewish origins. However, Haas arguably had other reasons to engage with this particular piece, too. The Dybbuk became widely known following its 1922 production, directed by Evgenii Vakhtangov, in Soviet Russia (the Habima Theatre). Reportedly, the most famous moment in Vakhtangov’s production was the so-called Beggars’ Dance; in this scene, a grotesque whirl of crippled figures which engulfs a young bride on the day of her forced marriage, becomes a simile for the woman’s possession by the ghost of her dead true lover. Thus, The Dybbuk feeds into two major areas of Haas’s interest: the grotesque, which manifests itself musically through exaggeration and distortion of dance-like movement (see the discussion of the topic of ‘danse excentrique’ in Chapters 2 and 3), and the uncanny, which is related to themes of split subjectivity and possession by dark forces (see the discussion of Charlatan in Chapter 5).

The grotesque dance may also be associated, more broadly, with Jewishness. According to Esti Sheinberg, Vakhtangov’s production of The Dybbuk was a manifestation of the ‘perception of Jewish music and dance as an outlet for a grotesque Übermarionette [which] function[ed] as a cultural unit in twentieth-century Russian literature and theatre.’ It seems reasonable to assume that Haas could have been aware of these connotations. However, none of the grotesque dances in Haas’s music incorporates recognisably ‘Jewish’ musical elements. With reference to one of the pieces in question, the ‘Postludium’ from Haas’s Suite for Piano, Jascha Nemtsov has suggested a link between the perceived character of ‘despairing cheerfulness’ (‘verzweifelte Lustigkeit’) and the notion of ‘Jewish humour’ (see Chapter 3 for further discussion). Again, this point may refer to
an actual part of Haas’s cultural heritage, but it would be difficult to construct a compelling argument to support this thesis in the absence of archival material of a personal nature.

I have chosen not to explore the problem of Jewishness in Haas’s music in further detail for several reasons: the lack of relevant sources; the relatively small proportion of pieces which contain ‘Jewish elements’ in terms of subject matter and/or musical language; my general focus on analytical and hermeneutical reading of specific works, rather than on the personality of the composer himself; and perhaps most importantly, my belief that criteria related to style, genre, compositional technique, and recurring themes (such as the grotesque and the uncanny) bring more insight into Haas’s work than the complicated and elusive notion of ‘Jewishness’. Thus, Haas’s Jewish heritage will be considered, where relevant, but it will not be a subject of my inquiry in and of itself.

The existing historiographical and archival sources provide limited insight into the social networks in which Haas was embedded. However, it is significant that his brother Hugo was very well connected (particularly in the 1930s) among artists, intellectuals, and other prominent figures in Prague’s high society. According to Peduzzi, it was he who introduced Pavel Haas to his future wife Dr Soňa Jakobsonová, previously married to the acclaimed linguist Roman Jakobson (associated with the so-called Prague Linguistic Circle). Jakobsonová divorced her husband and married Haas in 1935.\footnote{Two years later (on 1 November 1937), she gave birth to their daughter Olga. Olga Haasová-Smrčková (formerly married to the writer Milan Kundera) has had a successful career as an opera singer and still lives in Brno. According to Mrs Haasová-Smrčková, Pavel Haas became acquainted, through his brother, with prominent Czech writers, including Karel Čapek, Vítězslav Nezval, and Olga Scheinpflugová.\footnote{Musical culture in Brno and Haas’s professional affiliations}}

Musical culture in Brno and Haas’s professional affiliations

In order to outline Haas’s professional affiliations, it is useful to introduce the institutional structures of Czech musical culture in Brno, which was relatively independent of the city’s German musical culture in the pre-war years and expanded rapidly in the new political circumstances of independent Czechoslovakia. One of the most important centres was the National Theatre (later called ‘Zemské’ Theatre) in Brno, which gained much needed new material and personal resources after 1918. The conductor František Neumann played a crucial role as the leader of the theatre’s operatic ensemble from 1919 until his death in 1929.\footnote{The establishment of Masaryk University in Brno in 1919 facilitated the formation of the first musicological department in Moravia. The musicologists Vladimír Helfert, Gracián Černušák, and Jan Racek all supported local musical culture through concert reviews and organisational activities.} He was also in charge of the concert series of the theatre’s symphony orchestra (the first full-sized and fully professional symphony orchestra in the history of Brno). Neumann’s progressive dramaturgy focused on the recent international repertoire as well as new works by local composers.\footnote{The establishment of Masaryk University in Brno in 1919 facilitated the formation of the first musicological department in Moravia. The musicologists Vladimír Helfert, Gracián Černušák, and Jan Racek all supported local musical culture through concert reviews and organisational activities.}
Introduction

Haas was one of the first students to enrol at the Brno Conservatoire, established in 1919 through the merger of Janáček’s Organ School (established 1881) and the music school of Beseda brněnská, where Haas started his musical education in 1913. He studied music theory and composition with Jan Kunc and Vilém Petrželka (both former students of Leoš Janáček) and piano with Anna Holubová. When the institution was put under state control in 1920, Janáček was appointed a professor of composition at the Prague Conservatoire, teaching in Brno. Pavel Haas attended Janáček’s composition masterclass between 1920 and 1922.

The most important institution for Haas’s professional development was the Club of Moravian Composers (Klub moravských skladatelů); this was formally established in 1922, but its origins date back to the foundation in 1919 of the so-called Club of Young Moravian Composers (Klub mladých skladatelů moravských). The initiative behind the establishment of the CYMC came from the composers Vilém Petrželka, Václav Kaprál, and the musicologist Vladimír Helfert. At the inaugural meeting of the CMC, Janáček was unanimously elected president of the society, while the conductor František Neumann became vice-president. The function of the CMC was to facilitate performances of new works by its members, to organise concerts of contemporary music (both Czech and foreign), to provide material support for composers and performers, to publish new works, to organise lectures, and thus stimulate musical culture in Brno. The Club’s membership included not only composers, but also performers, musicologists, and enthusiasts. As a result, the CMC was strongly linked to the activities of all other musical organisations in Brno.

The activities of the CMC were mostly limited to Brno, with occasional collaboration with Prague-based institutions. The CMC also had modest international affiliations. The Czechoslovak section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) initially included the representatives of the two Prague-based musical societies: Spolek pro moderní hudbu (Society for Modern Music) and the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen; a third delegate representing the CMC joined the board in 1923. On the whole, however, the impact of the CMC on the international level was rather limited, since the Czechoslovak section as a whole had only one vote in the international forum of the ISCM.

The CMC was also more or less directly involved in the visits of several internationally important figures to Brno. Following a personal invitation by Janáček, Béla Bartók came to Brno to perform works by himself and Zoltán Kodály on 2 March 1925. On the very next day, the CMC organised a concert of works by Arnold Schoenberg with an introductory lecture by Helfert in anticipation of the Czechoslovak premiere of Gurrelieder, which took place five days later at the National Theatre in Brno in the composer’s presence. In 1926, Henry Cowell visited Brno during his European tour; he gave a lecture on 8 April 1926 and a concert of his works followed the next day. Later that year, the CMC organised a lecture on quarter-tone music (2 December 1926) by the Czech composer Miroslav Ponc (a student of Alois Hába), followed the next day by a solo recital by Erwin Schulhoff, including both quarter-tone and half-tone works.
Arguably the most important aspect of the CMC’s engagement with the international musical scene was the regular inclusion of works by contemporary foreign composers in its concert series. Between 1922 and 1938, the CMC performed works by Maurice Ravel, Claude Debussy, Igor Stravinsky, Francis Poulenc, Arthur Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Bohuslav Martinů, Arnold Schoenberg, Ernst Křenek, Paul Hindemith, Egon Wellesz, Erwin Schulhoff, Fidelio Finke, Felix Petryek, Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, Alexander Scriabin, Sergei Prokofiev, Nikolai Myaskovsky, Alfredo Casella, and others.47

Haas maintained close contact with the CYMC and CMC throughout his life. He had one of his early works performed at the very first concert of the CYMC, he was present at the inaugural meeting of the CMC, and he remained a member of the committee until 1939, when he was excluded due to the racial laws imposed by the Nazi occupiers. Between 1926 and 1929, Haas held the position of the CMC’s secretary (jednatel).48 This role would have primarily entailed concert organisation, but its details are not clear from the available archival material.49

Most performances of Haas’s chamber and solo works in his lifetime were facilitated by the CMC in collaboration with a fairly stable circle of performers. The possibility of collaboration with some of these performers and ensembles arguably provided a direct incentive for Haas’s composition of specific pieces. His string quartet From the Monkey Mountains (1925) followed the foundation of the Moravian Quartet (Moravské kvarteto) in 1924, which premiered the piece in 1926.50 Similarly, Haas’s Wind Quintet (1929) is dedicated to the Moravian Wind Quintet (Moravské dechové kvinteto, established in 1927), which premiered the piece in 1930.51 Haas’s Suite for Piano (1935) is dedicated to Bernard Kaff, who became a member of the CMC in 1936 and premiered the work the same year.52

Haas also made use of other music forces available to him. His early orchestral piece Saddened Scherzo (Zesmutnělé scherzo, 1921) was premiered by the Orchestral Society (Orchestrální sdružení), directed by Vladimír Helfert.53 His Carnival (Karneval, Op. 9, 1928–29) for male choir was dedicated to, and repeatedly performed by, the acclaimed Choral Society of Moravian Teachers (Pěvecké sdružení moravských učitelů), directed by Ferdinand Vach.54

Since 1927, the CMC also collaborated with the broadcasting company Radiojournal, which had run a radio station in Brno since 1924 and which became an important source of financial support for the Club’s projects. The very first CMC concert to be broadcast by Radiojournal (25 April 1927) was conceived as a showcase of new Moravian music and included the premiere performance of Haas’s song cycle The Chosen One (Vyvolená, 1927).55 Haas’s music appeared on the radio several times in the 1930s and one piece was composed specifically with the new medium in mind. The piece in question, the Overture for Radio (Předehra pro rozhlas, 1930–31, premiered and broadcast on 2 June 1931), is scored for small orchestra and four male voices (alternating between singing and declamation); it is based on an apotheosis of radio, written by the composer’s brother Hugo.56

Haas also wrote several pieces of incidental music for theatre in the 1920s, mostly for productions that involved his brother Hugo.57 Similarly, in the 1930s
Haas wrote film scores for three films featuring his brother: Život je pes (Dog’s Life, 1933), Mazlíček (The Little Pet, 1934), and Kvočna (Mother Hen, 1937).58

The contacts between CMC and the Society for Modern Music in Prague facilitated a performance of Haas’s string quartet From the Monkey Mountains in Prague on 26 April 1927. Several concerts which included Haas’s works took place in Prague and other Czechoslovak cities in the 1930s. On at least two occasions during the composer’s lifetime, Haas’s music was played abroad. On 7 January 1935, Haas’s Wind Quintet was performed in Vienna (Kammersaal des Musikvereins) in the first of two exchange concerts between the CMC and the Austrian Union of Composers (Österreichischer Komponistenbund).59 On 10 February 1936, Haas’s Suite for Piano was premiered in Vienna (Großer Ehrbarsaal) as part of a concert of Moravian music, organised by the Austrian society Musik der Gegenwart.60

On both occasions, according to reviews published in Viennese newspapers, Haas’s works were considered among the best on the programme.61 The Wind Quintet was praised as a ‘work which excels in the originality of thematic [invention] as well as in the effective command of compositional technique’.62 Reportedly, the work was received with ‘stormy approval’ and the third movement (‘Ballo eccentrico’) ‘earned a separate applause’.63 Haas’s music was also singled out on account of its unusual character; with reference to the Wind Quintet, some reviewers wrote about ‘a mixture of melancholy and parody’ and music of ‘bizarre’ and ‘grotesque’ qualities, from which ‘fantastic pictures emerge’.64 Haas himself was characterised as a ‘young, wild, and talented composer, whom one could describe as a kind of Moravian Stravinsky’.65 The Suite for Piano was considered ‘thoroughly original [and] innovative in the word’s best sense’, a ‘highly valuable piece of pronounced, yet natural modernity’.66 Again, reference was made to Stravinsky with respect to Haas’s use of rhythm:

In its fast movements, this interesting work develops rhythmic impulses that are reminiscent of Stravinsky’s elementary power, venturing harmonically as far as the realm of polytonality. The pastoral middle movement contains echoes of Slavic folklore, which coalesce imaginatively with the [piece’s] thoroughly modern constitution.67

The Viennese reviews constitute a fairly representative sample of the contemporary reception of Haas’s music as a whole, inasmuch as they bring up many of the recurrent themes, such as grotesque/parodic/bizarre/fantastic (and yet also melancholic/mystical) character, mischievous youth coupled with compositional mastery, folk inspiration cast in thoroughly modern guise, Stravinskian rhythms, unconventional harmonies, and so on.68

The most substantial performance project of Haas’s work was the premiere of his opera Charlatan by ‘Zemské’ (previously ‘Národní’/‘National’) Theatre in Brno on 2 April 1938.69 This was one of the last performances of Haas’s music before the start of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia (15 March 1939), which meant the end of performance opportunities for the composer. Major works such as his String Quartet No. 3 (1937–38), Suite for Oboe and
Piano (1939), and the unfinished Symphony (1940–41) remained unperformed in the composer’s lifetime. Although Haas was able to compose at a steady rate and have most of his works performed thanks to the above described professional structures, he relied on working in his father’s shoe shop as his main source of income throughout most of his life. Haas also never held a teaching job at any of the musical schools in Brno; he only gave private lessons in music theory in the 1930s (Peduzzi was one of his students).

The problem of a Janáček compositional school

Since the most prominent Brno-based composers of the inter-war era all studied with Leos Janáček, the term ‘Janáček’s compositional school’ (‘Janáčkovská skladatelská škola’) has sometimes been used with reference to Václav Kaprál (1889–1947), Vilém Petřzelka (1889–1967), Jaroslav Kvapil (1892–1958), Osvald Chlubna (1893–1971), and Pavel Haas (1899–1944). Arguably, the association of these composers is based primarily on the fact that they all lived in Brno for most of their lives and based their careers as composers on virtually identical institutional structures. It is open to question whether they formed a coherent group in terms of their individual styles and aesthetic tendencies and whether they achieved some kind of organic continuation of Janáček’s style, as the notion of a compositional school implies.

Paradoxically, many of these composers were strongly influenced (at least in their early works) by the Prague-based composer Vítězslav Novák (1870–1949), who, being a student of Antonín Dvořák, established himself in the pre-war years as the leading figure of Czech musical tradition. In 1940, Czech musicologist Jan Racek argued that ‘virtually all members of Janáček’s school in Brno were in their stylistic development more affected by the influence of Novák’s oeuvre than that of Janáček’s compositional idiom’ and concluded that progressive Moravian music was based on a ‘stylistic synthesis between Janáček and Novák’. Racek’s conclusion, neat as it seems, is not without problems. First, it completely disregards Haas (probably because Racek’s book was published at the time of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia). Second, the influence of Novák, whose work was outdated by the early 1920s with respect to Janáček’s innovations and the advances of the inter-war avant-garde, is arguably a sign of conservative rather than progressive tendencies.

Czech musicologist Vladimír Helfert offered a more nuanced picture in his 1936 synthetic overview of Modern Czech Music. Helfert identified two distinct ‘generational layers’ of contemporary Czech composers, divided by the First World War. Whereas the artistic profile of the first layer (composers born c. 1890) took shape in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the composers of the second layer (born c. 1900) were not directly affected by late Romantic tendencies in their formative period, as they did not reach their maturity until after the war. Helfert aligned Kaprál and Petřzelka (both of whom continued their studies in Prague with Novák after leaving Janáček’s Organ School in Brno) with the
Introduction

pre-war generation, while arguing that Kvapil, Chlubna, and Haas tended towards the post-war generation. Helfert, who also wrote concert reviews on a regular basis, had the advantage of first-hand knowledge of a wide range of the contemporary repertoire of Czech music, much of which is not readily available today. A comparative analysis of string quartets by these composers from the 1920s shows that works by Kaprál and Petrželka drew primarily on Novák (as well as other influences) but formed an original stylistic idiom; works by Kvapil and Chlubna gave the impression of juvenilia and relied heavily on conventions of the time; Haas’s quartet ‘From the Monkey Mountains’ stood out on account of its unconventional, Janáčekian idiom and its avant-garde aesthetic underpinnings (which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 4 of the present study). Significantly, Helfert only used the term ‘avant-garde’ (rather than ‘modern’) with reference to Haas. Helfert’s portrayal of Haas is worth quoting at length:

Pavel Haas [. . .] built in his early works upon the legacy of his mentor [Janáček] in terms of expression [style] and tectonics [form]. This is clearly apparent in his orchestral piece [titled] Saddened Scherzo (1921). However, already in this work, elements of Janáček’s influence are combined with hints of then-new West-European stimuli, particularly those of Stravinsky and Honegger, et al. These elements subsequently become dominant in Haas’s style and lead the composer to remarkable individuation of compositional method in the direction of bold constructivism and uncompromising sonic invention. Haas thus becomes a courageous avant-gardist in Janáček’s school, who follows the paths of new stylistic sentiments. Of course, it is not surprising that many of his works appeared as [mere] experiments (Fata Morgana, 1923; string quartet ‘From the Monkey Mountains’, 1925; Introduction and Psalm 29, 1931). However, let us not underestimate the significance of such experiments! In his Wind Quintet (1929) and especially his most recent Suite for Piano (1935) Haas appears as a full-grown artistic individuality, standing at the forefront of those who search for and create new stylistic paths [in Czech music].

Nazi occupation and imprisonment in Terezín

In the early years of the war (prior to his imprisonment in Terezín), Haas composed (among others) two major works that effectively express the patriotic spirit of defiance: the Suite for Oboe and Piano (1939) and the unfinished Symphony (1940–41). Both contain full-length quotations of the Hymn to Saint Wenceslas (the patron saint of the Czech nation) and references to the Hussite chorale (‘You Who Are the Warriors of God’). Peduzzi has given convincing evidence suggesting that the Oboe Suite is in fact a vocal piece in disguise. However, the presumed patriotic literary text has never been found. The first movement of the Symphony makes topical allusions to religious chant and the military to portray the twofold legendary status of St Wenceslas as both a saint and a warrior. The Symphony’s second movement offers a grotesquely
satirical portrayal of Nazism with topical elements of ‘danse macabre’. The
movement concludes with the superimposition of the infamous Nazi song ‘Die
Fahne Hoch!’ (Raise the Flag!), also known as ‘Horst Wessel Lied’, with
the major-mode middle section of Chopin’s ‘Funeral March’, both mockingly
cast in the saccharine guise of a sentimental dance tune of somewhat ‘mechanical’ character, as if played by a barrel organ.

During the composition of the Suite and the Symphony, Haas was subjected to
the tightening grip of Nazi oppression. Since Haas’s wife was no longer allowed
to work in the medical profession as the spouse of a Jewish person, serious
financial difficulties befell the family, which included not only Haas’s daughter
Olga and his elderly father Zikmund, but also his nephew Ivan. "Trying to protect
his family from racial persecution, Haas got formally divorced from his wife on
13 April 1940. Dr Jakobsonová was indeed allowed to continue her medical
practice, but Haas was gradually separated from the family. In April 1941, Haas
and his father were forced to move to Sadová Street in a part of the city where
Jewish people were concentrated and progressively isolated from the rest of soci-
ety. The requirement for Jews to wear the yellow Star of David was issued on
19 November 1941. By the end of the year, Haas was forced to leave Brno alto-
ger, leaving behind his family and an unfinished score of the Symphony.

Since 2 December 1941, Haas was imprisoned in the transitional concentration
camp of Terezín, better known under its German name Theresienstadt. Between
1941 and 1945, this eighteenth-century fortress, comprising what was originally
a garrison town, became a place in which Jewish people from the Protectorate
of Bohemia and Moravia (and other Nazi-occupied territories) were imprisoned,
before being transported to extermination camps, such as Auschwitz. In the first
months of his imprisonment, Haas had to undergo a hundred days of hard labour
(the so-called ‘Hundertschaft’). Physical exhaustion, malnutrition, and inade-
quate accommodation (in a room shared by 70 men on the first floor of the Sude-
ten Barracks) exacerbated Haas’s long-term stomach problems. The composer
could not feasibly resume composition until he managed to find less demanding
work in the so-called ‘ambulatorium’. According to the testimony of František
Domažlický, Haas later shared a room with the medical staff, where he also gave
lessons in music theory. Paul Kling testified that he used to pay Haas with bread
(‘1/4 of a loaf per hour’) for his lessons.

During his incarceration in Terezín, Haas composed at least seven finished
pieces, only three of which have survived: the male chorus *Al S’fod* (1942), text
by David Shimoni, performance undocumented; *Study for Strings* (1943), dedi-
cated to Karel Ančerl, performed by the Ančerl String Orchestra on 1 September
and 13 September 1944; and Four Songs on Chinese Poetry for bass and piano
(1944), dedicated to the singer Karel Berman, performed by Berman and Rafael
Schächter on 22 June 1944. Among the lost works, Peduzzi lists the follow-
ing: Fantasia on a Jewish Song for string quartet (1943), performed by the Ledeč
Quartet (date unknown); *Advent* (1944), three pieces for mezzosoprano, tenor,
flute, clarinet and string quartet, poetry by František Halas, performance not docu-
mented; Partita in Old Style for piano (1944), dedicated to and performed by
Bernard Kaff (28 June 1944); Variations for piano and string orchestra (1944), performance not documented. Requiem for solos, chorus, and orchestra (1944), unfinished, lost.94

The circumstances under which these works were composed were extraordinary and deeply troubling. Terezín is well known for the remarkable concentration of elite musicians, artists, and intellectuals among the inmates, and for the vibrant cultural life which developed there, despite atrocious living conditions and constant threat of deportation. Cultural activities began as clandestine in the early days of the camp’s existence. However, after the Nazis established the Council of Elders as a form of Jewish self-government within the ghetto in July 1942, cultural events were legitimately organised through the institution set up to manage ‘leisure activities’ (‘Freizeitgestaltung’).95 The apparent benevolence of the Nazis was, in fact, part of cynical propaganda campaign. Claiming that Jews were being merely resettled (not imprisoned and systematically killed), the Nazis sought to showcase Terezín as a ‘model settlement’ (‘Mustersiedlung’) and prove that the Jews were treated well by the Nazi regime.96

This charade culminated during the inspection of Terezín by the International Committee of the Red Cross in June 1944. Extensive ‘beautification’ works had been ordered in specific parts of the ghetto (those to be visited by the committee) prior to the visit and several musical events were scheduled to take place on the day, including the performance of Verdi’s *Requiem*, Krása’s children’s opera *Brundibár*, and an outdoor concert of popular orchestral music.97 The Nazis also used this carefully constructed Potemkin Village to shoot the infamous propaganda film titled, significantly, *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (*The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*), which actually shows Pavel Haas listening to a staged performance of his *Study for Strings* and taking a bow at the end.98 After this, the Nazis had no more use for the artists, most of whom were transported to Auschwitz and killed between September and October 1944.99 Haas began his last journey on 16 October 1944 and was killed in Auschwitz on the following day.100

The context of the Holocaust poses challenging ethical and methodological problems to scholarly interpretation of works from Terezín.101 To begin with, the fact that Pavel Haas, Viktor Ullmann, Hans Krása, and Gideon Klein have been firmly established in the wider consciousness as ‘Terezín composers’ tends to obscure the individual profiles of the artists, who were rooted (prior to their incarceration) in very different backgrounds in terms of age, nationality, aesthetic affiliations, professional networks, and so on.102 Pieces of music from Terezín are rarely analysed with respect to the particular composer’s earlier works or to the broader tradition of Western art music. Critical discourse thus runs the risk of unconsciously perpetuating the ‘forced fellowship’ (‘Zwangsgemeinschaft’, to reference the subtitle of Adler’s above-cited seminal study) inflicted on the artists by their Nazi oppressors. This is partly an issue of finding a suitable genre of academic writing. ‘Life and work’ monographs typically lack sufficient focus to bring in-depth readings of specific works,103 while publications attempting to cover the music in Terezín in its relative entirety cannot pay enough attention
to the individual artists’ different pre-war affiliations. Some journal articles approach a balance between the extremes, but none of these deals specifically with Haas.

The age-old problem concerning the relationship between a work of art and the biography of its author gains special urgency in the context of the Holocaust. One is compelled by ethics, compassion, and piety to understand music from Terezín as a kind of a testimony of the composers’ suffering. At the same time, however, one wants to avoid drawing superficial parallels between life and work, between the historiographical context and the musical text. This dilemma is encapsulated in the question put forward by Michael Beckerman in the title of his article on Gideon Klein’s Trio: ‘What kind of historical document is a musical score?’

Beckerman’s approach to music from Terezín is based largely on the premise of a ‘censoring environment’ in the camp, which forced the composers to maintain a certain ‘façade’ while incorporating secret subversive ‘codes’ into their works. This approach is associated with focus on motivic and thematic references, typically associated with themes of death and despair. While many such observations are valid, it is important to bear in mind that strategies of signification involving allusions, quotations, and other intertextual references are by no means unique to music from Terezín and that the significance of such references depends heavily on conventions of particular genres, styles, topoi, and so on. Furthermore, the above constitute only one means of musical signification; a wide range of methodologies from the (broadly defined) field of musical semiotics can be used to analyse the repertoire in a more nuanced way.

Finally, the hidden ‘truth’, which is expected to be revealed once the code is broken, is likely to be rooted in the expectations and pre-conceived ideas held by the reader, who is prone to fall victim of confirmation bias. Particularly relevant to this point is Shirli Gilbert’s critique of the notion of ‘spiritual resistance’, which has dominated much of the discourse on music in the Holocaust and which is directly referenced in the title of Milan Kuna’s above-cited monograph on Music in Terezín: Hudba vzduru a naděje (Music of Resistance and Hope). Of course, spiritual resistance is not an entirely invalid concept, but it should be used with caution. It has strong ethical and ideological connotations and it comes with the assumption that the population of the camps was homogeneous, unified in a heroic struggle against the oppressors. Artists and works that do not fit the narrative are at risk of being marginalised or even dismissed as somehow ethically deficient.

This type of rhetoric has been used in a polemic concerning questions of leadership and influence among the composers in Terezín, which directly concerned Haas. In his article titled ‘Terezínské legendy a skutečnosti’ (‘Legends and Facts about Terezín’), Lubomír Peduzzi took issue with the way Haas was portrayed by Joža Karas in his seminal book Music in Terezín. He referred specifically to the following passage:

As a moving spirit behind the musical activities in Terezín, Klein has to his credit the emergence of another prominent composer, Pavel Haas. A man in his forties, Haas came to Terezín with undermined health. The miserable
conditions there further affected his severe depressions, resulting in total indifference to the very busy musical life of Terezín. According to his [Gideon Klein’s] sister, Eliška (Lisa), Gideon Klein could not reconcile himself to seeing an artist of Haas’s calibre not participating in the musical activities. So, one day, to wake him from his lethargy, Klein put in front of him several sheets of manuscript paper, on which he himself drew the musical staff, and urged Haas to stop wasting time. And indeed, Haas composed several pieces during his stay in Terezín, although only three of them have been preserved.113

This anecdote is seemingly innocuous and there are few obvious reasons to doubt its validity. As Peduzzi himself pointed out, Haas had long-term health problems, he was forced to leave his family with two small children (his daughter and his nephew), and he later saw his father die in the camp.114 Nevertheless, this testimony may create the impression that Haas did not engage with the musical structures in Terezín at all, which is not true. According to Peduzzi, most of the works Haas composed in Terezín were dedicated to and/or performed by performers and ensembles active in the camp, including the pianist Bernard Kaff (Partita in Old Style, 1944), the singer Karel Berman (Four Songs on Chinese Poetry, 1944), the Ledeč Quartet (Fantasia on a Jewish Song, 1943), and the Ančerl String Orchestra (Study for Strings, 1943). Apparently, Haas composed music for the performance forces available to him, like he had done throughout his previous career in Brno. Haas’s initial inactivity can be explained, at least partly, by the fact that, until the establishment of Freizeitgestaltung, all cultural activities in the ghetto were strongly limited by material conditions and official restrictions.

Peduzzi’s criticism was concerned primarily with the way the story of Haas’s depression was used in academic and critical discourse to raise the profile of Gideon Klein. An eloquent example of this can be found in otherwise very insightful articles on Klein by Robin Freeman.115 Referring directly to the anecdote related by Karas, Freeman takes every opportunity to contrast Klein’s ‘active and supportive’ approach to others with Haas’s ‘yearning to go home’ (Freeman refers to the text of Four Songs on Chinese Poetry).116 Ultimately, he goes further, from insisting that Klein encouraged Haas to compose, to claiming that Klein influenced what Haas composed:

The Study for string orchestra by Pavel Haas, such exceptional stuff from him, is inconceivable in style without the Allegro vivace [recte: Molto vivace] of the Klein Trio. Even the tripping lightness of the counterpoint seems to follow on from the younger man, who gave him back his taste for writing music when he had all but given up.117

Unsurprisingly, Peduzzi criticized the ‘myth about a “broken composer”’ – and he used the rhetoric of spiritual resistance to do so.118 To demonstrate that Haas (too) tried to raise the spirits among the community of inmates, Peduzzi invoked
Peduzzi’s argument is based entirely on the positive value attached to the notion of spiritual resistance through art. Klein, whose work does not conform to the idea (at least not on the surface), is criticised on ethical and ideological grounds.

Peduzzi’s choice of Haas’s works is telling. Significantly, there is no mention of Haas’s Four Songs on Chinese Poetry, which possess neither the defiant spirit of the earlier works (composed before the composer’s deportation to Terezín), nor the beneficial social function of *Al S’fod*. Rather, they convey feelings of grief, melancholy, and alienation. Perhaps fearing that the Four Songs might be seen as containing too much of those ‘subjective and morbid moods’ which supposedly betray deficiency of character, Peduzzi elsewhere directed attention to the work’s ‘optimistic’ ending and to the references to the St Wenceslas chorale (points which will be problematised in Chapter 6), through which he wished to link this work to the patriotic and defiant spirit of the Suite for Oboe and Piano (1939) and the Symphony (1940–41).120

It is also noteworthy that Peduzzi did not mention Haas’s Study for Strings (1943) in his argument. Haas was perfectly capable, as his war-time Symphony demonstrates, of writing instrumental music that conveys the sense of patriotism, quasi-religious hope, and subversive satire. In the case of the Study, however, he wrote a piece of ‘objective’, ‘absolute’ music. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 4, Study for Strings is the most representative surviving example of Haas’s engagement with Neoclassical aesthetics, which favours objective construction over subjective expression. In what way, if at all, does this work reflect the circumstances of those imprisoned in the ghetto? Is the Study an encrypted historical document, concealing subversive codes under its Neoclassical façade, or is it ‘merely’ a brilliant piece of compositional craft and musicianship – ‘pure music’? Is it ethically justifiable to focus one’s attention on the musical work and the text of Haas’s male choral work *Al S’fod*, which he contrasted (with a degree of sarcasm) with Klein’s madrigals on Hölderlin’s text:

I wonder how much consolation and strength G. Klein gave his fellow prisoners with his madrigals, particularly the one which sets the following text by Hölderlin: ‘Ich bin nichts mehr, ich lebe nicht mehr gerne’ (1943)? Such subjective, morbid moods may have [. . .] been experienced by many Terezín prisoners, but I question if the inmates needed to hear this kind of thing or whether they were waiting for a word of encouragement, provided for example by Haas’s choir *Al S’fod*: ‘Do not lament and do not cry when times are bad! Do not despair, but work, work! Thrust a path to freedom and pave it for a bright day!’ (1942) Such was Haas in Terezín: determined, not reconciled with the reality but unbroken, [retaining] the fighting spirit he showed in Suite for Oboe [and Piano] and Symphony, in which he reacted through his art (as soon as 1939–41) against the [Nazis’] occupation of our country, their war against Poland and France, and their attack on the Soviet Union.119
its aesthetic qualities, rather than on the composer and his personal ordeal? Is it possible to escape this binary perspective and find a more nuanced approach?

My analyses of Haas’s works from Terezín are based on the premise that art created in the midst of the Holocaust is still primarily art – a medium which is governed by its own laws of signification and which requires specific strategies of interpretation. It may reflect specific historically and autobiographically significant events, but it cannot be reduced to a chronicle-like record of these events. Unless this art is examined on its own terms, it is hardly possible to understand and appreciate its intrinsic aesthetic value and the true nature of its relationship to the circumstances in which it was composed. This, I believe, is the only way to mediate between the two extremes which are equally unacceptable: to disregard the historical context, which would be disrespectful to the composers as victims of Nazism, or to take a reductive approach, which would be disrespectful to the composers as artists.

Notes

1 The occupation of Czechoslovakia started on 15 March 1939; Haas was transported to Terezín on 2 December 1941; he was killed in Auschwitz on 17 October 1944. See Lubomír Peduzzi, Pavel Haas: Život a dílo skladatele (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 1993), pp. 86, 95, and 109.

2 This is partly because the Communist ideology discouraged any interest in Jewish arts and culture, fearing the rise of ‘Zionism’, which was readily associated with ‘cosmopolitism’ and American ‘imperialism’. See J.A. Labendz, ‘Lectures, Murder, and a Phony Terrorist: Managing “Jewish Power and Danger” in 1960s Communist Czechoslovakia’, East European Jewish Affairs, 44/1 (2014), 84–108 (p. 86).


4 Tempo Praha no longer exists; Bote & Bock has been acquired by Boosey & Hawkes.

5 See Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, pp. 48–9. Peduzzi described Haas’s search for artistic individuality in terms of a ‘journey from Janáček to Stravinsky’. Peduzzi did not elaborate on this argument much further; he suggested, though, that Haas was attracted to ‘[Stravinsky’s] sense of the grotesque, to which [Haas] was himself inclined’. All translations from Czech sources are mine, unless stated otherwise.


8 To some extent, these issues have been explored by Peduzzi. See Lubomír Peduzzi, Pavel Haas: Život a dílo skladatele (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 1993), pp. 26–37. See also Lubomír Peduzzi, ‘Janáček, Haas a Divoška’, Opus musicum, 10/8 (1978), Příloha (Supplement), 1–4; Lubomír Peduzzi, ‘Jak učil Janáček skladat operu’, Opus musicum, 12/7 (1980), Příloha (Supplement), 1–8. Haas’s notebook containing notes from Janáček’s classes is in the property of Olga Haasová–Smrčková.


Introduction


12 Most of Haas’s estate is deposited in the Department of Music History of the Moravian Museum in Brno. Some materials are owned by the composer’s daughter Olga Haasová-Smrčková, who lives in Brno. Documents relevant to Haas’s time in Terezín can be found in the collections of Terezín Memorial. Some documents relevant to Haas’s opera *Charlatan* and several pieces of incidental music are also kept in the archives of the National Theatre in Brno.


16 According to a census carried out in 1921, there were 156,000 Czechs (72.4%), 56,000 Germans (25.9%), and 3,000 (1.3%) Jews in Brno. See Jaroslav Drčimal and Václav Peša, eds., *Dějiny Města Brna*, 2 vols. (Brno: Blok, 1969–73), ii (1973), p. 91.

17 Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas*, p. 15.

18 Ibid., p. 16.

19 Ibid., pp. 16, 128–30.

20 Ibid., p. 16.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p. 122.

23 This album survives as the property of Olga Haasová-Smrčková, the composer’s daughter, to whom I am grateful for allowing me access to this source. The reviews quoted in this chapter are cited according to Haas’s album, in which each clipping is accompanied by the title of the newspaper and the date of issue. Note that most of the reviews are signed by initials or cyphers such as ‘–l–’ or ‘St–’, rather than full names. All translations from this source are mine.

Introduction

combines in himself cultivated Jewish blood with pure Slavic-ness (his mother was a devoted Russian), while being, with each breath he takes, above all Czech.

Haas’s incidental music, which is deposited in the Archive of the National Theatre in Brno: Department of Musical Documentation (Archiv Národního divadla Brno: Oddělení hudební dokumentace), sign. 489, includes three pieces: ‘Kol Nidre’, ‘Song about the Distant Mother’ (‘Píseň o matce v dáli’), and ‘Short Revue Music with Foxtrot behind the Scene’ (‘Krátká revuální hudba s foxtrotem za scénou’).


28 Ibid.


30 Ibid., p. 771.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.


34 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, pp. 65–6.

35 I visited Mrs Haasová-Smrčková in summer 2013. These names were mentioned in a telephone conversation, which took place on 20 December 2013.


37 According to Vohnoutová El Roumhainová (ibid., pp. 25–7), Neumann performed between 1919 and his death in 1929 a number of crucial pieces of international operatic repertoire including works by Debussy (Pelléas et Mélisande, 1921), Ernst Krenek (Jonny spielt auf, 1927), Ravel and Stravinsky, as well as 17 premiere performances of contemporary Czech operas. In Neumann’s series of orchestral concerts, audiences in Brno had the chance to hear works by Debussy (L’après-midi d’un faune, 1919; Nocturnes, 1924), Mussorgsky (A Night on the Bare Mountain, 1925) Stravinsky (Firebird Suite, 1925; Fireworks, 1926, Pulcinella, 1927), Honegger (Pacific 231, 1923; Le roi David, 1925; Horace victorieux, 1926), Berg (excerpts from Wozzeck, 1927) and Schönberg (Gurrelieder, 1925). Thirty out of 78 concerts given by Neumann in this period featured works by contemporary Czech composers, of which Osvald Chlubna, Vílem Petrželka, and Jaroslav Kvapil were the most frequently played.


39 Haas’s studies with Janáček are discussed in Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, pp. 26–37. See also Lubomír Peduzzi, ‘Janáček, Haas a Divoška’, Opus musicum, 10/8 (1978), Příloha (Supplement), 1–4; Lubomír Peduzzi, ‘Jak učil Janáček skládat operu’, Opus musicum, 12/7 (1980), Příloha (Supplement), 1–8.

40 Until recently, the activities of the Club of Moravian Composers remained unreflected in musicological research. So far, the most comprehensive account of the CMC in the first decade of its existence can be found in the above cited master’s dissertation by Vohnoutová El Roumhainová.


42 Ibid., pp. 52–3.

43 I am referring particularly to Spolek pro moderní hudbu (Society for Modern Music), Přítomnost: sdružení pro soudobou hudbu (The Present: Society for Contemporary Music), and Klub českých skladatelů (Club of Czech Composers). See ibid., pp. 69–76.

44 The CMC was initially represented by František Neumann, later by Vílem Petrželka and Václav Kaprál. See ibid., p. 71.

45 Ibid.

46 Ironically, Bartók was only invited to give a recital of his piano works in Brno as a ‘substitute’ for the relatively little known German pianist and composer Eduard Erdmann,
who had asked for a fee too high for the Club to pay (4,000 Czechoslovak crowns). When Erdmann’s conditions were refused, Janáček himself wrote a letter of invitation to Bartók, who agreed to give a concert for just 1,000 crowns. Ibid., p. 82.


47 For a comprehensive list of concerts organised by the CMC (and its predecessor CYMC) between 1919 and 1948, including information on repertoire, performers, dates, venues, and details concerning organisation, see ibid. pp. 105–91.

48 Ibid., p. 208.

49 Ibid., p. 54. Vohnoutová El Roumhainová also discovered the existence of several letters sent by Haas (mostly on behalf of the CMC) to the composer Emil Axman (member of the CMC, who was also a representative of the Prague-based Society for Contemporary Music). Haas’s letters are deposited in the Museum of Czech music (Muzeum české hudby) in Prague, sign. G 1273, G 1735, G 1736, G 2230, G 2204, G 2207. See ibid., pp. 94–5.

50 Ibid., p. 121.

51 Ibid., p. 132.

52 Ibid., pp. 151, 196.

53 This specific concert (21 November 1926) was conducted by the conductor Břetislav Bakala. See Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas*, p. 130.

54 See ibid., p. 131.

55 There were two more premiere performances at this concert: Janáček’s *Nursery Rhymes* (*Říkadla*, 1926), and Kvapil’s *Con duolo* for piano (1926). See Vohnoutová El Roumhainová, ‘Počátky Klubu moravských skladatelů’, pp. 84–8, 125.


60 Ibid., p. 151.

61 Mg., ‘Komponisten aus Mähren’, *Der Tag*, 9 January 1935: ‘Of the young composers presented [in the concert], two seem to be particularly noteworthy. One of the two is Vilém Petřželka, whose song cycle [*Štafeta / Relay*] for voice and string quartet was performed [. . .]. The other is Pavel Haas, represented by his Wind Quintet [. . .]. The
rest [of the programme] was weaker [. . .]. See also R–i., ‘Mährische Musik in Wien’, Echo, 12 February 1936: ‘Among works for piano, there was a sonata by Schäfer [. . .], pieces by Blatný, and, best of all, a suite by Paul Haas’. All Viennese newspapers are cited according to the clippings included in Haas’s above mentioned album. All translations of German reviews are mine.


Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 132.

Ibid., p. 133.

Ibid., pp. 66, 124.

The work of these composers (with the exception of Haas) has received very little attention in both performance and scholarship in recent decades. See Leoš Firkušný, Vílém Petrželka: život a dílo (Prague: Hudební matice Umělecké besedy, 1946), Ludvík Kundera, Jaroslav Kvapil: život a dílo (Prague: Hudební matice Umělecké besedy, 1944), Ludvík Kundera, Václav Kaprál: kapitola z historie české meziválečné hudby (Brno: Blok, 1968).


See also Jiří Vysloužil, ‘Česká meziválečná hudební avantgarda’ [Czech Inter-War Musical Avant-Garde], Opus musicum, 7/1 (1975), 1–11 (p. 6).


Helfert, Česká moderní hudba, p. 294.

Ibid.


For a detailed analysis of the Symphony see Martin Čurda, ‘Religious Patriotism and Grotesque Ridicule: Responses to Nazi Oppression in Pavel Haas’s Unfinished

82 This quotation was first identified by Peduzzi (Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 97). For details on the origin and political significance of the Horst Wessel Lied, see David Culbert, ‘Horst Wessel Lied (1929)’, in Nicholas J. Cull, David H. Culbert, and David Welch (eds.), Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia: 1500 to the Present, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 169–70.

83 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 88. According to Peduzzi, Soňa Jakobsonová had Jewish ancestors, too, although she was baptised in the Russian Orthodox Church. Importantly, her Jewish roots were not apparent from her birth certificate and further documents about her ancestry could not be obtained, as confirmed by a letter from the Russian consulate in Prague, dated 11 September 1939. See Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 93.

84 Hugo Haas and his wife managed to escape through France to the USA in the early months of the war, but they were unable to take the baby with them. Ivan Haas was reunited with his parents after the war. Pavel Haas sought the possibility of emigration, too, but without success. According to Peduzzi, he applied for the position of a composition professor in Tehran early in 1939, and submitted visa applications to the Coordinating Committee for Refugees in London (5 April 1939) and the American consulate in Prague (19 May 1939). See Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, pp. 86, 124.

85 Ibid., p. 94.

86 Ibid., p. 95.


89 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, pp. 98–9, 125.

90 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 98.

91 See Ludmila Vrkočová, Rekviem sami sobě (Prague: Arkýř, 1993), s. 115.

92 Viktor Ullmann and Ingo Schultz, 26 Kritiken über musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt (Hamburg: Bockel Verlag, 1993), p. 68. Kling further notes: ‘Pavel Haas was a good teacher. As far as I can remember, we used Schoenberg’s Harmonielehre and the Louis-Thuille [Harmonielehre] [. . .] The book by Schoenberg was in Haas’s possession; he would let us make notes and copy the excercises. [Since] these lessons already started in Brno, their resumption Terezín seemed to me almost like a continuation of “normal” life. Haas was always very kind and approachable, quite the opposite of Bernard Kaff, who – always Herr Professor – mostly kept his distance.’ (pp. 68–9).


94 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 133–4. Viktor Ullmann’s reviews of some of these performances can be found in Ullmann and Schultz, 26 Kritiken über musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt, pp. 52 (Partita in Old Style), 65 (Study for Strings), and 67 (Four Songs on Chinese Poetry).


96 Kuna, Hudba vzdoru a naděje, p. 16.
97 Ibid., pp. 17–19.
100 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 109. Peduzzi includes a different date (‘probably 18 Oct 1944’) in his above cited entry in Grove Music Online.
102 This point is made in the above-cited article by Nemtsov and Schröder-Nauenburg (‘Musik im Inferno des Nazi-Terrors’, p. 35), which is also a good introduction to the music of ‘Terezín composers’.
105 See for example Robin Freeman, ‘Gideon Klein, a Moravian Composer’, Tempo: A Quarterly Review of Modern Music, 59/234 (October 2005), 2–18. Note that Freeman’s remarks concerning Haas have somewhat dismissive tone, which is probably part of the larger Klein–Haas polemic discussed below.
106 See Michael Beckerman, ‘What Kind of Historical Document Is a Musical Score? A Meditation in Ten Parts on Klein’s Trio’ [accessed via http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/journal/journalArticle/what_kind_of_historical_document_is_a_musical_score/, 26 January 2015]. Beckerman discusses the chronology of Gideon Klein’s String Trio (1944) with respect to the dates of transports ‘to the East’ in 1944. I am not convinced that Beckerman made a sufficiently strong case for the relevance of the question of chronology to the reading of the work.
108 In the above cited article, Beckerman claims that Klein made an allusion to Mahler’s Kindertotenlieder. In my opinion, this particular comparison is less persuasive than other thematic parallels pointed out in the article. Perhaps more importantly, I find Beckerman’s interpretation of this allusion as ‘a statement by Klein to the effect that “this place is not what it seems: there are dead children here”’ rather blunt. See Beckerman, ‘What Kind of Historical Document Is a Musical Score?’, no page numbers.
112 Lubomír Peduzzi, ‘Terezínské legendy a skutečnosti’ [Legends and Facts about Terezín], in O hudbě v terezínském ghettu: Soubor kritických stati (Brno: Barrister & Principal, 1999), 38–48 (p. 46).
Introduction


114 Haas’s father came to Terezín in March 1942 and died in the camp on 13 May 1944 (See Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas*, pp. 99, 108). Elsewhere, Peduzzi quoted the following testimony of Richard Kozderka (Haas’s friend from Brno): ‘In the final years of his life, Pavel Haas was very sad, pale in the expectation of horrors [to come]’. Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas*, p. 12.


117 Freeman, ‘Gideon Klein’, p. 18. According to Beckerman’s above-cited article, the three movements of Klein’s trio are dated 5 September, 21 September and 7 October 1944, respectively. Haas’s *Study for Strings*, on the other hand, was performed in Terezín on 1 and 13 September 1944, and it was composed as early as 1943 (Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas*, 109 and 133). It is therefore highly unlikely that Klein’s String Trio could have had any influence on Haas’s *Study for Strings*.


119 Ibid. See also Pavel Haas, *Al S’fod* on a Hebrew text by David Shimoni (Prague: Tempo; Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1994).


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28 Introduction

Archival documents deposited in the Archive of the National Theatre in Brno: Department of Musical Documentation (Archiv Národního divadla Brno: Oddělení hudební dokumentace)

Konec Petrovských (1923): incidental music to a play by Quido Maria Vyskočil, sign. 274.
Veselá smrt (1925): incidental music to a play by Nicholas Evreinov, sign. 376.
Černý troubadour (1928): incidental music to a play by Samson Raphaelson, sign. 489.

Archival documents in private property of Olga Haasová-Smrčková
‘Moje úspěchy a ne-úspěchy’ (‘My Successes and Non-successes’): a notebook containing newspaper clippings of newspaper articles on and concert reviews of Haas’s works.

Musical editions
Haas, Pavel, Al S’fod: Male Chorus set to Hebrew words by David Shimoni, 1942 (Prague: Tempo; Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1994).
Notes


4 Pásmo was the first regularly published literary platform of Devětsil. It published articles from the group’s members resident in both Brno and Prague, as well as from European artists including (among others) László Moholy-Nagy, Theo van Doesburg, Walter Gropius, Kurt Schwitters and Le Corbusier. See Marcela Macharáčková, ‘Z dějin Brněnského Devětsilu’ [From the History of Brno’s Devětsil], in Forum Brunense 2009: Sborník prací Muzea města Brna, ed. Pavel Ciprian (Brno: Společnost přátel Muzea města Brna, 2009), 79–99 (pp. 82–4).

5 Particularly noteworthy is the 1924 ‘Exhibition of Modern Art’ [Výstava moderního umění]. The group organised about 30 lectures between 1924 and 1926, including (besides many others) the following: ‘The Influence of Russian Theatre on Art Scene’ (Jindřich Honzl, 1924), ‘Russian Constructivism’ (Karel Teige, 1924), ‘Modern Architecture’ (Theo van Doesburg, 1924), and ‘Painting, Photography, Film’ (László Moholy-Nagy, 1925). See ibid., pp. 96–9.


7 Ibid., 558.

8 Ibid., 560.


10 Ibid., 592.


16 Ibid., p. 513.


19 Ibid., p. 57.


30 Ibid.

31 Burian, *Jazz*, p. 57.


33 Honzl, ‘Státní židovské komorní divadlo v Moskvě’, p. 75.

34 Ibid., pp. 75–6.


36 Given his Marxist conviction, Teige used ‘the people’ [lid] interchangeably with ‘proletariat’. This ideological agenda differentiates Teige from Cocteau, who – despite his opposition to cultural conservatism – employed nationalist (and thus more right-wing) rhetoric.

37 Svoboda and Teige, ‘Musica a muzika’, 407; the reference to sports is made on p. 409.

38 Ibid., p. 406.

39 Ibid., p. 408.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid., p. 410.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., p. 411.

44 Ibid.


46 Ibid., pp. 3–4. Italics mine.


51 David Batchelor, ‘“This Liberty and This Order”: Art in France after the First World War’, in *Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism: Art between the Wars*, ed. Briony Fer, David Batchelor, and Paul Wood (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, in association with the Open University, 1993), 2–85 (p. 19).
52 Amédée Ozenfant and Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, ‘Purism’, *L’Esprit Nouveau*, 1 (1920), quoted in David Batchelor, ‘“This Liberty and This Order”: Art in France after the First World War’, p. 19.
53 David Batchelor, ‘“This Liberty and This Order”: Art in France after the First World War’, pp. 24–5.
54 Ibid., pp. 25–7.
57 Ibid., pp. 17–18, emphasis in the original.
59 Ibid., pp. 117–27.
64 Ibid., p. 26.
65 Ibid., pp. 40–4.
66 Pavel Haas, ‘Hudba lehká a vážná’ [Light Music and Serious (Art) Music], *Tempo*, 15/8 (1936), 90. The term ‘vážná hudba’ (literally ‘serious music’) is the Czech equivalent of the German term ‘ernste Musik’.
67 Ibid.
69 Ibid. Although Krejčí’s term ‘účelný’ translates literally as ‘purposeful’, the adjective ‘functional’ seems to be more suitable, especially since this whole idea is clearly derived from Teige’s notion of ‘constructivism’, which found its ultimate manifestation in ‘Functionalist’ architecture.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
72 Ibid.
74 Ibid., p. 5.
75 Ibid., p. 8.
76 Ibid., p. 6.
77 Ibid., p. 9.
79 Ibid., p. 326.
81 Ibid. Emphasis in the original.


Sternstein, The Will to Chance, p. 17.

Ibid., p. 54.

Ibid., pp. 51–2.

Anne LeBaron, ‘Reflections of Surrealism in Postmodern Musics’ in Postmodern Music/Postmodern Thought, ed. Judith Irene Lochhead and Joseph Henry Auner (New York: Routledge, 2002), 27–73 (pp. 30–1).

Ibid., p. 30.


Hyde, ‘Neoclassic and Anachronistic Impulses’, p. 205.

Cross, The Stravinsky Legacy, pp. 7–8.


See Jochen Schulte-Sasse, ‘Foreword: Theory of Modernism versus Theory of Avant-Garde’, in Peter Bürger, Theory of the Avant-Garde (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), vii–xlvii (p. xv), quoted in Sternstein, The Will to Chance, p. 11: ‘Modernism may be understandable as an attack on traditional writing techniques, but the avant-garde can only be understood as an attack meant to alter the institutionalized commerce with art.’


Lubomír Peduzzi, Pavel Haas: Život a dílo skladatele (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 1993). The work in question is discussed on pp. 42–9. All translations from Czech sources are my own, unless stated otherwise.


The première took place in Brno on 16 March 1926 under the auspices of the Club of Moravian Composers (Klub moravských skladatelů). In my discussion of the work’s reception, I cite the original newspaper articles, unless stated otherwise. Where originals could not be accessed, reviews are cited according to Haas’s album of newspaper clippings entitled ‘Moje úspěchy a ne-úspěchy’ (‘My Successes and Non-successes’), which survives as the property of Olga Haasová-Šmrcová. Since the reviews are mostly signed by initials or cyphers such as ‘–l–’ or ‘St–’, the names of the authors cannot always be established.


The review in Moravské noviny blames the composer for seeking to be ‘fashionable at all costs’. See Ik., ‘Nová kvarteta’, Moravské noviny, 19 March 1926.


14 *Stráž socialismu*, 18 March 1926.
15 The reviewer in *Stráž socialismu* who questioned the ‘rural’ inspiration of the work also pointed out that the term ‘Monkey Mountains’ (as a name for the particular locality) was ‘derisory rather than [just] vernacular’ and thus ‘rather dangerous for Haas’s work’.
16 Haas, ‘Haasův kvartet “Z opičích hor”’.
17 Ibid.
18 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 42.
20 *Tribuna*, 19 March 1926.
21 The date of the performance of Pacific 231 in Brno (5 October 1924) is mentioned in Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 49. The reference to Honegger’s Pacific 231 is made in the following reviews: V. H. [Vladimír Helfert], ‘Koncerty v Brně: Klub mor. skladatelů’, *Ruch*, 20 March 1926; L. K. [Ludvík Kundera], ‘Koncert Klubu moravských skladatelů’, *Národní osvobození*, 19 March 1926.
25 Ibid., p. 221.
26 Ibid., pp. 302 and 305–6.
27 Haas’s autograph is deposited in the Moravian Museum, Department of Music History, sign. A 29.801a, p. 15.
28 In Sheinberg’s theory, the principal strategies of satirical distortion of an object include such ‘insertion of a new component’ which serves to ‘satirize an implicit quality of the object by enhancing it, thus making it explicit’. See Sheinberg, *Irony, Satire, Parody, and the Grotesque*, p. 98.
29 Among other strategies of satirical distortion, Sheinberg mentions the ‘removal of the essential’ and the ‘manifest presence of the inessential’. The latter typically involves ‘the emphatic use of musical banalities, musical clichés and/or musical background material’. See ibid., pp. 88–9.
30 See ibid., 221.
33 Such images could be appalling had the overall purport not been predominantly humorous. Nonetheless, in certain instances the comic element does not unequivocally dominate. For instance, Disney exploited the quintessentially grotesque topic of the Dance of Death in the ‘Skeleton Dance’ episode of his Silly Symphonies and in the ‘Haunted House’ episode of the Mickey Mouse series (both 1929).
34 For an example of a ‘bouncy’ horse ride and a grotesque dance (performed by a ‘baddie’ with a wooden leg) accompanied by a circus-like soundtrack, see the Disney cartoon ‘The Cactus Kid’ [accessed via https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1UoD6bDoKY0, 28 December 2014].


41 See Danow, *The Spirit of Carnival*, p. 31: ‘Bakhtin rightly combines (in recognition of their potential convergence) the two concepts in a single expression, the carnivalesque-grottesque.’


43 Ibid., p. 72.

44 Danow, *The Spirit of Carnival*, p. 3.


47 Lachmann, ‘Bakhtin and Carnival’, p. 73.


51 These lines from the poem are quoted in -ak-, ‘I. Excentrický karneval umelců v Brně’ (‘1st Eccentric Carnival of Artists in Brno’), *Salon*, 3/10 (1925), no page numbers. *Podivuhodný kouzelník* was first published in *Revoluční sborník Devětsil (Devětsil Revolutionary Almanac)*, ed. Jaroslav Seifert and Karel Teige (Prague: Večernice J. Vortel, 1922).


55 Two manuscript scores of this piece are deposited in the Moravian Museum, Department of Music History, sign A 22.730b and A 54.252. A printed edition was published by Boosey & Hawkes/Bote & Bock in 2006.

56 Chalupa, ‘Karneval’, pp. 166–7. In the interest of accuracy, I did not attempt to replicate rhyming patterns in the translation. The only exemption is the verse ‘zvony zvou vyzvánějí zvonivě’/‘bells bellow blasting blows’, where the onomatopoeic effect (the repetition of ‘zv’/’bl’) is arguably more important than literal meaning.


58 Ibid., p. 10.

59 Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas*, p. 46.

60 The polka originated in Bohemia in the first half of the nineteenth century and enjoyed widespread popularity in the patriotic circles of the higher society of the time. In the latter part of the century, it entered the standard repertoire of brass bands and assumed the status of folk music. See Gracian Černušák, Andrew Lamb and John Tyrrell, ‘Polka’, *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com [accessed 2 December 2015].

61 This piece was later used in several of Disney’s *Road Runner* cartoons.


The opposition between Stravinsky’s Neoclassicism and Schoenberg’s Serialism was coined in the 1920s. See Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 1996), pp. 139–49.

Jan Trojan, ‘Suita’ in *Slovník české hudební kultury* [Dictionary of Czech Musical Culture], ed. by Jiří Fukač, Jiří Vysloužil and Petr Macek (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1997), pp. 885–7 (886): ‘The suite type is [in the early 20th century] modernised by being conceived as a successsion of new and non-traditional dances, taken over from modern dance music or musical folklore (Bartók’s suites; Hindemith’s *Suite 1922*; E. Křenek’s *Kleine Suite*). [. . .] The suite conveys new stylistic surges in the case of Janáček’s wind sextet *Youth* (1924), in the works of B. Martinů (*Small Dance Suite*, 1919; *Jazz Suite*, 1928) and – in a very particular way – in the music of Alois Hába.’ Italics and translation mine. All translations from Czech sources are my own, unless stated otherwise.

Nemtsov, ‘Zur Klaviersonate op. 13 von Pavel Haas’, p. 22. All translations from Nemtsov’s article are my own.


Ibid., p. 6.

The notions of collage and montage are closely related, but not interchangeable. I use the term ‘collage’ with reference to issues of semantics to describe the juxtaposition of elements invested with contrasting or incongruous meanings; the term ‘montage’, as I use it, applies to issues of compositional technique and designates the succession of distinct and discontinuous musical materials. For further discussion of montage see Chapter 4.


The theme of the slow section of ‘Praeludium’ is derived from the sequential transposition of the movement’s initial ostinato motive by a major second in bars 3–4; this may also be the model for the sequential major-second drop in the opening theme of the second movement, especially considering the correspondence of absolute pitch (E–D) in the right-hand part.


Ibid.


There is a parallel between ‘Danza’ and ‘Praeludium’ in tonal layout. The beginnings of both are marked by an ambivalence between A major and F sharp minor. In both cases, the opening material is transposed a semitone lower (A flat/F) on its return (at the beginning of A’) and return to A major towards the end of the A’ (although the cadence is conspicuously frustrated in ‘Danza’).

The reference to flute is also made in Nemtsov, ‘Zur Klaviersonate op. 13 von Pavel Haas’, p. 21.

Peduzzi expressed the opinion that the apparent allusions to the Wenceslas chorale in Haas’s earlier pieces are to be considered cases of an ‘unwitting, only later consciously exploited resemblance of melodic shapes [between Christian and Jewish religious
chant], originally borrowed by the composer from the melodies of synagogue chants in order to personalise his musical idiom’. See Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 52. This explanation, however, raises the even more difficult question of Haas’s familiarity with Jewish synagogue music, which has been briefly discussed in the Introduction.


19 Ibid., p. 215 and onwards.

20 Monelle provides an early example of this association, observing that Virgil’s description of the “Golden Age”, a period in history in which justice reigned [. . .] and men were like children, innocent and happy” was considered by the medieval critics as ‘a Christian prophecy, and it earned for Virgil a place on the facades of cathedrals’. See ibid., p. 186.

21 See ibid.

22 See also Nemtsov, ‘Zur Klaviersuite op. 13 von Pavel Haas’, p. 21: ‘the beautiful images vanish as a reflection in the water, smudged by light wind’.

23 A similar point has been made by Nemtsov (ibid.).

24 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 69: ‘Two musical thoughts alternate [in this movement]: the introductory, based on the irregular alteration of accentuation in melodically indifferent music, and the main one – of ditty-like character’.

25 See also ibid.: ‘[The main theme] is the main material for the following music, which is based on loose variations interspersed by interludes derived from the introduction’.


29 Hrč., ‘Klub moravských skladařů v Brně’, Brněnská svoboda, 22 April 1936: ‘Haas’s Suite for Piano, Op. 13, a composition [which is] temperamental to the core and musically – as we say – absolute, [. . .] draws its effect from] the author’s colourful sonic invention [‘zvukovost’], [which is] as much racially inherited as it is artistically cultivated and sophisticated’. Quoted from a newspaper clipping included in Haas’s album ‘Moje úspěchy a ne-úspěchy’ (‘My Successes and Non-successes’), which survives as the property of Olga Haasová-Smrčková. Translation mine.

30 According to Peduzzi, this was a six-movement piece; the incipit of the sixth movement (Gigue) was preserved on a keepsake sheet dedicated by the composer to K. Herrmann. Peduzzi refers to the so-called Heřman’s collection (Heřmanova sbírka) deposited in the Terezín Memorial (Památník Terezín), inv. no. 3914/G 731. See Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 133. Viktor Ullmann’s review of the piece is available in Viktor Ullmann and Ingo Schultz, 26 Kritiken über musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt (Hamburg: Bockel Verlag, 1993), p. 52. ‘Bernard Kaff played boldly a modern programme. Modern music is dreaded because of its harmonic [language] [. . .]. The abandonment of the tonal system and the natural overtones corresponds with the abolition of true imitation of nature in painting. Pavel Haas does not carry this process further, on the contrary, he introduces new sounds within tonality; one could speak of a tonal twelve-tone music. The “Partita in Old Style” maintains the forms, or at least the primal features [‘Urphänomene’] of the suite form. Here, too, Haas’s music is thoroughly praiseworthy; it is playfully powerful, naturally polyphonic, transparent in the piano texture, interesting, and graceful. I give the prize to the small Air, without diminishing the merit of the other movements. Whether the term “Partita” should be used for tonally volatile pieces with individual movements set in different keys, is a separate question. In a partita, all movements were originally connected by an identical key. Therefore, I would have preferred the title 2nd Suite. Kaff played the Partita with verve and mastery.’ Translation mine.
Michael J. Puri, *Ravel the Decadent: Memory, Sublimation, and Desire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 26. Puri’s point concerns the appearance of musical material which is associated with memory of the past through its ‘historical content’ (references to styles, genres, techniques, or other features which recognisably belong to the past) or ‘contextual content’ (successive appearances of musical material in a cyclic formal design). See also p. 22.


Ibid., p. 22.


5 Ibid., pp. 22–3.


7 Ibid., p. 62.


10 Ibid., p. 10. Cross also invokes Richard Taruskin’s notions of ‘drobnost’ (‘splintered-ness’; the quality of being formally disunified, a sum-of-parts) and ‘nepodvizhnost’ (‘immobility, stasis; as applied to form, the quality of being nonteleological, nondevelopmental’). See Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, ii, pp. 1677–78, quoted in Cross, *The Stravinsky Legacy*, p. 10.

11 Ibid., p. 89.


14 Ibid., p. 10. All translations from Czech sources are mine, unless stated otherwise.

15 Ibid., pp. 10–1. Berg draws on Janáček’s terminology: ‘nápěv’ (singular form of the word) translates conveniently as ‘tune’; however the translation ‘vocal melody’ would be more appropriate since it reflects the etymological link with ‘zpěv’ (‘singing’). There is also related to a more familiar term of Janáček’s, that of ‘nápěvky mluvy’ (‘nápěvky’ is the diminutive of ‘nápěv’; ‘mluvy’ is the genitive of ‘mluva’ – ‘speech’), which is usually translated as ‘speech melodies’. The term *sčasovka* will be explained later along with Janáček’s concept of *sčasování*, which is also linked to ‘nápěvky mluvy’.
The term was coined in the 1960s and 1970s by Czech composers and theorists Miloš Štědroň, Miloslav Ištvan, Ctirad Kohoutek, and Alois Piňos, most of whom were involved in pioneering the techniques of electro-acoustic music, hence their interest in the cinematic techniques of Sergei Eisenstein. The term was also adopted by John Tyrrell. See Miloš Štědroň, *Leoš Janáček a hudba 20. století: paralely, sondy, dokumenty* [Leoš Janáček and Twentieth-Century Music: Parallels, Probes, Documents] (Brno: Nadace Universitas Masarykiana, 1998), pp. 147–56.


Janáček uses idiosyncratically the adjective ‘časový’, which literally translates as ‘temporal’. It seems, however, that ‘časový’ is used interchangeably with ‘sčasovací’ in this case, for which reason I prefer to translate it as ‘rhythmic’.

Janáček, *Úplná nauka o harmonii*, p. 605.

Leoš Janáček, ‘Základy hudebního sčasování’ [Basics of Musical Sčasování], in *Teoretické dílo (Theoretical Works)*, ii/2 (2007–2008), 13–131 (p. 25). Janáček’s thoughts on the origins of metre in the interaction of rhythmic strata resonate with the ideas put forward by Maury Yeston, as summarised by Harald Krebs in the following quotation: ‘Yeston defines musical meter as “an outgrowth of the interaction of two levels – two differently-rated strata, the faster of which provides the elements and the slower of
which groups them.” In other words, a sense of meter can arise only when a given stratum of regular pulses is associated with a slower stratum that organizes the pulses into equivalent groups.’ See Harald Krebs, ‘Some Extensions of the Concepts of Metrical Consonance and Dissonance’, *Journal of Music Theory*, 31/1 (Spring 1987), 99–120 (p. 100); Krebs quotes Maury Yeston, *The Stratification of Musical Rhythm* (New Haven CT and London: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 66.


40 Ibid., pp. 16–17.

41 Ibid., pp. 25–6.

42 Take for example the way Janáček described the inspiration behind his 1923 string quartet, in a letter to Kamila Stösslová (14 October 1924): ‘I imagined a poor woman, tortured, beaten, beaten to death, as portrayed by the Russian writer Tolstoy in his work Kreutzer Sonata.’ Quoted in Milan Škampa’s preface to the following edition of Janáček’s quartet: Leoš Janáček, String Quartet no. 1, ‘Inspired by Tolstoy’s Kreutzer Sonata’, 1923 (Prague: Supraphon; 2nd edn, revised by Milan Škampa, 1982).

43 Berg, *K Janáčkovu skladebnému projevu*, p. 16.

44 Ibid. A similar point was made by Czech musicologist Jaroslav Jiránek, who argued that the tendency in Janáček’s music to repetition and harmonic stasis is due to Janáček’s ‘desire to grasp […] the uniform mood of the life moment [a moment in life]’. See Jaroslav Jiránek, ‘The Controversy between Reality and Its Living in the Work of Leoš Janáček’, in *Janáček and Czech Music: Proceedings of the International Conference (Saint Louis, 1988)*, Studies in Czech Music No. 1, ed. Michael Beckerman and Glen Bauer (Stuyvesant NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), 365–70 (p. 368), emphasis in the original.

45 Blažek, ‘Leoš Janáček o skladbě a hudebních formách na varhanické škole v Brně’, p. 107. The opposite of ‘formace vývojová’ (‘developmental formation’) is ‘formace seřadná’, which is an ambiguous, idiosyncratic term. The adjective ‘seřadná’ could be translated as ‘ordered’ or ‘additive’.


47 Trills are also highly characteristic of Janáček’s textures. Berg regards trill as a special case of sčasovka because it functions as a ‘vehicle of mood’: ‘From Janáček’s perspective it always signifies tensions, this effect stems from its association with whirling, unrest […] the same holds true of tremolo’. See Berg, *K Janáčkovu skladebnému projevu*, p. 17.

48 Note the markings in the Boosey & Hawkes score: ‘crotchet = semibreve’ in b. 143 and ‘quaver = minim’ in b. 160.

49 The idea of hierarchically organised metro-rhythmic space has been explored in analyses of selected pieces by Brahms. See particularly David Lewin, ‘On Harmony and Meter in Brahms’s Opus 76 No. 8’, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 4/3 (1981), 261–5; Richard Cohn, ‘Complex Hemiolas, Ski-Hill Graphs, and Metric Spaces’, *Music Analysis*, 20/3 (2001), 295–326; and Scott Murphy, ‘On Metre in the Rondo of Brahms’s Op. 25’, *Music Analysis*, 26/3 (2007), 323–53. My approach is different in that I focus primarily on the activity of rhythmic layers. While I take into account metric groupings on the level of individual bars, I do not believe Haas’s Study for Strings (and the other works studied in this chapter) can be analysed in terms of hypermetric organisation (which is essential to the analyses referenced above) because of the fragmentary and repetitive nature of Haas’s thematic material (discussed in the following paragraphs).

50 Michael Beckerman, ‘Klein the Janáčkian’, in *Musicologica Brunensia*, 44/1–2 (2009), 25–33 (pp. 28–9).


1


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All of the reviews quoted below are cited according to Haas’s album of newspaper clippings entitled ‘Moje úspěchy a ne-úspěchy’ (‘My Successes and Non-successes’), which survives as the property of Olga Haasová-Smrčková. All translations from this source are mine.

3


14

Josef Winckler’s book was published in several editions of various lengths: *Des verwegenen Chirurgus welberühmht Johann Andreas Doctor Eisenbart* [. . .] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1929, 589 pages); *Des verwegenen Chirurgus welberühmht Wunder-Doktor Johann Andreas Eisenbart* [. . .] (Berlin: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, 1933, 401 pages); *Des verwegenen Chirurgus welberühmht Johann Andreas Doctor Eisenbart* [. . .] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1953, 471 pages). Haas worked with the abridged 1933 Berlin edition; all references to Winckler’s book made here relate to this edition and all translations from this source are mine. According to Peduzzi, Haas also owned a dramatic adaptation of Eisenbart’s story drawing on Winckler’s book, entitled *Doctor Eysenbarth*, and written by Ernst Fürst. See Lubomír Peduzzi, *Haasův Šarlatán: Studie o opeře: Původně nezkrácená verze* (Brno, 1994), pp. 6–7. However, Haas’s opera bears very little resemblance to this text. Fürst’s drama was published as follows: Ernst Fürst, *Doctor Eysenbarth* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Chronos Verlag, 1932). I am indebted to Prof. Pavel Drábek for helping me to obtain a copy of this source.

15

In the second version of the libretto, Haas replaced ‘Eisenbart’ (‘Iron-beard’) with ‘Ble dovous’ (‘Pale-beard’). The final name ‘Pustrpalk’ was introduced in the third version. Pavel Haas, *Návrhy libreta* [Sketches of the libretto], Department of Music History of the Moravian Museum, sign. B 832. The first version of the libretto is contained in a notebook marked (in red pencil) ‘Opera: I. verse’ (‘Opera: 1st version’). The second version is in another notebook entitled ‘Doktor Bledovous [“Bledovous” crossed out and replaced with “Pustrpalk”]’: Dle románu Josefa Wincklera volně zdráматisoval a
slova napsal Pavel Haas’ (‘Doctor Pale-Beard/Pustrpalk: According to the novel by Josef Winckler freely dramatised and written by Pavel Haas’). This notebook is marked (in red pencil) ‘II. [verse]’ (‘2nd version’). The third version is written on the reverse sides of concert programmes of the Club of Moravian Composers (A4 sheets glued together). There is no title page; the first page (containing a list of characters) is marked (in red pencil) ‘III. [verse]’ (‘3rd’ [version]). The fourth version, virtually identical with the third, is typewritten on sheets of paper of unconventional format (similar to A4 but taller), bound together.

16 Peduzzi, Pavel Haas, p. 69. All translations from Peduzzi’s book are my own.
17 Ibid., p. 124 (endnote no. 39): ‘The text of this song, but not its melody, is derived from the popular eighteenth-century song Ich bin der doctor Eisenbart, widely known across the whole of Germany and the surrounding countries (including Switzerland and France).’
18 Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 25.
20 Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 195.
21 Ibid., pp. 34–5, 77–9, 107–8.
22 Watt, Myths of Modern Individualism, pp. 3–4.
23 Ibid., pp. 24–5.
24 Winckler, Eisenbart, pp. 324–30 (chapter 25: ‘Gott Schütze Andreas!’).
25 Ibid., p. 327.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid., p. 329.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., p. 128: ‘[Speaking to himself] Frankly, Eisenbart […] your restless blood chases you viciously like Father Ahasverus.’
31 Ibid., p. 233.
32 See also Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 31.
33 Ibid., p. 356; see also Pavel Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (Department of Music History of the Moravian Museum, sign. A 22.687 c), pp. 507–8.
35 Quoted in Katritzky, Women, Medicine and Theatre, p. 37.
36 Katritzky, Women, Medicine and Theatre, p. 33. Opinions vary about the significance of this episode in the liturgical plays. Katritzky suggests that it had a ‘didactic’ function: it is intended to ‘heighten the intensity of religious plays’ theoretically motivated contrast between profane and spiritual concerns, not by glorifying worldly pleasures, but by ridiculing them’ and thus to inspire the spectators to ‘recognize and laugh at their human folly, and to reject it in favour of spiritual redemption’ (p. 35).
37 Ibid., p. 35.
38 Ibid., pp. 168–9.
39 Ibid., p. 36.
40 Ibid., p. 167.
41 Pavel Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (Department of Music History of the Moravian Museum, sign. A 22.687 a), p. 97. See also Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 19.
42 Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 28. See also Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (DMH MM, sign. A 22.687 a), p. 62. I am grateful to Professor Pavel Drábek, who kindly shared with me his excellent unpublished English translation of Haas’s libretto to Charlatan. All translations of extracts from Haas’s libretto (its final version) presented below are Drábek’s, unless stated otherwise.
This scene is based on the first chapter of Winckler’s book, entitled ‘The Cures Begin’ (‘Die Kuren beginnen’). See ibid., pp. 9–35.


-vk-, ‘Nová česká opera v Brně: [. . .] Rozhovor se skladařem’, p. 3.

Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (DMH MM, sign. A 22.687 a), pp. 5–6.

This scene is based on the fourth chapter of Winckler’s book, entitled ‘The Crinoline’ (‘Die Krinoline’). Winckler, Eisenbart, pp. 70–9.


Ibid., pp. 186–92.


Ibid., pp. 196–9.

Ibid., pp. 199–201.

Ibid., pp. 210–12. See also Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 119.


Ibid., pp. 246–54.


Ibid., pp. 317–21. Translation by Drábeč; additions mine.

Winckler, Eisenbart, pp. 109–43.

Ibid., pp. 94–108.

Ibid., p. 94.

Ibid., p. 110.


Ibid., p. 3. Translation mine. See also Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 113.

Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 116.


Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 127.

Ibid., pp. 133–4: ‘the musicians conspired against the comedians [. . .] and after a short dispute, during which many drew their daggers and swords, a horrible scream rang out among two or three duels! [. . .] Pickelhering was lying in the grass with a stream of black blood coming out from a wound in his forehead’.

Ibid., p. 134: ‘Racketing, shouting, and banging was heard from the mill; the epileptic [miller] sprang out of his bed in frenzy, grabbed a glowing lantern and threw it among
the fighting men, so that blazing flickers sprang up. The men did not know where it came from, but it became a blind signal for them to set fire all around [. . .].

81 Ibid.: ‘Amarantha seemed to be seized by madness as she was running around the mill, declaring Molière [. . .]. Eisenbart [. . .] suddenly started shouting into the night the strophe “Morpheus in mentem trahit impellentem ventum jenem”’.

82 Ibid., pp. 152–78 (chapter 9: ‘Die Badkur [. . .]’).

83 Ibid., p. 135. See also Haas, Návrhy libreta (DMH MM, sign. B 832), notebook marked ‘Opera: 1. verse’, act 2, p. 22: ‘The wings of the windmill start turning, slowly at first, then faster and faster – even frenziedly!’ Translation mine.

84 Green and Swan, The Triumph of Pierrot, p. 142. Reference is made specifically to early Expressionist cinema and particularly to The Cabinet of Dr Caligari, where images of merry-go-rounds and barrel organs abound, accompanying the performance at one of the fairground booths of Dr Caligari (puppet-master figure, controlling his assistant Cesare, who is in a trance). The authors also note that commedia-inspired art in general betrays a fascination with the circle (circular motion, round shape of Pierrot’s face, associated with the full moon, ‘circular’ narratives, etc.).

85 Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 142.

86 The most direct clue is Amarantha’s vague reference to ‘hard and frightening times’ in her response to Pustrpalk’s love declaration: ‘I think you’re rushing now, you’re just seeking a sanctuary, dearest Master! These are hard times and frightening times!’ See Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (DMH MM, sign. A 22.687 b), pp. 209–10.

87 Ibid., pp. 224–6: ‘Žavináč: “And he [Pustrpalk] won’t be able to carry on [traveling] much longer. He wants his calm! He is going to run away with Missis Professor and send his own wife packing. What shall we do then?”’ Translation mine. See also Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 122. Elsewhere, Winckler associates Eisenbart’s decision to run away with Amarantha with his hope for a sedentary life. See Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 178: ‘Then he [Eisenbart] swore to run away with her [. . .] and live the comfortable life of a gentleman as a “patented” court doctor; everything would be different in such honourable and noble existence!’


90 Ibid., p. 87.

91 Ibid., p. 86.


94 Ibid., p. 267.

95 Ibid., p. 281. Translation mine.

96 Ibid., pp. 281–2.

97 See Armitt, Theorising the Fantastic, p. 50.

98 This scene is based on chapter 10 of Winckler’s book, entitled ‘In the Metropolis of the Baroque Era’ (‘In der Metropole des Barock’). Winckler, Eisenbart, pp. 179–97.

99 Bourrée is mentioned, along with minuet, gavotte, and rigaudon, on the margin of the second draft of Haas’s libretto. Haas, Návrhy libreta (DMH MM, sign. B 832), notebook entitled ‘Doktor Bledovouš/Pustrpalk’ and marked ‘II. verse’, act 2, scene 2, unnumbered first page.

100 Ibid., pp. 381–4.


102 Ibid., pp. 415–24.

103 Winckler, Eisenbart, pp. 194–5.


105 Ibid., pp. 364–5.
Ibid., pp. 367. Translation mine.


108 Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 386.


110 This scene is based on chapter 26 of Winckler’s book: ‘Jochimus’s Pitiful Fate’ (‘Jochimus jammervolles Schicksal’). Ibid. pp. 331–45.

111 Ibid., pp. 434–8. Translation by Drábek; translation of Haas’s stage directions in round brackets mine.


113 Ibid., pp. 464–6.

114 Ibid., pp. 475–6. Haas arguably made a symbolic musical reference to the Angel of Death at the very end of the operation: just before Bakalář comes in with his line ‘Zde vino!’ (‘Your wine, sir!’), the orchestra plays a rising succession of falling fourths/fifths, underpinned by a stepwise chromatic ascent in parallels and a static, sustained tone. This, I believe, is an allusion to the opening motive of the second movement of Josef Suk’s Asrael symphony.

115 Winckler, Eisenbart, pp. 338–44.

116 Haas adhered to Winckler’s version until very late stages of his work on the opera. It was not until he had finished all versions of his libretto, as well as 26 pages of complete orchestral score (dated 29 December 1936) that he decided to change the ending of the scene. The 26 discarded pages are included in Pavel Haas, Šarlatán: části opery, skici (Charlatan: Parts of the opera, sketches), Department of Music History of the Moravian Museum, sign. A22 689.


118 Ibid., pp. 507–8.

119 Ibid., pp. 548–58. See also Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 359.

120 Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 364.


122 Winckler, Eisenbart, pp. 367–8: ‘All former patients came to him like spectres in the following nights. Merciful God! [. . .] They came with grinning faces and long teeth, wailing and racketing – ha! Pickelhering was leading them! Scoundrel! [. . .] And once a giant vampire came down from the ceiling . . . “Jochimus?” gasped Eisenbart up into the darkness: “As a pastor, you should know how weak a man is in trying to live up to his principles! You should know!”’

123 Ibid., pp. 394–5.


125 Winckler, Eisenbart, p. 332: “And how long does such an operation take?” asked the priest, who was suddenly overcome by anxiety. “I have carried out several within a half of a Paternoster!” Eisenbart reassured him – “one should never spend too much time making presumptions, so let us begin straightaway; come in, Father!” “Et in puncto ad infernum . . . In a moment to hell!” laughed Jochimus as he bent [passing] under a thick curtain into the booth, which reeked of ointments, vapours, and blood; he was forced to sit down by a sudden rush of sickness.’

126 See the discussion of play with multi-levelled theatrical space in commedia-inspired theatre in Green and Swan, The Triumph of Pierrot, pp. 111–13.

127 Haas, Šarlatán, autograph score (DMH MM, sign. A 22.687 a), p. 57: ‘Appears the person of the fat monk Jochimus, who gazes curiously towards Pustrpalk and makes his way [through the crowd] closer to the tribune. His presence draws the attention
of the audience. At the same time, one hears the clopping of horses’ hooves and the cracking of a whip.’ Translation mine.

130 Ibid., p. 87.
131 Watt, Myths of Modern Individualism, p. 234.
133 Ibid., pp. 79–80.
134 Eisenbart’s company was partly disbanded as a result of King Friedrich Wilhelm I’s 1716 ban of all itinerant performers in Prussia, especially those sponsored by quacks. See M.A. Katritzky, Women, Medicine and Theatre, pp. 168–9.
139 Emanuel Ambros, ‘Haasova opera „Šarlatán”’, Národní listy, 5 April 1938.

2 Ibid., p. 49.
6 Mahler used as his source Hans Bethge’s 1907 anthology Die chinesische Flöte. For more details regarding the literary sources of the work see Fusako Hamao, ‘The Sources of the Texts in Mahler’s Lied Von der Erde’, Nineteenth-Century Music, 19/1 (1995), 83–95.
8 Reference is made here to the titles of the two ostensibly joyful (yet nostalgic and wistful) parts of Mahler’s song cycle: ‘Of Youth’ and ‘Of Beauty’.
9 The reading of *Das Lied von der Erde* in terms of the irretrievably lost happiness, evoked from the past in memory in order to escape the bleak reality of the present time, has been put forward in Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). See particularly p. 145.

10 Ibid., p. 146.


20 Ibid.


24 Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, p. 46. Kristeva seeks the origins of depression in the realm of symbolic signification through language. She argues that a depressive person’s attachment to the object of loss is so strong that it makes the individual unable to substitute it with a set of signs, because this process requires the acceptance of the loss of the ‘actual’ object. Words therefore lose their meaning and are only capable of ‘turning [the object of loss] over, helplessly’ (pp. 36–46).

25 The affinity of this plaintive passage to the archaic genre of lament has previously been recognised by Karbusický. See Karbusický, ‘Exotismus životní absurdity’, p. 151.


27 Cumming, ‘The Subjectivities of “Erbarme Dich”’, 5–44. In her analysis of the aria ‘Erbarme dich’ from Bach’s *St Matthew Passion*, Cumming argues that this piece articulates the conflicting tendencies inherent to grief through ‘a unique combination of melodic gestures that contribute to the formation of a complex affective state in which aspects of striving resist the heaviness of descent’ (pp. 23–4).


30 The Czech adjective ‘cizí’ signifies that something is ‘not familiar’, ‘not one’s own’ or ‘not of the same kind as something or someone else’. The translation ‘strange’ seems the most appropriate in this context.

31 In fact, much of the characteristic imagery of the uncanny is associated with the topos of the ‘gothic mansion’, where the positive connotations of home, safety, love and so on are subverted; the mansion is thus perceived as haunted, strange and sinister. Houses are also often viewed as having a soul of their own or reflecting that of their owners. See Armitt, Theorising the Fantastic, p. 49.

32 The distance between the pitch-classes should be understood in terms of interval class, which, due to the principle of octave equivalence, renders spatial distribution irrelevant.

33 The reference here is to the second movement (entitled neutrally ‘Allegro vivace’) of Haas’s 1940–41 Symphony.

34 Kristeva, Black Sun, p. 34. See also Matthew Ratcliffe, ‘Varieties of Temporal Experience in Depression’, Journal of Medicine and Philosophy, 37 (2012), 114–38 (p. 114).


36 The Czech word ‘ruce’ refers to ‘hands’ but also, more broadly, to ‘arms’; the latter can be specifically designated by the word ‘paže’.

37 This passage anticipates the ‘anxiety’ motive or, in other words, helps to organically incorporate the quotation of the ‘death’ motive from Charlatan. The motive’s contour results from circular rendering of the lamento motive and the seventh-wide rift, on which its intervallic structure is based, follows from the mirroring of two fourths (A flat – E flat – B flat) in bar 43.

38 It should be noted that the occurrences of fully formed diatonic modes are relatively rare in this piece. Even in the case of the lament progression in the piano interludes, full diatonic modes arise from the combination of more or less independent tetrachordal units. Most often, such tetrachordal units only have an implicit sense of belonging to a wider modal framework. Bass pedals typically offer the decisive contextual clue determining which scale degrees the specific tetrachords occupy.

39 Since there are only 12 distinct chromatic pitches, clear-cut complementarity is only possible with collections of 6 pitches such as the whole-tone scale. Since diatonic scales contain 7 pitches, even the most distant pair of scales (with 14 pitches among them) will always have at least two pitches in common.


43 Ibid., p. 163.

44 Ibid., p. 164.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 153.


48 Ibid., p. 153.


50 Ibid., p. 9.
51 Ibid., p. 11.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid., p. 3: ‘[T]hings like the earth, the moon, water, the night, the feminine, softness, passivity, and darkness all accord with yin, whereas heaven, the sun, fire, day, masculinity, hardness, activity, and brightness can all be attributed to yang. This division simultaneously emphasizes that these two elements are interrelated and interdependent.’
55 Ibid., p. 5.

3 See Vladimir Karbusický, ‘Neukenčená historie’, *Hudební věda*, 35/4 (1998), 396–405. Karbusický challenges Peduzzi’s claim (*Pavel Haas: Život a dílo skladatele*, pp. 33–4, 130) that all three of Haas’s *Chinese Songs* were composed in 1921. According to Karbusický, the first two songs were in fact composed as early as 1919 and the third one was added in 1921. Karbusický (unlike Peduzzi) was also able to identify the literary source: Jaroslav Pšenička, *Ze staré české poezie* (VII.–IX. stol. po Kr.) (Prague: J. Otto, 1902). Karbusický further observes that this book (according to Pšenička’s own preface) contains Czech translations of selected French poems from *Poésies de l’époque des Thang* by Marquis Leon d’Hervey de Saint Denys.
4 Tagore received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913. Janáček set Tagore’s poetry to music in *The Wandering Madman* (1922). Two of the poems from Tagore’s *The Gardener* which Haas set to music in *Fata Morgana* had previously been set by Zemlinsky (‘You Are the Evening Cloud’) in his *Lyrische Symphonie* (1922–23) and by Szymanowski (‘My Heart, the Bird of the Wilderness’) in his Four Songs, Op. 41 (1918). For a detailed overview of the reception of Tagore’s poetry by European composers between 1914 and 1925 see Sudhaseel Sen, ‘The Art Song and Tagore: Settings by Western Composers’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 77/4 (2008), 1110–32.
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